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Material memories of the Dutch Revolt

The urban memory landscape in the Low Countries, 1566 – 1700

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Preface

To keep, collect or commission an object related to the Dutch Revolt is not always evident. For its survival the object depends on different choices made across several generations. In this process the connection between an object and its original story could easily be changed or get lost since each generation makes its own decisions about what to keep to remember the past. Only recently I experienced this process of memory making first hand, when my grandfather Arie Eekhout passed away. One of the things he left behind was a cigar box filled with his private World War II memorabilia. This not only reflected his memories of the war, but could be considered as a Pandora's box. Everyone knew about its existence, but the box had not been opened for decades. Yet, while the contents were unknown, it was clear that whatever the box contained it brought back painful memories.

In World War II my grandfather fought in the Dutch army until its surrender to Germany. As the army demobilized Arie returned to his home town Delft where he planned to escape to England across neutral territory. With a friend he took the train to Switzerland, but in Southern Germany they decided they could not cross the Alps and would return to the Netherlands. On their journey home both men were arrested by the Germans and sentenced to labor, Arie finally ended up in concentration camp Dachau and suffering from diphtheria. Until one day the local baker in Dachau was looking for a helper, a job my grandfather had experience in. He could now leave the camp during the day. Sometimes he would smuggle some bread back in. After the liberation of the camp, my grandfather returned home to Delft.

During his life Arie only told his stories to his wife Truus whom he married after the war. His memories he kept in an old cigar box. It was only after his death in 2010 that his children sat down, opened the box, and shared the stories he had told each of them individually. This reconstruction is all that is left, except of course the cigar box. In the box he had kept his Dachau card, and several documents he received upon his return in the Netherlands. This collection of documents shows his disappointment in the care he received in the Netherlands which resulted in a general sense of distrust throughout the rest of his life. Yet, instead of throwing these documents away, my grandfather kept and cherished them.

So what will happen to these documents now? Will they be kept in the family as a connection to my grandfather and his memories of World War II? Will they disappear as time passes? Will they become part of a museum collection? And will this be a conscious decision or not? At the moment the cigar box has ended up in a bigger box with other material memories of my grandparents. But what will happen next? And what about the story? Will it survive for future generations? Of course, I realize that by integrating my grandfather's story here it may live a longer life. It may even survive without its accompanying object, as have many of the objects that are included in this study.

While studying objects as material memories I have benefitted from the help of many people, some of whom I would like to mention here. First of all, my supervisor Judith Pollmann whose NWO VICI project *Tales of the Revolt. Memory, oblivion and identity in the Low Countries, 1566-1700* enabled me to undertake this research for almost five and a half years. During this time Judith has continuously supported me to study material memories, even though the subject was relatively new. Moreover, I greatly appreciate her ability to offer a stimulating (research) environment as part of the *Tales* team while simultaneously providing necessary individual feedback. Second, I thank the other members of the research team. Erika Kuijpers provided critical comments to many of my chapters and shared an interest in information technology. My fellow PhD candidates Jasper van der Steen and Johannes Müller were a sounding board for new ideas, and both used their specific expertise to comment on my work. Student assistant Frank de Hoog was invaluable in the organization of the illustrations for this dissertation.

In general I would like thank all my colleagues at the Institute for History in Leiden for their input during meetings, lunches and conversations. The advisory board of the *Tales of the Revolt* project also provided me with useful suggestions and comments. The staff at museums, archives and libraries I visited in the last few years has been helpful. More specifically I would like to thank scholars Raingard Esser, Andrew Spicer, Guido Marnef, Frans Grijzenhout, Peter Sigmond, Jori Zijlmans and Hester Dibbits for their advice, comments, and for sharing their work and expertise. Finally, I thank my fellow PhD candidates at the Huizinga Institute for Cultural History, especially the 'early modern group', for the opportunity to discuss my research.

Last, but certainly not least, I thank my friends and family. My friends offered the necessary distractions over the last six years. My parents continuously showed their interest in my research, accompanied me on research trips and attended several public lectures. Most of all, however, I want to thank Jaap and Louisa. To them I dedicate this book.

List of illustrations and maps

Introduction Material memories of the Dutch Revolt

On 20 September 1600 the aldermen of 's-Hertogenbosch paid glass artist Jan van Diepenbeeck eighty-two guilders for several scenes depicting 'the history of the fury' for the altar near the Gevangenpoort.[1] The 'fury' was one of the pivotal moments in the recent history of the city: a fight between Calvinists and Catholics on 1 July 1579. On this day what had been a slumbering religious and political conflict between the Calvinists and Catholics in 's-Hertogenbosch erupted on the market square. For some years now the city in Brabant had been involved in the Revolt of the Netherlands, more commonly known as the Dutch Revolt or Eighty Years War. The immediate cause, however, was the fear that the city would be besieged and captured by Governor Alexander Farnese of the Habsburg Netherlands who had just achieved victory in the siege of Maastricht at the end of June.[2]

In 's-Hertogenbosch several groups had their own agenda in trying to avoid a siege. The Catholic clergy wished to reconcile with the sovereign overlord of the Low Countries, King Philip II of Spain. The opposing Calvinist minority demanded that the city magistrate accept the Union of Utrecht that had been signed in January between the rebel provinces in the Netherlands. The moderate city magistrate and Catholic majority did not want to take sides at all, and wanted to protect the city's independence and to avoid accepting a garrison. Eventually, on 1 July 1579 the Union of Utrecht was read from the town hall, but from the middle of the crowd a shot was fired at the Calvinist militia. This shot marked the beginning of a bloody fight between Calvinist and Catholic citizens that ended without a victor but with many dead and even more wounded. A few days later the Calvinists left the city as the gap between the two groups had become too wide.[3]

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[1] Rogier A. van Zuijlen, *Inventaris der archieven van de stad 's Hertogenbosch,chronologisch opgemaakt en de voornaamste gebeurtenissen bevattende stadsrekeningen van het jaar 1399-1800* ('s Hertogenbosch 1861) 1130; Jan van Diepenbeek, Het Schermersoproer te 's-Hertogenbosch in 1579, 1600, oil on canvas, Noordbrabants Museum 's-Hertogenbosch, inv nr 00852.

[2] P.Th.J. Kuijer, *'s-Hertogenbosch. Stad in het hertogdom Brabant ca. 1185-1629* (Zwolle 2000) 395–502.

[3] Ibidem; J. Hoekx, *Vruchten van de goede en de slechte boom. Heyman Voicht van Oudheusden over de godsdiensttwisten in zijn stad 's-Hertogenbosch en in Breda (1577-1581)* (Den Dungen 2008) 16–20, 166–174; Charles de Mooij, ''Schermersoproer' in oude luister hersteld. Burgeroorlog in Den Bosch', *Noordbrabants Museum Nieuws* 40 (1994) 7–9, there 7–9.

Fig.1 Jan van Diepenbeek, Schermersoproer in 's-Hertogenbosch, 1600 (Het Noordbrabants Museum).

Van Diepenbeeck's work in 1600 consisted of several small scenes, and a painting which depicted the fight on the market square (fig.1). Twenty-one years after the Calvinists had left 's-Hertogenbosch the day of the 'fury' was commemorated annually with a procession for which several altars were erected in the city and with a dinner for the victorious combatants at the town hall. Moreover, the memories of the fight had been adapted to suit the present needs of the city magistrate. 's-Hertogenbosch had reconciled with the king in December 1579 and prided itself on its Catholic identity. The events of 1579 were thus portrayed as a victory over the Calvinists rather than the civic dispute they had been.[4] From 1600 onwards Van Diepenbeeck's painting was the centerpiece of this celebration. The scene depicted the market square during the fight, with the town hall in the lower right corner. On the balcony the magistrate is still present after the proclamation of the Union of Utrecht. The Calvinist militia in the right foreground is raising a barricade, the Catholics are consolidating their position on the market square. Only one name is mentioned on the painting, that of 'Lokere', the Catholic governor who ended the fighting after half an hour.[5] Lokere's presence confirmed that the city did not need a garrison to expel the

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[4] Marianne Eekhout, 'Katholieke en protestantse herinneringscultuur in 's-Hertogenbosch. 1579 en 1585', *Noordbrabants Historisch Jaarboek* 29 (2012) 80–97, there 87-89, 95-96.
[5] De Mooij, 'Schermersoproer', 7-9.

Calvinists.[6] The painting should therefore be seen as a demonstration of Catholic as well as urban identity. The Calvinists are literally pushed to the margins of the painting while the Catholics occupy the main square.

The painting, the nature of the conflict and its annual commemoration indicate the significance of what became known as the *Schermersoproer*, or the uprising of the Calvinist militia, for the self-image of seventeenth-century 's-Hertogenbosch. Memories of the episode played a part in local politics and in identity formation, and could make or break reputations. A community that had once lived together in peace had been broken up. The Catholic majority not only forced the Calvinist minority to leave, but in the process different groups had opposed each other on religious, political and civic issues, such as whether the city should admit a garrison, whether to allow a Calvinist militia, and how much an attack from an approaching army should be feared. In the years that followed the uprising these troubles within the urban community needed to be resolved. Although there are no written sources for their motives, the actions of the magistrate, the church and the Catholic elite seem to have focused on creating a new Catholic identity. The story of the fight was adapted accordingly to turn this event into a commemoration of how the Catholics had successfully thrown out the Calvinists. Until 1629 when the city turned Protestant after the successful siege of Stadholder Frederik Hendrik, the uprising became one of two key events that illustrated the city's Catholic identity.[7]

The adaptation or reinterpretation of the *Schermersoproer* in 's-Hertogenbosch demonstrates two basic points. First, memories of the Revolt affected urban communities and subsequently their identities. Political, religious, and social conflicts which had occurred during the war not only needed to be settled to restore peace and harmony, but also changed the way citizens and corporations such as the magistrate, the church, and the guilds considered themselves within an urban community. Second, urban memory was multimedial. Memories of the conflict were not only transmitted in writing, but also through various other media including paintings, gable stones, medals, prints, plays, processions and places of memory. In addition to oral and written memories, material memories also played a significant role within an urban community.

Both the effect of memory on urban identity and its multimedial character have been studied before. Research on cities in the Dutch Republic such as Haarlem and Leiden has demonstrated that the need to bury civic discord determined the way the Revolt would be remembered as part of their urban identity during the seventeenth century.[8] For other cities

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[6] Eekhout, 'Katholieke en protestantse herinneringscultuur', 89.

[7] The other event was the failed attack on the city by Philips von Hohenlohe in 1585. Ibidem, 89-91.

[8] Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie. Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven 1577-1620* (the Hague 1989); Willem Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée. La mémoire de croisade, instrument de concorde civique (Haarlem, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)', *Revue du Nord* 88 (2006) 7–42; Judith Pollmann, *Herdenken,*

such as Enkhuizen, Alkmaar, Leiden and Brielle the Revolt has been studied as part of commemoration in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[9] Recently there has also emerged an interest in urban identity and memory of the Revolt in the Habsburg Netherlands.[10] Furthermore, scholars have studied multiple commemorative media such as local history writing, paintings of historical events, historic prints and maps, and siege dramas. Local and regional chorographies as well as the antiquarian tradition have been considered for the period of the Revolt.[11] Paintings, prints and maps were discussed as part of urban politics during the war.[12] Plays and particularly siege dramas with the Revolt as subject have been analyzed and compared.[13] Yet, while the multimediality of the Revolt has

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herinneren, vergeten. Het beleg en ontzet van Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw (Leiden 2008) 12–15; Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel. Leiden, 1574', in: Herman Amersfoort et al. (eds.), *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam 2011) 118–145

[9] See for example Thierry Allain, ''Zonder magt en adsistentie van buiten' De viering van de opstand van Enkhuizen tegen de Spanjaarden in 1772', *De Achttiende Eeuw* 36 (2004) 42–49; Boudien de Vries, 'Feesten voor het vaderland? De viering van het Ontzet van Alkmaar en Leiden omstreeks 1900', in: Bart van der Boom and Femme Gaastra (eds.), *Kerk, cultuur en koloniën. Opstellen over Nederland rond 1900* (Amsterdam 2005) 24–43; Remco Ensel, 'Baudrillard in Brielle. Over de historische cultuur van de tachtigjarige oorlog', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* (2008) 40–55; Joop W. Koopmans, 'Spanish Tyranny and Bloody Placards. Historical commonplaces in the struggle between Dutch patriots and orangists around 1780?', in: J.W. Koopmans and N.H. Petersen (eds.), *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period III: Legitimation of Authority* (Leuven 2011) 35-54.

[10] Bram Caers, 'In fide constans'? Politiek van herinnering in het Mechelse stadsbestuur', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29 (2013) 228-246.

[11] See for example Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city. Samuel Ampzing's vision of the history of Haarlem', *Theoretische geschiedenis* 20 (1993) 268–282; Raingard Esser, 'Political change and urban memory. Amsterdam remembers her past', *Dutch Crossing* 25 (2001) 89–102; Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum 2001); Raingard Esser, 'North and South. Regional and urban identities in the 17th-century Netherlands', in: Steven G. Ellis and Raingard Esser (eds.), *Frontiers and the writing of history, 1500-1850* (Hannover 2006) 127-150; Sandra Langereis, 'Antiquitates. Voorvaderlijke oudheden', in: Frans Grijzenhout (ed.), *Erfgoed. Geschiedenis van een begrip* (Amsterdam 2007) 57-84; Eddy Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende-eeuwse republiek* (Hilversum 2011).

[12] Marike Hoogduin-Berkhout, ''Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden' geschilderde voorstellingen in het Leidse stadhuis 1575-1700', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 22 (Hilversum 2006) 59–105; Marloes Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog en de Vrede van Munster in de decoratie van zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse stadhuizen. Een verkenning', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 335–346; H. Perry Chapman, 'Propagandist prints, reaffirming paintings. Art and community during the Twelve Years' Truce', in: Arthur Wheelock and Adele Seeff (eds.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 43–63; Daniel Horst, *De opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse opstand (1566-1584)* (Zutphen 2003); Christi Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws. Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassau's militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590-1600* (Zutphen 2005); Andrew Sawyer, 'Medium and message. Political prints in the Dutch Republic, 1568-1632', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands. Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden 2007) 163-187; Martha Pollak, *Cities at war in early modern Europe* (Cambridge 2010) 109–153.

[13] Marijke Meijer-Drees, 'Burgemeester van der Werf als vaderlandse toneelheld', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992) 167–176; Marijke Meijer-Drees, 'Vaderlandse heldinnen in belegeringstoneelstukken', *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 85 (1993) 71–82; Cobi Bordewijk, '*Lof zij den helden!' Vier eeuwen Leidse stedentrots op het toneel* (Den Haag 2005); Margit Thøfner, *A common art. Urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle 2007); Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om*

been recognized amongst scholars of different disciplines who studied just one particular genre, it has been rare for these materials of memory to have been studied comparatively.[14] The majority of scholars limited themselves to studying either one city or one medium. The former is true for instance for Willem Frijhoff who thoroughly studied Haarlem and its commemorative media; an example of the latter is Raingard Esser's important, comparative study of local and regional history writing in the Low Countries in the seventeenth century.[15]

The exception was Simon Schama who in 1987 discussed the role of the Revolt in the cultural identity of the Dutch Republic by using a multimedia approach.[16] When he wrote his work, however, 'memory studies' had not yet emerged as a scholarly approach. As a result he did not thematize how and when the rich memory culture in cities in the Dutch Republic appeared, what parties or individuals were involved in this process, and why they took an interest in memories of the Revolt. More recent work on urban identity by Peter Arnade studied the years of the Revolt only until 1585 and focused on how 'the act of rebellion forged a political identity' rather than offering a more general understanding of memory practices within an urban community.[17]

Despite the richness of both Schama's and Arnade's work, urban identities and the role of memories in this process are yet to be studied more systematically. This study is the first to explore urban war memories multimedially and comparatively across the Low Countries and over a long period from the late sixteenth until the early eighteenth century. The aim is to uncover how memories of the Revolt developed into urban memory cultures, how these memories became part of the city's identity and how this identity changed over time. In this context an urban memory culture is defined as the set of shared memories (of the Revolt) which survived on several levels of the urban community and involved multiple stakeholders such as the magistrate, the church, corporations, and individual citizens. Moreover this study will analyze the differences and similarities that existed between urban memory cultures in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands. The circumstances between cities in the

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beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650) (Amsterdam 2008).

[14] See for example Henk van Nierop, 'Edelman, bedelman. De verkeerde wereld van het Compromis der Edelen', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden (BMGN)* 107 (1992) 1–27; Michel P. van Maarseveen, Jos W.L. Hilkhuijsen and Jacques Dane (eds.), *Beelden van een strijd. Oorlog en kunst vóór de Vrede van Munster, 1621-1648* (Zwolle 1998); Carol Janson, 'Public places, private lives. The impact of the Dutch Revolt on the Reformed churches in Holland', in: Arthur K. Wheelock (ed.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 181–190; Werner Thomas, *De val van het nieuwe Troje. Het beleg van Oostende 1601-1604* (Leuven 2004); Koenraad Jonckheere and Ruben Suykerbuyk (eds.), *Art after iconoclasm. Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585* (Turnhout 2012).

[15] Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée'; Raingard Esser, *The politics of memory. The writing of partition in the seventeenth-century Low Countries* (Leiden 2012).

[16] Simon Schama, *The embarrassment of riches. An interpretation of Dutch culture in the golden age* (London 1987).

[17] Peter Arnade, *Beggars, iconoclasts, and civic patriots. The political culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca 2008) 8.

Northern and Southern Netherlands differed substantially, but these communities shared a common past and urban tradition. A study of urban memory cultures also offers knowledge about the impact of the national government on local memory practices, the position of the city in its regional network, and the long-term effect of the separation of the Low Countries due to the Revolt.

This study will discuss urban memory cultures in the Low Countries during and after the Dutch Revolt, with special attention to material culture. This approach enables us to answer historical questions from a wider perspective. Material memories including written, visual and ritual media can be communicated to a larger part of the urban community and display a greater variety of stakeholders in an urban memory culture than textual sources which have been the traditional focus of historical research. Material memories range from tapestries to books, from hearth plates to Beggar medals, from gable stones to plays, and from relics to places of memory. Each of these memories represented a story about the Revolt, a stakeholder who thought this particular story was important to tell or preserve, and a physical location in which it was on display (in public or in private). The interaction and communication between these memories created an urban memory culture in which the materials of memory contributed to the commemoration of Revolt episodes.

The remainder of this introduction consists of two parts. The first part will discuss the Dutch Revolt and the effects of the war on urban communities. The second part will explore the necessary tools to study urban memory cultures such as the fields of memory studies and material culture.

The Dutch Revolt: changing urban identities

The sixteenth-century Low Countries were an highly urbanized region. Across the 'seventeen' provinces that had been joined together by Emperor Charles V in 1549 there were several hundreds of cities and towns with populations ranging from a few hundred to one hundred thousand citizens.[18] Cities had considerable political power, since in most provinces representatives of the towns were part of the provincial States. Through negotiation with the sovereign the cities had gained privileges such as the right of self-governance, the freedom to build fortifications, and the right to organize fairs. New sovereigns were meant to reconfirm these privileges when they accepted their duties. The sovereign or one of his officials, such as the Stadholder, retained a hold on urban politics, because in the wealthiest western provinces he usually had the right to appoint members of

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[18] Robert Stein, 'Seventeen. The multiplicity of a unity in the Low Countries', in: D'Arcy Jonathan Dacre Boulton and Jan R. Veenstra, *The ideology of Burgundy. The promotion of national consciousness 1364-1565* (Leiden 2006) 223-285. See for urbanization Jan de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500-1800* (London 1984) 38-40; Peter Clark, *European Cities and Towns 400-2000* (Oxford 2009) 35-41, 120.

urban magistrates and he had control over the collection of taxes. In practice, however, the privileges ensured that the cities in the Low Countries held significant political power, which was supported by a long tradition of self-governance.[19]

For Netherlandish cities their privileges were closely connected to a sense of urban identity which was also used in any city's self-representation towards other cities. The city was represented as a single community in which solidarity and harmony were cherished goals. Corporations such as guilds, chambers of rhetoric and religious brotherhoods integrated members of different social groups and promoted stability within the community. This practice created a sense of corporate identity amongst citizens who were the mainstay of the local economy, and enhanced contact between the middle classes and the elite. In urban ceremonies such as processions, corporations also showed their identity by wearing matching outfits and carrying a banner. In addition to the corporate identity, however, cities had a distinct urban identity. Rules and privileges discriminated against outsiders, while urban rituals and works of art created a sense of self-awareness and status vis-à-vis other cities.[20] A shared past also contributed to a feeling of urban identity, and, as research on cities such as Ghent and Bruges in the Middle Ages has already shown, memories played an important role in this process.[21]

While urban identities were thus built on stability and the idea of harmony within the city, during the Dutch Revolt this situation was seriously challenged. In the 1560s political and religious disagreements caused major friction between the Habsburg sovereign, King Philip II of Spain, and the noble and urban elites in the Low Countries. Politically, the provinces still considered themselves separate, independent provinces with their own privileges, while the king was increasingly prone to treat the Low Countries as a single political entity under his rule. This development was particularly evident in the handling of the issue of heresy. The Habsburg rulers argued that heresy was such a heinous form of treason against the majesty of God that those accused of it forfeited the rights and privileges that traditionally guaranteed them trials in their own cities and protected them from confiscations. For that reason, many

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[19] S. Groenveld and H.L.Ph. Leeuwenberg, 'Staat en bestuur in de Nederlanden omstreeks 1559', in: S. Groenveld et al (eds.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (1559-1650)* (2nd revised edition, first published as *De Kogel in de Kerk*; Zutphen 2012) 13-24, there 20-21; Maarten Prak, translated by Diane Webb, *The Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century* (Cambridge 2009) 250-251; Gerhard Dilcher et al., 'The urban belt and the emerging modern state', in: Peter Blickle (ed.), *Resistance, representation, and community* (Oxford 1997) 217-323, there 256-257.
[20] Barbara B. Diefendorf and Carla Hesse, 'Introduction', in: idem (eds.) *Culture and identity in early modern Europe (1500-1800)* (Ann Arbor 1993) 1-15, there 3; Prak, *The Dutch Republic*, 155; Dilcher, 'The urban belt', 264-265; Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies (eds.), *1650 bevochten eendracht* (the Hague 1990) 173, 177; Johan Dambruyne, *Corporatieve middengroepen. Aspiraties, relaties en transformaties in de 16de-eeuwse Gentse ambachtswereld* (Ghent 2002) 7-10.
[21] See for example Wim de Clerq, Jan Dumolyn and Jelle Haemers, ''Vivre noblement'. Material culture and elite identity in late medieval Flanders', *The journal of interdisciplinary history* (2007) 1–31; Jelle Haemers, 'Social memory and rebellion in fifteenth-century Ghent', *Social History* 36 (2011) 443–463.

nobles, city magistrates, and members of the provincial States not only thought that the draconian legislation was counterproductive, but also considered it as a challenge to traditional rights and privileges and a dangerous precedent.[22]

The role of the cities was significant in these issues, first because they offered religious dissidents the necessary 'material and intellectual infrastructure' to spread their ideas. A high degree of literacy, many printers, good connections to other cities, and chambers of rhetoric in which new ideas were discussed offered a fertile environment for the spread of new ideas.[23] Secondly, the cities were familiar with resistance against their overlords. Especially in Brabant and Flanders, there was a long tradition of urban revolt against the sovereign, but also of corporations against the magistrate.[24] Third, the cities were used to negotiating in the provincial States, and the States managed the collection of taxes and sometimes, such as in Holland, gathered on their own initiative. The Dutch Revolt would prove that this situation offered the cities, and the provincial States, enough governmental experience to form an effective government.[25]

Following the controversial introduction of a new diocesan structure in 1559, the nobility managed to have Cardinal Granvelle, whom they considered to be the architect of the plan, removed. Yet, the king ignored noble protests and continued stricter heresy legislation. In April 1566 three hundred nobles petitioned governess Margaretha van Parma to be lenient towards dissenters and to assemble the States General. At the meeting where the nobility offered its petition, her advisor allegedly told Margaretha that these men were nothing more than 'gueux' or 'beggars'. In reply they adopted the name 'beggar' as a badge of honor. It soon became a fashionable term first amongst the nobility, but it was quickly adopted by their supporters in cities and would come to be used to refer to all rebels. As a result of the meeting Margaratha suspended the heresy placards and sent letters to the king to ask for advice. Protestants, many of them returning from religious exile, took this opportunity to organize field preaching where thousands gathered to hear them. In August 1566, a sermon in Steenvoorde in West Flanders triggered an attack on a local church, that in turn led to an

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[22] Henk van Nierop, 'De troon van Alva', *BMGN* (1995) 205–223, there 210–214; Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (reprinted paperback edition; London 1977) 36-37; Anton van der Lem, De Opstand in de Nederlanden (1555-1609), www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu / Het verhaal, consulted 29 August 2013.

[23] Nierop, 'De troon van Alva', 219-220.

[24] Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 34-35; see also Jelle Haemers, 'De Vlaamse Opstand van Filips van Kleef en de Nederlandse Opstand van Willem van Oranje', *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* (2006) 328–347; Marc Boone and Maarten Prak, 'Rulers, patricians and burghers. The great and little traditions of urban revolt in the Low Countries', in: Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen (eds.) *A miracle mirrored. The Dutch Republic in European perspective* (Cambridge 1995) 99–134; W. P. Blockmans, 'Alternatives to monarchical centralization. The great tradition of revolt in Flanders and Brabant', in: H.G. Koenigsberger (ed.), *Republiken und Republikanismus im Europa der frühen Neuzeit* (Munich 1988) 145-154.

[25] Nierop, 'De troon van Alva', 221; Marjolein 't Hart, 'Intercity rivalries and the making of the Dutch state', in: Charles Tilly and Wim Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and the rise of states in Europe, A.D. 1000 to 1800* (Oxford 1994) 196–217, there 200.

unprecedented wave of iconoclasm throughout the Low Countries in which images, altars, and vestments were destroyed. Philip II blamed the nobility and the local elites, and sent Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, to the Low Countries as governor-general to punish the culprits and those who had done too little to stop them. A special court, the Council of Troubles, was set up. Yet, most of the 11,000 people it condemned had already fled the Low Countries including nobleman William of Orange, who in 1568 began to raise military resistance.[26]

Although Alva defeated Orange, the conflict was continued as a guerilla war by small 'beggar' armies which predominantly operated from water. The duke was unpopular, not only because of the severity of the Council of Troubles, and the quartering of Habsburg troops in the cities but also because of new tax measures, especially the so-called tenth penny, which the king had ordered him to raise to finance the army. Dissatisfaction with the Duke's policies created a platform for the exiled William of Orange.[27] Under pressure of the beggar armies, in 1572 a second rebellion arose in the towns which were forced to decide whether to join rebel leader William of Orange or stay loyal to the crown. In response Alva started a military campaign – cities that failed to surrender quickly enough were put to the sack. This tactic proved quite effective until Naarden was sacked despite the fact that its citizens believed they had negotiated their safety. Other towns in Holland now believed they had nothing to lose and decided to put up a fight. Alva's progress therefore stopped at Haarlem, but after a long siege the city was still forced to surrender. It was not until the Habsburg army failed to capture Alkmaar in 1573 and Leiden in 1574 that the rebels in Holland and Zeeland found themselves in a better position.[28]

The rebel position was greatly helped by the chronic financial difficulties in which Alva and his successor Luis Requesens found themselves. The underpaid Habsburg troops were a menace for the population, and mutinies became a major problem. In 1576 troops mutinied again in the power vacuum created by the sudden death of Requesens. The States of Brabant took it upon themselves to reconvene the States General after the Council of State had been unseated. Negotiations with the rebels started, which in November 1576 led to the Pacification of Ghent; the provinces jointly resolved that they would negotiate with their

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[26] Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 62-117; Anton van der Lem, De Opstand in de Nederlanden (1555-1609).
[27] Ibidem.
[28] Simon Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen 1559-1609', in: Simon Groenveld et al. (eds.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (1559-1650)* (2nd revised edition, first published as *De Kogel in de Kerk*; Zutphen 2012) 73–147, there 73–100; Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog*, 9–29, 137; Burchard Elias, *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Bussum 1977) 8–25; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 118–150.

overlord only after all Spanish troops had left. The Pacification, however, came too late for Antwerp, which was sacked in the so-called Spanish Fury.[29]

Having ended the fighting, the provinces tried to achieve a higher level of self-governance for the Netherlands in relation to the crown and called for Habsburg troops to be removed from the Low Countries. Yet, while the parties agreed on the political issues, the religious differences remained unresolved; persecutions would stop, but the religious status quo would be maintained for the time being. Formally, this meant that Holland and Zeeland maintained the Reformed faith as well as the ban on Catholic worship they had imposed in 1573, while the others would remain Catholic. Exiled Flemish and Brabantine Protestants now returned en masse to the South and began to demand recognition. In turn, the States General could not reach agreement on an adequate response and left it to cities to implement their own solutions. In Brabant and Flanders radicalized Calvinists seized power and ruled in cities such as Antwerp, Mechelen and Ghent between 1578 and 1585.[30]

The growing power of the Calvinists, and William of Orange, also antagonized Catholics and especially Catholic nobles. Arguing that the Pacification had been broken, and united in the Union of Arras in 1579, these sought to make their peace with the crown. Meanwhile, the financial position had improved for the Habsburgs, and the new governor Alexander Farnese, Prince of Parma, managed to overcome the rebel armies between 1583 and 1585. In 1584 Orange was murdered, and the Revolt reached its lowest ebb. By 1585, when Antwerp surrendered, Farnese had 'reconciled' all the Southern provinces. Protestants were given time to reconcile with the church or liquidate their assets and depart; it is estimated that more than a hundred thousand Southerners left. Most of them went to the North. The fall of Antwerp would come to mark the separation of the Low Countries. The Northern provinces, united in the Union of Utrecht that had been signed in 1579, had by 1588 developed into a federation of seven united provinces The Union had formally abjured its loyalty to Philip II in 1581, in order to accept the help from a new overlord, Francois of Anjou, brother to the king of France. This policy, however, proved a dismal failure, and in the year that followed it looked as if the Revolt might be broken. English aid arrived just in time for the rebel provinces to maintain their military resistance; and even though politically the English intervention failed, the Revolt was saved. In 1588, the provinces decided to continue as a Republic.[31]

The Southern provinces, or Habsburg Netherlands, were ruled by several governors until Philip II decided in 1598 to hand over the sovereignty to his daughter Isabella and her

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[29] Anton van der Lem, *De Opstand in de Nederlanden (1555-1609);* Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen 1559-1609', 104-106.
[30] Ibidem, 102-125; Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 118-168.
[31] Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen 1559-1609', 112-129; Anton van der Lem, De Opstand in de Nederlanden (1555-1609); Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 169-224.

husband Albert of Austria. The reign of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella offered new stability from 1599 until 1633. Yet, since the couple remained childless, the Southern provinces eventually reverted to the Spanish crown, which had retained much control over military matters In spite of negotiations to achieve peace, the Twelve Years' Truce which started in 1609 was not renewed in 1621. While the Archdukes in Brussels pleaded for a renewal, the government in Madrid argued that the Republic had profited too much during the truce, and the position of Catholics had deteriorated. In the Republic internal political and religious struggles had dominated the Twelve Years' Truce. As a result Stadholder Maurits had consolidated his position, and he favored a renewal of the war effort. Not only could this course of action avoid new differences in the Republic, he thought the Republic might also benefit from the engagement of Habsburg troops in the Thirty Years' War which had broken out in neighboring Germany in 1618. Finally, several provinces hoped that renewal of the war would bring them commercial profit from privateering and a decrease in competition from Southern cities. In 1621 the war was renewed; it was fought predominantly in the border areas as well as for control of the trade routes in Asia and the Americas. For the Dutch Republic the capture of 's-Hertogenbosch (1629), Maastricht (1632) and Breda (1637) were important successes, but cities such as Bruges, Antwerp and Venlo remained out of reach and stayed loyal to King Philip IV. The war finally ended in 1648 when the Dutch Republic in the North and the Habsburg Netherlands in the South officially recognized one another in the Peace of Westphalia.[32]

Especially in the early phase of the Dutch Revolt the conflict was a civil war, a struggle between people who took diametrically opposite views of the political and religious future of the Netherlands.[33] Decisions needed to be made about whether to support the rebels or the king, whether to adhere to Catholicism or Protestantism or both, and whether to allow a garrison to enter the city. These decisions were not easy to make and often divided the population. In towns without a garrison, town governments were dependent for their survival largely on the attitude of the citizenry, who in the civic militias were often the only armed force in town. In Delft in 1566, for instance, iconoclasm was prevented at first when militiamen answered to the call of the magistrate to defend the churches, but this situation changed when the militiamen refused to stop the image breaking in a Franciscan monastery, an order that was not supported by the urban community. In 1572 the Gouda militia, as had

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[32] Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen 1559-1609', 123-129; Simon Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen 1609-1650', in: Simon Groenveld et al. (eds.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (1559-1650)* (2nd revised edition, first published as De Kogel in de Kerk; Zutphen 2012) 199–303, there 233-236.

[33] Judith Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden van de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden 2008) 4; See for the concept of the Revolt as civil war J.J. Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog. Over de Nederlandse Opstand 1555-1580* (Amsterdam 1994); Judith Pollmann, 'Internationalisering en de Nederlandse Opstand', *BMGN* 124 (2009) 515–535, there 517–518.

been the case earlier in Delft, was called upon to enforce the magistrate's decision if necessary.[34]

Since war disrupted the harmony in cities, urban identities were influenced and reinterpreted due to the conflict. Factions fought over politics and religion within the urban community which eroded solidarity. In the provinces of Holland and Brabant returning Calvinist exiles managed to secure high positions for themselves which led to conflicts with Catholic citizens. Priests feared for their lives, nuns were humiliated, and Catholics left cities.[35] After a siege or an urban conflict such as the *Schermersoproer* in 's-Hertogenbosch such internal conflicts needed to be put to rest. Both losers and winners of the conflict needed to be accommodated, unless one of the groups left the city, as the Calvinists did in 's-Hertogenbosch. In addition to the impact internal struggles had on the urban community, however, the Revolt also affected urban identity because the conflict played itself out in local power struggles. People experienced the war locally when they lived in a besieged city or had survived an attack or sack, ensuring that everyone in the community had memories of what happened and establishing that the primary place to remember was within the urban community.

<u>Oblivion and memory</u>

Why would an urban community in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Low Countries remember the Dutch Revolt? As we have seen research has demonstrated that the early phase of the conflict should be characterized as a civil war. Considering the discord within urban communities, it could perhaps have been a more natural reaction to forget rather than remember the past. Indeed, a first step to oblivion was taken in treaties such as the Pacification of Ghent in 1576, reconciliation treaties between cities and King Philip II of Spain in the 1570s and 1580s, and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. All these treaties included an article which stipulated that the past would be forgiven and forgotten.[36] Researchers believe that oblivion is not only an integral part of studying memory, but it may be considered as a normal practice, while the act of commemoration is the exception.[37] Several types of

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[34] Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 79-80; Paul Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer. De schutterijen in Holland, 1550-1700* (Hilversum 1994) 74, 79, 83-84; Nierop, 'De troon van Alva', 215–216.

[35] See for example in Leiden Pollmann, *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten*, 10.

[36] Paul Connerton, 'Seven types of forgetting', *Memory Studies* 1 (2008) 59-71, there 62; 'Pacificatie van Gent', via www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu / Nederlands / bronnen, consulted 22 March 2014; reconciliation treaty in Antwerp in 1585 *Articulen ende conditien vanden tractate, aenghegaen ende ghesloten tusschen den Prince van Parma ter eenre, ende de Stadt van Antwerpen ter andere syden* (Antwerp 1585).

[37] David Middleton and Derek Edwards (eds.), *Collective remembering* (London 1990) 8–9; Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Introduction: on the early modernity of modern memory', in: Erika Kuijpers et al (eds.) *Memory before modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 1-23, there 9; Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Why remember terror? Memories of violence in the Dutch Revolt', in: Micheal O'Siochru and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland 1641. Contexts*

forgetting have been introduced to understand how the practice of oblivion could help communities to interpret their past. In this context oblivion clauses, for instance, are considered 'prescriptive forgetting' since they were written into the peace treaty. It was in the interest of all parties to forget, and oblivion could be practiced openly. This meant that oblivion was not considered a 'loss', but rather a 'gain' which could also be used in the creation of a new identity in the city. Memories could be put aside if necessary, and new memories could be shared by anyone turning up.[38]

The importance of oblivion provides new insights into the practices of memory that did occur in the early modern community. Treaties such as the Pacification of Ghent were clearly meant to restore harmony and stability, but this did not mean that memories of the conflict disappeared from the urban community in either the Northern or the Southern Netherlands. Still, the presence of oblivion clauses add the questions of how the memories that did circulate should be interpreted and what parties or individuals were involved in advocating certain memories? Moreover, the additional question that will be discussed in this study is how oblivion and memory influenced urban identity. The way the two situations could influence a city's identity differed from city to city, but it is clear that whether or not a city remembered or forgot the recent past the Revolt was often included in an urban memory culture.

The inclusion of oblivion is a relatively recent development in the field of memory studies. Building on the ideas of such scholars as Frederick Bartlett and Maurice Halbwachs this field developed in the 1980s, posing questions such as how did people deal with the past in the present and how has this process changed over time.[39] Jan and Aleida Assmann have formulated influential definitions of what they call social and cultural memory. These concepts prove useful in analyzing processes of remembering and forgetting in societies.[40] On the social level memories are communicated through human interaction, and, on the cultural level, memory is 'carried' in different media. The 'communicative' phase can last around eighty years, based on the time span of three generations and their interaction. The 'cultural' can last much longer because it is based not on oral transmission in everyday life

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and Reactions (Manchester 2010) 176–196, there 177–178; Judith Pollmann, 'Acts of oblivion. The virtues of forgetting in early modern Europe', Lecture Dahlem Humanities Center, Berlin 7 November 2013.

[38] Connerton, 'Seven types', 62-63.

[39] James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social memory. New perspectives on the past* (Oxford 1992) ix–x; Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden van de Gouden Eeuw*, 5; Daniel Woolf, *The social circulation of the past. English historical culture, 1500-1730* (Oxford 2003) 271–272; Marek Tamm, 'Beyond History and Memory. New Perspectives in Memory Studies', *History Compass* 11 (2013) 458–473, there 458–460.

[40] Tamm, 'Beyond History and Memory', 461; Jan Assmann, 'Communicative and cultural memory', in: Astrid Erll and Ansgar Nünning (eds.), *Cultural memory studies. An international and interdisciplinary handbook* (Berlin 2008) 109–118, there 109–110.

but can live on through material means.[41] In 2008 literary scholar Astrid Erll used the concepts of the Assmanns as well as those of other historians, psychologists and sociologists to present a definition of cultural memory that could be used across the disciplines. She defined the concept as the 'interplay of present and past in socio-cultural contexts' which featured social, mental and material components.[42]

Memory scholars have increasingly become aware of the instrumental function objects can have in the communication and conceptualization of memories. They now realize that objects too have histories of their own and function in an 'ongoing process of remembrance and forgetting'.[43] Media are no longer considered as 'passive and transparent conveyors of information' but are seen as also 'caught up in a dynamics of their own'.[44] As Jan Assmann stated, objects may not have a mind of their own, but they do 'trigger our memory, because they carry memories which we have invested into them, things such as dishes, fests, rites, images, stories and other texts, landscapes, and other "lieux de mémoire"'.[45] Instead of as reflective and passive actors, objects are thus considered in a relationship with the people who owned them and their wider social, cultural and religious settings,[46] making them especially influential on a social level because groups that 'do not 'have' a memory tend to "make" themselves one by means of things meant as reminders'.[47] The variety of objects, their circulation and the interaction between objects and their surroundings have therefore recently taken center stage in memory research.[48]

Although the importance of media and objects has been recognized in memory research, for the early modern period it has yet to be studied. So far, the dynamics of memory have predominantly been studied on a national level, within the boundaries of the

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[41] Assmann, 'Communicative and cultural Memory', 109–111.

[42] Astrid Erll, 'Cultural memory studies. An introduction', in: Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning and Sara B. Young (eds.), *Cultural memory studies. An international and interdisciplinary handbook* (Berlin 2008) 1–18, there 2–4.

[43] Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney, 'Introduction. Cultural memory and its dynamics', in: Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (eds.), *Mediation, remediation and the dynamics of cultural memory* (Berlin 2009) 1–11, there 2.

[44] Ibidem, 3.

[45] Assmann, 'Communicative and cultural memory', 111.

[46] Chris Gosden, 'What do objects want?', *Journal of archaeological method and theory* 12 (2005) 193–211, there 196; Karen Harvey, 'Introduction', in: Karen Harvey (ed.), *History and material culture. A student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (London 2009) 1–23, there 4–7; Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson, 'Introduction', in: Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday objects. Medieval and early modern material culture and its meanings* (Burlington 2010) 1–23, there 23.

[47] Assmann, 'Communicative and cultural memory', 111; Paul Connerton, *How societies remember. Themes in the social sciences* (Cambridge 1989) 1.

[48] Erll and Rigney, 'Introduction. Cultural memory and its dynamics', 3; See also Andrew Jones, *Memory and material culture* (Cambridge 2007).

nation state.[49] As a result the early modern period was studied in the margins of memory studies, and authors often limited themselves to 'national' and / or textual sources.[50] Today, however, the nation state is no longer considered the 'natural container' for memory debates. The boundaries of memory studies have been challenged by the interest in global developments, while a counter movement created an urge to protect local forms of commemoration, all of which has resulted in an interest in local memory in the early modern period as well.[51] As we have already seen, scholars increasingly study urban memory in the Low Countries and in individual cities in other countries in Europe including Orléans, Augsburg, and Bristol.[52]

The interest in local memory in the early modern period also has had its effect on the media of memory that has been studied so far. The focus on the nation state went hand in hand with the uses of mass media such as newspapers, film, and radio. Of course, these sources did not exist in the early modern period, but other forms of media such as prints, pamphlets, and processions could still reach considerable audiences. People in the early modern period were well aware of what happened around them, even though the majority of the available media functioned on a local or regional level. Stakeholders in an urban community such as individual residents, the magistrate, the church and the guilds propagated their messages using all the available media in their multimedial community.[53] Moreover, how people remembered, when they did so and through which medium is an interconnected process.[54] The first generation, for instance, might use different media to spread their memories than the second generation. While the former wrote about what happened in a journal, the latter could transform this memory into a work of art.[55]

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[49] Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad, 'Introduction', in: Aleida Assmann and Sebastian Conrad (eds.), *Memory in a global age. Discourses, practices and trajectories* (Houndsmills 2010) 1–16, there 2; Pollmann and Kuijpers, 'Introduction', passim;

[50] See for example, David Cressy, *Bonfires and bells. National memory and the Protestant calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London 1989); Woolf, *The social circulation of the past*.

[51] Assmann and Conrad, 'Introduction', 1, 6; for example, Andy Wood, *The memory of the people: custom and popular senses of the past in early modern England* (Cambridge 2013).

[52] Andrew Spicer, '(Re)building the sacred landscape. Orleans, 1560-1610', *French History* 21 (2007) 247–268; Jonathan Barry and Kenneth Morgan, *Reformation and revival in eighteenth-century Bristol* (Bristol 1994); Sean Dunwoody, 'Civic and confessional memory in conflict. Augsburg in the sixteenth century', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 77-92.

[53] Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*, 39–40; Ramon Voges, 'Macht, Massaker und Repräsentationen. Darstellungen assymetrischer Gewalt in der Bildpublizistik Franz Hogenbergs', in: Jörg Baberowski and Gabriele Metzler (eds.), *Gewalträume. Soziale Ordnungen im Ausnahmezustand* (Frankfurt am Main 2012) 29–70, there 43; Pollmann and Kuijpers, 'Introduction', 7-14, 22.

[54] Astrid Erll, *Kollektives Gedächtnis und Erinnerungskulturen* (Stuttgart 2005) 123–125.

[55] James E. Young, 'The Texture of memory. Holocaust memorials in history', in: Astrid Erll, Ansgar Nünning and Sara B. Young (eds.), *Cultural memory studies. An international and interdisciplinary handbook* (Berlin 2008) 357–365, there 357.

Material culture and an urban memory landscape

In the early hours of 3 October 1574, the day of the relief of Leiden, citizen Gijsbert Schaeck found a cooking pot in the *Lammenschans* with a small layer of stew still in it (fig.2).[56] The pot had been left there by the Habsburg army which had decamped during the night. Gijsbert took the stew, or *hutspot*, home with him and cherished the pot for the rest of his life.[57] In 1641, when Jan Orlers published a second edition of his history of Leiden, Gijsbert's son Dirk testified that his father had found the pot while Dirk had composed and inscribed in the pot two rhymes that would connect the object to its finder forever.[58] In the eighteenth century the Van Assendelft family bought the relic of the siege from the Schaeck family to add it to their collection of Revolt memorabilia.[59] In 1777 it appeared prominently with a print in the fifth edition of Adrianus Severinus' book about the siege of Leiden.[60] In 1824 it was one of the prominent objects in the first exhibition of Revolt memorabilia in Leiden, and since 1838 it has been part of the permanent collection of city museum De Lakenhal.[61]

Fig.2 Cooking pot found in the *Lammenschans* in Leiden on 3 October 1574 (Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden).

The cooking pot is just one example of the kind of objects that were either kept or commissioned to commemorate the Dutch Revolt. As a relic of the siege of Leiden the pot was cherished by two families before being displayed in the local museum. Not only did the pot reveal a long-term interest in the Revolt and objects connected to the relief of Leiden, but its history also demonstrates how this relic had become part of the city's identity. In the seventeenth century a story of starvation during the siege of Leiden was propagated

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[56] Anonymous, Bronzen kookpot of hutspot, before 1574, bronze, Museum De Lakenhal Leiden, inv nr 3346.

[57] Marianne Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld. Relieken van Leidens ontzet', *Leids jaarboekje* 103 (2011) 33–47, there 34–36; Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel', 129.

[58] J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden* (Leiden 1641) 536.

[59] D.E.H. de Boer, De anti-held uit het Jacop Foppen slop' in: Ingrid W.L. Moerman and R.C.J. van Maanen (eds.), *Leiden. Eeuwig feest* (Leiden 1986) 23.

[60] Adrianus Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving van de belegering en 't ontzet der stad Leiden* (5th edition; Leiden 1777) 128–129.

[61] C. Seyn, *Catalogus van oudheden en bijzonderheden, betreffende het beleg en ontzet der stad Leyden* (Leiden 1824) 42; Regionaal Archief Leiden (RAL), Stadsarchief van Leiden, SA III (1816-1929), inv nr 4397, 'Afschrift van een door de stadsarchitect opgemaakte lijst van kunstvoorwerpen door Burgemeester en Wethouders in bewaring genomen van mej. M.S.Th. de Wildt en geborgen op de charterkamer van het stadhuis, 1838'.

by Leiden's magistrate. During the annual celebration of the relief people therefore celebrated the feeding of the population by eating together. The pot was a symbol of the starvation from which the city had suffered. In the eighteenth century the pot was literally connected to this story, when eating stew became a tradition during the annual celebrations on 3 October.[62] Moreover, the pot is an example of the wide range of objects that were immediately related to the Dutch Revolt. Even ordinary objects – like a cooking pot – could become and remain symbols of the recent past in an urban memory culture.

In order to interpret objects as part of historical research it is necessary to monitor the different stages in the life of an object and to analyze its impact on its surroundings. For this purpose the notion of a 'cultural biography' was introduced in 1986.[63] In this theory every object has a life during which it is produced, exchanged, and consumed, a process that can be repeated several times.[64] If we look at the pot, its biography can be retraced from the early stages of the Revolt until it became part of a museum collection. From an ordinary cooking pot it became a relic and finally a collectable. Every new phase in the object's life could be accompanied by the addition of new meaning.[65]

It is this accumulation of meaning that can make objects actors in memory cultures. When it passed down through several generations, its owner as well as its meaning changed. Indeed, the object would evoke different memories for its original owner than for anyone else. In this case the Spanish soldier would probably not have any recollection of the pot while Gijsbert cherished it. Yet, it was not Gijsbert but his son Dirk who added two poems to the pot to honor his father's memory and to claim his father's contribution to the relief of Leiden. For Dirk the object itself was thus not enough, so he added a new layer of authenticity to it by inscribing the poems in the pot which made it impossible to remove Gijsbert's story from the object. Dirk's decisions to include the story in Orlers' history and to add the poems ensured the pot's place in Leiden's urban memory culture. Without these additions the pot could have been lost because the story would have become untraceable.

An object's story was its most valuable asset in an urban memory culture. This does not mean that an object could not survive without a story, but its authenticity and value depended greatly on both its provenance and the credibility of the story that accompanied it. It is more difficult to identify objects as part of an urban memory culture when the stories associated

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[62] Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld', 34–36; Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel', 129.
[63] Igor Kopytoff, 'The cultural biography of things. Commoditization as process', in: Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things. Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge 1986) 64–91; Arjun Appadurai, 'Introduction. Commodities and the politics of value', in: Arjun Appadurai (ed.), *The social life of things. Commodities in cultural perspective* (Cambridge 1986) 3–63; Dannehl, Karin, 'Object biographies: from production to consumption', in: Karen Harvey (ed.) *History and material culture. A student's guide to approaching alternative sources* (London 2009) 123-138, there 133.
[64] Appadurai, 'Introduction', 3.
[65] Chris Gosden and Yvonne Marshall, 'The Cultural Biography of Objects', *World archaeology* 31 (1999) 169–178, there 174–176.

with them no longer survive.[66] It has also been argued that objects, and especially relics, should be seen as masters of disguise; because of their familiarity, they can remain 'invisible and unremarked upon' until someone chooses to invoke them.[67] Therefore whether or not an object can be connected to its original context of the Dutch Revolt depends on extant documentation.

In addition to an immediate connection to the Revolt, however, objects could also be connected to earlier events people remembered or to the mythological or biblical past. Such connections influenced not only the original story related to the object but also its physical appearance. In this process memories or experiences from the past can determine the way new episodes are interpreted in the present and the future. This process of 'premediation' and 'remediation' influences the form memories take.[68] For instance, to interpret an invasion executed through cunning one would refer to a Trojan horse because that ruse was already a familiar reference. When a city had been besieged there were multiple biblical references available such as the sieges of Jerusalem and Samaria by the Assyrians, or the stories of Esther and Judith and Holofernes from the Old Testament. Finally, the rescue of Andromeda by Perseus was an interesting comparison for cities that remarked upon their own rescue during the Revolt.[69]

The interrelationship between objects and stories has made memory scholars as well as historians increasingly aware of the uses of objects in their research. While research on 'popular antiquities' had been part of historical research until the 1920s, in the second half of the twentieth century material sources had often been left to anthropologists, archeologists

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[66] See for the recreation of the 'lives' of objects Jody Joy, 'Reinvigorating object biography. Reproducing the drama of object lives', *World archaeology* 41 (2009) 540–556, there 454 and for their autonomous relationship to the past John Dixon Hunt, 'The Sign of the Object', in: Steven Lubar and W. David Kingery (eds), *History from things. Essays on material culture* (Washington 1993) 293–298, there 293–294; Henry Glassie, *Material culture* (Bloomington 1999) 1–7, 46, 85; Jody Joy, 'Reinvigorating object biography. Reproducing the drama of object lives', *World archaeology* 41 (2009) 540–556, there 454.

[67] Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge 2010) 50.

[68] Astrid Erll, 'Remembering across Time, Space, and Cultures: Premediation, Remediation and the 'Indian Mutiny'', in: Astrid Erll and Ann Rigney (eds.), *Mediation, Remediation, and the Dynamics of Cultural Memory* (Berlin 2009) 109-138, there 111; Erll adopted the terminology of premediation and remediation from David J. Bolter and Richard Grusin, *Remediation. Understanding new media* (Cambridge 1999) and Richard Grusin, 'Premediation', *Criticism* 46 (2004) 17-39; It has also been described as 'multidirectional memory' in context of the Holocaust. Michael Rothberg, *Multidirectional memory. Remembering the Holocaust in the age of decolonization* (Stanford 2009).

[69] Marianne Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse. Memories of the Dutch Revolt in Breda, 1590-1650', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 129–147, 130; Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* II: the North (Amsterdam 2011) 270; Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* II: the South (Amsterdam 2011) 532–534; Maurits Sabbe, 'De Andromeda-sage als politieke allegorie', in: *Album opgedragen aan prof.dr. J. Vercoullie* II (Brussels 1927) 235-239.

and folklorists.[70] Yet, from around the 1990s objects have returned to the historian's research agenda propelled by an interest in everyday life and microstoria, but also through the rise of disciplines such as material culture and memory studies.[71] The history of material culture has been considered as the 'object-based branch of cultural history' which includes every man-made object and cultivated forms of nature.[72] Historians integrate objects into their research in two ways. The first is a quantitative approach which focuses on inventories and artifacts in the household.[73] The second, which is also employed here, is the qualitative method which uses objects as an additional source in historical research.

According to historian Leora Auslander, the expansion of sources through the integration of objects has led to a change 'in the very nature of the questions we are able to pose' about the past,[74] as can be seen in the subjects that are now being studied by historians. Objects were first used for historical research on topics for which textual sources could be scarce. For instance, scholars who worked on the Middle Ages and / or on subjects such as taste, consumption, the history of science and everyday domestic life in the pre-modern era have started to use objects and commodities in their research.[75] More recently, material culture in the early modern world has come to receive much more attention from across the disciplines.[76] Art history is now often employed by historians to think about objects and their impact on their surrounding world. The newest development involves the 'geography of

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[70] For example Johan Huizinga, *Herfsttij der middeleeuwen. Studie over levens- en gedachtervormen der veertiende en vijftiende eeuw in Frankrijk en de Nederlanden* (12th edition; Groningen 1973) xi; Jacob Burckhardt, *The civilization of the Renaissance in Italy* (2nd edition; London 2004) 4–5; Peter Burke, 'History and folklore. A historiographical survey', *Folklore* 115 (2004) 133–139, there 133–134.

[71] Peter Burke, *What is cultural history?* (2nd edition; Cambridge 2008) 10–16; Paula Findlen, 'Early modern Romans and their things', in: Renata Ago, translated by Bradford Bouley and Corey Tazzara, *Gusto for things. A history of objects in seventeenth-century Rome* (Chicago 2013) there xxix–xxx; Harvey, 'Introduction', 3.

[72] Steven Lubar and W.D. Kingery, *History from things. Essays on material culture* (Washington 1993) 1; See also Jules Prown, *Art as evidence. Writings on art and material culture* (New Haven 2002).

[73] An early example of this approach is Hester Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit. Materiële cultuur in Doesburg en Maassluis 1650-1800* (Amsterdam 1998); Bruno Blondé and Veerle de Laet, 'Owning paintings and changes in consumer preferences in the Low Countries, seventeenth-eighteenth centuries', in: Neil De Marchi and Hans van Miegroet (eds.), *Mapping markets for paintings in Europe 1450-1750* (Turnhout 2006) 69–84; Veerle de Laet, *Brussel binnenskamers. Kunst- en luxebezit in het spanningsveld tussen hof en stad, 1600-1735* (Amsterdam 2011).

[74] Leora Auslander, 'Beyond Words', *The American historical review* 110 (2005) 1015–1045, there 1015, 1027–1044; Leora Auslander, *Cultural revolutions . Everyday life and politics in Britain, North America, and France* (Berkeley 2009).

[75] For example Peter Stallybrass, 'Fetishizing the Glove in Renaissance Europe', *Critical inquiry* 28 (2001) 114–132; Evelyn Welch, *Shopping in the Renaissance. Consumer cultures in Italy 1400-1600* (New Haven 2005); Jennie Batchelor and Cora Kaplan, *Women and material culture, 1660-1830* (Basingstoke 2007); Harold John Cook, *Matters of exchange commerce, medicine, and science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven 2007); Amanda Vickery, *Behind closed doors. At home in Georgian England* (New Haven 2009); Renata Ago, *Gusto for Things. A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome* (Chicago 2013).

[76] Margaret Burland, *Meaning and its objects. Material culture in medieval and Renaissance France* (New Haven 2006); Tara Hamling and Catherine Richardson (eds.), *Everyday objects. Medieval and early modern material culture and its meanings* (Burlington 2010); Paula Findlen (ed.), *Early modern things. Objects and their histories, 1500-1800* (London 2013).

objects' which considers artifacts in their global setting.[77] Finally, scholars include objects in research in the field of cultural heritage which covers the early modern period as well. In fact, the preservation of and attention to all sorts of heritage in the present and the interest in how (museum) collections were assembled have increased the interest in the material memories that are discussed in this study.[78]

Besides the objects in particular, however, the environment in which they circulate has also become subject to research, through the concept 'memory landscape'. The English term memory landscape was introduced in 2000 by historian Rudi Koshar who integrated the 'physical environment' into his work on national memory in Germany.[79] His concept was soon adopted by other scholars writing usually in a national, German context.[80] The connection between memory and landscape was not new, but his inclusion of the built environment represented an addition to the existing interest in natural (man-made) landscapes.[81] Subsequently, this literal interpretation of 'landscape' was extended to archeological research on battlefields and cemeteries.[82]

A recent study of Venice has revealed the feasibility of studying the changes to the memory landscape on an urban level for the early modern period.[83] Other scholars, although not mentioning the concept itself, have conducted similar research based on the built environment and explored its contributions to local cultural life.[84] Some have added a new term such as 'relic landscape'.[85] Historian Dagmar Freist recently introduced the concept 'glocal memoryscape' to describe the 'interplay of local and translocal influences of memory'. This concept was first introduced to understand the landscape as part of culture, emotion

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[77] Findlen, *Early modern things*, 15.

[78] See for example the contributions of Sandra Langereis, Frans Grijzenhout and F. Ketelaar to Frans Grijzenhout (ed.), *Erfgoed. Geschiedenis van een begrip* (Amsterdam 2007).

[79] Rudy Koshar, *From monuments to traces. Artifacts of German memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley 2000) 9; see for this concept in literature also Michael Niedermeier, *Erinnerungslandschaft und Geheimwissen. Inszenierte Memoria und Politische Symbolik in der Deutschen Literatur und den anderen Künsten (1650-1850) mit Ausblicken auf die Englische und Italienische Literatur* (Berlin 2007).

[80] Jennifer Jordan, *Structures of memory. Understanding urban change in Berlin and beyond* (Stanford 2006); Joshua Hagen, *Preservation, tourism and nationalism. The jewel of the German past* (Aldershot 2006); Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and medieval memory. War, remembrance and medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940* (Cambridge 2007).

[81] A famous example is Simon Schama, *Landscape and memory* (New York 1995).

[82] Nicholas J. Saunders, 'Memory and Conflict', in: Victor Buchli (ed.), *Material culture reader* (Oxford 2002) 175–180; Stephanie Yuhl, *A golden haze of memory. The making of historic Charleston* (Chapel Hill 2005); Udo Hebel, *Transnational American memories* (Berlin 2009).

[83] Iain Fenlon, *The ceremonial city. History, memory and myth in renaissance Venice* (New Haven 2007).

[84] Spicer, '(Re)building the sacred landscape'; James Palmitessa, *Material culture & daily life in the new city of Prague in the age of Rudolf II* (New York 1997).

[85] Eric Nelson, *The legacy of iconoclasm. Religious war and the relic landscape of Tours, Blois and Vendôme, 1550 - 1750* (St Andrews 2013).

and memory in human geography.[86] In this study, however, I have opted to use the term memory landscape because that term incorporates both the physical as well as the mental dimension of an urban memory culture.

<u>Urban memory cultures of the Dutch Revolt</u>

Each memory culture in an urban community in the Low Countries was different, but the conflict was the same: the Dutch Revolt. The way communities had experienced the war, the encounters the population had gone through, and how these related to those of surrounding cities became the key ingredients of individual memory cultures across the Low Countries. Yet, memories were shared not only in the city but also on national and personal levels.[87] Jasper van der Steen has successfully argued that both in the Northern and the Southern provinces two separate 'canons' of the Revolt became visible as the Northern provinces formed the Dutch Republic in 1588 while the Southern provinces reconciled with King Philip II. As a result, in the North the Revolt was generally remembered as a war of independence against a foreign overlord while in the South the troubles were referred to as a fight against heresy, and continuity between the present and the past was emphasized.[88] These memories may not have determined but definitely influenced the way local stories about the Revolt were construed locally and embedded in regional networks.

On a personal level Erika Kuijpers has demonstrated that memories of war not only had large impact on people's lives, but these were also embedded in stories of martyrdom, heroism and suffering. Moreover, the victims of the war were inclined to tell their stories only if they felt secure.[89] Johannes Müller has shown that exiles blended their own memories of the Revolt with those of their 'host societies', and commemorated exile and included a migrant's new position and identity.[90] Personal stories thus influenced participation and interaction within an urban memory culture.

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[86] Dagmar Freist, 'Lost in time or space? Glocal memoryscapes in the early modern world', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 203–221, there 208.

[87] These levels have been studied as part of the larger research project *Tales of the Revolt. Memory, oblivion and identity in the Low Countries, 1566-1700* supervised by Judith Pollmann, of which this dissertation forms part.

[88] Jasper van der Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014) 96-97.

[89] Erika Kuijpers, 'The creation and development of social memories of traumatic events. The Oudewater Massacre of 1575' in: Michael Linden and Krzysztof Rutkowski (eds.), *Hurting memories: remembering as a pathogenic process in individuals and societies* (London 2013) 191-201; Erika Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling and patriotic scripture. The memory brokers of the Dutch Revolt', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 183–202; Pollmann and Kuijpers, 'Why remember terror'.

[90] Johannes Müller, 'Exile memories and the Dutch Revolt. The narrated diaspora 1550-1750' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014) 181.

The personal dimension was a substantial part of the urban experience, and many of the material memories of the Revolt were made individually, but appeared in the public memory landscape. Gable stones, for example, were commissioned not only by local magistrates but also by individual citizens who adorned their home with episodes from the Revolt. An urban memory culture was sensitive to both personal and supralocal developments. Therefore a comparison between the Northern and the Southern Netherlands is a pivotal element in this research. After all, if urban memory cultures were influenced by national memories, this influence may explain differences between the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands. Yet, because communities also very much acted autonomously, there are similarities between cities that cross the borders of both states as well.

Offering a comparative approach this study is presented in two parts. The first part focuses primarily on the material memories of the Revolt or the multimedia aspect of commemoration after the conflict. The second part discusses the stakeholders who were involved in the practices of memory and offers an insight into the long-term development of urban memory cultures of the Revolt. This distinction between material memories and stakeholders provides the reader with an understanding both of the way these memories functioned within an urban community and how these memories interacted within the complexity of an urban memory culture. Finally, the first and the second parts offer two different approaches to the material due to the availability of sources.

Because the first part focuses the variety of material sources, it largely depends on the availability of objects and on the supposition that much of what had been commissioned, kept and collected during and after the Revolt is either still there or can be retraced through documentation. What is lost or never written about is therefore excluded. The source material consists of a combination of original objects, (online) databases, inventories, provenance records, archival documentation, chorographies and auction catalogues. In practice, objects were either found in the present, and retraced to the past, or found in the past. The first type of objects involved additional research into nineteenth- and twentieth-century (local) journals in order to uncover more information about an accompanying story and its authenticity; the second type was immediately usable as material memory of the Revolt. In both cases this study relied heavily on the digitalization of archival and museum collections across the Netherlands, Belgium, and France as well as large collections elsewhere in Europe and the United States.[91] Searchable inventories and notarial deeds have proven a particularly important resource.[92]

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[91] For example databases such as www.erfgoedplus.be, www.vlaamsekunstcollectie.be, MovE (Musea Oost Vlaanderen in Ontwikkeling) and www.collectieantwerpen.be in Belgium; Joconde (portail des collections musées de France) in France; www.collectiegelderland.nl, www.thuisinbrabant.nl, www.beeldbank-nh.nl and www.maritiemdigitaal.nl, and individual museums such as the Rijksmuseum, Catharijneconvent and Teylers Museum. Other museums include the collections of the

In this approach it has never been my intention to provide an exhaustive overview, but rather to open a conversation about sharing how the memorabilia of the Revolt can be interpreted as part of a memory culture. Hopefully this effort will inspire local (heritage) experts to find, and or reinterpret, Revolt memorabilia in their own museums and archives. In addition, the problem with dating memorabilia should be addressed here. The majority of the objects have been connected to the episode they depict, while in reality they may have been created many years later. My study hopefully reveals the necessity to rethink the dating of this type of memorabilia.

The first part of the study has used material from all over the Low Countries. To order the material three chapters have been created which demonstrate the multimediality of memories across the provinces and show an insight into the way these memories took up their places in urban memory cultures. The first chapter discusses the most basic layer of an urban memory landscape. In chapter one the places and spaces of memory take center stage, including the buildings and other physical aspects of the landscape that were demolished or destroyed during the war. Much of this destruction took place in the early years of the Revolt, with iconoclasm as an ultimate act of violence, but sieges also took their toll on the physical landscape. The second chapter centers around a specific category of objects that changed meaning during the Revolt: relics of war. Both traditional and new relics ranging from official relics of saints to banners and cannonballs will be discussed and compared with reference to integrating experiences of war into urban identity. In chapter three Revolt memorabilia such as medals and other rewards will be explored and interpreted in an urban and private setting. In this final chapter of part one, objects that were specially created to remember the Revolt take center stage. These memories could be very private and be kept at home as status symbols or reminders of stories that existed outside the official urban memory culture.

The second part focuses on stakeholders, their interaction in and beyond an urban memory culture and the dynamics of memories over the long term. Whereas the first part discusses places, spaces, relics and memorabilia and their immediate impact in an urban landscape, the long-term developments of material memories within their urban context is explored in more detail in the second part. To study the long term effectively three cities were selected, which each developed a different memory culture during the Revolt: 's-Hertogenbosch, Haarlem and Antwerp. These cities had in common that they had joined the Revolt at some point and all suffered from a long siege, but they made (or were forced to make) different decisions on whether or not to pursue the rebellion. These three cities are

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Prado in Madrid, Deutsches Historisches Museum in Berlin, and the British Museum and Victoria and Albert Museum in London.
[92] For example Stadsarchief Rotterdam, and Het Utrechts Archief, but also the Getty Provenance Index, and the Montias Database.

located in Holland and Brabant, two of the most urbanized regions in the Low Countries, while Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch were in the frontline of the Revolt for the majority of the war (map 1).
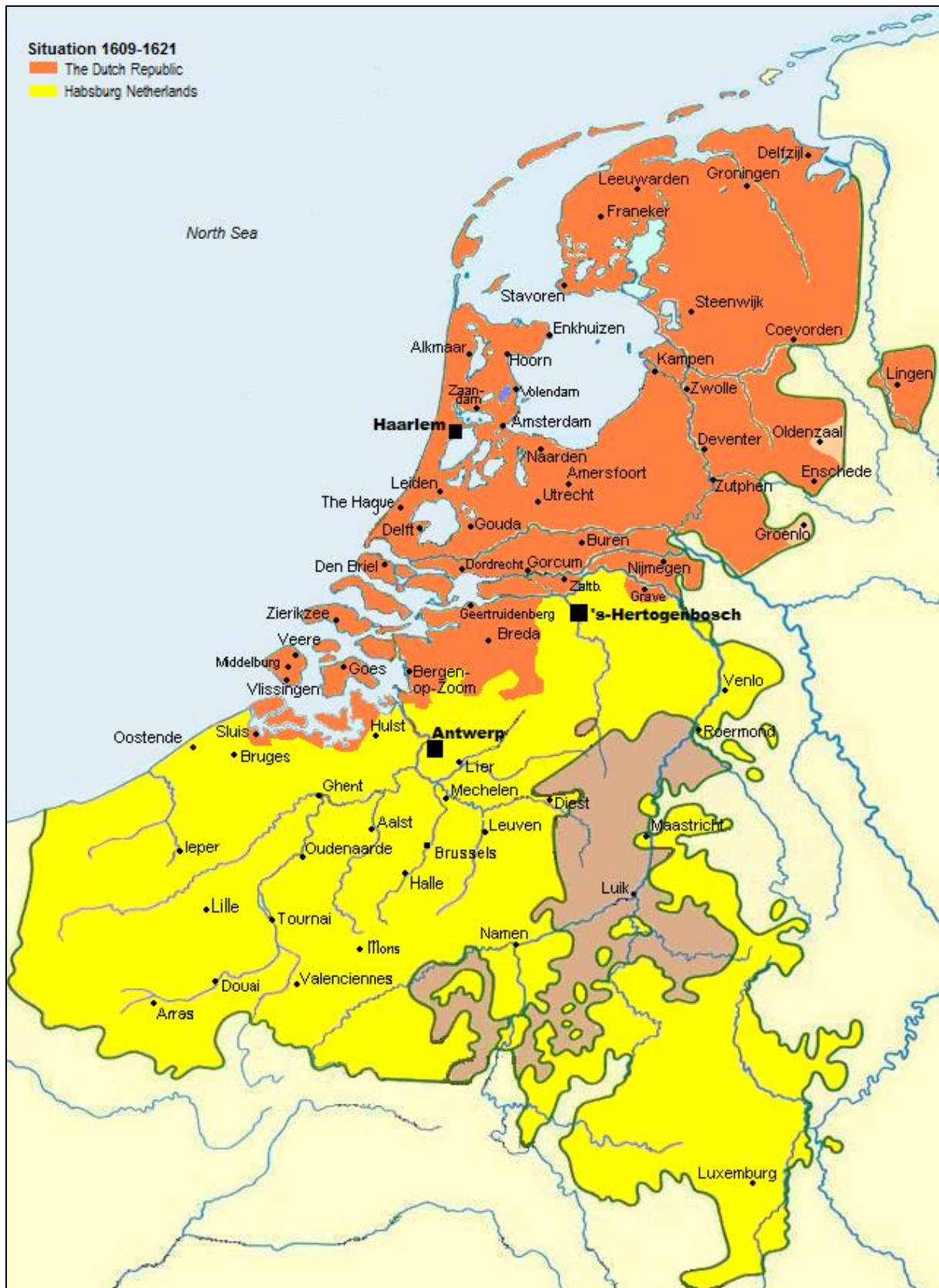
Map 1 Map of the Low Countries.

After a severe outbreak of iconoclasm in 1566 's-Hertogenbosch was punished for its insurrection with a garrison and a governor. In 1576, after the garrison left the city following the Pacification of Ghent, Calvinists secured influence in the city. On 1 July 1579 the Calvinists were expelled, and the city rejoined the Habsburg Netherlands in December of the same year. From that moment onwards 's-Hertogenbosch was a loyal city to the crown until it was conquered by the Dutch Stadholder Frederik Hendrik in 1629. Haarlem joined the Revolt in 1572, but was forced to surrender to the Habsburg army in July 1573 after a long siege. In 1577, after the Pacification of Ghent, the city rejoined the rebel provinces. Antwerp was sacked in 1576, in the so-called Spanish Fury, and was ruled by a Calvinist regime between 1577 and 1585. In 1585 the city resurrendered to Governor Alexander Farnese and remained part of the Habsburg Netherlands for the remainder of the Dutch Revolt. Haarlem, on the other hand, did not experience war after 1577. Albeit on a smaller scale, several other cities will be discussed as well, including Leiden, Breda, Leuven and Groningen. Leiden is particularly interesting because of its extensive memory culture following the relief of the city in 1574. Breda, situated in the frontier, changed sides several times during the Revolt. Leuven celebrated its loyalty to the Habsburg regime and was besieged in 1635. Groningen organized festivities to remember the city had joined the Dutch Republic in 1594.

The second part again consists of three chapters preceded by a short introduction to demonstrate the diversity of stakeholders, in the urban memory culture of one city, Leiden. Chapter four discusses the role of stakeholders such as the magistrate, the church and the militia companies in urban memory cultures. Moreover, it explores the role of stakeholders in complex memory cultures and focuses on material memories against the background of urban ceremonial and performative media such as plays and sermons. Chapter five looks at the urban memory culture from the position of the city in its regional network with a focus on chorographies. Cities were usually in competition with surrounding rivals and therefore reflected on the Revolt or omitted it from their recent past to make themselves look good on a supralocal level. Finally chapter six discusses what happened to both urban memory cultures of the Revolt and the Revolt memorabilia after 1648. In this chapter material memories and stakeholders are jointly considered in the light of the centenaries which started after 1666 and the musealization of the available memorabilia after the peace treaty had been signed.

Part 1

Material Memories

Marianne Eekhout

Chapter 1 – Changing the urban memory landscape

In 1744 town chronicler Thomas van Goor published a history of Breda in which he recorded the following about an important episode during the Revolt, a cunning attack executed by a peat barge

> One still sees today on the east side of that canal, near the back-court of the castle, some blue stones protruding from the wall, as a memorial, so people say, that the peat barge has lain at that place.[93]

In 1590 the city of Breda had been captured by the Dutch Stadholder Maurits, prince of Orange. The city's garrison had been overpowered by a group of soldiers, who had entered the city while hiding in a peat barge. Despite other encounters with war during the sieges of 1625 and 1637, and the lack of involvement of the population, the story of the peat barge remained the most popular episode in Breda.[94] As Van Goor described, several stones in the castle walls situated the Revolt at a specific location within the city. While the rudder of the barge was also put on display inside the castle, the castle and specifically this wall were a place of memory in their own right. Indeed, the stones became one of the tourist attractions of Breda.[95]

As the wall of the castle of Breda demonstrates, the Dutch Revolt was remembered not only in words or objects but also in *lieux de mémoire* in the most literal sense of the word.[96] The wall symbolized the place where the soldiers entered the castle: it was a place of memory. In urban memory cultures places such as these played an important part in the commemoration of the Revolt. In a particular location such as a church, square or town hall, the population would be reminded of what had happened there in two ways: by people who shared stories about a particular place and by markers such as gable stones, inscriptions and columns. Of course, not every place of memory referred to the Revolt alone; some also corresponded with sites that commemorated earlier wars and rebellions. In the church of Our

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[93] 'Men ziet nog heden aan de Oost-zyde van die gracht, omtrent den agter-hof van ''t Kasteel, eenige blaauwe arduin-steenen in den muur uitsteken, tot een gedenk-teken, zoo men zegt, dat 't Turf-schip there heeft gelegen.' Thomas van Goor, *Beschryving der stadt en lande van Breda. Behelzende de oudheid van het graafschap stryen, deszelfs eerste bewoonderen, en oude gestalte, met een historisch verhael van het leven der graven van Stryen, en daar op gevolgde heeren van Breda* (Breda 1744) 63.
[94] Marianne Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse. Memories of the Dutch Revolt in Breda, 1590-1650', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 129–147, passim.
[95] Edward Brown, *Naukeurige en gedenkwaardige reysen van Edward Brown* (Amsterdam 1682) 34; See for other travellers C.D. van Strien, *British travellers in Holland during the Stuart period. Edward Browne and John Locke as tourists in the United Provinces* (Leiden 1993) 175.
[96] See for example Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History. Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations* 26 (1989) 7–24, there 18–19.

Lady in Halle near Brussels, for instance, an inscription and a collection of cannonballs was put on display to memorialize the attacks on the city in both 1489 and 1580.[97] An annual procession in the Southern city of Leuven still commemorated the defeat of the Vikings in Leuven in 891.[98] Places connected to the Revolt therefore added another layer to the already existing memory landscape in cities in the Low Countries.

The aim of this chapter is to map the civic memory landscape on the streets and to connect the physical reminders in the landscape to the people who used spaces and places to commemorate the Revolt. The landscape was the most public and easily accessible place of commemoration. The war damage, but also the addition and removal of buildings, sculptures, and citadels, remained visible and accessible for everyone.[99] From citizens to tourists, rich to poor, and Catholic to Protestant, all were confronted with the Revolt on street level, making the physical aspect of an urban memory landscape, and what it portrayed, something to think about within the civic community. Altering the already existing memory landscape could therefore represent an act of forgetting or commemoration.

Before examining the impact of the Revolt, however, we should consider the religious changes in the sixteenth century, which left a definite and permanent impression on the physical surroundings in the city. During the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation the existing 'sacred' landscape across Europe underwent significant alterations.[100] Protestants rejected much of the 'material culture of holiness' such as rituals, relics and hosts, but they were unable to ban all elements of Catholic practice from the civic community. Not only did burials continue to take place in and around churches, with bells still tolling to call them to worship; sometimes it took several decades before church buildings were adapted to the new situation.[101] The Protestant reinterpretation of sacred space, however, did have a lasting impact on the existing landscape. Whereas Catholics considered the church space itself

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[97] Remy Janssens, *Halle 700 jaar Mariastad* (Halle 1964) 125–126.

[98] Meg Twycross, 'Worthy women of the old testament. The ambachtvrouwen of the Leuven ommegang', in: Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé (eds.), *Urban theatre in the Low Countries, 1400-1625* (Turnhout 2006) 221–250, there 221–222.

[99] See for an example of the military impact of war in cities across Europe Martha Pollak, *Cities at war in early modern Europe* (Cambridge 2010) 233.

[100] Alexandra Walsham, 'The sacred landscape', in: Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven (eds.), *The Ashgate research companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham 2013) 203–223, there 203–209.

[101] C.A. van Swigchem, T. Brouwer and W. van Os, *Een huis voor het Woord. Het protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* (The Hague 1984) 151; Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the holy. The delineation of sacred space', in: Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Defining the holy. Sacred space in medieval and early modern Europe* (Aldershot 2005) 1–23, there 8–9, 19–21; Will Coster and Andrew Spicer, (eds.), *Sacred space in early modern Europe* (Cambridge 2005) 4–9; See for example for Bruges Jens Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II. De rol van het stadsbestuur in de constructie van de katholieke stadsgemeenschap (1584-1598)' (Thesis Ghent University 2010), passim, via www.lib.ugent.be.

sacred, processions and pilgrimages also included the secular space outside the building.[102] Without these rituals the landscape would be transformed.

The Catholic response to the Reformation was to re-sanctify the landscape. Yet, the efforts of returning sacrality to the landscape consisted of more than a simple restoration of the past. When regions such as Bavaria, Switzerland, and Austria reverted to Catholic regimes, the Counter-Reformation inspired them to bring in new relics from Rome, rehabilitate sacred spaces and add new elements to the landscape. In Bohemia, for instance, the Charles Bridge was adorned with new statues of saints to celebrate the return of the Catholic faith. In French cities that had suffered from Protestants during the wars of religion not only were religious buildings rebuilt, but statues of a heroine such as Jeanne d'Arc, who was celebrated as Catholic defender of the city, and others who had defended the Catholic faith, were re-instated.[103]

In the Low Countries it was the combination of the Reformation and the Revolt that caused significant alterations to the existing civic memory landscape. Their religious, social and political implications had had a devastating impact on the physical surroundings. Buildings, statues and paintings were demolished, destroyed, and removed, which did not mean, however, that commemoration stopped. The damage that had been done to buildings such as churches was usually visible for decades before they were rebuilt, or it was cleared away. In their damaged state, and probably because of it, these buildings also served as powerful places of memory of the Revolt.[104] In the Dutch Republic Catholics, for instance, continued to visit the sites of demolished chapels and churches to celebrate mass or to commemorate the past.[105] Even with no visible traces of the past left standing, these places still reminded people of the Revolt.

In addition to the physical alterations such as the appearance of streets where statues, buildings and other objects had once stood, the traditional occupation of public space changed as well. In the Dutch Republic and during Calvinist regimes processions were curtailed and abolished, while in the Habsburg Netherlands they were sometimes rerouted out of fear for the safety of relics or because churches along the route had been

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[102] Hamilton and Spicer, 'Defining the holy', 11–13.

[103] Walsham, 'The sacred landscape', 203–209; Howard Louthan, *Converting Bohemia. Force and persuasion in the Catholic Reformation* (New York 2009) 166–170; Andrew Spicer, '(Re)building the sacred landscape. Orleans, 1560-1610', *French History* 21 (2007) 247–268, there 248–251, 265–266; Eric Nelson, *The legacy of iconoclasm. Religious war and the relic landscape of Tours, Blois and Vendôme, 1550 - 1750* (St Andrews 2013).

[104] Carol Janson, 'Public places, private lives. The impact of the Dutch Revolt on the Reformed churches in Holland', in: Arthur K. Wheelock (ed.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 181–190, there 192–193.

[105] Willem Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle in a Catholic minority. The United Provinces in the seventeenth century', in: Willem Frijhoff, *Embodied belief. Ten essays on religious culture in Dutch history* (Hilversum 2002) 111–136, there 112–113.

demolished.[106] Even the routes of Joyous Entries, which had been the same for decades, could be altered. In the Southern Netherlands such rerouting occurred during Governor Alexander Farnese's successful military campaign in the 1580s to 'reconcile' many rebel cities with the crown. In 1584 when he conquered the Flemish city of Bruges, which had been governed by Calvinists for several years, he decided to enter the city via a nontraditional gate. Moreover, in the same year he chose not to enter Ghent after he ended the Calvinist regime there because he wanted to focus on the siege of Antwerp which was already under way and would last until 1585.[107] Even so, the magistrates of Ghent let the decorations stay in place for more than a year.[108] During this year the constant presence of the entry decorations reminded Ghent of the Revolt.

Changes to the traditional uses of space were complemented by specific locations that could play a part in the commemoration of the Revolt, such as the castle where the soldiers entered a city, or the tree where the first Calvinist service had been held.[109] A story could also inspire people to reverse this process. Instead of letting the location evoke certain memories, the story itself was connected to a place that would become famous for it. The gable stones that commemorated the battle of the Zuiderzee in Hoorn in Holland, for instance, represented the battle but not in its exact location.[110] They were commissioned by a home-owner who wanted to transform his house into a place of memory of the Revolt, a mission in which he succeeded since his home became known for its gable stones.

This type of transformation of the physical urban landscape as part of the commemoration of the Revolt is the subject of this chapter. Despite the differences between the Northern and Southern Netherlands, the changes in the landscape have been considered thematically. Both Protestant and Catholic cities and Northern and Southern cities will be discussed comparatively to answer the question how and for what reasons the landscape altered due to the Revolt. For clarification of the locations of the multiple cities treated in this chapter, please refer to the map (map 2). The first part will consider the alterations to the physical landscape due to the ecclesiastical changes in the Low Countries which the Revolt brought about. The second part will then focus on the way groups such as Catholics in the Dutch Republic regarded their lost heritage. Finally, the third part will discuss the civic environment in relation to the changes in house and street names. Not only were these

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[106] Margit Thøfner, *A common art. Urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle 2007) 115; Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 123–126, 137–138, 141–142.

[107] Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 94–95, 99.

[108] Johan Decavele (ed.), *Het eind van een rebelse droom* (Ghent 1984) 124.

[109] F.A. van Lieburg and H.A. Duinen, *Calvijn en Dordrecht. Plaatsen van herinnering* (Dordrecht 2009) 8.

[110] H. Overbeek, *Hoornse gevelstenen en andere huistekens. Een geschiedenis in steen en hout* (Hoorn 2008) 148–150.

inspired by events during the Revolt, but they literally shifted the existing memories from the mind to the streets.

Map 2 Map places of memory.

The memorialization of destruction

The religious changes in the Low Countries and especially the iconoclasm during the Revolt involved a transformation of the traditional urban landscape. In 1566 a first wave of iconoclasm started in Flanders and hit the majority of cities in the Low Countries. In the 1570s and 1580s, however, many cities would suffer from iconoclasm (again) when Protestant regimes were installed. In the Dutch Republic these changes often proved permanent after the 1570s, but in the Habsburg Netherlands a period of Calvinist regimes in cities in Brabant and Flanders ended in 1585 when Antwerp fell to Alexander Farnese. As a result cities such as Bruges, Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp 'reconciled' with King Philip II and re-embraced the Catholic faith.

Much has been written about the social, political and religious implications of iconoclasm and the actual image breaking and damage to the Catholic heritage in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands.[111] The severity of iconoclasm differed greatly from location to location. Some cities such as Haarlem escaped iconoclasm in 1566 but were struck in the 1570s and 1580s, while others such as Utrecht and Breda suffered badly during the first wave of the iconoclastic fury. The destruction itself varied from disorganized plundering to a controlled process wherein magistrates and church wardens decided which art should be saved for future generations.[112] For instance, the magistrate of Leiden saved several valued religious paintings by transferring them to the town hall.[113]

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[111] David Freedberg, 'Art and iconoclasm, 1525-1580. The case of the Netherlands', in: J.P. Filedt Kok, W. Halsema-Kubes and W.Th. Kloek (eds.), *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm. Noordnederlandse kunst 1525-1580* (Den Haag 1986) 69–84, there 73; Peter Arnade, *Beggars, iconoclasts, and civic patriots. The political culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca 2008)*;* Koenraad Jonckheere and Ruben Suykerbuyk (eds.), *Art after iconoclasm. Painting in the Netherlands between 1566 and 1585* (Turnhout 2012); Andrew Spicer, 'After Iconoclasm. Reconciliation and Resacralization in the Southern Netherlands, ca. 1566-85', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 44 (2013) 411–433.

[112] Freedberg, 'Art and iconoclasm', 75; see for an example of organized iconoclasm in Middelburg C. Rooze-Stouthamer, *De opmaat tot de Opstand. Zeeland en het centraal gezag (1566-1572)* (Hilversum 2009) 37; and Leeuwarden Arnade, *Beggars*, 121.

[113] Marike Hoogduin-Berkhout, ''Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden' geschilderde voorstellingen in het Leidse stadhuis 1575-1700', *De Zeventiende Eeuw 22* (Hilversum 2006) 59–105, there 63; Karel van Mander, *Het schilder-boeck* (facsimile of 1604 edition; Utrecht 1969) f.210v, via www.dbnl.org.

Fig.3 Frans Hogenberg, Iconoclasm in 1566, 1566-1570 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

Different interpretations of iconoclasm and its aftermath surfaced from the end of the sixteenth century onwards.[114] The earliest interpretations appeared in newsprints made by Frans Hogenberg who worked from Cologne (fig.3).[115] Simultaneously at least one anonymous print which propagated iconoclasm circulated in 1566. This print celebrated the breaking of images and statues and represented the Catholics venerating a seven-headed monster.[116] Unlike other episodes of the Revolt such as sieges or attacks, iconoclasm was not a popular event to depict. Besides the two prints only one medal is known which shows images not only of people tearing down statues from a church but also the offering of the Petition of Nobles to Governess Margaret of Parma and other scenes that represented the troubles between 1560 and 1566 (fig.4).[117]

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[114] See for example Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford 2011) 14–19, 68–72, 86–89; David de Boer, 'Picking up the Pieces. Catholic Perceptions of Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1566-1672' (Thesis Utrecht University 2013) 49 and beyond.

[115] See for example, Frans Hogenberg, de Beeldenstorm, 1566, 1566-1570, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-77.720.

[116] Anonymous, *De Beeldenstorm door de geuzen*, 1566, 1566, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-76.780.

[117] Simon Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen, 1559-1609', in: Simon Groenveld et al. (eds.), *De Kogel door de kerk? De opstand in de Nederlanden en de rol van de Unie van Utrecht, 1559-1609* (Zutphen 1979) 68–141, there 73.

Fig.4 Medal depicting Iconoclasm in 1566 (De Nederlandsche Bank).

   Two paintings, however, shed light on the way iconoclasm was perceived in the Dutch Republic apart from the prints. The first is dated between 1610 and 1630 and made by Hendrik van Steenwyck II. It shows statues being taken down from their plinths in an orderly fashion under supervision of a man in the left foreground.[118] A second version of the iconoclastic fury appeared in 1630. The destruction of statues was painted by Dirck van Delen in 1630 as part of a church interior (fig.5). Several statues have already been smashed, and a Catholic priest is watching several men tear down one of the final saints in the foreground.[119] By contrast to Van Steenwijck, Van Delen depicted the scene as less orderly and also showed a Catholic clergyman watching the destruction. This variance suggests that the patrons for these paintings differed in their opinion about iconoclasm. More than fifty years after the event took place there was thus room for interpretation of this episode during the Revolt.

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[118] Hendrik van Steenwijck II, *Kerkinterieur met beeldenstormers*, ca 1610-1630, oil on panel, Museum Prinsenhof Delft, inv nr PDS 313, in this period interest for the first phase of the Revolt was renewed; Loet Schledorn, 'Kerkinterieur met beeldenstormers', *Bulletin van der vereniging Rembrandt* 19 (2009) 12–13, there 13.
[119] Dirck van Delen, *Beeldenstorm in een kerk*, 1630, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-4992.

Fig.5 Dirck van Delen, Iconoclasm in a church with a Catholic clergyman watching, 1630 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

Not only the destruction of 1566, but also the image breaking of the 1570s and 1580s was recorded. In Utrecht antiquarian and humanist Arnoldus Buchelius felt the need to preserve the Catholic past for future generations after the change of regime in 1580. For this purpose Buchelius kept several manuscripts which described the physical changes in the urban landscape and decorated them with numerous drawings.[120] The rapid changes to the landscape also inspired individuals to commission paintings of religious buildings that had been demolished after 1580.[121] In 1630, more than forty years after the new regime was installed, the St Salvatorchurch was painted by an anonymous artist. The building itself had been demolished in 1587, and the artist probably used a drawing from Buchelius' manuscript for the exterior of the church.[122] Buchelius' work had therefore achieved what he had hoped

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[120] See for Buchelius' 'Monumenta' Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum 2001) 81–89; on Buchelius' manuscripts Judith Pollmann, *Een andere weg naar God. De reformatie van Arnoldus Buchelius (1565-1641)* (Amsterdam 2000) 27–28.

[121] Renger de Bruin et al. (eds.), *Een paradijs vol weelde. geschiedenis van de stad Utrecht* (Utrecht 2000) 228.

[122] Anonymous, *De Sint Salvatorkerk of Oudmunsterkerk te Utrecht*, ca. 1630, oil on panel, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, inv nr 2468 and 2469. See object description for details on the connection to

for when he started to record Utrecht's medieval heritage: it kept the memory of the Catholic past alive, and his drawings served as a point of reference for local artists.

The removal and destruction of Catholic heritage in the Dutch Republic thus had another side that becomes apparent only under closer scrutiny. Many of the Dutch Catholics did not leave or go into exile but continued to live in their familiar surroundings.[123] In this situation they tried to keep their religious life and the accompanying sacred space alive in different ways. Catholic worship could still take place in private homes, although this practice usually required paying off the magistrate. Catholics also kept a strong emotional connection to their places of worship, places where they used to go to request favors from saints. By continuing to venerate these saints at empty sites, the Catholics not only showed their connection to the old religion but also performed an act of resistance against the new regime.[124]

Dutch Catholics were persistent in holding on to their former places of worship, even when these places had been demolished or replaced by Reformed church buildings.[125] Although local governments and ministers tried their best to ban assemblies and remove houses of worship, Catholics continued to visit their (former) sacred spaces to pray, to pay homage to the saint or to be cured, because they believed in the sacredness of that particular place. Even a ban on visiting these sites could not prevent pilgrims from coming to their places of worship.[126] Moreover, while the Calvinists fought the veneration of Catholic cults, Catholic clergymen such as the Jesuits committed themselves to preserve and restore them in the Northern Netherlands. The miraculous healing powers attributed to saints via touching the (wood of the) statues of the Virgin Mary or drinking the water from the wells near the holy places were particularly propagated.[127]

This struggle between the local authorities and the Reformed ministers, on the one hand, and the Catholic community and the Catholic clergy, on the other, became visible at pilgrimage sites. Dutch Catholics clandestinely followed circumambulation routes across the city and inside chapels; they crawled around chapels on their hands and knees and prayed

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Arnoldus Buchelius, http://centraalmuseum.nl/ontdekken/object/?q=salvator#o:998, consulted 19 July 2013.
[123] Charles Parker, *Faith on the margins. Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge 2008) 177–178.
[124] Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle', 113, 116–117; for how Catholics embedded these sites in their hope for a better future Willem Frijhoff, 'Catholic expectation for the future at the time of the Dutch Republic', in: *Embodied belief. Ten essays on religious culture in Dutch history* (Hilversum 2002) 153–179, there 157–159.
[125] Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle', 116.
[126] Marc Wingens, *Over de grens. De bedevaart van katholieke Nederlanders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Nijmegen 1994) 22–23; Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle', 112–116; Judith Pollmann, 'Burying the dead, reliving the past. Ritual, resentment and sacred space in the Dutch Republic', in: Benjamin Kaplan et al. (eds.), *Catholic communities in Protestant states. Britain and the Netherlands, 1580-1700* (Manchester 2008) 84-102, there 86; Christine Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's golden age. Heretics and idolaters* (Cambridge 2012) 13.
[127] Wingens, *Over de grens*, 26.

at the site of ruined chapels and churches.[128] At the Marian sanctuary in Amersfoort in Utrecht the magistrate blocked the passage to the building to prevent anyone from entering. In Hasselt in Overijssel, the magistrate hindered pilgrimages by turning the chapel of the Heilige Stede into a compost heap, barracks for soldiers and gallows.[129] In Schiedam in Holland Protestants made the grave of the holy Lidwina, a local saint, unrecognizable because it attracted so many Catholic visitors.[130]

Over the years some of the pilgrimage sites in the Dutch Republic maintained a certain fame. In Eikenduinen, a village near The Hague in Holland, pilgrims still venerated the Virgin and the holy cross. Authorities turned a blind eye to the pilgrimages as long as Catholics carried only rosaries and prayer books instead of more opulent decorations such as banners and crosses. The popularity of the site even inspired Catholics to use it as a burial ground.[131] Another popular place of worship was the chapel of Our Lady of Succor in Heiloo, a village near Alkmaar in Holland, where the Virgin was said to have appeared in 1600. The chapel, that had been ruined in 1573 during the siege of Alkmaar, quickly started to attract pilgrims which caused the States of Holland to demolish the remaining ruins in 1637. This tactic proved futile, however, since worship at the site continued and even increased.[132] In the seventeenth century the chapel at Heiloo became one of the most visited sites of Catholic worship in Holland, as can be gathered from the numerous prints and medals that were made to sell to pilgrims as well as a drawing (fig.6).[133]

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[128] Johanneke Helmers, 'Typisch Amsterdams - Het Mirakel van Amsterdam' via amsterdam.nl, consulted 28 November 2012; Jacqueline Kerkhoff, Tanja Kootte and Marc Wingens, *Voorwerpenlijst. Geloven in verdraagzaamheid?* (Utrecht 1998) 23–24; Parker, *Faith on the margins*, 178–179; Peter Jan Margry and Charles Caspers, *101 bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland* (Amsterdam 2008) 55–58, 75, 167; Pollmann, 'Burying the dead', 86.

[129] Margry and Caspers, *101 bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, 218; Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle', 115.

[130] Margry and Caspers, *101 bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, 412–413.

[131] Ibidem, 170–171.

[132] Kerkhoff, Kootte and Marc Wingens, *Geloven in verdraagzaamheid?*, 22; Pollmann, 'Burying the dead', 86–88; Ottie Thiers, *'t Putje van Heiloo. Bedevaarten naar O.L. Vrouw ter Nood* (Hilversum 2005) 22–23.

[133] See for example, devotion medals and several prints, drawings and paintings at Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, inv nrs BMH m00834, BMH g0056.01, BMH te00015, BMH s00430, BMH dp02207. Thiers, *'t Putje van Heiloo*, 21.

Fig.6 S. van Baseroy, drawing of Our Lady of Succor in Heiloo, 1650-1699 (Museum Catharijneconvent Utrecht).

The holiness and the value of visiting a particular site could be gauged by its depiction in paintings.[134] Catholic families used the images of damaged or ruined buildings to show their identity. In 1630 painter Gerrit Pietersz de Jong depicted a family in front of the chapel ruin in Heiloo (fig.7).[135] This portrait contains the oldest known depiction of the chapel after its destruction in 1573 and a rather unusual background for a family portrait.[136] In general, families opted for a household scene, but this Catholic family chose to be depicted holding Catholic symbols of worship such as rosaries in front of the ruined chapel of Our Lady of Succor.[137] The chapel itself holds a vague apparition of the Virgin, referring to the fact that it was a Marian shrine.

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[134] Anonymous, *Ruïne van de kapel Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ter Nood te Heiloo met bedevaartgangers*, 1675-1699, oil on panel, Museum Catharijneconvent Utrecht, inv nr BMH s00430.

[135] Gerrit Pietersz de Jong, *Portret van een familie voor de ruïne van de kapel van Onze-Lieve-Vrouw ter Nood te Heiloo*, 1630, oil on panel, Museum Catharijneconvent, Utrecht, inv nr BMH s00473b.

[136] Thiers, *'t Putje van Heiloo*, 16.

[137] Alexandra Walsham, *The Reformation of the landscape. Religion, Identity, and Memory in Early Modern Britain and Ireland* (Oxford 2011) 173.

Fig.7 Gerrit Pietersz. de Jong, Catholic family at the chapel of Our Lady of Succor in Heiloo, 1630 (Museum Catharijneconvent Utrecht).

These depictions of the ruined chapel in Heiloo were not unique. After its destruction in 1573 the abbey of Egmond, another village in Holland near Alkmaar, was depicted multiple times in the seventeenth century. While drawings and prints depicted the ruinous state of the building, paintings showed the abbey and castle in their full glory.[138] From the 1620s until the 1640s the image was very popular as one in a set of three paintings that showed the abbey, the castle and the nearby village Egmond aan Zee. These paintings were made in the workshop of Claes van der Heck, and at least forty are still known today.[139] Who bought or commissioned these paintings is unclear, but it is certain that they were popular in the seventeenth century. Since they were usually commissioned in a set of three it may well have been a local interest in Egmond that inspired these paintings, but this argument does not fully seem to account for the fact that the abbey and castle, both symbols of the old Catholic heritage of the village, were depicted in full glory.

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[138] A. Beekman, *Catalogus der tentoonstelling 'De Abdij van Egmond' in het Gemeentemuseum* (Leiden 1934) 45–48.

[139] See for example, Claes Jacobsz. van der Heck, *Gezicht op de abdij van Egmond*, 1648, oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nr 022129; these paintings were inspired by a painting by Gillis de Saen (1580-1610) who was the first to present the ruin in its former glory. Sandra de Vries, Paul Huys Janssen and Marc Rudolf de Vrij (eds.), *De zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse schilderijen van het Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar. Collectie-catalogus* (Zwolle 1997) 151–154.

In addition to ruined buildings that were depicted in their former glory, Dutch Catholics also commissioned paintings of church interiors with Catholic elements that had already been removed. Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, for example, painted a fictitious bishop's tomb in St Bavochurch in Haarlem in 1630 and nuns and a fictive baptism in the same church in 1633. In 1635 he continued this practice with an altar in the Laurenschurch in Alkmaar while in 1646 he painted a fully adorned Catholic high altar in the St Jan in 's-Hertogenbosch, which had become Reformed in 1629. And Emanuel de Witte painted Veronica's veil, the cloth she used to wipe Christ's face on the Via Dolorosa, in one of his paintings of the Old Church in Amsterdam in 1660.[140]

The depictions of sites of pilgrimage as they were in their ruined state or demolished buildings in their former glory were usually commissioned after 1621, the end of the Twelve Years' Truce. This practice of commemoration therefore seems to have been part of the Catholic memory culture in the Dutch Republic. Not only visiting the sites, but having them depicted as well was a way to evoke memories of the Catholic past and to demonstrate someone's Catholic identity. The appearance of these buildings on paintings in domestic interiors or even on family portraits could be considered as a statement of a person's or family's identity within the local community.

Ritual destruction of oppressive structures

So far, we have seen that religious conflict led to the destruction of buildings, statues and other sacred objects. Yet, political reminders of the Habsburg regime could also be a target for demolition during the Revolt.[141] For instance, the statues of Charles V and his brother Ferdinand in Ghent were destroyed in 1566.[142] Within local communities much larger structures could also be demolished, such as the castles that were built by Charles V in cities across the Low Countries.[143] After the Pacification of Ghent had been signed in 1576 cities started to petition the States General for the dismantling of (part of) their citadels. These castles had been built to control the population earlier in the sixteenth century and therefore became symbols of the Habsburg regime. Their demolition, and removal from the urban

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[140] Angela Vanhaelen, 'Iconoclasm and the creation of images in Emanuel de Witte's 'Old Church in Amsterdam'', *The Art Bulletin* 87 (2005) 249–264, there 249–251; Gary Schwartz, *Pieter Saenredam. The painter and his time* (Maarssen 1990) 65–69, 107, 355–357, 561–564. More examples in Almut Pollmer, *Kirchenbilder. Der Kirchenraum in der holländischen Malerie um 1650* (Dissertation Leiden University 2011).

[141] Arnade, *Beggars*, 119–120.

[142] *Dagboek van Cornelis en Philip van Campene. Behelzende het verhaal der merkwaardigste gebeurtenissen, voorgevallen te Gent sedert het begin der godsdienstberoerten tot den 5en april 1571*, Frans de Potter (ed.) (Ghent 1870) 19; Johan Dambruyne, *Corporatieve middengroepen. Aspiraties, relaties en transformaties in de 16e-eeuwse Gentse ambachtswereld* (Ghent 2002) 641.

[143] Other cities where castles were demolished included Lille, Valenciennes, Ghent and Gouda. Robert S. DuPlessis, *Lille and the Dutch Revolt. Urban stability in an era of revolution, 1500-1582* (Cambridge 1991) 265; P.H.A.M. Abels, *Duizend jaar Gouda. Een stadsgeschiedenis* (Hilversum 2002).

landscape, was considered a symbolical liberation from Habsburg oppression. The majority of castles were dismantled through the official route of petitioning the States General, but the destruction of others, such as the ones in Utrecht and Antwerp were remembered as acts of self-liberation by citizens who freed themselves from the oppressive symbols of the Habsburg regime.[144] The demolition of these castles was closely associated with the ideals that had inspired the Revolt such as freedom and retaining privileges.

In Utrecht, the *Vredenburg*, or peace fortress, had been built in 1528 when Bishop Henry of Bavaria had ceded secular control over this part of his bishopric to Charles V. The castle was built to suppress any rebellious act the citizens might have in mind, although officially it served as protection for friends and as an 'iron rod' for enemies.[145] For the city the new castle meant that the magistrate no longer held full control over what happened within its walls. The castle had become a guarded entrance to the city, which became all the more evident in 1572 after the Duke of Alva ordered Utrecht to surrender its privileges to the Spanish commander of the castle.[146] In 1576 the Pacification of Ghent that was signed to try to bring peace to the Low Countries inspired hope that the Spanish garrison would leave the *Vredenburg*. When this did not happen, the civic militia lay siege to the castle in December 1576. Aided by troops from Holland and Gelre they forced the castle's garrison to surrender on 11 February 1577.[147] The militia, which now occupied the castle, requested the demolition of the building, but the city magistrate and the States of Utrecht refused because that would contravene their loyalty to King Philip II. Dissatisfied with the way the magistrate handled the situation, the citizens of Utrecht went to the *Vredenburg* and started to demolish it themselves, in spite of the complaints of the authorities. Subsequently, the States of Utrecht reported to the States General that the castle had suffered too much during the siege, and demolition was the only option.[148]

Four years later, when the demolition was complete and only the foundations of two towers remained, a square was created which would be known as the *Vredenburg*.[149] The name of this prime location in the city, which would be used for markets, recalled the Revolt. It literally put Utrecht's connection to the Revolt on the map. Meanwhile, the act of the demolition itself became a popular episode in the city's history and a popular subject for

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[144] Arnade, *Beggars*, 265.

[145] Bruin et al., *Een paradijs vol weelde*, 194–197.

[146] Arnade, *Beggars*, 265.

[147] A. van Hulzen, 'Het kasteel Vredenburg (2)', *Oud-Utrecht* 43 (1970) 90–92, there 90–91; A. van Hulzen, 'Het verzet in Utrecht', in: J.G. Riphaagen (ed.), *Vredenburg gekraakt. Beleg en afbraak van een dwangburcht, 1576-1577* (Utrecht 1977) 21–36, there 21–36.

[148] Hulzen, 'Het kasteel Vredenburg', 91–92; Arnade, *Beggars*, 265–266; Hulzen, 'Het verzet in Utrecht', 30–36.

[149] Francis Allan, *De stad Utrecht en hare geschiedenis, voorafgegaan door eene algemeene geschied- en aardrijkskundige beschouwing over de provincie Utrecht* (Amsterdam 1856) 60; A. van Hulzen, *Het Vredenburg, Utrecht* (Utrecht 1981) 36.

images. As part of the defenses and fortifications of Utrecht the castle had been depicted several times before 1577 by artists such as Jacob van Deventer and Frans Hogenberg.[150] In these prints and maps the *Vredenburg* was obviously still intact. Yet, remarkably, depictions made after 1577 still often featured the castle in its full glory instead of showing the demolition.

Print maker Steven van Lamsweerde, for example, engraved the *Vredenburg* in the seventeenth century and referred to its demolition only in the text beneath the image

> Image of the Old Castle of Utrecht called Vredenburgh, built by order of Emperor Charles the Fifth in the year 1534, which has been besieged after much harm had been caused by the Spanish, and demolished in the year 1577.[151]

Here, Van Lamsweerde commemorated the castle's past which became a recurring theme in engravings in national histories of the Revolt.[152] Van Lamsweerde's engraving was inspired by a painting from the second half of the sixteenth century.[153] Whether this depiction was made before or after the siege of 1577 is unclear, but it shows the castle before its demolition. This painting, like Hogenberg's print, was copied several times during the seventeenth century in both engravings and paintings, especially between 1655 and 1660.[154]

The popularity of the subject shows similarities to the popularity of depictions of the castle and abbey of Egmond. In Utrecht, however, more is known about the place these depictions occupied in its official urban memory culture. In the 1650s the city council had long since forgotten the initial reluctance of its predecessors to demolish the *Vredenburg*. In fact, it commissioned Willem Cornelisz Swanenburgh in 1658 to paint the castle as part of a set of three paintings for the bailiff's room in the town hall. The other two, depicting the city's banner and the burgomasters, did not have the Dutch Revolt as subject.[155] By then, the

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[150] J.G. Riphaagen (ed.), *Vredenburg gekraakt. Beleg en afbraak van een dwangburcht, 1576-1577* (Utrecht 1977) 105–107.

[151] 'Vertoonige van het Oude Casteel van Utrecht genaemt Vredenburgh gebout door last van Keyse Carel de Vijfde Anno 1534, het welcken naer dat haer daer door van de Spaensche veel leet was geschiet hebben beleegert gedwongen, ende ten gronde geslecht Anno 1577' Steven van Lamsweerde, Slot Vredenburg te Utrecht, after 1630, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-1936-329.

[152] For example Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, *P.C. Hooft 's vervolgh zyner Nederlandsche historien* (3rd edition; Amsterdam 1677).

[153] Anonymous, *Het kasteel Vredenburch te Utrecht in vogelvlucht,* 1550-1599, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-1728.

[154] See for example, Coenraad Decker, *Gezicht op kasteel Vredenburg*, 1656, etching, Het Utrechts Archief (HUA), inv nr 30928; Willem Cornelisz. van Swanenburgh, *Het kasteel Vredenburg te Utrecht*, 1658, Centraal Museum Utrecht, inv nr 2300; Willem Cornelisz. van Swanenburgh, *Het kasteel Vredenburg te Utrecht*, ca 1660, Centraal Museum Utrecht, inv nr 12645a (probably copy of inv nr 2300).

[155] Centraal Museum Utrecht, www.centraalmuseum.nl, inv nrs 2300, 1536 and 1537, consulted 22 November 2012.

Vredenburg had become a symbol of Utrecht's resistance against Spanish oppression in the 1570s, which made it a suitable subject for the town hall.

The depictions of the castle in its former glory were not the only available objects commemorating the *Vredenburg*, the siege of 1577 was represented as well. The first print was made by Frans Hogenberg and represented a map of Utrecht with the castle in the center of the image. This image was copied several times in the seventeenth century.[156] The most important painting of the siege, and subsequently of its demolition, was made by Joost Cornelisz. Droochsloot in 1646 (fig.8).[157]

Fig.8 Joost Cornelisz Droochsloot, siege and demolition of the *Vredenburg* in Utrecht with Trijn van Leemput in the foreground, 1646 (Centraal Museum Utrecht).

While Droochsloot focused his work on the siege itself, he also hinted at the demolition afterwards by depicting Trijn van Leemput, the woman who allegedly initiated the demolition, in the middle foreground.[158] The demolition itself, however, is still not visible in either of these depictions perhaps because of the artistic challenge of presenting a castle that is not there anymore. However, depicting the standing castle emphasized the castle's oppressive nature

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[156] See for example, Simon Frisius, *Beleg van Vredenburg*, 1577, 1613-1615, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.674; Anonymous, *Beleg van Vredenburg*, 1577, 1613-1615, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.677; Anonymous, *De belegering van het kasteel Vredenburg te Utrecht*, end 17th century, HUA, Utrecht, inv nr 39497.

[157] Joost Cornelisz. Droochsloot, *Het beleg van het Kasteel Vredenburg te Utrecht in 1577*, 1646, oil on panel, Centraal Museum, Utrecht, inv nr 2525.

[158] Although some suggest that she has been added to the painting later. Riphaagen, *Vredenburg gekraakt*, 121. On Trijn van Leemput see Digitaal Vrouwen Lexicon, Catrijn Willem Claeszoensdr. Van Voornen, via http://www.historici.nl, consulted 22 November 2012.

and subsequently the heroic deed of its demolition by Utrecht's citizens, and thus may have been considered a more inspirational remembrance.

Yet, there may well have been images of the actual demolition itself since the estate inventory of Johan Schade, canon of the Domchapter in Utrecht, lists a painting of the demolition in 1658. This must have been an important painting for Schade because it hung on the mantelpiece in his main reception room.[159] The image itself has not survived, which makes it impossible to know how the demolition was depicted or whether it was represented by an image of the castle with a caption hinting at its dismantling. Even so, it is evident that the castle and specifically its removal from Utrecht's urban landscape are well represented in Utrecht's history of the Revolt both in public and private spaces. The *Vredenburg* had become a symbol of Utrecht's resistance against the Habsburg regime during the Revolt.

Another castle that was demolished but remained part of the urban memory culture was the citadel built by the Habsburg regime in Antwerp in Brabant. This castle was built by the Duke of Alva in 1568 to punish the city for its involvement in the religious troubles and disloyalty to the king in 1566. Although a citadel had been planned for Antwerp several years earlier, the new governor decided the city had to accept and pay for the castle in order to reconcile with the king.[160] For the Duke of Alva, the new castle was a prestigious project. Not only did he act as overseer and name four of the five bastions after himself, but he also commissioned a statue of himself trampling heresy and rebellion to remind everyone who occupied and visited the building of his achievements. Indeed, the statue was so important that prints were produced and its sculptor Jacob Jonghelinck produced a medal in honor of the occasion.[161]

On 4 November 1576, however, the castle's garrison reinforced with mutinying troops from other cities entered the city to plunder, rob and murder many of Antwerp's citizens during the so-called Spanish Fury.[162] As the starting point of the fury that lasted four days, it would not easily be forgotten in the city. After the troops left the city, and the Pacification of Ghent was signed, Antwerp was freed from a garrison in the summer of 1577 and control over the citadel was handed over to the States General. Initially it was decided that it would become William of Orange's home in Antwerp upon his return to Brabant in 1578. Nevertheless, it was Antwerp's citizens who executed the subsequent partial demolition of

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[159] Getty Provenance Index, Archival Inventories, N-1749 (Johan Schade), 31 August 1658.
[160] Hugo Soly, 'De bouw van de Antwerpse citadel, 1567-1571. Sociaal-economische aspecten', *Belgisch tijdschrift voor militaire geschiedenis* 21 (1976) 549–578, there 549–562.
[161] The five bastions were called Toledo, Alva, Duc, Hernando and Paciotto; the first four names referred to the Duke of Alva. Soly, 'De bouw van de Antwerpse citadel', 558; see for the statue L. Smolderen, 'La statue du duc d'Albe a-t-elle été mise en pièces par la population anversoise en 1577', *Jaarboek Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* (1980) 113–136; Jochen Becker, 'Hochmut kommt vor dem Fall', *Simiolus. Kunsthistorisch tijdschrift* (1971) 75–115.
[162] Floris Prims, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen* 8 (Antwerp 1941) 124–139.

the citadel. Historian Peter Arnade argues that the attack they executed on the castle was a 'cleansing ritual' for the citizens who had suffered from the fury.[163]

Yet, the demolition of the castle itself was not the first cleansing related to this structure. The citadel and statue had been erected to represent Alva's pride in defeating the heretics. The bronze for his statue came from the rebel cannon which had been taken from victorious battle at Jemgum in 1568. As an image of Alva trampling heresy and rebellion, the statue contributed to the duke's unpopularity.[164] Soon it became clear that the statue was not received well in and beyond Antwerp. In 1572, for instance, an anonymous print was published which depicted an allegory of the duke presented as an image of his statue (fig.9).[165]

Fig.9 Allegory with the statue of the Duke of Alva in the castle in Antwerp, ca. 1572 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

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[163] Arnade, *Beggars*, 268; E. Haverkamp Begemann, 'Flemish School', in: Louisa Dresser (ed.), *European paintings in the collection of the Worchester Art Museum. Text* (Worcester 1974) 153–217, there 187.

[164] Smolderen, 'La statue du duc d'Albe', 41–49; Judith Pollmann and Monica Stensland, 'Alva's Reputation in the Early Modern Low Countries', in: Maurits Ebben, Margriet Lacy-Bruijn and Rolof Hövell tot Westerflier (eds.), *Alva. General and servant to the crown* (Rotterdam 2013) 309–325, there passim.

[165] Anonymous, *Spotprent op het standbeeld van Alva*, ca. 1572, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.166; Becker, 'Hochmut kommt vor dem Fall', 104–107.

Following Alva's departure from the Low Countries, his successor Don Luis de Requesens removed the statue form the citadel in 1574.[166] The removal of the statue, however, did not decrease attention to the image of the duke.[167] In fact, the statue continued to return to the public eye throughout the seventeenth century but usually in combination with the (demolition of the) citadel in 1577.

In the seventeenth century the demolition of the castle in Antwerp became a popular subject to remember.[168] Unlike the depictions in Utrecht, however, depictions of the Antwerp castle feature only the actual demolition of the building instead of the castle in its full glory.[169] For example, an anonymous painting, formerly attributed to Peter Goetkint, represents the castle in the background while in the foreground a large crowd is either taking part in or watching the demolition (fig.10).[170]

Fig.10 Anonymous, demolition of the castle in Antwerp 1577, ca. 1600 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerp).

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[166] Smolderen, 'La statue du duc d'Albe', 52.
[167] Ibidem, 55–62.
[168] J. Lambrechts-Douillez, *Het dagelijkse leven in de tweede helft van de 16de eeuw. Een keuze uit de verzamelingen van het museum Vleeshuis* (Antwerp 1985) 273.
[169] Although there is one image that depicted the flight of the German troops, as shown in Leon Voet, *De gouden eeuw van Antwerpen. Bloei en uitstraling van de metropool in de zestiende eeuw* (Antwerp 1973) 197; anonymous, *Vlucht uit Antwerpen*, end sixteenth century, oil on panel, Museum Vleeshuis Antwerpen, inv nr AV.3194.1-55.
[170] Anonymous, *Spanjaardkasteel te Antwerpen gesloopt 1577*, ca 1600, oil on panel, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen Antwerp, inv nr 670; Erik Vandamme and Yolande Morel-Deckers, *Catalogus schilderkunst oude meesters* (Antwerp 1988) 456.

The focus of the painting is on the variety of people present on site rather than the dismantling of the castle in the background, thus highlighting the public support for the demolition. Other paintings of the demolition, such as the one by Marten van Cleve in the Worcester Art Museum, depict the same scene.[171] In this painting one of the men may be identified as one of the leaders of the seizure of the citadel, either Civil Governor Charles de Redelghem, baron of Liedekerke, or Captain Pontus de Noyelles, seigneur de Bours.[172] This representation suggests that Van Cleve's client ordered his own inclusion in the painting. In addition to these two paintings at least four other privately owned depictions are known of the demolition. The popularity of the subject is evident, especially since one of these paintings hung in one of the reception rooms in the house of a rich collector of wine duties in 1600.[173]

Other memorabilia ranging from prints to medals and plaques were made to commemorate the event. In 1577 stones of the castle had been distributed among the public.[174] As early as 1577 a first print of the subject was published by Frans Hogenberg (fig. 11).[175]

Fig.11 Frans Hogenberg, Afbraak van de citadel van Antwerpen, 1577 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

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[171] Marten van Cleve, *Demolition of the citadel of Antwerp*, undated, oil on panel, Worcester Art Museum, inv nr 1938.79. Leon Voet suggests that this is a late-seventeenth-century copy of the original Voet, *De gouden eeuw*, 207.

[172] Haverkamp Begemann, 'Flemish School', 187.

[173] Ibidem, 188–190; J. Denucé, *De Antwerpsche 'Konstkamers'. Inventarissen van kunstverzamelingen te Antwerpen in de 16e en 17e eeuwen* (Amsterdam 1932) 95; Erik Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Brussels 1984) 9–11.

[174] Felixarchief Antwerp (FAA), Collegiale akteboeken, PK 551, 1577, f.26v.

[175] See for example, Frans Hogenberg, *Afbraak van de citadel van Antwerpen*, 1577, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-78.784-161.

Maarten de Vos designed a series of seven prints representing the demolition in 1578 to which in 1579 a frontispiece was added.[176] The print focuses on the people on their way to join the demolition that has already started. In addition to the scene personifications of Liberty and Diligence are included. The former is holding the keys to the chains on her ankles, while the latter is watching a beehive. These attributes refer to the current situation of Antwerp and comment on the regained freedom of the city and the renewed commercial activity respectively.[177] The focus on the involvement of the citizens in the demolition is also featured in an anonymous print and a second print by Jacob de Gheyn published in 1577.[178] The anonymous print consists of two parts. The bottom part features the citadel of Antwerp in its full glory, but a top part which features the population demolishing the castle can be folded over. Again the message is that the citizens from Antwerp joined together in the demolition of a symbol of oppression, which made the destruction of the citadel a display of civic unity.[179] This message also shone through in a series of five bronze roundels made by sculptor Jacob Jonghelinck, who took the prints as inspiration.[180]

The memorabilia of the demolition were produced during the Calvinist regime, but after the Catholic restoration they were still kept in domestic interiors. Only in the Dutch Republic could scenes of the demolition in Antwerp still be published openly, as we can see from the engravings that appeared in Pieter Bor's history of the Revolt in 1621.[181] In this context the statue of the Duke of Alva also resurfaced. A print depicted the statue as a monstrous image of Alva towering above the citadel and Antwerp (fig.12).[182]

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[176] Haverkamp Begemann, 'Flemish School', 187–188; Maarten de Vos (engraver), Pieter Balten (publisher), *De verovering van de citadel van Antwerpen in 1577*, 1579, set of seven engravings, Museum Plantijn Moretus, inv nrs PK.OPB.0182.001-008.

[177] Arnade, *Beggars*, 269.

[178] Anonymous, *Waerachtige afcontrefeytinghe vande nyeuwe citadelle oft casteel van Antwerpen*, 1577, engraving, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, inv nr COLLBN Port 78 N 30; Jacob de Gheyn, *De citadel van Antwerpen*, 1577, etching, Museum Plantijn Moretus, inv nr PK.OP.13573 | III/G.1032.

[179] Arnade, *Beggars*, 268–270.

[180] At least four of these roundels survive in the collection of the city of Antwerp, www.collectieantwerpen.be, inv nrs AV.1912.009, AV.1911.017, AV.1895.023.1-2 and AV.1895.023.2-2. And five in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum in London, inv nrs A.34.1975 - A.38.1975.

[181] Pieter Christiaensz. Bor, *Nederlantsche oorloghen, beroerten, ende borgerlijcke oneenicheyden* (Leiden 1621) 272–274.

[182] Simon Frisius, *Standbeeld van de hertog van Alva*, 1613-1615, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.161; as depicted in Willem Baudartius, *Polemographia Auraico-Belgica* I (Amsterdam 1621-1622) 139.

Fig.12 Simon Frisius, the Duke of Alva as giant in the castle in Antwerp, 1613-1615 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

Pieter Cornelis Hooft wrote in his history of the Revolt that the statue was taken to the wharf and cut to pieces which were subsequently taken home and put on display.[183] Hooft himself believed he owned the thumb of the statue on which poet Joost van den Vondel wrote a short verse in 1641 (fig.13).[184] The statue and its removal thus inspired artists and authors to use the memory of the statue inside the citadel and transform it to their own advantage, demonstrating the hatred towards Alva and his Spanish regime in the Low Countries.[185]

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[183] Pieter Cornelis Hooft, *Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, alle de gedrukte werken 1611-1738* IV and V (Amsterdam 1972) 531.

[184] Leo Simons et al. (eds.), *De werken van Vondel* IV 1640-1645 (Amsterdam 1930) 209, via www.ddnl.org; Anonymous, *De duim van het standbeeld van de hertog van Alva*, 1717-1719, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-79.162.

[185] See for Spanishness of the Duke of Alva Pollmann and Stensland, 'Alva's Reputation in the early modern Low Countries', 312.

Fig.13 Metal thumb, said to have been from the statue of the Duke of Alva in the castle in Antwerp (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

In the Habsburg Netherlands, particularly after 1585 when Alexander Farnese had the citadel rebuilt, it seems unlikely that these depictions would still be considered suitable for display in public. Like the images of ruined chapels in the Dutch Republic these objects therefore formed a set of counter-memories of the Revolt. Yet, because the message of emphasizing civic unity, and the involvement of a variety of citizens and liberty, was rather more political than religious, it may have been considered less threatening after the Catholic restoration than purely Calvinist symbols or the destruction of religious imagery would have been, which may explain why so many of these depictions still survive today.

Symbolic reuse of space

While the Revolt and the Reformation inspired many to engage in destroying religious and political symbols, much of the medieval skyline in the cities remained intact. The majority of religious structures were repurposed rather than demolished. When the Reformed were allowed to practice their religion in a city, some churches were allotted to them to use for their services. In general, the destruction of religious heritage by the Reformed meant that churches were stripped of Catholic symbols. Yet, certain Catholic elements such as the choir screens, portals, organs, pulpit, and baptismal fonts often remained on site for decades (although some were altered if the imagery was too offensive).[186] Other religious buildings, however, were symbolically cleansed of all their Catholic sacrality and repurposed to house churches, schools, libraries, orphanages, hospitals and meeting places for civic

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[186] See for example Coster and Spicer, *Sacred space in early modern Europe*, 102; Decavele, *Het eind van een rebelse droom*, 43; Swigchem, Brouwer and Os, *Een huis voor het Woord*, 67, 129; Jurjen Vis et al. (eds), *Geschiedenis van Alkmaar* (Zwolle 2007) 144–145, 253.

institutions.[187] When the Catholic religion was reinstated, these buildings were restored to their former function. The symbolic claim of space for new purposes, from religious buildings to statues and houses, thus became an important factor in the urban landscape during the Revolt. Indeed, the physical changes to the landscape could emphasize the meaning of the (new) regime quite significantly.

Sometimes relatively simple changes to an urban landscape could have a large impact in terms of the perception of space across the Low Countries. For instance, after the city joined the Revolt in 1580 religious buildings in Utrecht were converted into a mint building, weaving mill, and meeting places for the States of Utrecht and the Provincial Court.[188] The sacred function previously attached to these monasteries and churches was erased by their new function. In Antwerp the new magistrate during the Calvinist regime which lasted from 1577 until 1585 ordered new roads to be built that crossed the lands of several religious communities. Most significantly, the grounds of the episcopal palace were penetrated by a new street.[189] The palace, the former residence of the bishop, was now devalued not only as a residence but as one for an important clergyman. In Bruges in Flanders, St Basil's chapel, the traditional repository of the city's most important relic, was converted into a library during the Calvinist regime between 1577 and 1584. After the Catholic regime was restored, it took months before the chapel was cleaned and ready to be used again.[190] As these examples demonstrate, adaptations to the exterior of the buildings were not always necessary. Protestants found other, more invasive, ways to reuse the interior, and in this way they spread the message of a new regime quite effectively.

On street level several changes were made to an urban landscape as well. Crosses, statues of saints and other Catholic objects were removed in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands, but not necessarily destroyed. In Bruges the entrance to the chapel of the Holy Sacrament in the church of Our Lady was reallocated. It became the portal for the aldermen's room in the town hall until it was returned to the church in 1584.[191] This symbolic removal of part of the church space to a civic institution such as the town hall happened elsewhere as well. In Leiden, for example, the altar stone from the Pieterschurch was

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[187] See for example Decavele, *Het eind van een rebelse droom*, 43, 52, 75; Parker, *Faith on the margins*, 177–178; Spicer, 'After Iconoclasm', 12.

[188] Hein Hundertmark and Kaj van Vliet, *De Paulusabdij. Achter de muren van Utrechts oudste klooster* (Utrecht 2010) 171–173.

[189] Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen* (Amsterdam 2008) 91; Robert vande Weghe, *Geschiedenis van de Antwerpse straatnamen* (Antwerp 1977) 98–99, 184; Floris Prims and Michiel Verbeeck, *Antwerpsch straatnamenboek. Lijst van al de straatnamen op 1 Januari 1938, met hun beteekenis, naamreden, oorsprong der straat en veranderingen* (2nd edition; Antwerp 1938) 41–46, 187.

[190] N. Geirnaert, 'Een initiatief van het Calvinistisch bestuur te Brugge. De openbare bibliotheek, 1578-1584', in: Dirk van der Bauwhede and Marc Goetinck (eds.), *Brugge in de Geuzentijd. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de hervorming te Brugge en in het Brugse Vrije tijdens de 16de eeuw* (Bruges 1982) 45–54, there 46–49.

[191] Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 61–62.

removed from the church to be used for an inscription on the town hall. This inscription commemorated the city's relief from the siege of the Habsburg army in 1574.[192] Like the new functions that were given to the religious buildings, the reallocation of certain Catholic elements was embedded in a process of 'desanctification'. Formerly religious objects such as the entrance to a chapel or an altar stone were placed in a secular setting and used as reminders of the Revolt.

This 'desanctification' could also be taken much more literally. In Utrecht, the smith's guild possessed a painting of its patron St Eligius in their poor house. As late as 1637 the magistrate demanded that this image of St Eligius be removed. Even though the guild complied with the magistrate's wishes, it argued that the painting did not represent a Catholic saint but rather the symbol of their guild.[193] The guild of St Luke in Haarlem also submitted a request to the magistrate of Brussels that still possessed its relic of St Luke in the 1630s. They did not want to destroy the relic, but rather to return it to its original location since it did not belong in Brussels.[194] In line with this reasoning images of patron saints kept recurring in the urban landscape. In Bruges the statue of St Christopher was removed from the church of Our Lady, but it reappeared on one of the gates to the city.[195] Apparently this was a tolerable alternative for the Calvinist regime, but it still seems strange that the saint's image could keep its public place, even if putting the statue on a gate instead of on the main church could have reduced its religious connotation.[196] Despite the fact that saints were thus usually removed from public view, some of the statues could survive, even though the arguments do not seem very convincing from a religious point of view. Maybe they were still appreciated for their historical value? Or did the magistrate not see any harm in relocating these objects to non-religious locations in the city?

Answers to these questions may never be found, but it is known that St Christopher in Bruges was not the only statue in the Habsburg Netherlands to be reallocated after a regime change. A few years after Governor Alexander Farnese captured Antwerp in 1585 a statue of the Virgin was commissioned for the façade of the town hall, necessitating the removal of the statue of the city's mythical founder Sylvius Brabo.[197] Yet, Brabo's statue reappeared on the

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[192] Hoogduin-Berkhout, 'Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden', 77; Frans van Mieris and Daniel van Alphen, *Beschryving der Stad Leyden* II (Leiden 1770) 364.

[193] Bruin et al., *Een paradijs vol weelde*, 278; Paul Janssen, 'Zeven zeventiende-eeuwse schilderijen in het Sint Eloyengasthuis te Utrecht', *Jaarboek Oud-Utrecht* (1985) 85–109, there 87.

[194] Alfons K. L. Thijs, 'Religion and social structure. Religious rituals in pre-industrial trade associations in the Low Countries', in: Maarten Prak et al. (eds.), *Craft guilds in the early modern Low Countries. Work, power, and representation* (Aldershot 2006) 157–173, there 166.

[195] Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 53; Charlotte Coudeville, 'Het cultureel beleid te Brugge tijdens het Calvinistisch Bewind (1578-1584)' (Thesis Ghent University 2004) via www.lib.ugent.be.

[196] Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 54.

[197] Arnade, *Beggars*, 326–327.

Werfgate, the entrance to Antwerp's wharf.[198] The symbolic reappearance of statues happened everywhere in the Southern Netherlands. In Antwerp smaller statues of the Virgin and other saints reappeared in the street.[199] In Bruges a statue of the Virgin returned to the Halletower in the market square after 1584. Simultaneously, the statue of St Christopher was also removed from the gate to the church of Our Lady.[200] This return of the saints was as symbolically charged as the removal had been during the Calvinist regimes.

In the Habsburg Netherlands more drastic measures were also being taken to eradicate any traces of heresy. When the Duke of Alva arrived to restore order after iconoclasm in 1566, he immediately ordered the demolition of several Calvinist churches in Antwerp; to purify the land, crosses were to be put in their place.[201] Fifty years later, as another act of symbolic repression, an Augustinian monastery would be founded on the site of one of these churches.[202] This type of symbolic purification also occurred on the site of the Culemborg palace in Brussels. In 1568 the palace had been demolished because heretical nobles had organized their resistance against the king from this residence. The Duke of Alva ordered the land to be sown with salt to make the soil infertile and had a column erected to commemorate the demolition. During the Calvinist Republic the column was removed, but after 1584 a new convent for the Discalced Carmelites was built on the site to cleanse the land completely (fig.14).[203] This sort of commemoration also happened on a smaller scale.

Fig.14 Column at the former site of the Culemborg palace (Algemeen Rijksarchief (ARA) Brussels)

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[198] Daniel Papebrochius, *Annales Antverpienses ab urbe condita ad annum M.DCC.* IV (Antwerp 1845) 227; the statue is also clearly visible in Sebastiaan Vrancx, *Het Kranenhoofd aan de Schelde te Antwerpen*, 1622, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-1699.

[199] Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 104.

[200] Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 54.

[201] Prims, *Geschiedenis van Antwerpen*, 104; the same happened after 1585 when crucifixes were replaced, see for example FAA, Ancien régime archief van de stad Antwerpen, PK 3355 Van den Branden, f.91-92.

[202] Verenigde Protestantse Kerk in België, Protestants Historisch Wandelen in Antwerpen, http://vpkb.be/in-belgie/protestants-historisch-wandelen-in-antwerpen/, consulted on 30 March 2013.

[203] Jasper van der Steen, 'Goed en fout in de Nederlandse Opstand', *Historisch Tijdschrift Holland* 43 (2011) 82–97, there 85–87; H. Schuermans, 'La colonne de Culembourg à Bruxelles', *Bulletin des commissions royales d'art et d'archéologie* 19 (1870) 17–107, there passim.

For instance, the convent of the Carmelite nuns in Vilvoorde in Brabant had been abandoned in 1578 when they had to flee the rebel army. In 1633 the site of the convent was marked by a chapel to remind people of the atrocities committed by the rebels.[204]

A final element of symbolic reuse of space focused not on religious buildings but rather on the former lodgings of the clergy and the old regime. In Groningen in the north of the Dutch Republic, for example, the former bishop's palace was transferred to Stadholder William Louis of Nassau.[205] In Brabant, a mansion that had belonged to the abbey of Tongerloo in Antwerp was assigned to the new mayor, Philips of Marnix, Lord of St Aldegonde in 1583.[206] In 's-Hertogenbosch the house called *Moriaen*, located on the market square, hosted the secret meetings of the Reformed community in 1566 and 1567 before it became the episcopal palace of Bishop Metsius between 1577 and 1582 and a Lutheran church after 1629.[207] Every time the regime changed, the magistrate found suitable residents for the *Moriaen* which affirmed the new order. In Ghent in Flanders the *Hof van der Vere*, the residence of Jan van Hembyze, one of the leaders of the Calvinist regime, came up for sale in 1591. After Van Hembyze had been sentenced to death, it had first been allocated to the city's new governor, but when he left the building caught the eye of the Jesuits. In addition to the advantages of the location in the city center and its large garden, the Jesuits gladly founded their community here for another reason. It was their way to appropriate a place which had been associated with heresy and rebellion, make it their own and thus cleanse it from its heretical past.[208]

Finding the Revolt on the streets

Both the material and ritual destruction of religious heritage and the symbolic reuse of space made an important contribution to urban landscapes during the Revolt. Yet, the Revolt also inspired civic institutions such as the magistrate as well as individuals to provide new additions that would serve as reminders of the recent past. As a result urban memory landscapes were transformed by new inscriptions and gable stones on town halls, weigh houses and other public buildings.

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[204] Inventaris Onroerend Erfgoed Vlaanderen, De Inventaris van het Bouwkundig Erfgoed, Kapelletje van Stee(n)voort, ID: 70599, https://inventaris.onroerenderfgo(ed.)be/dibe/relict/70599, consulted 4 July 2013.

[205] Aernout van Buchel, *Monumenta quaedam sepulchralia et publica*, ca. 1617, translated by Kees Smit (Utrecht 2009) f21v. Consulted via http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl/ on 30 March 2013

[206] Verenigde Protestantse Kerk in België, Protestants Historisch Wandelen in Antwerpen, consulted on 30 March 2013, http://vpkb.be/in-belgie/protestants-historisch-wandelen-in-antwerpen/

[207] Jan Mosmans and Alphons Mosmans, *Oude namen van huizen en straten te 's-Hertogenbosch* ('s-Hertogenbosch 1907) 28; see also http://www.bossche-encyclopedie.nl/straten/_indexpanden.0.htm, consulted 21 November 2012.

[208] Ludovicus Brouwers, *De Jezuïeten te Gent 1585-1773, 1823-heden* (Ghent 1980) 41–42.

Memories that were recorded in these permanent markers in an urban landscape often referred to sieges and attacks. In the Dutch Republic, however, they seem to have been more common than in the Habsburg Netherlands. In Rotterdam in Holland the magistrate commissioned an inscription for the Oostgate which referred to the capture of the city by the count of Bossu in 1572.[209] Moreover, in the Laurenschurch a poem commemorated the relief of Leiden in 1574. This event was an important episode for Rotterdam because the city suffered from the inundation of land that allowed the Beggar army to sail to Leiden. The poem reminded viewers of the 'many little boats' that had liberated Leiden despite 'rain and wind'. When the poem was placed is unclear, but it was recorded there probably in the 1620s by antiquarian Arnoldus Buchelius. He had acquired many such inscriptions during his travels in the Low Countries between 1609 and 1632.[210]

In the town of Naarden in Holland, for example, Buchelius recorded several inscriptions that commemorated the events of 1572 when the city was plundered and burned, and almost all male citizens had been murdered, after it had surrendered to the Habsburg army.[211] According to Buchelius, the magistrate of Naarden commissioned a tombstone for the scholar and local chronicler Lambertus Hortensius which stated that he had been spared during the massacre. In 1604 the magistrate commissioned a painting depicting the fury which was to be hung in the town hall.[212] Moreover, the magistrate decided to commemorate the Revolt through new gable stones which were placed at the exact location where the citizens of Naarden had been murdered, in the Gasthuischurch. This church had temporarily served as town hall during the siege and had been the location to which the male citizens were lured before the city was set on fire. The scene was depicted on the three gable stones that were placed in 1615 when the building became the city's weigh house. It had not served as town hall since 1601 when the new town hall was finished and had been known as the Spanish house. Yet, in 1615 the magistrate thought it would be appropriate to connect this location to the events of 1572 with a set of gable stones as well.[213] The image of the town hall with the Spanish soldiers was accompanied by two stones that explained the scene.

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[209] Johannes Gysius, *Oorsprong en voortgang der Neder-landtscher beroerten ende ellendicheden* (Leiden 1616) 472.

[210] 'door regen en wind liet men varen, om veel bootjes te vergaren' Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht hs. 1648, p. 159 See for the date of this manuscript Bart Jaski, 'Materiele beschrijving van het handschrift van de Inscriptiones', via http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl, consulted on 22 July 2013.

[211] Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Why remember terror? Memories of violence in the Dutch Revolt', in: Micheal O'Siochru and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland 1641. Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester 2010) 176–196, there 179.

[212] Arnoldus Buchelius, 'Inscriptiones monumentaque in templis et monasteriis Belgicis inventa', 25, translated by Kees Smit, original at Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, manuscriptnumber 1648, via www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl.

[213] Gertrudis A.M. Offenberg, *Gevelstenen in Nederland* (Zwolle 1986) 123.

Remember the day, that one saw here, how Spain against its word – plundered the land – burnt this city – killed the citizenry – in the year 1572

O Lord – only to you comes the honor – of this building – keep this city – and the house of Nassau – from adversity – in the year 1615.[214]

From this moment onwards, the Spanish house in the center of Naarden reminded the people in Naarden of what had happened in their city not only by its name, but also through its façade. By adding the three gable stones which consisted of two inscriptions and a graphic representation of the atrocities the city had endured in 1572, Naarden's plight in the Revolt would be remembered (fig.15).

Fig.15 Spanish House in Naarden.

The message of the stones, however, did not differ from the painting which was made ten years before. Still, the timing of the gable stones was convenient. In 1615, during the Twelve Years' Truce, the atrocities of the Spanish army had become an important topic both in pro-war rhetoric and in a series of political conflicts.[215] Through its commissions Naarden's magistrate could thus emphasize its tragic past during the Revolt and, simultaneously, show its support for Stadholder Maurits by referring to the House of Orange.

     The Dutch examples of Rotterdam and Naarden show that magistrates could be very active in bringing the Revolt to the streets. The inscriptions and gable stones were not only permanent reminders, but they were also visible for anyone who passed by. When these

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[214] http://gevelstenen.net, plaatsen in Nederland, Naarden, Turfpoortstraat 27, consulted 15 November 2012. 'denkc op den dach – dat men hier sach – hoe Spangien tegen woort – berooft heft t landt – dees stadt verbrant – de burgery vermoort AO 1572 D I D C' and 'U Comt O Heer – alleen de eer – van dit gebou – voor tegenspoet – dees stadt behoet – end t huys Nassau Anno 1615'.
[215] Steen, 'Goed en fout in de Nederlandse Opstand', 85; Jasper van der Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014) 64-72.

markers were placed in prominent locations such as the town hall, the weigh house or the main church, they were surely seen by many citizens and visitors. In the Dutch Republic, and especially in Holland, this type of commemoration of the Revolt was common. In Leiden, as we have already seen, the town hall was adorned with an inscription that commemorated the siege of 1574.[216] A similar inscription was situated at the Vlietbrug, the bridge where the Beggar army entered after the Spanish army had left the city.[217] The weigh house in Alkmaar also became a place of commemoration of the Revolt after the siege of 1573. This institution was important for Alkmaar, but due to an uprising in 1492 the weigh privilege had been lost. After 1573, however, the magistrate used the city's courage, loyalty and sacrifice during the siege of 1573 in a petition to regain the privilege from the States of Holland.[218] Ownership of the weigh house was returned to Alkmaar in July 1581, and the magistrate put the following inscription in place

> Courage and strength reestablished the lost weigh privilege for the government and citizens of Alkmaar[219]

Although the siege is not specifically mentioned, the intention of the inscription is clear and refers to the Revolt.

Magistrates were not the only ones who were interested in advocating messages about the Revolt to the rest of the population by putting memories prominently on display. Another category included the individual citizens who publicized local achievements in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands. One of the most spectacular gable stones that still exists in a Dutch city is the result of such an individual commission. In three adjacent homes in Hoorn on the Slapershaven and Grote Oost three gable stones commemorate the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573 (fig.16).

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[216] Hoogduin-Berkhout, 'Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden', 77; Mieris and Van Alphen, *Beschryving der Stad Leyden* II, 364.

[217] Hoogduin-Berkhout, 'Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden', 81.

[218] C.W Bruinvis, *Hoe de Alkmaarsche waagtoren zijn klokkenspel bekomen heeft* (2nd ed.; Alkmaar 1889) 11–15.

[219] 'SPQA RESTITVIT VIRTVS ABLATAE JVRA BILANCIS', or in Dutch: 'SPQA moed en kracht van regering en burgerij van Alkmaar herstelden het verloren waagrecht' Els Ruijsendaal, *Alkmaar binnen de veste. Straatnamen in historisch perspectief* (Amsterdam 1998) 181.

The elaborately carved and colored gable stones were placed around 1650 and display and explain the battle and its meaning for Hoorn.[220] The first stone refers to the battle itself and Hoorn's fight for the fatherland; 'there one fights without pay for the dear fatherland'.[221] The second connects the citizens of Hoorn to the battle at sea 'and without doubt are these also in the thick of it, as there are people ashore who pray to God with Moses'.[222] And the third stone commemorates the battle as an act of God, 'the country shakes and trembles, the enemy is coming. He wants to defeat Israel with Amalek, he comes with great force, but God has given us also Aaron and Hur whose names are written'.[223]

The second and the third stones refer to the same biblical event, the battle of Rephidim. During this battle Moses, Aaron and Hur watched how the Israelites fought their enemy, the Amalekites, and won. In a similar way the people from Hoorn had 'watched' the battle of the Zuiderzee, supporting the Beggar fleet with prayers because the battle took place on open water. The comparison with Israel and the connection to Hoorn suggest that these stones were commissioned by a patriotic citizen who felt the need to commemorate the city's role in the battle as late as 1650. Since the Peace of Westphalia had only recently been signed, the commission may even have been instigated by this event. Indeed, the peace may have

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[220] Overbeek, *Hoornse gevelstenen*, 148–150; Offenberg, *Gevelstenen in Nederland*, 123.

[221] 'daer veght men sonder gelt voor't lieve vaderland', via http://www.gevelstenen.net, consulted 7 August 2012.

[222] 'en sonder twijfel dit daer syn de rook in't midden, daer synder op het lant die godt met mooses bidden, via http://www.gevelstenen.net/, consulted 7 August 2012.

[223] 'het land dat schut en beeft, den vijand die komt aen. Hij wil met Amalek gantsch Israel verslaen, hij koomt met groote magt, maar godt heeft ons gegeven, ook aron ende hurs, wiens namen zijn geschreven.' Grote Oost 132, via http://www.gevelstenen.net/, consulted 7 August 2012.

reminded this citizen of his heroic ancestors, as could be read in the following verses: 'until victory came such as did happen, of which one still sees clear evidence today' and 'in honor of their lineage, in praise of this achievement'.[224]

In the Habsburg Netherlands, a similarly spectacular project was undertaken by Everard Tristram, who commissioned three reliefs to adorn the new façade of his house in Bruges in 1634. In this year he received a substantial amount of money from the local magistrate to renew his façade. This suggests that the magistrate agreed with his plans to depict the failed attack of the Dutch stadholder Frederik Hendrik to conquer the city in 1631. Tristram's façade became a mix of several reminders of this particular episode. First he commissioned three reliefs which showed how the Dutch army approached Bruges, how they burned their own army camp and a bridge to secure their retreat, and how Johan van Nassau, Frederik Hendrik's cousin who fought on the Habsburg side and freed Bruges, left the city (fig.17).

Fig.17 Everard Tristram's gable stones in Bruges (Rijkdienst Cultureel Erfgoed).

Another addition to the façade was the barrel of a cannon, which was allegedly left by the Dutch army on their retreat. The cannon itself was put into the ground upside down, so it could never be fired again, and served as a permanent reminder of the attack. Subsequently the following inscription was affixed to the barrel: 'auriacus brugam, venit, vidit, abiit', or 'Orange came to Bruges, saw and left'. This phrase was, of course, a pun on Julius Caesar's 'veni, vidi, vici' or 'came, saw, conquered'.[225]

These examples show that the commemoration of the Revolt could quite literally be found on the streets in the Dutch Republic and to a lesser degree in the Habsburg

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[224] 'tot dat men overwint gelijck het is geschiet, waer van men huyden noch een klare teken siet' and 'tot eer van haer geslacht, tot lof van dese daad' Hoorn, Slapershaven, via www.gevelstenen.net, consulted 7 August 2012.

[225] Inventaris van het Bouwkundig Erfgoed, Stadswoning Dits in den grooten mortier (ID:29954), https://inventaris.onroerenderfgo(ed.)be/dibe/relict/29954, consulted 5 December 2013, the house name itself did not refer to the Revolt; Brugge, Wollestraat 28, via http://www.gevelstenen.net, consulted 5 December 2013; Olaf van Nimwegen and Ronald Prud'homme van Reine, 'De Republiek in oorlog', in: Petra Groen (ed.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Van opstand naar geregelde oorlog 1568-1648* (Amsterdam 2013) 221–298, there 273; Luc Devliegher, (ed.), *De huizen te Brugge* 3 (The Hague 1968) 95–96; Jean Luc Meulemeester, *Jacob van Oost de Oudere en het zeventiende-eeuwse Brugge* (Bruges 1984) 27; A.W. Weissman, *De gebakken steen* (Amsterdam 1905) 70.

Netherlands as well. Gable stones, however, were not the only markers in an urban landscape. One of the most important indicators that the Dutch Revolt had an impact on different levels of the community was its presence in everyday life. Houses as well as infrastructure elements such as waterways, roads, streets, dikes, wells and bridges proved particularly suitable for naming or renaming in reference to local events such as sieges, sacks and attacks. In the Dutch Republic the magistrate was usually involved in these practices. In Breda, for example, a new waterway was dug in 1610 to open up access to the city. Twenty years after the Habsburg army left Breda this new part of the city's fabric received the name *Spanjaardsgat*, a name that referred to the breach in the Spanish defense during the successful Dutch attack in 1590.[226] Near the island of Texel in Holland the name *Spanjaardsgat* appeared on several nautical maps of the area and was an important access point to the North Sea during the seventeenth century. The origin of the name is not entirely clear, but it was in use between the end of the sixteenth century and the Second Anglo-Dutch war during which it was renamed *De Witt's Diep*, a reference to Pensionary Johan de Witt who persuaded his fleet to take this waterway in 1665. After his death in 1672, however, the waterway would once again become known as *Spanjaardsgat*.[227]

As the examples above demonstrate, some references to the Revolt in the Northern Netherlands contained the prefix *Spanjaard* (Spaniard) or *Spaans* (Spanish). These prefixes could be found across the country and had developed as reference to the 'enemy' in the Dutch, anti-Spanish propaganda which started with William of Orange.[228] In Alkmaar in Holland a street named *Spanjaardstraat* surfaced on a map in 1649, a reminder of the siege of the city in 1573.[229] In Heusden in Brabant the *Spanjaardsbrug*, or Spanish bridge, recalled the siege of the city in 1598.[230] In Leeuwarden in Friesland the *Spanjaardsdijk*, Spanish dike, referred to the road on which the Spanish army halted when they were not allowed to enter

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[226] Th. Roest van Limburg, *Het kasteel van Breda. Aanteekeningen betreffende het voormalig Prinsenhof te Breda* (Schiedam 1904); Pieter Nuyts, *De Bredaasche Klio* (Amsterdam 1697).

[227] See for example, Hendrick Doncker, *Zeekaart van de Zuiderzee*, 1664, map, Fries Scheepvaart Museum Leeuwarden; Lucas Jansz Waghenaer, *Kaart van de Waddenzee en Zuiderzee*, 1596-1597, map, Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam, both maps consulted via http://geheugenvannederland.nl on 3 December 2012; for 'Spanjaardsgat' via http://www.texel-plaza.nl/texelinfo, consulted 3 December 2012; Francis Allan, *Het eiland Texel en zijne bewoners* (Amsterdam 1856) 83; Koninklijk Instituut van Ingenieurs, *Algemeen verslag van de werkzaamheden en notulen der vergaderingen* (1862) 37, 96–100.

[228] Judith Pollmann, 'Brabanders do fairly resemble Spaniards after all'. Memory, propaganda and identity in the Twelve Years' Truce', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands. Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden 2007) 211–228, there 218–219; Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries', 42-43; Pollmann and Stensland, 'Alva's Reputation in the Early Modern Low Countries', 311–312.

[229] Ruijsendaal, *Alkmaar binnen de veste*, 166.

[230] Abraham Jakob van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek der Nederlanden* X (Gorinchem 1847) 612.

the city in 1568.[231] Another *Spanjaardsdijk* near Opheusden in Gelre was renamed after the position the States army took to defend the town.[232] And in Zeeland people knew a so-called *Spanjaardsputje*, or Spaniard's well, on the island of Walcheren that commemorated a severe fight in 1574 during the siege of Middelburg when a local militia captain had defeated numerous Spanish soldiers.[233] References to the Spanish, however, did not necessarily have a bad connotation. In Rotterdam in Holland, for example, the visit of Habsburg army commander Ambrogio Spinola in 1608 during the negotiations for the Twelve Years' Truce gave cause to change several street names. The *Harinckvlijtbrugge*, a bridge built in 1597, was renamed the *Spanjaardsbrug* and part of the *Oude Hoofd* became *Spaansekade*.[234]

Another prefix that occurred regularly was *geus* (Beggar). The term Beggars had been used by rebels since 1566 when one of Governess' Margaretha van Parma's councilors had called the Dutch nobility '*gueux*', or beggars, when they offered her a petition for King Philip II.[235] While the description 'Spaniard' was often connected to places in which the Habsburg army had been the enemy, Beggar was a more complicated term since it could refer both to Calvinists in general and to the Beggar army in particular. Most of these names that contained the word Beggar could be found in the frontier areas between the Northern and Southern Netherlands or more specifically the border between Protestant and Catholic regions. Beggar then often referred to a road that was used by Southern Protestants and Northern Catholics to visit churches across the border where they could practice their religion.[236] For example, in the village of Boshoven in Brabant the *Geuzendijk* was used by Southern Netherlandish Protestants to visit the church in Budel around 1600.[237] This was also the case in Vaals, where the road between Vaals and Eupen became known as the *Geusenweg*. This road was used by Protestants from Aachen who could not practice their own religion in the German city, but used the churches in Vaals instead.[238] Similar references

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[231] Ibidem, 612; W. Eekhof, *Geschiedkundige Beschrijving van Leeuwarden* I (Leeuwarden 1846) 263–264.

[232] 'Spanjaardsdijk' or 'Dwarsdijk', Meertens Instituut, Databank 'Namen en Naamkunde in Nederland en elders', consulted via www.meertens.knaw.nl on 3 December 2012.

[233] Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek* X, 613.

[234] Stadsarchief Rotterdam (SAR), Straatnamendatabase, Spanjaardsbrug and Spaansekade, http://www.stadsarchief.rotterdam.nl/, consulted 15 November 2012.

[235] Nierop, Henk van, 'Edelman, bedelman. De verkeerde wereld van het Compromis der Edelen', *BMGN* 107 (1992) 1–27, there 1–2; Simon Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen 1559-1609', in: Simon Groenveld et al. (eds.), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (1559-1650)* (2nd revised edition, first published as *De Kogel in de Kerk*; Zutphen 2012) 73–147, there 73.

[236] See for example Dominicus de Jong, *Grenskapellen voor de katholieke inwoners der Generaliteitslanden* (Tilburg 1963) 70–106.

[237] 'Geuzendijk', Meertens Instituut, Databank 'Namen en Naamkunde' via www.meertens.knaw.nl on 3 December 2012; J.G.M. Biemans, ''De Reformatie, die hier eenen goeden voortganck genomen heeft' Predikanten in de baronie van Cranendonk, ca. 1648-1672', in: Jan van Oudheusden et al. (eds.), *Ziel en zaligheid in Noord-Brabant* (Delft 1993) 178–206, there 191.

[238] J.Th.H. de Win, *De geschiedenis van Vaals* (Vaals 1941) 55; J.F. van Agt et al., *Vaals, Wittem en Slenaken* (The Hague 1983) 59, 68.

to Beggars or Protestants can be found for areas that had been used by field preachers in the 1560s and 1570s. In Hilversum, near Utrecht, an area in which Protestants had gathered to hear field preachers became known as *Geuzenweg*.[239] In Hondschoote, in the West of Flanders near Dunkirk, the Protestants gathered in a spot on which a small chapel would be built in the nineteenth century. Here, the Protestants had listened to their preacher Sebastien Matte, but as soon as he was allowed to preach in Hondschoote this place of field preaching fell out of use.[240] Sometimes a complete village could be renamed due to events during the Revolt. In the region east of Oudenaarde in Flanders a village became known as *Geuzenhoek*, or Beggars' corner, because many Protestants settled in this area during the troubles. The village, also known as Horebeke, first housed the followers of Jacob Blommaert who was an important Calvinist in Oudenaarde. After his death in 1572 his army chose to settle in *Geuzenhoek*. In 1585, after Antwerp fell to Governor Alessandro Farnese, many of these Protestants who were too poor to move to the Northern Netherlands remained in the village. Here they were supported by the Calvinist churches near the border in Zeeland, despite the efforts of the Catholic clergy to prevent this practice.[241]

While giving pieces of infrastructure Revolt-related names originated either in an oral tradition or by decision of the magistrate, changing the name of a house was an individual choice. Many townhouses in the Low Countries had names that referred to topographic features, (biblical) stories, animals, food, trade, the owner or his occupation. Yet, sometimes contemporary politics could play a role in renaming a house.[242] In the latter category houses in the Southern Netherlands, for example, were named after rulers such as the king of Spain, Prince Cardinal Ferdinand of Austria or nobles like the Duke of Parma.[243] The rest of this category consisted of houses renamed in response to political events and especially episodes during the Revolt. Home owners in areas that supported the Dutch Revolt, for example, chose two episodes in particular: the relief of Leiden in 1574 and the attack using the peat barge in Breda in 1590.[244]

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[239] A. H. Meijer, *Straatnamenboek van Hilversum* (Hilversum 1995) 93.

[240] 'La route des gueux des bois en Flandre', 'Itinéraires protestants', http://itineraireprotestant.over-blog.com/article-16374157.html, consulted 3 December 2012.

[241] J. Arnold de Jonge, *De Geuzenhoek te Horebeke. Van geslacht tot geslacht* (Horebeke 2000) 10–13.

[242] See for the range of house names in Flanders for example Noël Kerckhaert, *Oude Oostvlaamse huisnamen. Alfabetisch repertorium van namen van huizen, hoeven, herbergen en molens in Oost-Vlaanderen onder het Ancien Régime* (Ghent 1977); and in the Netherlands and Belgium www.gevelstenen.net.

[243] See for example Kerckhaert, *Oude Oostvlaamse huisnamen* IV, 130–136; FAA, LZ 101 Huisnamen; Jozef Helsen, *Huisnamen te Lier* (Leuven 1934).

[244] This research on house names has been possible due only to the digitization of notarial archives in cities such as Rotterdam and Utrecht and incidental finds in archival inventories. Simultaneously, these results suggest that these references to the Revolt are only the tip of the iceberg.

The earliest example of a reference to the siege of Leiden is the house *'t Beleg van Leyden*, located on the Vismarkt in Leiden which is reported in a deed in 1612.[245] Remarkably, this house does not refer to the relief but rather to the siege of Leiden. While in other cities the relief was celebrated, Leiden commemorated its suffering during the siege as well as its relief.[246] Another early example was the house *Ontset van Leyden*, or relief of Leiden, in the Hoochstraat in Rotterdam which was owned by Jan Dircxsz Appeldoorn and his wife in 1630. This house was not only known as the relief of Leiden, but it also had a sign which depicted the event. Even though the house changed owners several times during the seventeenth century, the name remained the same.[247] The new owners probably did not change the name of this house, which was in a prominent location. Moreover, the sign increased its visibility in the city since it depicted the house's name, the siege of Leiden. Another house called *Ontzet van Leyden* was situated in the fort of Lillo, built in 1579 by William of Orange to protect the city of Antwerp against the Spanish army. After 1585, when the city of Antwerp fell to the Habsburg regime the fort remained part of the Dutch Republic, and the name survived. In 1679 Cornelis Claessen Prince was known to live in this house inside the fort. Whether his family had named the house is unclear, but the house kept the same name after it changed owners in the early eighteenth century.[248] A third example could be found in Utrecht where an inn in the Brandsteeg was called *Ontset van Leyden*.[249]

Houses and inns were thus named after the relief of Leiden in several cities in the Northern Netherlands, demonstrating feelings of pride for the achievement in Leiden during 1574. Yet why would someone name their house after the siege of Leiden in a different city? One argument may have been that new homeowners had come from Leiden and wanted to demonstrate their ongoing loyalty to their home town. In this way their relationship to Leiden and the siege in particular became part of their personal identity in their new city. Simultaneously the siege of Leiden had become so well known in the seventeenth century that it may have become common heritage. In that case the house name referred to a sense of identity that involved being a proud inhabitant of the Dutch Republic that had liberated itself from Spanish oppression. It is significant that the new names appeared in the

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[245] RAL, 501A Stadsarchief van Leiden 1574-1816, inv nr 5147, akte waarbij een vergunning wordt aanvaard tot vergroting van vensters in de muur in de Stadhuispoort van het huis ''t Beleg van Leyden' aan de Vismarkt 1612.

[246] Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel. Leiden, 1574', in: Herman Amersfoort et al. (eds.), *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam 2011) 118–145, there 127–131.

[247] SAR, Oud Notarieel Archief Rotterdam, inv nr 148, Notary Adriaan Kieboom, nr 417/630, 15-08-1630 and nr 514/805, 16-01-1631; inv nr 170, Notary Nicolaas Vogel Adriaansz, 82-125, 09-12-1641 and inv nr 369, Notary Jacobus Delphius, nr 94/215, 12-06-1661.

[248] In the eighteenth century the same or another house called 'Het Ontzet van Leyden'was known as owned by the Rechter family in Lillo. J.M.G. Leune, 'Lillo en Liefkenshoek. Repertorium van personen in en nabij deze Scheldeforten 1585-1786, namen P-S' (Capelle aan de IJssel 2012) 2-569, there 149, 216-217, via www.hanleune.nl, consulted 20 February 2014.

[249] HUA, 34-4 Notarissen in de stad Utrecht 1560-1905 Notary J. Vonck, inv nr 165, 20-12-1703; Notary H. van der Mark, 34-4 Notarissen in de stad Utrecht 1560-1905, nr 33, 15-12-1706.

seventeenth century, when events such as the relief of Leiden had already been recognized and canonized as important victories during the Revolt.[250] This phenomenon can also be demonstrated by the houses and inns that were named after the victory of Breda through use of a peat barge in 1590 and the Spanish fury in Antwerp in 1576.

In Rotterdam a house *Bredasche Turfschip*, or peat barge of Breda, was situated on Blaak in 1630, while in Amsterdam several inns were known under the name *Turfschip van Breda* in the eighteenth century.[251] Other, less glorious, parts of the history of the Revolt, however, were also commemorated in house names, such as the Spanish fury that took place in Antwerp in 1576. In Haarlem two houses called *Furie van Antwerpen*, or fury of Antwerp, and *Spaanse Furie*, or Spanish fury, stood in an alley behind the Raamstreet.[252] Since Haarlem was known for its many immigrants from the Habsburg Netherlands, and Antwerp in particular, this name is probably a reference to an immigrant's past. The number of houses and inns named after these iconic events during the Revolt in places other than where the original event took place demonstrates that individuals gladly referred to the war. Moreover, it suggests that these references to the Revolt were considered common in the seventeenth century.

Changes to an urban memory landscape in the Low Countries were plentiful due to the Reformation, the Counterreformation and the Dutch Revolt. Both in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands acts of removal, destruction and demolition were followed by initiatives for redecoration, reuse and reinterpretation of old heritage. The public appearance of the city and the everyday environment of its inhabitants therefore became a reflection of what the community had been through in the recent past. On top of the existing memory landscape the Revolt added a new layer of commemoration through inscriptions in buildings, monuments, sites of demolished chapels or castles, the re-use of buildings, new streets, and new gable stones. These additions, which were proposed by the local magistrate as well as individual citizens, were integrated into the way an urban community remembered the Revolt.

All these new, reestablished or lost elements of the urban memory landscape became permanent reminders of what had happened to the population. Each waterway, gable stone and inscription was intended to connect a particular space or place to the Revolt. Especially in the Dutch Republic, and in frontier areas between the Northern and Southern Netherlands, these references to the Revolt on the streets were popular. Even where nothing was left

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[250] See for this canonization Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries', 32-98.

[251] SAR, Oud Notarieel Archief Rotterdam, inv nr 41, Notary Jacob Duyfhuysen 151/265, 29-08-1630; inv nr 198, Notary Jacob Duyfhuysen jr, 191/280, 31-12-1638; Jacob Bicker-Raye, *Het dagboek van Jacob Bicker Raye 1732-1772* (2nd ed.; Amsterdam: H.J. Paris 1935) 24, via www.dbnl.org.

[252] Noord-Hollands Archief (NHA), inv nr 3295 Oudenmannenhuis te Haarlem 1607-1866, Tuenus Yoosen, Yacob Moeren, Hans Roelantszn, Jan Janszn van Bakalorum via www.noord-hollandsarchief.nl, persoon, consulted 13 December 2012.

standing, such as after the demolition of chapels, Catholics did their best to stay connected to the site's original function through depictions and pilgrimages. Demolished structures could thus still have significant meaning in an urban memory culture as also became visible in the citadels of Utrecht and Antwerp. These castles became symbols of civic unity and resistance as well as examples of how citizens had freed themselves from Habsburg oppression. Together all these elements, in combination with the stories they represented, formed the basis of any urban memory landscape in the Low Countries.

Chapter 2 – Relics of War

The Reformation and Revolt made significant changes to urban memory landscapes in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As we have seen in the previous chapter, there were many ways to reflect upon memories of the war at street level. In addition to new infrastructure, street names, and inscriptions the symbolic reuse of objects such as statues and weapons has already been touched upon briefly. These objects, like the places of memory, became important markers in urban memory cultures of the Revolt. Moreover, they had the potential to become relics of war.

The veneration of saints and relics had always been an important part of Catholic culture. Pieces of the bodies of saints, their clothing and anything they had touched during their lives were found in abundance in medieval churches. Relics were considered powerful tools in the practice of religion. The objects channeled the power of the saint to whom they had belonged and therefore played a role in curing the sick and protecting believers from harm. Relics acted as a bridge between the supernatural and the human worlds. Furthermore, even if the actual bodily connection to the saint was missing, his or her image was an equally strong mediator between the faithful and God. The image was therefore often deemed as worthy of worship as relics.[1]

When iconoclasm hit cities as a result of the Reformation and the wars of religion, Calvinists sought to destroy this part of Catholic religious culture.[2] Relics, images of saints and all other sacred objects were usually the first targets for iconoclasts. From a Reformed point of view relics were not sacred objects at all.[3] Instead of considering the relic a 'miraculous divine entity' the objects were seen as 'symbolic mementoes' of the past.[4] According to historian Alexandra Walsham, Protestants did have their own martyrs and were known to keep locks of hair and pieces of their bodies. But the material and sacred meaning was left out. Generally, these relics served a didactic purpose, in order not to forget what happened. Protestants seem to have credited power only to prayer books and the Bible.[5]

The differences in the interpretation of relics between Catholics and Protestants illustrate how the objects were in essence a cultural invention. The potential of any relic thus lay in the

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[1] Alexandra Walsham, 'Introduction. Relics and Remains', *Past & Present* 206 (2010) 9–36, there 11–16; Caroline Walker Bynum, *Christian materiality. An essay on religion in late medieval Europe* (New York 2011) 125-131.

[2] See for example in France during the wars of religion Andrew Spicer, '(Re)building the sacred landscape. Orleans, 1560-1610', *French History* 21 (2007) 247–268, there 259–260; Eric Nelson, *The legacy of iconoclasm. Religious war and the relic landscape of Tours, Blois and Vendôme, 1550 - 1750* (St Andrews 2013); and for the English Reformation Alexandra Walsham, 'Skeletons in the cupboard. Relics after the English Reformation', *Past & Present* 206 (2010) 121–143.

[3] Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer, 'Defining the Holy. The Delineation of Sacred Space', in: Sarah Hamilton and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Defining the holy. Sacred space in medieval and early modern Europe* (Aldershot 2005) 1–23, there 8–9, 19–21.

[4] Walsham, 'Introduction', 22–23.

[5] Walsham, 'Skeletons in the cupboard', 131–138.

hands of the community which was supposed to cherish it. If the belief system changed, as was the case in the Low Countries during the Reformation and the Revolt, the unattractive nature and lack of intrinsic value of relics could be exposed.[6] Yet, iconoclasm had a far from simple effect on relics. Indeed, many were destroyed, but in response to this act of heresy Catholics organized ways to hide and protect their relics which created an inventive new subculture. During the sixteenth century many people had lost interest in relics, miracles and processions, but the Revolt kindled a new commitment to these practices.[7] In fact, in Catholic circles saints and relics regained much of their power during the years of warfare that hit the Low Countries. Saints were 'seen' defending cities, protecting churches and relics and inspiring heretics to reconvert to Catholicism.

Despite the differences in interpretation, both Catholics and Protestants did in fact cherish relics. If we define a relic as a 'material manifestation of the act of remembrance' as Walsham has done, we can see that in the Low Countries not only the Reformation but also the Revolt served as a catalyst for the emergence of new relics.[8] As this chapter will demonstrate, these relics could take many shapes and sizes, but they all had in common that their meaning changed due to the Revolt. From traditional relics to any ordinary object associated with a particular episode, they shared their status as material memories.

Within their new context these bones, clothes, rudders or cannonballs were usually charged with a 'religious' connotation. For instance, in both the Catholic and Protestant parts of the Low Countries people attributed significance to being saved from cannonball fire; the cannonballs might then become 'relics' of their escape. Subsequently, the objects were often put on display in churches, private homes and town halls. The relics, however, could not survive outside their Revolt context. Moreover, the object could not command veneration on its own but had to be accompanied by a convincing story that could serve as a valid claim of authenticity. While traditional relics could receive a document of authenticity from the Pope or one of his representatives, other relics relied on their story. Authors that recounted tales of the Revolt therefore usually included many details about names, places, and exact data to ensure that their stories would be believed. This 'air of historical realism' was much needed to provide authenticity not only for the stories themselves but also for the relics they described.[9] The objects, their stories, and the change in meaning that occurred during the Revolt are the subject of this chapter.

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[6] Walsham, 'Introduction', 14–15.
[7] Judith Pollmann, *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford 2011) 5.
[8] Walsham, 'Introduction', 13.
[9] Erika Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling and patriotic scripture. The memory brokers of the Dutch Revolt', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 183–202, there 184–185.

Traditional relics and saints in wartime

Relics and images of saints had become prime targets during iconoclasm. In the Catholic memory cultures that emerged after the Revolt the destruction and relocation of relics therefore had an important place. Once Catholics realized the danger facing their symbols, it did not take long before they became very creative in hiding their precious relics and religious objects from rebels and heretics. For instance, the monastery in Thesynga near Groningen hid its seal in a molehill in 1581 to save it from the approaching rebels. Unfortunately, they hid it so well that they were unable to find it themselves after the attack.[10]

The majority of hidden relics, however, were saved by individuals who took them home, despite the decree issued by the Council of Trent stating that relics should be kept in houses of worship.[11] In Bruges in Flanders the Holy Blood relic was kept safe by church warden Jan Perez, while another church warden, Lieven de Vogelaere, safeguarded the relics of the Holy Cross.[12] The Holy Blood relic from Alkmaar in Holland was kept by a clergyman after the city turned Protestant in 1572. In the seventeenth century it showed up in one of the clandestine Catholic churches in the city, where miracles still occurred.[13] Equally in need of hiding were statues and other images of saints. In Antwerp the statue of the Virgin from the cathedral of Our Lady was saved by a baker who kept it in his basement, allegedly with a candle constantly burning in front of it.[14] Rescued relics were also kept in families for generations. In Lexmond in Holland, for instance, the canons of St Jan divided all the treasures that had been spared in the iconoclasm of 1580. While most of these canons had already converted to Protestantism, one of them, Arnold van Esch, had not. He bought from some of his colleagues their shares of these treasures, including important relics. After Van Esch died in 1610 the relics passed to his cousin Dirk, who transferred the treasure to Castle Kersbergen near Lexmond which was owned by his sister Maria. When Dirk subsequently converted to Protestantism, he decided to give the box with relics to his cousin Gerrit van den Steen, the last Catholic canon of Utrecht, and so to keep the objects of veneration in the Catholic community. In turn Gerrit decided in 1622 that it was safe enough to take the relics from their hiding place and spread them among the clandestine churches in Utrecht.[15] The relics, which had passed between several owners for over forty years, once again became public property.

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[10] Groninger Archieven, Statenarchief, inv nr 2770, 16 November 1594.
[11] Walsham, 'Skeletons in the cupboard', 126–127.
[12] Jens Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II. De rol van het stadsbestuur in de constructie van de katholieke stadsgemeenschap (1584-1598)' (Thesis Ghent University 2010) 126.
[13] Peter Jan Margry and Charles Caspers, *101 bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland* (Amsterdam 2008) 64.
[14] FAA, Ancien Régime archief van de stad Antwerpen, Beschrijving van kerken, kloosters en andere bezienswaardigheden, inv nr PK197, 29.
[15] Walter Zijderveld, *Van rooms naar protestant in Lexmond. Wel en wee van de Lexmondse kerk in de periode 1500-1815* (Lexmond 2009) 87–88.

The downside of hiding relics in private homes was that it was difficult to trace them (and their authenticity) after they resurfaced. The relics of St Rombout in Mechelen in Brabant, for example, were scattered across the cathedral during the 'English fury' of 1580. Individuals such as shippers, dyers, orphans, and clergymen subsequently gathered many of the pieces. Five years later, when the Calvinist regime finally left Mechelen, the relics were reunited but canon Mathias Hovius found himself obliged to check their authenticity. For this he usually used documents, but these had been torn or burned during the iconoclasm in 1580. Therefore he used his own common sense, the reputation of the owner, and his sense of smell since a genuine relic had a pleasant odor.[16] One way to prevent sacred objects from circulating amongst the population was their temporary relocation to a nearby city or another Catholic area such as Emmerich, where the Jesuit college has been described as a museum of Dutch relics and images, but also to Brabant and the Habsburg Netherlands.[17] The retable of the sacrament of Niervaart in Brabant, for example, was hidden in Breda in a room of one of the city's militia headquarters. In 1625 Archduchess Isabella visited this room after the Habsburg army recaptured the city.[18]

The interest of Archdukes Albert and Isabella in relics from the Northern Netherlands encouraged the transfer of relics to the Habsburg Netherlands. Probably inspired by the efforts King Philip II had undertaken to bring relics from Protestant areas to safety in his palace Escorial near Madrid between 1564 and his death in 1598, the Archdukes carried out similar practices in the Netherlands during their reign.[19] Many of these relics were either moved or smuggled to new homes in churches or monasteries across the border. Some of them had gone to the Rhineland, but the archdukes were keen to return them to the Low Countries. Therefore they appointed historiographer Joan Baptist Gramaye to locate relics and negotiate their voyage to Brussels. For instance, the relic of the Holy Cross from the abbey of Egmond, a small village in Holland, was moved via the German town of Mönchengladbach to Brussels.[20] The relics of St Liduina were left in her grave in Schiedam in Holland until 1615 when they were transferred to different churches in the Southern

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[16] Craig E. Harline and Eddy Put, *A bishop's tale. Mathias Hovius among his flock in seventeenth-century Flanders* (London 2000) 206–211.

[17] Willem Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle in a Catholic minority. The United Provinces in the seventeenth century', in: *Embodied belief. Ten essays on religious culture in Dutch history* (Hilversum 2002) 111–136, there 114; Eddy Put, 'Het elan van de katholieke hervorming (1596-1648) Nieuwe structuren, nieuwe standaarden', in: Patricia Quaghebeur and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld (eds.), *Het aartsbisdom Mechelen-Brussel. 450 jaar geschiedenis* (Antwerp 2009) 98–143, there 129.

[18] F.A. Brekelmans, 'Aanzien en luister van de stad Breda van de 16de tot de 18de eeuw', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 68 (1985) 157–172, there 167; Thomas Ernst van Goor, *Beschryving der stadt en lande van Breda. Behelzende de oudheid van het graafschap stryen, deszelfs eerste bewoonderen, en oude gestalte, met een historisch verhael van het leven der graven van Stryen, en daar op gevolgde heeren van Breda* (Breda 1744) 172.

[19] W.H. Vroom, *In tumultu gosico. Over relieken en geuzen in woelige tijden* (Amsterdam 1992) 16–21.

[20] Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and piety. Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg political culture in an age of religious wars* (Farnham 2012) 285.

Netherlands before being reunited in the Carmelite convent in Brussels in 1626.[21] The statue of Our Lady of 's-Hertogenbosch was smuggled to Brussels by Anna van Hambroeck after the city was captured by the Dutch in 1629. In Brussels it was first placed in the St Jabobschurch on the Koudenberg before it was transferred by four Capuchin monks from 's-Hertogenbosch to the St Gorikschurch where people started to venerate the miraculous statue again. In 1641 the statue returned to the St Jacobschurch because that church was closer to court, emphasizing the importance of the statue for Brussels and for Cardinal-infant Ferdinand, governor of the Habsburg Netherlands.[22]

Fig.18 Collection of cannonballs from 1489 and 1580 in Halle (Church of Our Lady Halle).

Hiding relics became common practice during the Revolt, but saints could also contribute to the local fight against heresy and keeping out the enemy.[23] In addition to their ability to protect against diseases and to cure the sick, saints interceded in difficult and dangerous situations during the Revolt as well. Indeed, some saints had already become known for their sympathy for local affairs during earlier conflicts. Our Lady of Halle, for example, had protected her city near Brussels from the invasion of Philip of Cleves in 1489. This intervention gave the population of Halle confidence that she would come to their aid again during the Revolt. And she did so in 1580 when the city was under attack by the rebel army (fig.18).[24]

When miracles took place, heretics were punished, the faithful were protected and comforted and hesitant believers were converted instantly. Many instance of punishment for the violation of sacred objects, such as images or relics of saints, were recorded during the troubles.[25] In Mechelen the statue of the apostle Paul had been miraculously saved during the English Fury in 1580. Three Beggars holding the statue wanted to throw it from the roof

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[21] Margry and Caspers, *101 bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, 412–413.
[22] Peter Nissen, 'Zoete Lieve Moeder 's-Hertogenbosch', databank bedevaarten, Meertens Instituut, via http://www.meertens.knaw.nl, consulted 19 November 2013.
[23] And as Lex van Tilborg informed me, these stories also circulated in France where the Virgin caught cannonballs in her lap during the siege of Chartres by the Huguenots in 1568. Henry Lehr, *La Réforme et les Églises Réformeés dans le Département actuel d'Eure-et-Loir (1523-1911)* (Paris 1912) 68–70.
[24] Remy Janssens, *Halle 700 jaar Mariastad* (Halle 1964) 123.
[25] Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle', 118–122.

of the church of the Poor Clares but had fallen down and died.[26] Sometimes the intervention of saints also ensured that little damage was done to their images. In Roermond in Gelre iconoclasts knocked over the altar but were unable to find the relics that were kept inside it.[27] In Antwerp the statue of St Willibrord had been rescued from a fire during the iconoclasm in 1566, without being damaged. During the Twelve Years' Truce the statue returned to the church of Our Lady, and miracles occurred almost immediately.[28]

Some statues of the Virgin became particularly famous during the Revolt. One example is Our Lady of Consolation from a Carmelite convent just outside Vilvoorde in Brabant. The Virgin saved the nuns in the convent on separate occasions. In 1578 and in 1587 she appeared on the walls of the convent dressed in snow white to protect the nuns. In 1578 she prevented the Beggars from plundering the convent by sapping their courage and causing them to fall from the convent's walls. Subsequently the nuns took the statue of the Virgin and fled to Vilvoorde. In 1587, after the nuns had returned to their convent, rebels arrived again. This time the statue of the Virgin became too heavy for the rebels to carry, and when they tried to burn it, it did not catch fire. Moreover, the Virgin was said to have saved the city's bailiff. To commemorate these occasions two paintings were made for the convent's church, one portraying how the Virgin made the Beggars fall from the convent's walls and the other commemorating in a Latin text her role in the bailiff's 1587 deliverance.[29]

In the meantime the statue had become famous in Mechelen, Brussels and Antwerp as well. In 1579, as Vilvoorde was threatened by Calvinists, one of the lay sisters of the convent, Katharina Vayers, dressed as a poor beggar woman, rolled the statue in a bundle of straw and walked to Mechelen. There she brought it to the house of one of the captains in the king's army who allowed the nuns to furnish one of the rooms in his house as a chapel for their statue. When the 'English fury' hit Mechelen in 1580 the statue of Our Lady was spared since the soldiers that entered the captain's house were so taken by the sight of praying nuns that they left without doing them any harm.[30] In 1621 and 1635 the nuns were forced to leave their convent once again. The first time they took their statue by carriage to Brussels where Archduchess Isabella ordered that it should be place in the city's beguinage. The second time the nuns took it to Antwerp where pilgrims were able to find their way to Our

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[26] Jozef Cuypers van Alsinghen, *Provincie, stad, ende district van Mechelen. Opgeheldert in haere kercken, kloosters, kapellen, gods-huysen, gelden, publieke plaetsen* II (Brussels 1770) 195.
[27] Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle', 121.
[28] Marie Juliette Marinus, *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676). Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad* (Brussels 1995) 251.
[29] Z.E.P. van der Speeten, *O.L.V.-ten-troost te Vilvoorden of, korte geschiedenis van het klooster en van het beeld onder dien naam bekend* (Grimberghen 1909) 44–50.
[30] Ibidem, 44–50.

Lady of Consolation as well. Indeed, she became so famous that upon the nuns' return to Vilvoorde the abbess decided that it was necessary to build a new convent in her honor.[31]

Relics of the Revolt

While the status of traditional relics could increase due to their involvement in the war, the Revolt also created a substantial number of new relics. The presence of all sorts of Revolt-related objects such as armor, clothing, cannonballs, pigeons, rudders, smashed glass and broken statues evoked stories about the war. More importantly, what set these relics apart from objects that were specially commissioned to commemorate the Revolt is that they had served other functions before the war but that their meaning had changed due to the war. This category of relics can therefore not be separated from the time and place that transformed their significance. Before they became relics, these ordinary objects had served a practical, religious or decorative purpose, but after the Revolt they were cherished as material memories. Moreover, the ordinary nature of the original object ensured that its cultural value increased dramatically as a relic. To retain its power, however, it was essential to maintain the relationship between the object itself, the story and claim of authenticity that connected it to the war. Without this story the object either returned to its former function or lost its value altogether.

For example, in the town hall in Leiden two stuffed pigeons were placed on display. These were the pigeons that had collected letters from the prince of Orange in Delft in Holland during the siege of Leiden in 1574, which had given the population hope of relief. After their death the pigeons' owner offered them to the magistrate, which decided to put the stuffed animals on display.[32] In the castle of Breda a wooden rudder could be seen. The rudder was the only surviving part of the peat barge that had successfully attacked the city in 1590. The cunning way in which soldiers hid inside the barge before overpowering the castle's garrison was the main theme in Breda's memory culture of the Revolt. From 1590 until 1625 the barge had been on display on the market square until it had been burnt by the Habsburg army in 1625. Yet, the rudder resurfaced in 1637 after the Dutch reconquered Breda. The long history of this piece of wood during the Revolt made it an important relic for

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[31] Ibidem, 41–83; Guido Marnef, 'Een maat voor niets? (1559-1596) De episcopaten van Granvelle en Hauchin', in: Patricia Quaghebeur and Arnoud-Jan Bijsterveld (eds.), *Het aartsbisdom Mechelen-Brussel. 450 jaar geschiedenis* (Antwerp 2009) 62–97, there 88; Inventaris Onroerend Erfgoed Vlaanderen, De Inventaris van het Bouwkundig Erfgoed, Kapelletje van Stee(n)voort, ID: 70599, https://inventaris.onroerenderfgo(ed.)be/dibe/relict/70599, consulted 4 July 2013.
[32] Jori Zijlmans, *Leidens Ontzet. Vrijheidsstrijd & volksfeest. De 3-oktobercollectie in Museum De Lakenhal* (Leiden 2011) 68; Emanuel van Meteren, *Historie van de oorlogen en geschiedenissen der Nederlanderen, en der zelver naburen. Beginnende met den jare 1315, en eindigende met den jare 1611* (Breda 1749) 278; Ingrid W.L. Moerman and R.C.J. van Maanen (eds.), *Leiden. Eeuwig feest* (Leiden 1986) 20.

the city to cherish.[33] In the Koudenberg palace in Brussels the horse that saved Archduke Albert's life during the siege of Ostend was stuffed and put on display for centuries.[34]

Not only governments, however, kept relics of sieges and other episodes during the Revolt. Individuals such as Captain Falaiseau kept items like the damaged cuirass he had worn at the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629.[35] In Bergen op Zoom in Brabant a person (and his descendants) cherished at home for centuries a fork and spoon that used to be the property of a local Catholic clergyman.[36] These objects were even recognizable as relics since they were decorated with an inscription that stated their provenance and therefore guaranteed their authenticity. These claims were as important for traditional as well as for new relics because the objects relied on their authenticity for their status. While traditional relics were subject to investigation by the bishop who could guarantee them a certain degree of authenticity, new (non-religious) relics of the Revolt had to rely on their story for authenticity. Forgeries thus could easily find their way into the commemoration of particular episodes.[37] Nevertheless, whether an object was genuinely connected to an episode or not, as long as people believed it had been present during a siege or attack, it could serve as a material memory of the Revolt. For instance, emergency money of the siege of Leiden was forged immediately after 1574 and could be bought as a memento.[38] Since it was presented as actual emergency money, people believed they were receiving or buying relics of the Revolt and cherished them accordingly. The presence of forgeries therefore is a sign of the status of relics within the local community.

The examples above show that any object had the potential to become a relic of the Revolt, but there are several groups of relics we can distinguish in particular. Collecting trophies of war was a common phenomenon in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe.[39] Whether the story attached to the objects was individual, local or national they were usually put on display and served as (public) reminders of war. These relics could reflect the desire

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[33] Marianne Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse. Memories of the Dutch Revolt in Breda, 1590-1650', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.) *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013), 129-147, passim.

[34] Antoine Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', 1685, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussels (KBB), Ms. 18991-92, f. 67v; see also Francis van Noten, 'The horses of Albert and Isabella. Historical background', in: Werner Thomas and Luc Duerloo (eds.) *Albert and Isabella 1598-1621. Essays* (Leuven 1998) 343-345.

[35] Anonoymous, Kuras ritmeester Falaiseau, before 1629, brass, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam inv nr NG-NM-9310-100.

[36] Adriaan Pit, *Catalogus van goud en zilverwerken benevens zilveren, loden en bronzen plaquetten* (Amsterdam 1952) 127.

[37] See for example the relics of local hero Pieter Adriaansz van der Werf from Leiden Zijlmans, *Leidens Ontzet*, 77–79; Marianne Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld. Relieken van Leidens ontzet', *Leids jaarboekje* 103 (2011) 33–47, there 42.

[38] Arent Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden. Waarheid en verdichting* (The Hague 2007) 15–21.

[39] See for example Jeremy Black, *War in the early modern world* (London 1999) 163; Kenneth Meyer Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia 1991) 440; Fred Sandstedt, *In hoc signo vinces. A presentation of the Swedish state trophy collection* (Stockholm 2006).

to point to the enemy who had been defeated and therefore be displayed as trophies of war, but they could also be connected to what the population had gone through.

During wars trophies that were captured from the enemy were often put on display.[40] Anything could become a trophy, such as the bridge used by the enemy to storm the walls of Alkmaar in Holland in 1573. This particular bridge was put on display in the local church but also resurfaced in several paintings of the siege of Alkmaar.[41] Banners were of interest because they not only served as identification of a certain regiment or ship in a battle but were also representations of authority. Indeed, defending this symbol was important during war and thus capturing and putting a banner on display was an important statement.[42] In the Koudenberg palace in Brussels, for example, one of the rooms was filled with banners the Habsburgs had taken from their enemies.[43] In the Dutch Republic the largest collection of banners earned in sieges and battles on land and sea could be found in the great assembly hall of the States General in The Hague in Holland. In 1607, for example, the States General had received three flags and a silk banner from the admiralty of Amsterdam that they had conquered during the battle of Gibraltar.[44] In 1651 all these banners were depicted in a painting in which they can be seen hung from the assembly hall's ceiling.[45] In an urban setting banners were also an important statement. In Holland Leiden's Pieterschurch held a banner of the San Matteo, a ship captured from the Spanish Armada in 1588 by several Dutch ships.[46] In Hoorn in the north of Holland a banner from an enemy ship conquered during the battle at the Zuiderzee was the most important local relic of the Revolt. Significantly, the banner was connected to a heroic story of how one of Hoorn's inhabitants had managed to capture the relic. In October 1573 Jan Haring had climbed the mast of the flagship of the Spanish commander, Admiral Maximilien de Hénin-Lietard, count of Bossu, and had taken down the banner of the admiral's ship; soon Bossu was forced to surrender.[47]

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[40] This practice was a European phenomenon, see for example Francis W. Carter, *Trade and urban development in Poland. An economic geography of Cracow, from its origins to 1795* (Cambridge 1994) 364; Joseph F. O'Callaghan, *Reconquest and crusade in medieval Spain* (Philadelphia 2003) 191.

[41] Anonymous, 'Aantekeningen gemaakt by een ooggetuige ten tyde van 't Beleg van Alkmaar' Regionaal Archief Alkmaar (RAA), via http://www.regionaalarchiefalkmaar.nl/, consulted 25 November 2013, f.114; See for example Pieter Adriaensz Cluyt, *De belegering van Alkmaar door de Spanjaarden, gezien vanuit het noorden*, 1580, oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nr 020856.

[42] See for the importance of the banner in battles Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *1648. War and peace in Europe* (Munich 1998) 89; Christon Archer, *World History of Warfare* (Lincoln 2002) 311.

[43] Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 66v–67r.

[44] *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal Oude en Nieuwe Reeks 1576-1625* XIV (The Hague 1970) 36, via http://www.historici.nl, consulted 25 November 2013.

[45] Bartholomeus van Bassen, Anthonie Palamedesz (formerly attributed to Dirck van Delen), *De Ridderzaal op het Binnenhof tijdens de Grote Vergadering van 1651*, ca. 1651, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-C-1350.

[46] Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek, VI, Pieter van der Does, 435, via http://www.historici.nl/retroboeken/nnbw/ consulted 4 July 2011.

[47] Theodorus Velius, *Chronijck vande Stadt van Hoorn* (Hoorn 1604) 188.

Subsequently, the banner was taken to shore and put on display in Hoorn's main church 'for perpetual remembrance'.[48]

These banners were taken to the local church to be put on display instead of to the town hall or another secular institution. In the Dutch Republic the church was the location to put (local) trophies of war on show.[49] While Protestant communities may not have cherished traditional relics, they did keep new relics such as banners and swords in a religious setting, thus increasing the status of the objects, although rarely to the point of veneration.[50] While traditional relics were considered a bridge between the believer and the saint they represented, new relics invoked only the commemoration of a certain event. They functioned as pieces of history which could be beheld in the local church. In Catholic communities this additional layer of memory was attached to the traditional relics as well. Moreover, traditional relics and those commemorating secular events could function side by side in Catholic churches.

Another category of relics that emerged after iconoclasm in the Northern Netherlands was that of smashed statues. While the banners are more difficult to match with their place in the local church, the statues were sometimes left with their heads cut off in the church in which they originated. This type of commemoration highlighted iconoclasm and what Protestants had done to the traditional church interior. In Utrecht's Domchurch, for example, the St Anna retable lost the heads of the portrayed saints during the 1580 iconoclasm but still remained in place.[51] A similar destruction of heads could be seen in Brabant. In Breda's Great Church the depiction of Our Lady of Sorrows was partially ruined.[52] A description by English traveler William Lord Fitzwilliam in April 1663 illustrates that the damaged statues remained on show for the congregation to behold and reflect upon. He visited the Janschurch in 's-Hertogenbosch where he saw

> several tombs, the chiefest is a bishop's of this place, all cut out in stone, on his
> knees and formerly he had a mitre on his head and his hands crossed together. But

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[48] 'Die van Hoorn hingen oock de vlagge van t"Admijraelscip in haer groote kerck tot een eeuwige gedachtenisse' Velius, *Chronijck Vande Stadt Van Hoorn*, 190.

[49] Carol Janson, 'Public places, private lives. The impact of the Dutch Revolt on the Reformed churches in Holland', in: Arthur K. Wheelock (ed.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 181–190, there 203.

[50] Johannes Samuel Swaan, 'Iets, over het zwaard van Bossu', *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* (1818) 233–236; Johannes Samuel Swaan, 'Nog iets over het zwaard van Bossu te Enkhuizen', *Vaderlandsche letteroefeningen* (1818) 514–518; for the sword of Willem Blois van Treslong in the church in Wieringen see http://www.michaelskerk.org/zwaard_bloys_van_treslong.htm, consulted on 11 November 2013.

[51] Domkerk Utrecht, Zandstenen retabel St Anna te Drieën; J.B.A. Terlingen and G.M.J. Engelbrecht, *De Dom van Utrecht. Symboliek in steen* (Utrecht 2004) 47.

[52] De Grote Kerk in Breda, visited 5 July 2011, information available at the church.

at the taking of this town [1629], some over-zealous soldier did cut off his mitre and arms.[53]

Leaving these damaged statues on view was a visible reminder of what had happened during the Revolt and what Protestants thought about saints and their images. Yet, as we have seen in chapter one, other reminders of iconoclasm were scarce. Some prints were published, but paintings of the subject did not appear until well into the seventeenth century. Therefore this obvious act of commemoration of iconoclasm in local churches stands out. Why did the church wardens leave these statues in place, especially in a community's main church? Were they so practical that they thought removing these big statues, retables and monuments would leave major gaps to be filled, or was there a purposeful decision to leave them in place? Did they hesitate to remove them for fear of offending certain families in the community? The answers to these questions may never be known, but the Revolt would forever be visible in the mutilated images of these saints.

Cannonballs

The relic that predominated in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands was the cannonball. This object epitomized the war as it represented the attacks on cities during the Revolt. When Dutch or Habsburg troops besieged or attacked a city, they usually used artillery fire to force the population to surrender. And, in the urban memory landscape, the cannonballs represented how the enemy had attacked the city from the outside and thus distracted attention from the civic struggles taking place within the city walls. Cannonballs symbolized a common enemy whose deadly weapons could hurt anyone in the community, and they became part of urban memory cultures across the Low Countries. From the early stages of the Revolt diligent citizens started to count every cannonball that hit their city during a siege.

In Leuven in Brabant, for instance, on some days the number of cannonballs was so high that it was entered in the history of the siege.[54] In Holland some people in Haarlem even kept lists on which they recorded the number of cannonballs per day (fig.19).[55] In Alkmaar

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[53] Cornelis van Strien, *Touring the Low Countries. Accounts of British travellers, 1660-1720* (Amsterdam 1998) 208.

[54] Erycus Puteanus, *Het beleg van Leuven door Frederik Hendrik* (Laren 2007) 38, Dutch translation of Erycius Puteanus, *Eryci Pvteani Historiae Belgiae liber singvlaris, de obsidione Lovaniensi anni M.DC.XXXV Novi sub Ferdinando Principe belli auspicia* (Antwerp 1636).

[55] Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Reprint 1628; Amsterdam 1974) 188-189; NoordHollands Archief (NHA), Nicolaas van Rooswijk, 'Notitie met aantekeningen betreffende bijzondere gebeurtenissen, alsmede het aantal per maand afgeschoten kanonskogels, tijdens het beleg van Haarlem door N. van Rooswijk', depot 44-001402 M.

the number of cannonballs that hit the city was even included in a painting of the siege of 1573.[56]

Fig.19 List of cannonballs that hit Haarlem daily during the siege in 1572 (Noordhollands Archief Haarlem).

The integration of cannonballs into urban memory cultures was enabled both by the surviving tales about these flying objects and by the preservation of the actual balls themselves. Together these two elements made cannonballs the predominant local relic in Protestant and Catholic areas of the Low Countries during the Revolt. Of course, cities in which cannonballs and their tales figured in local memory cultures had to have been besieged or attacked by artillery fire, but the long war and the many sieges ensured that many cities had suffered from enemy bombardments. Furthermore, cherishing cannonballs as such is not unique to the Low Countries. In England there are several examples of cannonballs that hit buildings during the Civil War and stayed in place as relics, and in Spain there is at least one cannonball that was kept after the war of succession in 1709 in a church in Alicante.[57] Yet, the many stories that persist in the Low Countries, even when the objects

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[56] Pieter Adriaensz Cluit, *De belegering van Alkmaar door de Spanjaarden, gezien vanuit het noorden*, 1580, oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nr 020856.

[57] In England two cannonballs of the Civil War have been enshrined as relics. The first hit a home in Weymouth in 1645, http://www.weymouth-dorset.co.uk/town.html, consulted 29 July 2013, the second hit the library of St John's College at Oxford in 1644, http://www.timeshighereducation.co.uk/features/campus-curiosities/197751.article, consulted 29 July 2013. In Spain: Bala de canon (1709), iron, Museo Naval Madrid, inv nr 208.

themselves have become lost, make cannonballs stand out in the memory culture of the Revolt.

Before turning to the actual objects and how they were kept and cherished it is important to understand which stories were connected to them. As stated above, the majority of the stories fitted into an urban memory culture about fighting a common enemy. While the records of men and women who were killed by cannonballs should not be forgotten, the most interesting tales often feature people who were hit by the cannonball but remained unharmed. The people who died on the spot were usually contributors to the defense of the city such as soldiers, messengers, or negotiators but seldom innocent bystanders.[58] By contrast, the people who were saved, generally had something special going for them. Depending on the area in the Low Countries they inhabited, these persons were protected by either divine intervention or a miracle.

The most likely people to survive being hit by a cannonball were devout men and dutiful women. In Haarlem in 1573

> a citizen named Jacob […] one day sat on a bench inside his house reading a Bible
> and there came a cannonball through the wall between his legs and […] the bench
> was shattered but the man unharmed.[59]

This citizen remained unharmed by the cannonball that flew through his wall because he was reading the Bible, or at least that is what the account by the Protestant author suggested. A similar incident also occurred in the Catholic city of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629

> On the 10th [of June] the Beggars shot through the St Janschurch, hurting a man on
> his leg, who sat and made his confession.[60]

In this case, the man was injured, but he did survive. The element of the confession therefore seems a significant reason to explain his survival.

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[58] For example *Iovrnael oft dach-register van alle het memorabelste datter binnen de stadt 'Shertoghen-Bosch (sints datse belegert worde tot den dagh van"t overgeven) voorgevallen is*, (Amsterdam 1629) e.g. 4 June, 29 June, 4 July; Joannes Arcerius, *Historie ende een waerachtich Verhael van al die dinghen die gheschiet zijn, van dach tot dach* (Knuttel 201; Delft 1573), 12 January; NHA, Afschrift door NN van een beschrijving van het beleg van Haarlem door Gerard Stuver, depot 44-001558M, f. 9; Puteanus, *Het beleg van Leuven*, 39.

[59] 'een borger genaempt Jacob […] saet op een tyt binnen zyn huyse aen een banck Lesende in een Bybel ende dae quam een cloot deur den muur tusschen syn beenen duer ende […] den banck aen stucken den man ongequest zyn'. Nicolaas van Rooswijk, 'Notitie', without page numbers.

[60] 'Op den 10. dito schoten de Geusen door S. Jans kerck, een man aen zijn been quetsende, die hem sat en biechte'. *Iovrnael oft dach-register*, 10 June.

In addition to devout men, dutiful women might be rescued, especially if they were performing their daily work such as cooking, cleaning, or mending clothes on the actual moment of impact. In 's-Hertogenbosch

> The apron of a woman drawing a tankard of beer was shot in her belly by a cannonball, and the tankard broke to pieces, without her being hurt anywhere else.[61]

The very same thing happened to Maritge Jansdochter in Haarlem in 1573 who was carrying a jug of milk.[62] An even more spectacular story was recorded in Alkmaar in 1573 when

> A cannonball of 40 pounds in weight entered a house, and broke a washtub, where a woman was washing, and a spinning wheel and chair on which a girl spun, without harming anyone, however, even though there were seven people in the house.[63]

The ordinary household activities these women were engaged in, such as spinning and washing, seem to have saved them from harm (fig. 20). Even if women did not survive it was not the cannonball itself that killed them. In 's-Hertogenbosch the steward's wife sat on a stool when a cannonball hit her. She died three days later because she had fallen from her chair and sustained serious injuries.[64] In Alkmaar a woman was

Fig.20 The cannonball attached to this house in the Appelsteeg in Alkmaar is presumed to be the one that only just missed the seven women during the siege of Alkmaar in 1573.

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[61] 'worde een vrou, die een kanne bier tapte, met een canonkogel de voorschoot vande buyck ghescoten en. de kan voor "t vat in stucken, sonder anders beschadicht te zijn'. *Iovrnael oft dach-register*.

[62] Simon Groenveld, *T'is ghenoegh, oorloghsmannen. De Vrede van Munster, de afsluiting van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (The Hague 1997) 43.

[63] 'een kogel in een huis gekoomen zyn van 40 pond gewigts, welke een waschtobbe, waer aen een Vrouw stond te wasschen, en een Spinnewiel en Stoel waerop een meisje spon verbrak, zonder egter iemand te quetsen, schoon zeven menschen in huis waeren'. S. Eikelenberg, *Alkmaar en zyne geschiedenissen* (Rotterdam 1747) 255; See also RAA, 'Aantekeningen gemaakt by een ooggetuige', f. 96.

[64] C.R. Hermans, *Verzameling van zeldzame oorkonden betrekkelijk het beleg van 's Hertogenbosch in den jare 1629* ('s-Hertogenbosch 1850) 52.

standing at the counter cutting food for her children when a cannonball hit the kitchen. The woman died not from the impact but from fear.[65] While the occasional death of an ordinary woman thus definitely occurred, authors preferred to focus on those instances where women (and even children) were spared, or they elaborated on the fact that it was not the cannonball itself that killed her.[66]

What sets the tales about pious men and dutiful women apart from ordinary stories about people dying from cannonballs is the amount of detail included.[67] It seems that when the memories of those experiences considered special were recorded, the author was inclined to authenticate his story with as much evidence as he could provide. Moreover, the author sometimes even remarked on the miraculous nature of what he had seen in his city. Author Johannes Arcerius, for instance, not only emphasized the fact that he had seen with his own eyes how a young girl was hit but not hurt during the siege of Haarlem, but also what he thought had happened to the cannonball.

> These things happened during the whole time of the siege, so that may be a matter of public record that [the enemy's] fierce and horrid cannonballs that were sufficient to destroy all, [have been] made powerless by the Lord or by his command have been shot in the wind to no avail or have not done too much damage.[68]

It had thus been the power of God and his divine intervention that saved many from a certain death by a cannonball. Yet, in Protestant cities dutiful women not only sat at home, but they also helped the men in their work on defending the city. In Haarlem one of the burgomasters of the city recalled

> I have seen the clothes of a young maid who carried earth this day on the town wall shot from her naked body with a large cannonball of 46 pounds in such a way that people had to cover her with a cloak and her body was totally unharmed.[69]

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[65] RAA, 'Aantekeningen gemaakt by een ooggetuige', f. 116v.

[66] In Haarlem children were saved as well. Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof*, 191.

[67] Compare, for example, *Iovrnael oft dach-register*, 5 June; Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof*, 191; RAA, Pieter Visser, 'Cort verhael van die ghesciedenisse ende belegeringhe der stat Alcmaer anno 1573', via http://www.regionaalarchiefalkmaar.nl/, consulted 25 November 2013, f. 116v; Arcerius, *Historie ende een waerachtich Verhael*, 12, 26 and 28 January.

[68] 'Dierghelijcke dinghen zijnder ditmael ghebeurt die gantsche tijt des belegerings tot de welcke openbaer verstaen mach werden dat haer felle en grijselicke clooten die ghenoechsaem waren om al te vernielen vanden Heer oft crachteloos gemaect oft door zijn ghebode te vergeefs in die wint gheschoten zijn of alzoos niet veel schades hebben ghedaen', Arcerius, *Historie ende een waerachtich verhael*, 28 January.

[69] 'Ick heb gesien op desen dagh boven op de wal een jonge maeght was die aerde gingh dragen haer kleederen van haer maeckte lichaem geschooten worden met Een grote Cloot van 46 pondt In sulcken voegen dat mense em der Eeran willen met een mantel moesten bedecken en was nogtans aen haer Lichaem gans niet beschadigt', Stuver, Beleg van Haarlem, NHA.

Fortunately this young woman who carried earth to the city wall survived, but in Alkmaar one of the girls helping out during the siege was not so lucky.

> Around midday a cannonball was shot from the flourmill, outside the Vriesegate, about 15 pounds heavy, through a wall in the Franciscan church, more than 2 feet thick around six feet high […] And the top of the head of the young daughter of the brushmaker on the Nieuwe Sloot, who was standing in the middle of the church, was struck by aforementioned cannonball, so that the brain clung to the walls and [she] died instantly, many were astonished because the cannonball entered the church so high and the daughter fell dead so mysteriously, it was the first time this girl was carrying [earth].[70]

What stands out here is the fact that the young girl was not only killed, but bystanders were astonished at how this happened. It seems that she was carrying earth to the wall near the Franciscan church and was hit while she was still inside the building. Apparently the author found it hard to believe that she could be killed at all. Whether this was because she was serving the good cause, she was still so young, or she was only a girl is unclear but the event is described as an anomaly. Yet, again the amount of detail given indicates that the author wanted to authenticate his story, especially in this case, when it was an example of a young girl dying from a cannonball.

While women in Protestant stories could join in the defense of their city, Catholic authors felt that women were not supposed to help in these matters. During the siege of Maastricht in 1579 therefore the Catholic author remarked upon a curious incident near the city's walls.

> Two women carried a bucket of earth to a breach, the one was a follower of Luther and the other Catholic. The latter was forced to do this work; secretly she was praying and used a rope with knots as rosary because she had no other. So she prayed to God to protect His Church, and her companion blamed her for this and mocked her.

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[70] 'omtrent die middach werde een cloot gescooten van de Meelmoelen, buyten de Vriesepoort, swaer omtrent 15. pont, door een muer, ruym 2 voeten dick in de Minnebroeders kerck, hooch omtrent ses voeten uuter aerden ende beliende aen(-)de suytwest sijde van der kerck. Ende een jonghe dochter van de Berstelmaker op die Nieuwe Sloot staende midden in de kercke, werde met die voerseide cloot die pan van haer hooft gescooten, dattet breyn aen(-)de mueren spranck ende was terstont doot, daer veel volcx af verwondert was, daer die cloot so hooch in de kerck quam ende die dogter so miraculoos doot bleef, het was die dochter haer eerste reyse dat sij dragen soude.' Visser, *cort verhael*, f. 116r. Although 'jonghe dochter' can mean maid / woman as well I have chosen to interpret it as daughter in this context.

> At that moment a bullet struck her [the Lutheran woman] in her chest so she fell dead on the spot. The Catholic woman survived.[71]

While these two women carried earth to help in the defense, there is a strict distinction in who is hurt and who is not. The Lutheran woman is killed almost immediately for mocking the Catholic woman and participating in the defense. The Catholic woman, however, is different in two respects: she does not participate voluntarily, and she is such a devout Catholic that she used a rope as rosary. In fact, she put her faith in God to protect the church and He did.

In addition to putting their trust in God, as Protestants did as well during the sieges, Catholics had another weapon: their reliance on (patron) saints, and especially the Virgin, to come to their rescue. As we have already seen, miracles occurred regularly during the troubles, but during sieges the protection was even more spectacular. For example in Venlo in Limburg in 1632 the population was convinced that the Virgin had protected the city because her statue had remained intact.[72] In 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629 the Virgin was specifically called upon to rescue the population.[73] In Halle near Brussels the Virgin offered her protection to the city in 1580 as she had done during an attack in 1489 as well. As scholar Justus Lipsius recorded in his history of the Virgin's miracles

> The danger, the roaring, and the dismay were great everywhere, but the citizens have been steadfast in invoking the Holy Virgin devoutly […] around the evening the enemy was beaten off with great losses amongst them, and they [the enemy] said themselves that the Holy Virgin had been against them.[74]

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[71] 'Twee vrouwen droegen een korf aarde naar de bres, de eene was een volgelinge van Luther en de andere was katholiek. Deze laatste was gedwongen dit werk te doen; heimelijk liep zij te bidden en zij gebruikte een touw met knoopen als rozenkrans, want een andere had zij niet. Zoo bad zij God dat Hij Zijn kerk zou beschutten, en haar gezellin verweet haar dit en bespotte haar. Op dat oogenblik trof haar een kogel in de borst zoodat zij op de plaats dood bleef. De katholieke vrouw bleef behouden.' J. Brouwer, *Kronieken van Spaansche soldaten. Uit het begin den tachtigjarigen oorlog* (Zutphen 1933) 290.

[72] Margry and Caspers, *101 bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, 492.

[73] 'Journael off dach-register van 'tgene binnen de stadt 's Hertogenbosch sints de belegeringe voorgevallen is', in: C.R. Hermans (ed.), *Verzameling van kronyken, charters en oorkonden betrekkelijk de stad en Meijerij van 's-Hertogenbosch* ('s Hertogenbosch 1847) 65–90, there 84.

[74] 'Het peryckel, 't ghetier, ende die verslaghentheyt was over al seer groot, maer die Borghers zyn daer inne stantvastigh gheweest, dat sy die Heylighe Maghet vierighlyck hebben gheweest aenroepen [...] omtrent den avondt worde die vyandt afgheslaghen met groot verlies van den synen: ende beleedt selve dat die Heylighe Maghet hem was teghen gheweest.' Justus Lipsius and Philippus Numan, *Die heylighe maghet van Halle, door Ivstvs Lipsivs. Hare weldaden ende mirakelen oordententlijck ende ghetrouwelijck beschreven* (Brussels 1643) 33.

Moreover, it was said that the Virgin appeared on the city's walls catching cannonballs in her lap before returning to the main altar of her church, covered with soot from all the gun smoke.[75]

The Virgin also lent a hand to individuals who needed her help defending the city. In 's-Hertogenbosch Alderman Robbert van Voorne wrote

> One of the trouser-legs from a soldier has been shot off by a canon of 15 or 16 pounds, and kept hanging in the other trouser-leg, without harming the soldier, who himself described it as a miracle of the Holy Mother of God.[76]

The soldier himself attributed the miracle to the Virgin without any doubt. Not only was she the patron saint of 's-Hertogenbosch, but who else would help a soldier in need? Maybe he even knew the story of a previous siege in 1603 when the Virgin had helped out another soldier. That soldier watched a cannonball come straight at him, but it dropped dead in front of his feet because of the Virgin's intervention.[77] Moreover, the Virgin also used gunshot herself to stop heretics from mocking her. After one soldier told his comrades that he would 'cut off the nose' of her statue in 's-Hertogenbosch, she interfered and with 'one shot of a gun […] has shot the nose right off this fellow'.[78] And when a soldier outside Halle proclaimed that he would take the Virgin's statue with him to Brussels to burn it publicly, God struck this blasphemer's mouth and chin by cannon shot to punish him.[79] By offering her protection against foreign troops and heretics the Virgin thus became the symbol of fighting against a common enemy. The Catholics' resilience was demonstrated by their trust in the saint but also by telling tales about cannonballs to remember the (victorious) struggle against the enemy.

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[75] Luc Duerloo and Marc Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel. Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven 2002) 34; Janssens, *Halle 700 jaar Mariastad*, 125.

[76] 'Een soldaet is met een canon van 15 oft 16 ponden gescoten de een pyp van syn broeck aff, ende is inde andere pype vande broecke blyven hangen, sonder den soldaet te quetsen, die t"selve als een miraeckel toeschryft de heylige moeder Godts.' Hermans, *Verzameling van zeldzame oorkonden* I, 40.

[77] H. Hens et al., *Mirakelen van Onze Lieve Vrouw te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1381-1603* (Tilburg 1978) 673–674; Marc Wingens, *Over de grens. De bedevaart van katholieke Nederlanders in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Nijmegen 1994) 40.

[78] 'Die H. Maghet hadde dit voornemen ghehoort ende beschickt dat desen soldaet soude betaelt worden met sulckx als hy hadde meynen te doen [...] eenen scheut van eender busse [...] die desen quant recht synen neuse heeft af-gheschoten'. Lipsius and Numan, *Die heylighe maghet van Halle*, 37.

[79] Ibidem.

From flying enemy to relic

Once the cannonballs had hit the city, and their tales had been recorded, the objects were integrated into urban memory cultures. The stories were spectacular, but in order to become a relic the original object needed to remain closely connected to the tale. Only the relationship between cannonball and story would ensure its status as relic and prove its authenticity in the future. This quest for authenticity and evidence made this relic much like its traditional counterpart. Fortunately, many of the cannonballs were still available after the siege and when the fighting stopped citizens and town officials went out to collect them from the streets. After the Spanish left Wesel in 1586 cannonballs were collected and hung from the windows of the town hall facing the market place.[80] In 1635 Professor Erycius Puteanus also remarked on the number of cannonballs that he found in the city of Leuven after the siege, like those

> collected and kept in the citadel and around the citadel by my son and my servants and elsewhere by others.[81]

Whether on private or government initiative, cannonballs were thus gathered after sieges and not only to be reused as weaponry. Some of them ended up in town halls, churches or on display in private homes.

The combination of the tales with the original cannonball made the objects even more meaningful relics in urban memory cultures. Yet, the location where they were displayed also said much about the importance of the cannonball in the story of the siege or attack. As we have seen already, new relics often turned up in churches, and this is exactly what happened to the cannonballs as well. Church wardens wanted to remember the impact of cannonballs in their churches or chapels by replacing or keeping them in the exact location they had entered the church during a siege. In Halle, more than one hundred cannonballs from the sieges of 1489 and 1580 were on display in a separate, barred room with an explanatory plaque attached to the wall.[82] In Haarlem the commander of the Jansheren commissioned a

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[80] Jesse Spohnholz, *The tactics of toleration. A refugee community in the age of religious wars* (Newark 2011) 233–234; archeological evidence in the city of Breda shows how the chains have been connected to cannonballs in order to use them as decoration, with thanks to Hans de Kievith and Erik Peters of the Archeological Depot in Breda.

[81] 'Sed operaepretium sit, monstra haec glandium, non glandium, verbis repraesentare, quemadmodum in Arce, & circa Arcem a filiis domesticisque meis, alibi ab aliis, collectae sunt, & fervantur'. Erycius Puteanus, *Eryci Pvteani Historiae*, 106; see also Puteanus, *Het beleg van Leuven door Frederik Hendrik*, 41.

[82] Janssens, *Halle 700 jaar Mariastad*, 125–126.

master mason to replace 'three iron balls […] that were also shot inside in the same place'.[83] These cannonballs remained in the Heemstederkapel for centuries.[84]

In 1577 the church wardens of St Bavo in Haarlem also allowed a cannonball to be placed in the interior of the church as a symbol of Calvinist resilience during the siege. According to legend, it entered the church while the minister Simon Simonszoon was preaching. The cannonball just missed him but hit the inner wall near the Heilige Geestkapel, where it still sits today (fig. 21).[85] To remind the public of the event, the year 1573 was painted underneath and an inscription was placed above it. By preserving the cannonball and the inscription the church wardens kept the memory of the siege alive. Not only did this act of preservation emphasize the way God had saved the minister but also the way the city had eventually been saved. Although the siege of 1573 had been lost and the city suffered under a Habsburg regime for four years, God had shown them

Fig.21 Cannonball in the wall of the Heilige Geestkapel in St Bavo church in Haarlem with explanatory date signed underneath.

mercy after 1577. This act of shared suffering at the hands of a common enemy should not be forgotten.

In 1574 Zaltbommel in Gelre had a similar incident with a cannonball. A priest who served the Spanish army wrote in his journal about the rescue of a preacher and his flock during the siege of 1574.

> The 29th of August, which was a Sunday, the Spaniards shot from Tuyl into the church of Bommel during the sermon. The ball landed first in front of the pulpit, but lifted itself up again and fell in the St Antonius building. No one was hurt, but the

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[83] 'na heemsteder capelle daer dye drij iseren kloten in gemesselt binne dye oock in dye selfte plaetzen gescoten binnen'. NHA, Stadsarchief Haarlem, Jansklooster, 'Ontfange ende uuijtgeve anno 1575', VIII-300, Loketkast 32-132-10-11.

[84] Wim Cerutti and Florence Kroon, *Van Commanderij van Sint-Jan tot Noord-Hollands Archiefgeschiedenis van het klooster en de kerk van de Ridderlijke Orde van het Hospitaal van Sint-Jan van Jeruzalem in Haarlem* (Haarlem 2007) 157–159.

[85] The provenance of this story is not entirely clear. It dates back to J. Wolff, *Beschrijving van de Groote of St. Bavo-kerk te Haarlem* (Haarlem 1845) 189-190. It is clear, however, that cannonballs were on display in St Bavo in the seventeenth century, see W. Mountague, *The delights of Holland* (London 1696) 109.

people listening to the sermon were very surprised, walked directly with their preacher from the church to the Regulars, and there they finished the sermon.[86]

The cannonball that flew through the church left the congregation unharmed, but it did not leave the building. The church wardens left the cannonball in the exact place where it hit the wall. And apparently the story was told to anyone who visited the church. In 1611 English tourist Thomas Coryate described it in his travel journal

> This Bommel is the farthest frontier towne westward of Gelderland, and memorable for one thing. For I saw a great bullet sticke in the Tower of their Church, even about the toppe which was shot by the enemy in the yeare 1574 which figures (1574) are subscribed in such great characters under the bullet, that a man may very plainly discerne them afarre off.[87]

Coryate's account describes the cannonball in a different location than the priest which could mean that the cannonball had been moved, or that there may even have been more than one cannonball exhibited at the site. Yet, what Coryate's description also shows is that new relics became tourist attractions. In this, they can be compared to the traditional relics which attracted pilgrims. Moreover, the relic in Zaltbommel also demonstrates that it was the combination of the story, the object and the painting on the wall that made it successful.

The church's role as the place to keep and display relics, a function which it had exercised since the Middle Ages, thus continued during the seventeenth century. In the Habsburg Netherlands the traditional relics returned and were supplemented with new relics of the Revolt. In the Dutch Republic the new relics were integrated into the church interior, but not in the same way as the traditional Catholic relics had been. As we have already seen, the cannonballs were on display on walls, and flags hung from the ceiling of the church. Unlike the traditional relics that were on display in shrines and only came out several times a year, the new relics were constantly visible in the church interior.

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[86] 'Den 29 Augusti, ende was een Sondach, schoeten die Spaeniers van Tuyl onder het sermoen in die kerrick van Bommel. Die cloet viel voir den preeckstoel neer, mer gaff sich weder op ende viel in St. Antoniuspant. Der worden nyemants gequest, mer 't volck in "t sermoen was seer verbaest, lyepen gelickhant mit haren predikant uut die kerck na den Regulieren, alwaer het sermoen voirt voleyndt worden'. Gasparus L'Agarge, *De blokkade van Zalt-Bommel. Dagverhaal van Gasparus de L'Agarge, geestelijke, behoorende tot het gevolg van Gillis de Berlaimont, heer van Hierges; hierin vindt men bijzonderheden wegens het voorgevallene voor Zalt-Bommel en omstreken, ook wegens den slag op de Mokerheide, 1574* (Arnhem 1925) 70.
[87] Thomas Coryate, *Coryats Crudities. Hastily gobled up in five moneths travells in France, Savoy, Italy, Rhetia commonly called the Grisons country, Helvetia alias Switzerland, some parts of high Germany and the Netherlands* (London 1611) 638.

Depictions of the Pieterschurch in Utrecht, for instance, show the cannonball that had destroyed the organ in 1577. After it hit the organ it was connected to the west end arch by a chain to commemorate the destruction. Once the organ was restored, an inscription was added to the cannonball to explain the events of 1577. In 1636 the cannonball appeared above the organ in a drawing by artist Pieter Saenredam. (fig.22). Yet, in the painting of the same church in 1644, he left it out. It has been suggested that this may have been because his private interest in history did not match the wishes of his patron.[88] Still, the focus of the painting also slightly differs from the drawing. Instead of the organ itself, the gallery and the open door on the right side of the painting form the centerpiece of this depiction of the Pieterschurch. Depicting the cannonball on the right would have taken attention away from the gallery and the door. One explanation that can certainly be ruled out, however, is that the cannonball was taken down between 1636 and 1644. Herman Saftleven portrayed the cannonball and inscription in their original place in 1674, after a terrific storm destroyed Utrecht. His drawing of the Pieterschurch clearly shows the cannonball in the top of an otherwise destroyed church (fig. 23).[89] Even the sign, which already shows in Saenredam's drawing still remained in situ.

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[88] Janson, 'Public places, private lives', 203.
[89] Herman Saftleven, *Interieur van de Pieterskerk te Utrecht*, 1674, drawing, HUA, inv nr 28643.

Fig.22 Pieter Saenredam, interior of the Pieterskerk in Utrecht displaying the cannonball that hit the church in 1577 above the organ, 1636 (Het Utrechts Archief).

Fig.23 Herman Saftleven, Interior of the Pieterskerk in Utrecht displaying the cannonball after the storm of 1674, 1674 (Het Utrechts Archief).

Cannonballs were on display not only inside the church but could also be seen on the streets. We have already noted their display in town halls and churches, but they also appeared in houses. In 1635, Erycius Puteanus recorded how the population of Leuven in the Southern Netherlands incorporated cannonballs into the public display of local memories.

> This [cannonball] hit the house on the market […] in such a strange way, that it appeared to be put there by hand and places as a work of art. A beautiful birthmark in the fair face of the façade.[90]

Puteanus appreciated the aesthetic value of cannonballs, but he also commemorated the importance of cannonballs for the urban community (fig. 24). The magistrate of Leuven similarly recognized the importance of cannonballs in the civic memory culture that developed after the siege of 1635. A poem by Puteanus was painted on a wall in the city stating

> Which cannonball? From the enemy. Did it hurt? It only played with lightning while the French and the Dutch made their guns thunder. An omen lies in the projectile, the wall is decorated by the wound: the cannonball itself warns that the Grudii [people from Flanders, i.e. Leuven] could not be conquered.[91]

Fig.24 Erycius Puteanus, Depiction of the cannonballs Puteanus and his son found on the streets of Leuven after the siege of 1635 (University Library Leiden).

Cannonballs served as a warning to the enemy that Leuven could not be conquered; they were a symbol of glory. As Puteanus put it

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[90] 'Hunc domus in foro publica [...] tam insolenti casu excepit; ut manu latus, & arte collocatus videatur. In pulchra aedifcii facie pulcher naevus'. Puteanus, *Erycl Pvteani Historiae*, 99; Puteanus, *Het beleg van Leuven door Frederik Hendrik*, 38.

[91] 'Quis globus? hostilis. Laesitne? at fulmine lusit, galli tormentis dum batavique tonant. Omen inest telo, decoratur vulnere murus: non vinci grudios, admonet ipse globus'. Puteanus, *Erycl Pvteani Historiae*, 100; Puteanus, *Het beleg van Leuven*, 38–39. The term Grudii (or grudios) is used for one of the tribes in Gallia Belgica during the time of Julius Caesar which is now the area of Flanders. Eckart Olshausen,'Grudii', in: Hubert Cancik and Helmuth Schneider (eds.) *Brill's New Pauly*, via http://brillonline.nl/entries/brill-s-new-pauly/grudii-e12222320, consulted 26 February 2014.

> Besides that this is already an indication and mark of honor for the besieged, defended, and liberated city, others will, not without admiration, call it a sign of glory and a monument.[92]

In places such as Leuven where the citizens had successfully defended their city, cannonballs became trophies of war: reminders of the fruitless attack by the enemy. The same went for the cannonballs attached to houses that became known as the 'house with the cannonball' in Northern cities such as Leiden and Alkmaar in Holland.[93] For Leiden the reference to the cannonball seems rather strange since during the siege of 1574, there had been almost no bombing. Instead of surrounding the city and attacking it with artillery fire every so often, the Spanish sealed Leiden off from supplies in order to starve the population. This cannonball was claimed to have been found in one of the sconces outside the city, and therefore does not have a story of divine intervention connected to it. Instead it became a relic of the relief of Leiden.

Cannonballs attached to houses were as much a statement about the importance of relics as those on display at public places such as town halls and churches. Indeed, some of the most famous cannonballs were cherished in private. As we have seen already, several ingredients were necessary for a relic to become famous: it needed to be in its original location, on display and attached to a spectacular story. A local hit in Haarlem seemed to have been the story of Magdalena van Schoten.

> Also […] a cannonball was fired in the Soemelkenwittebrood alley into the iron grille of the house of Lord Schoten, which flew through the room and played around the bed in which Miss Magdalena van Schoten lay, without harming or pushing her from the bed. Its course was broken in the same room in which the ball hung for many years in the said grille on an iron chain as a memorial and is still kept for the same reason by her son, the honorable Willem Vader.[94]

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[92] 'nisi index potius titulusque obsessae, defensae, ac liberatae urbis, non sine admiratione spectabilis. Signum gloriae ac monumentum alii appellabunt'. Puteanus, *Erycl Pvteani Historiae*, 99; Puteanus, *Het beleg van Leuven*, 38.

[93] C. Seyn, *Catalogus van oudheden en bijzonderheden, betreffende het beleg en ontzet der stad Leyden* (Leiden 1824) 36; Eikelenberg, *Alkmaar en zyne geschiedenissen*, 255; similar stories are linked to houses with cannonballs in Haarlem (Spekstraat) and Den Bosch (Kruisbroederstraatje), indeed there are cannonballs bricked into the facades, but it remains unclear whether these are connected to the sieges of 1573 or 1629 respectively.

[94] 'Ook werde […] een Canons-kogel geschoten inde Soemelkenwitte broods steeg inde ysere tralie van het huys van den Here van Schoten de welke van daer volords inde sale vloog ende speelde rondom boven het bedde alwaer Joffrou Magdalena van Schoten lag sonder haer te beschadigen ende vande bedstede afvallen. De sijnen loop gebroken sijnde smoorde inde selve kamer: welke kogel veel jaeren inde gemelde tralie aen eenen yseren keten ter geheugenisse heeft gehangen ende

Magdalena was a noblewoman from Haarlem who married a German officer who served in the city's militia in 1574.[95] Whereas many of the cannonball tales were anonymous stories, this one was so detailed that the first author who mentioned it, Minister Samuel Ampzing, must have known Magdalena's family personally.[96] The relic was kept in Magdalena's home by her son, who hung it from the window. The presence of the cannonball in the window immediately connected the family to the Revolt, and the family was apparently proud to possess and display the relic. Even when it was pulled down eventually, Willem Vader kept it in his home for a smaller audience to view it. And the story did not disappear because town chronicler Theodorus Schrevelius included it in his history of Haarlem in 1648 as well.[97]

The most famous cannonball tale, and one which rose from local to national significance, however, was the story about Kornelissen Koltermans from Haarlem.

> 10 April a woman named Kornelissen Koltermans was hit when she came down the stairs of the attic at her sisters' [house] on the corner of the Oostelleboge of the Kroft directly opposite the church of the Orphanage, by a large iron cannonball between her legs that tore apart her clothes without touching her, which bullet and skirt are still kept in the present by her son Jakob de Graef to remember such a history.[98]

In this story not only the cannonball but also the skirt Kornelissen wore became relics. In 1628 they were still kept by the woman's son in commemoration of the events of 1573. Like Magdalena's family, Jakob was very proud of his mother's survival. It seems that in Haarlem cannonballs, their tales and displaying the actual relics were a way to keep connecting oneself to the Revolt.[99] The most important reason to do so seems to have been showing a certain pride or maybe emphasizing the position of a family member within the community.

Kornelissen's story, however, was published before Magdalena's in the national history of the Revolt written by Pieter Bor in 1621.[100] Whether this inspired Magdalena's son to tell

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word ook noch ten selven eynde van haeren sone Jonker Willem Vader bewaerd'. Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof*, 191.

[95] NHA, Notarieel Archief, toegang 1617, nr 2 1573-1579, f4v-6; Theodorus Schrevelius, *Harlemias, ofte de eerste stichtinghe der stadt Haerlem, haer toenemen en vergrootinge* (Haarlem 1648) 147.

[96] Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof*, 191.

[97] Schrevelius, *Harlemias*, 147.

[98] '10. April werde eene vrouwe Kornelissen Koltermans tot haer susters op den hoek vande Oost-elleboge van de Kroft recht tegen over de Kerke van het Weeshuys vande solder de trappen afkomende met eenen grooten yseren kogel tuschen haere beenen deurgeschoten de klederen aen stucken sonder haer te raken welke kloot ende rock van haeren sone Jakob de Graef tot eene gedachtenisse sulker geschiedenisse tegenwoordig noch bewaer worden'. Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof*, 191.

[99] Using clothing as a connection to the Revolt was also not uncommon.

[100] 'Daer wert oock eene Vrouwe ghenaemt Cornelisgen Coltermans wesende tot haer suster aen die krocht op de solder met een groote yseren Cloot tusschen haer beenen deur geschoten die cleederen

her story to Ampzing for his publication in 1628 remains unclear, but the two stories do share similarities. Bor also made the cannonball tales a unique feature of the siege of Haarlem by referring to them because of their rarity. Moreover, by leaving the cannonball tales out of his account of other sieges, he made them specific to the urban memory culture of Haarlem. In other cities, for instance, he did mention the numbers of cannonballs that hit the city but left out any survivors' tales.[101] The fame of Kornelissen's story spread across the Low Countries through Bor but also caused confusion. Especially in the eighteenth century, individuals started to mix up cannonball tales. Alkmaar's town Chronicler Simon Eikelenberg warns his reader about this practice in 1747

> Yet reader be careful, that not stories from other cities are offered as Alkmaar's histories, similar to the case of Kolterman's daughter, who did not live in Alkmaar but in Haarlem, these are nice histories for the common folk (that even listens to them with open mouths on the day of relief) yet sensible people laugh at this idle talk.[102]

According to Eikelenberg, authors used stories from other cities to impress their audience. The public apparently did not care whether the stories really happened in Alkmaar as long as they were spectacular. Sensible people, however, did not believe such idle talk. Yet, he also notes the practice of telling and retelling these stories during the annual celebratory day of relief in Alkmaar, on 8 October. The stories thus continued to appeal to people in the eighteenth century, particularly on the annual celebration of the relief of the city.

Relics of war claimed their place in urban memory landscapes from the beginning of the Revolt in 1566. Smashed statues continued to be displayed, while miracles occurred regularly, and new relics were created during the many encounters with war. Sieges, attacks and massacres were all occasions during which traditional relics and ordinary objects such as cooking pots and clothes could gain new meaning. While some of these objects survived in a secular setting, such as the pigeons in the town hall in Leiden, the banners in the Habsburg palace, and the clothes in individual homes, others were preserved in a religious environment. These material memories of the Revolt were displayed in churches and either replaced traditional relics or occupied a place next to them. The integration in the church

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ontstucken sonder haer te raecken'. Pieter Christiaensz. Bor, *Nederlantsche oorloghen, beroerten, ende borgerlijcke oneenicheyden* (Leiden 1621) f.325v.
[101] Ibidem; see for Alkmaar f. 333v.
[102] 'doch de Leezer zy voorzichtig, dat geen vertelsels uit andere Steeden als Alkmaersche Geschiedenissen hem in de hand worden gestopt, gelyk dus het geval van Coltermans dogter, die niet in Alkmaer maer in Haerlem woonden, 't zyn echter mooije historien voor "t gemeen (dat zulx met opgesparden monde zelfs op den ontzetdag aenhoort) doch menschen van verstand belagchen beuzeltael'. Eikelenberg, *Alkmaar en zyne geschiedenissen*, 255–256.

interior not only emphasized their status as memory markers of the Revolt but also provided the objects with an aura of authenticity. Their place in the church indicated that the church wardens, and sometimes the local government, endorsed the relics as genuine representations of a specific episode during the Revolt.

One type of relic was particularly popular in both Catholic and Protestant cities: the cannonball. Bombardments had been a common part of sieges, attacks and battles in the Low Countries, and the Dutch or Habsburg forces had fired thousands of cannonballs on the enemy's cities. Written accounts of many sieges included stories about men, women, and soldiers who had been saved from artillery fire by divine intervention or miracles. The omnipresence of cannonballs in communities in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic demonstrates the popularity in the Low Countries of the practice of keeping and collecting relics of war. Of course, the objects themselves did not mean anything without their story, their original context, and at least a hint of authenticity. As historian Judith Pollmann has recently argued, myths and legends had to be framed historically as well and, if possible, should be connected to material evidence in order to survive.[103] It was therefore the combination of the story and the object that mattered because each relied on the other for recognition in the local community. Yet, for objects the instant change of meaning due to the Revolt could also mean that they became items of display rather than disposables, making relics significantly different from any other objects later produced to commemorate the Revolt, as we shall see in the following chapter. After all, relics had the authority of having personally witnessed an episode, and this characteristic ensured that they were cherished within urban memory cultures.

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[103] Judith Pollmann, 'Of living legends and authentic tales. How to get remembered in early modern Europe', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 23 (2013) 103-125, there 106-107.

Chapter 3 – Between public and private. Cherishing commemorative objects at home

In 1626 skipper Dirk Scheij sailed his ship down the river Rhine from Cologne to supply the Dutch Republic's troops. He succeeded in doing so without being captured by the Habsburg army, and as a reward he received a silver cup that displayed his journey (fig.25).[1] The gift not only served as token of appreciation for his bravery but also exemplifies how individual achievements were honored in the seventeenth-century Low Countries. What set this cup apart from the relics we have seen in the previous chapter was the fact that the object itself had not witnessed the event but had been made specially to commemorate what had happened. While relics could come in every shape or size, and ranged from cannonballs to pigeons, these mementoes were often subject to artistic conventions and frames of reference which people were familiar with and considered appropriate for commemorative objects.[2] Therefore they took more traditional forms, such as tapestries, paintings, prints as well as medals and objects made of silver.

Fig.25 Samuel Vercoigne, silver cup received by Dirck Scheij for his extraordinary achievement during the Revolt (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

The aim of this chapter, however, is not to present an overview of objects made specially to commemorate the Revolt but rather to focus on how these objects entered the home, how they became part of someone's personal identity and what happened to them after the original owner died. This chapter therefore focuses on memories of the Revolt as they were present in the city and how these could have meaning on a personal as well as on an urban level. As we shall see, commemorative objects often ended up in someone's home, were commissioned to remind family members of what their ancestor had done, or had been presented as awards for an achievement during the war. Subsequently they could become

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[1] Samuel Vercoigne, Beker met panorama van de Rijn van Keulen tot Rees, 1628, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, NG-NM-589. Aa, A.J. van der, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt,* continued by K.J.R. van Harderwijk en G.D.J. Schotel (Haarlem 1852-1878), via http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken, XVII, 321–322.
[2] See for a discussion of how expectations and frames determine the form and meaning of art, for example, Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge 2010) 49–50.

part of someone's personal identity and achieve and maintain a public status in the urban community. For example, awards such as silver and medals were presented by local governments, and the people who received them were considered heroes in many cases. These commemorative objects could therefore serve as permanent reminders of a family's status within the community and resurface in other media such as portraits.

The individual experiences of people during the Revolt differed throughout the Low Countries, but it is evident that war affected residents' lives in many ways. The population suffered from sickness, injuries or death during sacks, attacks and sieges either as (innocent) victims, urban combatants or soldiers and, if they had survived, could have painful memories to cope with.[3] Not only did war influence people's mental condition, however, but many fled their homes and went into exile in the Holy Roman Empire, England, France and other parts of the Low Countries.[4] Moreover, there was often material damage of some sort – goods were taken, houses destroyed by bombardments or by plundering troops.[5] This process of destruction, as we have already seen in chapter one, could repeat itself several times during the war.[6] When the war left a region, inhabitants were often left to pick up the pieces of their lives, and memories of what happened could surface in journals, publications and objects. What this chapter will demonstrate is that the material memories people owned or commissioned were part not only of their personal relationship to the Revolt but also of their larger status within their family or city. Rewards for extraordinary achievements, paintings depicting the history of the city, and other objects designed to commemorate a certain part of the family's history were both public and private, even though their physical presence was in the home.

The majority of the Revolt-related memorabilia had been made after the event they referred to. Unlike relics, prints, paintings, medals, or other gifts, such as Dirk Scheij's silver cup, were usually meant to be decorative and had no practical function. They could be on

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[3] Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Why remember terror? Memories of violence in the Dutch Revolt', in: Micheal O'Siochru and Jane Ohlmeyer (eds.), *Ireland 1641. Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester 2010) 176–196, passim.

[4] See for example Ole Peter Grell, *Brethren in Christ. A Calvinist network in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge 2011); Geert Janssen, 'Exiles and the Politics of Reintegration in the Dutch Revolt', *History* 94 (2009) 36–52; Gustaaf Asaert, *1585. De val van Antwerpen en de uittocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders* (Tielt 2004); Geert H. Janssen, 'Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566–1609', *Renaissance Quarterly* 64 (2011) 472–499.

[5] See for example NHA, toegang 3813: Familie Gael te Haarlem, 1570-1742, inv nr 4, Staat van na het beleg door de bezetters gestolen goederen opgemaakt door weduwe Jan van Gael (1599 of later); Leiden University Library, Jan van der Meulen, slachtoffer van de Spaanse Furie in Antwerpen (1576), Special Collections, snapshot 101, inv nr UBLWHS - Topstuk - ATH 182: A 1.

[6] The provinces that were hit the hardest were Brabant, parts of Flanders and Limburg, and the eastern regions such as Groningen and Twente. In Brabant a city such as 's-Hertogenbosch was attacked and besieged several times in 1578, 1585, 1601, and 1629, or Breda in 1590, 1625 and 1637. In Holland, however, a city such as Hoorn had not suffered any siege or attack. See for example Parker, *The Dutch revolt*, passim; R. van Uytven et al. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Brabant. Van het hertogdom tot heden* (Zwolle 2004) 291–442.

display inside the home, but the smaller items could also be worn on specially designed medal chains. What all these objects had in common besides their connection to the Revolt, moreover, was their capacity to invoke a sense of contemplation or accomplishment in its owner because, unlike relics, the shape, material and message had been entirely determined for commemorative purposes. This difference meant that even without the (whole) story people could understand the object's relationship to the past, which added an extra layer of memory to the object and the way it brought the Revolt back to life. The objects themselves became visible reminders of a personal affiliation with the Revolt in the seventeenth century but could also be considered depositories of memory.[7]

This chapter will explore this phenomenon further through three themes. The first part considers the way individuals cherished the rewards they had been given and will ask whether the objects kept their public function as status symbols. Secondly, individual commissions for Revolt memorabilia will be discussed as an expression of pride about the past within the urban community. Finally, memorabilia will be placed against the backdrop of a family's wish to enhance or reestablish status in local politics.

<u>Public and Private</u>

Commemorative objects were kept inside a person's home were not necessarily 'private' and inaccessible. In the seventeenth century domestic interiors in the Low Countries were not exclusively private spaces but were designed to show social status and a family's way of life.[8] For this purpose larger houses usually had a *voorhuis*, or front of the house, which featured reception rooms and any business premises. Much of the Revolt-related memorabilia were on display in such rooms and could even be featured in the workshop. For example, weaver Damast from Haarlem showcased in his home a napkin depicting the siege of Damietta as evidence of his master craftsmanship.[9] Although home décor was relatively restrained before the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, and the buildings were used as places to both live and do business, from the 1650s and 1660s both the trade in and commissions of luxury items flourished. The peace treaty therefore functioned as a catalyst for people to spend more money on their interiors which reflected their social status.[10]

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[7] Paul Moyaert, *Iconen en beeldverering. Godsdienst als symbolische praktijk* (Amsterdam 2007) 151.
[8] C. Willemijn Fock, (ed.), *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600-1900* (Zwolle 2001) 9.
[9] This siege, which took place in 1219 in the Egyptian city of Damietta, was important in the urban memory culture of Haarlem. As we shall see in chapter three and four, the victory in Damietta was used in Haarlem as a demonstration of bravery. Haarlem, which had suffered its own siege in 1573, as we have already seen, integrated this story into its regional politics. Jan van der Waals, (ed.), *Prenten in de gouden eeuw. Van kunst tot kastpapier* (Rotterdam 2006) 129.
[10] C. Willemijn Fock, '1650-1700', in: Fock, C. Willemijn (ed.), *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600-1900* (Zwolle 2001) 81–179, there 19, 84; See also Rengenier C. Rittersma, (ed.), *Luxury in the Low Countries. Miscellaneous reflections on Netherlandish material culture, 1500 to the present* (Brussels 2010).

Collecting antiquities, naturalia, curiosities and art had been common practice amongst the elites since the sixteenth century.[11] In the Low Countries, collections had started in court circles around Brussels. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, however, Amsterdam became the new hub for international trade, and the accompanying wealth and the growth of the local art market provided all sorts of people from the upper and middle classes with the means to start commissioning and collecting curiosities and art. Not only the urban elite but also less wealthy citizens, such as merchants, doctors, ministers and silversmiths, could afford decorative items.[12]

Research on domestic interiors has demonstrated that the main decoration in houses in the seventeenth century consisted of prints, maps and paintings.[13] Prints were the cheapest option.[14] They were used mainly to display portraits of famous persons and contemporary events. In addition to this popular commercial activity other prints were produced for wealthier citizens who also bought prints depicting subjects such as the senses, the virtues, the Ten Commandments or still-lifes with flowers.[15] The popularity of prints ensured that many printmakers captured the news, and religious and political issues. From the beginning of the Revolt the war became a recurring topic for prints, and since they were affordable and available, such works became part of many domestic interiors. For the Dutch Republic it is known that these prints appeared on people's walls, although richer citizens also collected them in albums. Subsequently, however, the elite commissioned large-sized prints to put on display in their reception rooms.[16] Individual citizens, however, were not the only ones to put prints on display. Even the States General commissioned a large depiction of the 1597 battle of Turnhout to display in the Great Hall in The Hague.[17]

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[11] Roland Baetens, *De nazomer van Antwerpens welvaart. De diaspora en het handelshuis De Groote tijdens de eerste helft der 17de eeuw* (Brussels 1976) 312–316; Jaap van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger. Schilderijencollecties in de Nederlanden', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen 1993) 145–164, there 149, 156–157.

[12] Roelof van Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen in de zeventiende eeuw', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen 1993) 123–144, there 123–124.

[13] C. Willemijn Fock, '1600-1650', in: Fock, C. Willemijn (ed.), *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600-1900* (Zwolle 2001) 16–79, there 45.

[14] Waals, *Prenten in de gouden eeuw*, 11.

[15] C. Willemijn Fock, 'Kunstbezit in Leiden in de 17de eeuw', in: Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. Willemijn Fock and A.J. van Dissel (eds.), *Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* Va (Leiden 1990) 3–36, there 20; Waals, *Prenten in de gouden eeuw*, 11–14.

[16] Waals, *Prenten in de gouden eeuw*, 14–15; Christi Marije Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws. Nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590-1600* (Zutphen 2005) 47–49; Chapman, 'Propagandist Prints, Reaffirming Paintings. Art and Community during the Twelve Years' Truce', 46–47 Data extracted from ECARTICO database, Marten Jan Bok and Harm Nijboer (eds.), Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Golden Age, University of Amsterdam, http://burckhardt.ic.uva.nl/ecartico/database.html, search for data: Antwerp, Amsterdam, Haarlem, 's-Hertogenbosch, Groningen and Valenciennes, History Engraving between 1566 and 1700, consulted 21 May 2013.

[17] Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws*, 47.

Paintings featuring scenes of the Revolt were less common because paintings depicting historical events made up only a small percentage of the total painting production in the Low Countries. Portraits or religious and mythological scenes were more popular.[18] During the Revolt genre painting and landscapes replaced religious scenes in the Dutch Republic, but paintings of historical events still continued to be a marginal subject, even during their peak between 1600 and 1660.[19] However, given the large number of paintings produced in the Low Countries, the output was significant. In the Habsburg Netherlands, and Antwerp in particular, religious scenes also lost popularity in favor of portraits and landscapes, and paintings of historical events made up only a small percentage of the total artistic production.[20] Nevertheless, due to the Revolt the number of paintings based on recent events did increase in the seventeenth century. Most painters who included this type of painting in their portfolio were active in the Low Countries between 1620 and 1660.[21] This growth coincides with the renewal of the war in 1621 and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

The most popular Revolt subject was the cavalry battle of Lekkerbeetje near 's-Hertogenbosch in 1600, which had been an organized group duel between two troops of twenty-two horsemen. Their commanders were Gerard van Houwelingen, also known as Lekkerbeetje who was captain in 's-Hertogenbosch, and Pierre de Bréauté, who was in the service of Stadholder Maurits; both captains died during the battle.[22] The popularity of the

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[18] In Antwerp: religious scenes (58%), portraits (18%), mythological scenes (9%), landscapes (6%) and genre paintings (4%), history (1-2%). These numbers are similar for 's-Hertogenbosch. Percentages are derived from the graph in Blondé and Laet, 'Owning paintings and changes in consumer preferences in the Low Countries, seventeenth-eighteenth centuries', 80–82; In Leiden: religious scenes (53,8%), portraits (32,4%), mythological scenes / allegories (1,4% / 4,1%), landscapes (2,8%), history (2,1%). Fock, 'Kunstbezit in Leiden in de 17de eeuw', 19.

[19] In 1640 only 25% of the paintings in Delft and only 14% of the paintings in Leiden represented a religious subject. Paintings of historical events in Amsterdam: 1600 (4.5%), 1610 (3.9%), 1620 (1.2%), 1630 (2.4%), 1640 (2.2%), 1650 (2.4%) and 1660 (5.0%). Montias, however, also specifies secular allegories and political portraits which are not included in these percentages. John Michael Montias, 'Works of art in a random sample of Amsterdam inventories', in: Michael North (ed.), *Economic history and the arts* (Cologne 1996) 67–88, there 82; Thimo de Nijs, Eelco Beukers and P.H.A.M. Abels (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Holland* II 1572-1795 (Hilversum 2002) 406; In Leiden historical scenes: 1600 (2.1%), 1610 (1.1%), 1620 (1.3%), 1630 (0.5%), 1640 (0.4%), 1650 (0.1%), 1660 (0.6%). Fock, 'Kunstbezit in Leiden in de 17de eeuw', 18–24; John Michael Montias and John Loughman, *Public and private spaces. Works of art in seventeenth-century Dutch houses* (Zwolle 2000) 68–69.

[20] In 1680 in Antwerp: Portraits (27%), Landscapes (23%), Religion (18%), Still-life (13%), History (2%) Blondé and Laet, 'Owning paintings and changes in consumer preferences in the Low Countries, seventeenth-eighteenth centuries', 80.

[21] See also for example the peak in contemporary paintings of history in Dordrecht in the 1620s. John Loughman, 'Een stad en haar kunstproductie. Openbare en privé-verzamelingen in Dordrecht, 1620-1719', in: Peter Marijnissen et al. (eds.), *De Zichtbaere werelt. Schilderkunst uit de Gouden Eeuw in Hollands oudste stad* (Zwolle 1992) 34–64, there 46; Data extracted from ECARTICO database, Marten Jan Bok and Harm Nijboer (eds.), Amsterdam Centre for the Study of the Golden Age, University of Amsterdam, http://burckhardt.ic.uva.nl/ecartico/database.html, search for data: Antwerp, Amsterdam, Haarlem, 's-Hertogenbosch, Groningen and Valenciennes, History Painting between 1566 and 1700, consulted 21 May 2013.

[22] F.A.M. van Eekelen, 'De slag van Leckerbeetje. Een "cause célèbre" in de zeventiende eeuw' (Thesis Leiden University 2009); Marion Jeannette de Koning, 'The battle of Lekkerbeetje. Imagery and ideology during the Eighty Years War (1568-1648)' (Dissertation University of Southern California

subject seems to have been a coincidence. The increased art production in the seventeenth century, the appeal of cavalry battles as a genre in landscape painting, and the fact that the battle could be explained from both a Northern and Southern perspective have all been suggested to account for the subject's dominance.[23] Inventories from Dordrecht, Haarlem and Amsterdam show that this subject was usually prominently on display in the front of the house, but some examples were also recorded in more private parts of the home, such as the cellar, the attic and even the kitchen.[24] The subject was also depicted on a variety of memorabilia; in addition to paintings and prints, tiles, earthenware, dishes and plaques are also known of the battle.[25] Lekkerbeetje's popularity coincided with the second half of the Dutch Revolt, between 1621 and 1648, which reveals the connection between the war and paintings of historical events.[26]

Although the popularity of the subject of Lekkerbeetje was exceptional, other subjects found success as well. For example, the disbanding of the *waardgelders*, or mercenaries paid by the magistrate, in Utrecht by Stadholder Maurits in July 1618 was commissioned at least eighteen times between 1618 and 1629.[27] As the *waardgelders* were disbanded, Maurits also replaced Utrecht's magistrate. The episode should therefore be considered as a display of political power by Maurits during the conflict which would become known as the dispute between the Remonstrants and the Counterremonstrants. Maurits, who finally sided with the Counterremonstrants, removed all the *waardgelders* from the Remonstrant cities and renewed their regimes.[28] This episode was so important that it was painted often, and it

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2003) 80–89; Marion de Koning identified 35 paintings in her dissertation about the battle in 2003. Ibidem, 229–235; Verreyt identified 50 paintings in 1898, although this number seems arbitrary and unsubstantiated.. Ch.C.V. Verreyt, 'De slag van Leckerbeetje en 50 schilderijen', *Taxandria* 5 (1898) 30–39, there 31. A query on the Getty Provenance Index reveals 41 paintings and prints in archival inventories (Getty Provenance Index Databases / Archival Inventories / search / subject / Lekkerbeetje, http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/, consulted 23 May 2013) which suggests that the combined number of prints and paintings probably exceeds fifty.

[23] Eekelen, 'De slag van Leckerbeetje', 31–44; De Koning, 'The battle of Lekkerbeetje', 19–24, 196–200.

[24] In Amsterdam, Dordrecht and Haarlem alone there are 41 entries for the battle of Lekkerbeetje, of which the majority state a specific room. In the front of the house for example inv nr N-2802 (Dewatijn), N-2052 (Jansz), N-1539 (Fijt), N-3117 (Oosdorp), N-3031 (Cijs) and N-1614 (Robberts). Getty Provenance Index Databases / Archival Inventories / search / subject / Lekkerbeetje, http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/, consulted 23 May 2013.

[25] Maarseveen, Michel P. van, 'Ruitergevechten en slagveldscènes uit de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw', in: Michel P. van Maarseveen, Jos W.L. Hilkhuijsen and Jacques Dane (eds.), *Beelden van een strijd. Oorlog en kunst vóór de Vrede van Munster, 1621-1648* (Zwolle 1998) 107–133, there 108–109.

[26] Ibidem, 131–132.

[27] Jos Hilkhuijsen, 'De afdanking van waardgelders te Utrecht in 1618', *Armamentaria* 38 (2003) 310–331, there passim.

[28] E.H. Cossee, 'Rekkelijk of precies. Remonstranten en contraremonstranten ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt', in: T.G. Kootte (ed.), *Rekkelijk of precies. Remonstranten en Contraremonstranten ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Utrecht 1994) 8–35, there 19–21.

seems that depictions were available from at least two workshops, one in Utrecht and one in Amsterdam.[29]

Moreover, individual paintings of episodes such as the siege of Haarlem in 1572-1573, the demolition of the citadel in Antwerp, the siege of Antwerp in 1585, the sieges of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1601 and 1629, the siege of Ostend in 1604, the synod of Dordrecht in 1618-1619, the siege of Bergen op Zoom in 1622, the siege of Breda in 1625 and 1637 and the entry of the Archdukes into Antwerp were all present in seventeenth-century inventories.[30] Indeed, even representations of such events as the Spanish fury in Antwerp in 1576, the massacre at Naarden in 1572 and the occupation of Amersfoort in 1629 were hung on the walls of private homes.[31] Images of episodes from the Revolt were also occasionally commissioned in tapestries. In 1603 the magistrate of 's-Hertogenbosch paid for a design for a series of four tapestries representing the failed siege of the city by Stadholder Maurits in 1601 for the Habsburg officer Frederik van den Bergh.[32] In 1642 Stanislaus Ciswicki commissioned a series of seven tapestries of which four represented the sieges of Maastricht, 's-Hertogenbosch, Breda and Gennep.[33] And in 1647, almost fifty years after the battle of Nieuwpoort, Severin de Golushowo, a Polish officer in the stadholder's guard, commissioned this subject for a tapestry.[34]

When these prints, paintings and tapestries are added to the other Revolt memorabilia that entered the home such as relics, gifts, rewards or personal commissions, it becomes clear that many people possessed personal mementoes of the war. For instance, in the early stages of the Revolt an individual commissioned a silver medal depicting the events between 1560 and 1566. An eye was attached to the medal, indicating it was meant to be worn by its

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[29] Hilkhuijsen, 'De afdanking van waardgelders te Utrecht in 1618', passim.

[30] Duverger, *Antwerpse kunstinventarissen uit de zeventiende eeuw*, 9–11; Arenbergarchief Edingen, inv box 50/12, bundle 307, memoria de la Tapiceria, Camas y pinturas que tiene; Haarlem (N-5314), Antwerp (WK 5073/939), 's-Hertogenbosch (N-2212, N-2240, N-2180, N-1698, N-1545, N-1130, N-399, N-414, N-373 and N-897), Ostend and Sluis (N-2312, N-99), Dordrecht (N-2856), Bergen op Zoom (N-3444), Breda (N-2234, N-2040, N-2110, N-1476, N-1550, N-4908) in: The Montias Database of 17th Century Dutch Art Inventories, http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php and Getty Provenance Index Databases / Archival Inventories, http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/, consulted 23 May 2013.

[31] Antwerp (NA 562B), Naarden (N-391) and Amersfoort (N-2290) In: The Montias Database of 17th Century Dutch Art Inventories, http://research.frick.org/montias/home.php and Getty Provenance Index Databases / Archival Inventories, http://www.getty.edu/research/tools/provenance/, consulted 23 May 2013; Anonymous, *De Spaanse Furie*, late sixteenth century, oil on canvas, Museum Vleeshuis Antwerp, inv nr AV.1980.014.

[32] Rogier A. van Zuijlen, *Inventaris der archieven van de stad 's Hertogenbosch,chronologisch opgemaakt en de voornaamste gebeurtenissen bevattende stadsrekeningen van het jaar 1399-1800* ('s Hertogenbosch 1861) 1150; J.A.M. Hoekx and C.J.A. van den Oord, 'Van stadswege. Kunstopdrachten tussen 1496 en 1629', in: A.M. Koldeweij (ed.), *In Buscoducis. Kunst uit de Bourgondische tijd te 's-Hertogenbosch* (Maarssen 1990) 377–384, 601–602, there 380.

[33] G.T. van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunstnijverheid* II (Leiden 1936) 243–244.

[34] Johan de Haan, *"Hier ziet men uit paleizen". Het Groninger interieur in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Assen 2005) 114; Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen* II, 271.

owner, a rather bold statement in favor of the rebels which can be compared to the Beggar medals that appeared in this period as well.[35] In Leiden several seventeenth-century clay pipes are known that depicted the relief of the city in 1574.[36] Joseph Rickets van Wilarsi commissioned a large powder horn decorated with scenes of the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629.[37] In the first half of the seventeenth century a cast-iron hearth plate with a depiction of naval hero, Admiral Maarten Tromp, was made.[38] The very variety of the evidence reveals that memories of the war were never far away. Horns, medals, clay pipes and hearth plates were relatively simple items that were meant to be used.

Fig.26 Silver condiment tower depicting the St Janschurch in 's-Hertogenbosch (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

Receiving rewards: silver and medals

In 1629 Stadholder Frederik Hendrik commissioned a gift in silver for tailor's assistant Pieter Janssen from Vlissingen as a reward for a heroic deed. When 's-Hertogenbosch finally capitulated to the Dutch army, Janssen had entered the city, taken the banner of the prince of Orange and hung it from the tower of the city's main church, the St Jan. The act itself was so extraordinary that an inscription was placed on the silver gift to commemorate the event (fig.26)

> A citizen from Vlissingen bravely undertook a strange piece of work, Pieter Janssen was his name; [he] took a banner and placed it up on the tower for the enemies to see the rise of Orange and [it] hovered on the cross over the weathercock which one has seen standing for two months afterwards.[39]

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[35] See for Beggar memorabilia chapter six; Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen, 1559-1609', 72.
[36] Don Duco, *De Nederlandse kleipijp. Handboek voor dateren en determineren* (Leiden 1987) 98, 103.
[37] Anonymous, grote kruithoorn, after 1629, horn, Collection Museum Sypesteyn, Loosdrecht, inv nr 7432.
[38] Anonymous, haardplaat met de triomf van Maarten Harpertsz. Tromp, 1600-1650, cast iron, Centraal Museum Utrecht, inv nr 4852.
[39] 'Een Vlissinghs borger cloeck nam een vremt stuc by dhant Pieter Ianssen genaemt heeft een vaendel gedragen op de toren gestelt daert die vyanden sagen Oraingie streeft en sweef opt kruys boven den haen twelck men twee maenden lanck daer naer noch heeft sien staen.' This is only part of this inscription, which also celebrates the prince of Orange. Anonymous, Specerijenbus in de vorm

As the inscription demonstrates Janssen was praised not only for putting the banner on the tower, but the stadholder had been even more pleased that he had placed the Orange banner on top of the city's main church which symbolized the Protestant, Dutch victory over the Catholic city. Through this act Janssen made visible to all observers the transition of 's-Hertogenbosch to Frederik Hendrik's side, an act of bravery he was generously rewarded for. He received a sum of money and a small silver replica of the tower of the St Jan which he could use to keep spices.[40]

As Janssen returned home to Vlissingen his award inspired him to immortalize his heroic act in stone as well. From the money he had received for his services he built a house in the St Jacobstreet in Vlissingen and then commissioned a gable stone for its façade to commemorate the event.[41] This gable stone displayed a stone replica of his silver tower and an inscription

> the tower from 's-Hertogenbosch that I have placed here in honor of Nassau to the regret of his opponents[42]

By emphasizing his role during the Revolt, he used his act of bravery to increase his status in Vlissingen; the gable stone ensured that nobody would forget his service to the Dutch stadholder. In addition, Janssen not only took his award home to put it on display, but he celebrated his story in public. For him, his bravery in 's-Hertogenbosch was a way to ensure a better position within the local community. And via the gable stone, both the story and the award would always be a part of Vlissingen's memory landscape of the Revolt as well.

The example of Pieter Janssen demonstrates that the Dutch Revolt inspired two changes to the presentation of awards in the Dutch Republic.[43] First, the decoration of objects that were presented by local, provincial and national governments now often related to episodes of the Revolt. Medals, goblets and other objects with a smooth surface could be

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van de toren van de Sint Jan in Den Bosch, 1629, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-NM-5321.

[40] Anonymous, Specerijenbus in de vorm van de toren van de Sint Jan in Den Bosch, 1629, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-NM-5321. P. Fret, 'Toren van Pieter Jansen te Vlissingen', *De Navorscher* 3 (1853) 164, there 164; P. Fret, 'Toren van Pieter Jansen te Vlissingen', *De Navorscher* 4 (1854) 145–146; Ch C.V. Verreyt, 'De zilveren St. Janstoren. Een gedachtenis aan het beleg van 's-Hertogenbosch', *Taxandria* 27 (1920) 150–153; Henny Molhuysen, "Gevelsteen Vlissingen", Brabants Dagblad, 12 July 1984 via: www.bossche-encyclopedie.nl/overig/gevelstenen/vlissingen.htm, consulted 22 May 2013; .

[41] Fret, 'Toren van Pieter Jansen te Vlissingen', 164.

[42] "Den Bossche torenbou die heb ick hier doe stelle ter eeren van nassou tot spit al syn rebel(le)", inscription as shown on www.gevelstenen.net / Vlissingen / St Jacobstraat 10, consulted 22 May 2013. Ibidem

[43] See for gift exchange in Holland, for example, Irma Thoen, *Strategic affection? Gift exchange in seventeenth-century Holland* (Amsterdam 2007).

elaborately decorated with scenes from a particular episode of the Revolt. Second, instead of dignitaries and artists alone, another group became eligible for expensive rewards in gold and silver: people who performed extraordinary (military) services. These men and women who had performed acts of heroism did not necessarily belong to the ruling classes, and they considered these objects as status symbols that proved their connection to the Revolt. Moreover, many of these people were not soldiers but ordinary citizens.

The reward that was most often adapted to suit current politics was the medal. Medals had been used as awards amongst the Italian nobility since the sixteenth century.[44] By the middle of the century this practice had also reached the Southern Netherlands, where medals depicting events, kings and emperors were presented to diplomats, professors, artists, physicians and officers for their services to the crown.[45] Both these practices continued during the Revolt. For example, when historian Johannes Pontanus presented his colleague Arnoldus Buchelius with his history of Gelre in 1639 he received a medal of the siege of Breda in 1637 in return.[46] In 1592 Professor Petrus Rickardus from Leuven was painted wearing a gold medal depicting Philip II, which he had received for serving as the king's physician.[47]

The differences between these two examples reflect the status of research on medals in the Low Countries. Existing literature suggests that the Italian medal fashion of a portrait bust of the king continued in the Southern Netherlands, while in the Dutch Republic medalists changed their designs due to the Revolt. Whereas in the Northern provinces medals started to be used as instruments of propaganda, the Southern medal industry did not undergo changes during the Revolt.[48] Unfortunately, however, this argument is based solely on evidence from the Dutch Republic. Even more recent systematic medal research does not include the Habsburg Netherlands.[49] Yet, a comparison of the Northern and Southern provinces reveals a much more nuanced picture of what medals were produced during the Revolt. While the number of medals produced in the Northern Netherlands was undeniably higher, Southern medal artists were definitely as interested in depicting the war as their

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[44] Michel P. van Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', in: Michel P. van Maarseveen, Jos W.L. Hilkhuijsen and Jacques Dane (eds.), *Beelden van een strijd. Oorlog en kunst vóór de Vrede van Munster 1621-1648* (Zwolle 1998) 54–69, there 55–57.

[45] Sabine Craft-Giepmans, '"Met wie men graag gezien wil worden"', in: Sabine Craft-Giepmans and Annette de Vries (eds.), *Portret in portret in de Nederlandse kunst 1550-2012* (Bussum 2012) 62–75, there 67–71; Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 55.

[46] Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum 2001) 179–180.

[47] Craft-Giepmans, '"Met wie men graag gezien wil worden"', 67–68.

[48] Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 57; Craft-Giepmans, '"Met wie men graag gezien wil worden"', 67–68.

[49] Jaco Zuijderduijn, 'Schuiven, schenken, strooien of sparen? Het gebruik van rekenpenningen in de 16de eeuw', *Historisch Tijdschrift Holland* 43 (2011) 24-36; J.E.L Pelsdonk et al. (eds.), *Hulde! penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle 2012); George Sanders, *Het present van staat. De gouden ketens, kettingen en medailles verleend door de Staten-Generaal, 1588-1795* (Hilversum 2013).

Northern colleagues.[50] Moreover, the first medal that covered an episode of the Revolt seems to have been commissioned by the Duke of Alva in 1568. His victory at the battlefield in Jemmingen was commemorated on two similar medals that featured the Duke on the front and a burning altar between two hanging harnesses on the reverse. On base of the altar a Latin phrase referred to the fact that Alva had fought 'for the God of our ancestors'.[51]

The interest in depicting contemporary episodes on medals can be seen on different levels, starting with the practice of recording political messages on jetons or *rekenpenningen*. Jetons were used by tax collectors and other officials to count money, which meant that these public figures carried jetons with them when they visited city halls, inns or estates. The depicted image, or political message, could therefore easily spread across the land.[52] Evidence suggests that jetons were used as extensively in the Southern Netherlands, including to spread political messages as well. Of course, the imagery here differed from that found in the Northern Netherlands because one side of the jeton or medal usually depicted the king, the Archdukes or the governor, but the other side showed the same type of imagery as their Northern counterparts. For example, a 1603 medal showed the coat of arms of the Archdukes on the front, while it depicted a prediction of the fall of Ostend on the reverse. In 1626 a medal depicted the bust of Philip IV on the front but on the reverse showed a loss of four Dutch ships at Kieldrecht. And the same bust of Philip IV had on its reverse the renewed faith and trust in the king on a 1630 medal.[53]

Besides the relatively small jetons, larger and more expensive medals were also minted during the Revolt. These medals, *historiepenningen* or *triomfpenningen*, were not only larger in size, but they were more often produced in more luxurious metals such as silver and gold instead of the customary copper and bronze.[54] Due to the political circumstances Southern medal artists continued to produce medals with the sovereign's portrait or coat of arms, while their Northern colleagues predominantly focused on designs that depicted episodes of the

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[50] During this period 1621-1648 around 40 different commemorative medals were produced in the Dutch Republic. Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 57. Numbers for the Habsburg Netherlands are not available.

[51] Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen. Of beknopt verhaal van 't gene sedert de overdracht der heerschappye van keyzer Karel den Vyfden op koning Philips zynen zoon, tot het sluyten van den Uytrechtschen vreede, in de zeventien Nederlandsche gewesten is voorgevallen* I (The Hague 1723) 120–121; Pollmann and Stensland, 'Alva's Reputation in the Early Modern Low Countries', 314.

[52] Jaco Zuijderduijn, 'Schuiven, schenken' ; Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 56; A.J. Koning, 'Alkmaar op de penning', in: M.L. Pop-Jansen (ed.), *Geld in Alkmaar. Opstellen over geld en penningen in relatie tot Alkmaar* (Alkmaar 1993) 75–98, there 81; Olga N. Roovers, 'De Noord-Nederlandse triumfpenningen', *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Nederlandsch Genootschap voor Munt- en Penningkunde* 40 (1953) 1–48, there 4.

[53] Universiteitsbibliotheek Gent (UGENT), Numismatische Collectie (BRKZ), object id's: BRKZ.NUM.008078; BRKZ.NUM.008143; and BRKZ.NUM.008148. See for more examples UGENT-BRKZ, period 1600-1649.

[54] Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 56–57; Koning, 'Alkmaar op de penning', 76–77.

Revolt. These designs were inspired by prints with the same subject already in circulation.[55] Nevertheless, portrait medals were produced in the Northern provinces, and Prince Maurits and naval heroes were popular subjects.[56]

Compared to the Habsburg Netherlands, the number of medals and designs in the Dutch Republic does seem more extensive. While there is only one design for the victory of Ostend, for instance, there are seven known designs for the Dutch victory in Sluis in the same year.[57] Yet, this could have been a coincidence since there are multiple designs for the important Habsburg victory in Antwerp in 1585. Some of these celebrated Governor Alexander Farnese and compared him to Alexander the Great. Others depicted the royal coat of arms on the front and Antwerp on the reverse.[58] Similarly, the victory at the battle of Lepanto in 1571 inspired medal artists to produce several designs of the battle and the sovereign, Philip II.[59] Moreover, Southern medal artists were definitely interested in the Revolt as a subject for medals. Important episodes such as the union of Arras in 1579, the peace of Cologne in 1579, the recapture of Lier in 1595 and the end of the unsuccessful siege of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1601 can be found depicted in numismatic collections.[60]

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[55] See for example the medals depicting the battle at Turnhout (1597) and the siege of Grave (1602) Roovers, 'De Noord-Nederlandse triumfpenningen', 4–6.

[56] See for example multiple medals depicting Maurits, Frederik Hendrik, Piet Hein and *Catalogus van veele curieuse rariteiten, schoone silvere medailes, en uitmuntende papierkonst ... vergadert en nagelaten by wylen Constant Sennepart*, (Amsterdam 1704) 40–43; *Catalogus van een uitmuntend cabinet, met moderne seer deftige en raare, goude, silvere, medalies in de boekwinkel van R. Albers ... den thienden September, 1714*, (The Hague 1714) 168–173; *Catalogus van een uytmuntend cabinet met moderne seer deftige, raare, en net bewaarde goude, silvere, kopere, &c. medailles, bestaende voornamentlijk in penningen ... versamelt en nagelaaten door wylen Godard Croonenberg*, (the Hague 1722) 65; *Catalogus van een seer uytmuntend en doorgaans seer wel bewaart cabinet van silvere moderne medailles ... by een vergadert en nagelaten door Vr. de Weduwe van de Heer Jan Delcourt* (the Hague 1730) 32, 35, 50–51; *Catalogus van het ... cabinet goude en zilvere moderne medailjes, legpenningen en munten, alle dienende tot de Nederlandsche historien ... by een versamelt door Philippus Serrurier*, (Amsterdam 1751) 16–18, 22.

[57] Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* II (The Hague 1726) 12–17.

[58] Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I, 354–361.

[59] Ibidem, 142–143.

[60] *Catalogus van een seer uytmuntend*, 22–23; *Catalogus van een weêrgaloos cabinet; van buiten gemeene schoone goude en zilvere medailles ... Abraham van Alphen*, (The Hague 1724) 62; *Catalogus van een zeer uytmuntend en wel bewaard cabinet, bestaande uyt eene weêrgalooze menigte van zilvere medailles... verzameld door Andries Schoemaker*, (The Hague 1720) 34; *Catalogus van een vorstelyk cabinet goude en zilvre moderne medailles, beginnende van den jaare 1415. en eyndigende met den jaare 1748., ... by een verzaameld en naargelaaten door ... Willem Lormier*, (the Hague 1759) 29; *Catalogus van een cabinet van goude en silvere medailles ... alles by een versaemelt door Balthasar Scott*, (Amsterdam 1745) 37,44–47, 57, 66.

Apart from changes in design, the Revolt inspired national, provincial and local governments to reward different sorts of people.[61] The majority of the rewards were still received by members of the elite, but the Revolt opened up opportunities for people of lesser rank to be rewarded as well. The usual recipients, such as delegates, town council members, ambassadors and envoys were now supplemented by men who were rewarded for extraordinary (military) services.[62] The medal that stands out the most, and reflects the addition of 'common' men to the traditional recipients of medals, is the one issued by the States General to celebrate the victory in Breda in 1590. Seventy-six gold medals were minted to reward the officers, soldiers and skippers who executed the attack on the city (fig.27).[63]

Fig.27 Medal representing the attack with the peat barge on Breda in 1590 (Het Noordbrabants Museum 's-Hertogenbosch).

This was the first medal commissioned by the States General and also the last presented to so many men who were actually involved in the attack. Only in individual cases such as those of Pieter Janssen from Vlissingen or skipper Dirk Scheij did the States General reward such ordinary men. Usually recipients of awards ranked much higher in the military or social hierarchy. For example, merchant Johan ten Buer from Groningen received a medal depicting the Reduction of Groningen in 1594 for his services during this episode.[64] Lieutenant-admiral Willem de Soete de Lake and Captain Anthony Slingsby were both rewarded for their respective extraordinary services and display of bravery at Ostend, during and after the siege that ended in 1604.[65]

Yet, apart from the States General, local governments also went to great lengths to reward those who were involved in the defense of their city or who had performed extraordinary services. Sometimes they would even go so far as to intercede with the States

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[61] Research on medals in the Dutch Republic shows that different governments and also individual mint masters commissioned or made medals. Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 62; Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 34, 324, 329–331.

[62] Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 62; Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 34, 324, 329–331.

[63] N. Japikse, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal* 7 (1590-1592) (The Hague 1923) 20–22 via www.historici.nl, Stadsarchief Breda (SAB), ARC0001, number 2483, Stukken betreffende de uitbetaling van twee maanden soldij door de stad Breda aan twee compagnieën bij de inname van de stad door staatse troepen; Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 340–341;

[64] Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 346, 454–455.

[65] Ibidem, 356–357.

General for one of their citizens. The magistrate of Groningen recommended the above mentioned Johan ten Buer to the States General.[66] Usually, however, local governments were inspired by local events for their medals and gifts. Antwerp's magistrate, for example, commissioned a medal for the militiamen who helped to save the neighboring city of Lier from the States' army in 1595.[67] Haarlem awarded medals to the citizens who went to defend the city of Hasselt during the siege of Bergen op Zoom in Brabant in 1622.[68] Bergen op Zoom presented copper, silver and gold medals to everyone involved in the defense of the city in 1622.[69] These medals differed in size and metal according to the recipient's rank, and the officers also received a silver tazza.[70]

The magistrate of Breda went even further when they presented Count Philips of Hohenlohe with a large silver 'coupe-tasse', or drinking goblet, because he had excused the city from the obligation of paying him his reward of two months' wages. The goblet that was commissioned in 1600 displayed a detailed account of the 1590 attack on the city.[71] Moreover, the object included a message that Breda would enjoy a prosperous future now that it had returned to the Republic.[72] In addition, the magistrate of Bruges in Flanders commissioned a similar object for the city's military governor, the count de la Fontaine, who had defended the city against the approaching Dutch army in 1631. Silver smith Loys van Nieukerke made a silver dish which depicted Bruges in the middle, surrounded by scenes of two approaching armies, one the Dutch army and the other the Habsburg army which saved Bruges, and finally a collection of war trophies along the edge.[73]

Feeling a sense of pride: Revolt memorabilia

As we have seen, a substantial number of objects related to the Revolt circulated throughout the Low Countries. The ones that ended up in people's homes could have been rewards for extraordinary services, gifts or items that had been specifically commissioned as objects of commemoration. Memorabilia could range from family papers and archival documents to

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[66] Ibidem, 346, 454–455.

[67] Alexander J. Weyns, *Lierse furie* (Lier 1978) 82; Anton Bergmann, *Geschiedenis der stad Lier* (Antwerp 1873) 285.

[68] Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* II, 147.

[69] See for medal Bergen op Zoom door Maurits ontzet (1622), 1622, silver, Noordbrabants Museum 's-Hertogenbosch, inv nr 06408.2; Loon, *Beschryving Der Nederlandsche Historipenningen* II, 151.

[70] W.A. van Ham, *Bergen belegerd 1622. Tentoonstelling Gemeentemuseum Markiezenhof Bergen op Zoom* (Bergen op Zoom 1972) 11.

[71] J.P. Meeuwissen, ''... de onderste turven levendich', het verhaal van de inname', in: J.F. Grosfeld et al. (eds.) *1590–1990. Het Turfschip van Breda* (Breda 1990),18–39, there 29-34; J.F. Grosfeld et al. (eds.) *1590–1990. Het Turfschip van Breda* (Breda 1990) 109.

[72] Marianne Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse. Memories of the Dutch Revolt in Breda, 1590-1650', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 129–147, there 135; Meeuwissen, ''... de onderste turven levendich'', 29–34; Kees Zandvliet (ed.), *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam 2000) 271.

[73] Jean Luc Meulemeester, *Jacob van Oost de Oudere en het zeventiende-eeuwse Brugge* (Bruges 1984) 26–27.

extensive monuments in public locations. Elite families established archives and had histories written in order to preserve the family's past.[74] For example, in the middle of the seventeenth century cousins Servaes and Bartholomeus van Panhuys collected many documents, including drawings of houses, monuments and tombs of their ancestors. The two cousins, whose family had fled Antwerp in 1566, used the documentation to prove their noble lineage and 'common Netherlandish ancestry' to establish themselves as regents in Holland and Utrecht, and later as part of the nobility in these provinces as well. By the second half of the seventeenth century this approach paid off, and the family had successfully been accepted into the elite in the Dutch Republic. Documents therefore served this and various other exile families in the Republic as proof of a common heritage.[75]

Families also employed other media to display their family history. Charles de Croÿ, Duke of Aarschot and one of the most powerful men in the Habsburg Netherlands, also took an interest in his family history. He employed his own artist to paint 2500 pictures of his estates which were produced between 1598 and 1614.[76] Diderik Wouterszoon van Catwijk drew forty-five family portraits around 1572 in a book about his family. Van Catwijk, a descendent of the Van Wassenaer and Van der Marck families, focused on the great men of the family, ending with Willem van der Marck, lord of Lumey and one of the captains of the Beggar army. Van der Marck was related to the Van Wassenaers through his mother. This portrait was accompanied by a Latin verse celebrating the capture of Den Briel in 1572. The city itself is featured in the background of the portrait.[77] Van der Marck, however, was a rather controversial hero, and the book does not continue beyond him.

The existence and range of objects alone already tell us a good deal about their value for individuals and their families. For example, when an ordinary soldier received a medal he could have had it melted for the cash value of the metal.[78] In case of the Breda medal the recipient could have the substantial amount of twenty-four guilders in his pocket.[79] Yet, many people recognized the commemorative value of a medal in the seventeenth century. In 1646

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[74] Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen* (Amsterdam 2008) 154–155.

[75] Johannes Müller, 'Exile memories and the Dutch Revolt. The narrated diaspora 1550-1750' (Dissertation Leiden University 2013) 124-128.

[76] Raingard Esser, *The politics of memory. The writing of partition in the seventeenth-century Low Countries* (Leiden 2012) 190–191.

[77] Nationaal Archief, the Hague, Familie Van Wassenaer van Duvenvoorde, toegang 3.20.87, inv nr *3A* 'Geslachtslijsten van de koningen der Batavieren en Friezen, de burggraven van Leiden uit de geslachten van Kuyk en Wassenaer opgemaakt door Diderik Wouterszoon van Catwijk, pastoor te Wassenaar kort na 1572'.

[78] Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 62; See for more of the change in value and meaning Ago, *Gusto for Things. A History of Objects in Seventeenth-Century Rome*, 9.

[79] Japikse, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal* 7 (1590-1592), 20–22; SAB, ARC0001, inv nr 2483, Stukken betreffende de uitbetaling van twee maanden soldij door de stad Breda aan twee compagnieën bij de inname van de stad door staatse troepen; Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 340–341.

seven officers and soldiers even requested that instead of a golden chain they be given a medal that depicted the city of Tienen, which they had just conquered (and sacked).[80] Indeed, the medal could be worn as a status symbol or put on display while the chain could never connect the officers directly to the event.

The large number of Revolt memorabilia that still existtherefore can be seen as representing individual choices made in the seventeenth century. People made an active decision either to keep and cherish the object in question or not, or to commission an object that reminded them of their own or their ancestor's achievement or memory during the Revolt. As this part of the chapter will demonstrate, the stories behind these objects did not have to be glorious: people shared memories about painful episodes in their pasts as well as pride in their achievements. The common element was that families made their own choices about which stories to remember about the past and did so for a variety of motives: from sharing a sense of pride to adapting a story to suit the family's needs within the civic community.

Feelings of pride and accomplishment seem to have been the most important reason for individuals and their families to cherish and commission objects linked to the Revolt. A distinction, however, should be made between individuals who celebrated their own achievements and those who chose to identify with the actions of a parent or another ancestor. A Southern nobleman who emphasized his own achievements during the Revolt was Claude Lamoral, third prince of Ligne, prince of Espinoy, who served King Philip IV. Claude commissioned at least two paintings of events he participated in for the gallery of his residence, Castle Beloeil in Hainaut. The first glorified his own past and presented the 1646 siege of Venlo during which he was sent to provide aid for the besieged city. Without having been engaged in any fighting Claude was proud of his achievement during this siege. In the painting he commissioned he compared his performance to that of Perseus who saved Andromeda. In the lower left corner this mythological scene accompanied the military depiction of Claude's presence at the siege of Venlo. The glorious role he ascribed himself, however, does not seem to match his actual involvement.[81] The second painting was commissioned in 1650 from Pieter Snaeyers and represented the 1648 siege of Kortrijk. Four days after the Peace of Westphalia had been ratified Habsburg troops entered the newly built castle of Kortrijk to reclaim it from the French troops that had occupied the city since 1646.[82] For Claude these paintings seem to have been representations of what he had accomplished

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[80] Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 379.

[81] Marloes Huiskamp, 'Een gemeenschappelijk verleden verbeeld. Drie schilderijen in het stadhuis van Venlo', *Spiegel historiael* (1994) 56–60, there 59–60 The painting is found in the Galery at Chateau Beloeil, http://www.chateaudebeloeil.com/nl/bezoek-kasteel.html, consulted 11 July 2013.

[82] The painting is found in the Gallery at Chateau Beloeil, http://www.chateaudebeloeil.com/nl/bezoek-kasteel.html, consulted 11 July 2013; Pieter Jan Verstraete, *Waar is de tijd. 2000 jaar Kortrijk* 10: De stad belegerd (Zwolle 2007) 270–271; Carlo Bronne, *Beloeil et la maison de Ligne* (Paris 1979) 130.

during his lifetime since he also commissioned other subjects such as his entry into London as ambassador of Charles II of Spain and his inauguration as viceroy of Sicily in 1670.[83]

One person who seems to have been very active in celebrating his triumphs was nobleman Charles de Héraugieres from Cambrai, the captain of the soldiers who conquered Breda in 1590. As a reward for his success he received the Breda medal and the post of governor of the city. De Héraugières was proud of his role during the attack, especially since it had been his chance to rehabilitate himself.[84] Due to his involvement in the plans of the earl of Leicester in 1587-88 who had tried to make peace with Alexander Farnese his reputation had been severely compromised, which meant that De Héraugières needed this triumph to help him in his career.[85] De Héraugières' new public image was therefore based on this attack, which became known as the new Trojan horse.[86] In the years following the attack the new governor of Breda commissioned at least two objects that recalled his connection to the attack: a portrait and a small silver ship. His portrait was around the time of his death 1604. Although it is not entirely clear who commissioned it, the captain's relation to the attack is featured very prominently. He is wearing the Breda medal, and a Latin inscription beside his head explains the events of 1590.[87] As we shall see below, medals featured often on portraits, but De Héraugières did not stop there. His pride and status inspired him to commission a small silver peat barge, a replica of the ship that was used to conquer Breda.

Records in the archives of the States General confirm that after 1590 Charles de Héraugières had wanted to create a 'memory of the capture of the castle and city of Breda by way of a peat barge' on which he was willing to spend 900 guilders.[88] After the governor's death in 1601, however, his widow offered the ship to the States General, and since it represented such an important event, the High and Mighty Lords decided to buy the object from her in 1611.[89] What had once started as a personal memory of the attack captured in a silver object, now left De Héraugières' home for the stock rooms of the States General. At the same time the States General appropriated a personal object and made it part of the national memory culture of the event. The records state that the ship was bought primarily to prevent it from being melted or sold to someone who did not appreciate its commemorative value. Therefore, when Charles de Héraugières' son Maurits petitioned the States General to

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[83] Bronne, *Beloeil et la maison de Ligne*, 120–124.
[84] See for De Héraugieres' part in the memory practices in Breda Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse'.
[85] John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands. From the death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609* III (1590-1600) (Reproduction of original 1867 edition; Cambridge 2011) 7.
[86] Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse', 134–139.
[87] Anonymous, *Charles de Heraugières (1556-1601),* after 1590, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-575.
[88] "memorie van de veroveringe van het casteel ende stadt van Breda doer het middel van een turffschip" S. Muller, 'Een zilveren turfschip van Breda', *Oud Holland* 32 (1914) 72, there 72.
[89] Ibidem.

return the ship to him in 1621, he received the silverware under the promise that he would not sell or pawn it without their consent.[90] The ship thus returned to the descendant of its original owner, but the additional clause provided by the States General prevented him from selling it. This clause removed the object's monetary value and left only its commemorative nature.

Maurits' reasons for requesting his father's silver ship back probably had a lot to do with keeping his inheritance at home and preserving his status. This element of status through association was important in the seventeenth century, and Revolt objects played their own part in this process. Even in families which were not wealthy these objects were carefully passed on for generations. The Sijloo family from Delfshaven, for instance, held on to their medal of the attack on Breda until at least the eighteenth century. For generations the medal was passed on to the eldest son, although younger sons seem to have been compensated.[91]

Medal portraits

As we have seen, medals often were preserved as family heirlooms but this medium did not always include the person's name or achievement. Therefore people inserted references to a person's accomplishments during the Revolt into portraits. In the simplest versions a caption explaining how the person in question was involved in the Revolt accompanied the portrait in question. The caption told the beholder about specific details that depiction alone could not reveal and could therefore also invoke a memory.[92] For example, a portrait of Johan de Ligne, count of Arenberg, stadholder of Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe and Overijssel for King Philip II, contained a reference to his performance at the battle of Heiligerlee in Groningen, where he died.[93] The portrait of Captain Antonio Servaes, who served in the Habsburg army, referred to his service from the siege of Ostend through the siege of Bergen op Zoom in 1622.[94] Portraits of heroes were also not uncommon. In the Southern Netherlands, for example, Balthasar Gerards, the murderer of William of Orange in 1584, was celebrated. A portrait depicts Gerards triumphing over Orange with a halo around his

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[90] Resolution 29 December 1621, J. Roelevink, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal. Nieuwe Reeks 1610-1670* 5 (1621-1622) (Den Haag 1983) 370, via www.historici.nl.

[91] Testament Sijloo family, SAR, Notariële akten, Delfshaven, 3865 number 32 (1704) and 3878 number 125 (1723).

[92] Frans Grijzenhout, 'Non Gloria, sed Memoria. Die Erinnerungsfunktion des Wortes in der niederländischen Malerei', in: Ann Jensen Adams, Sabine Schulze en Schirn Kunsthalle Frankfurt (eds.), *Leselust. Niederländische Malerei von Rembrandt bis Vermeer* (Frankfurt am Main 1993) 93–105, there 93–96.

[93] Arenbergarchief Edingen, reproductions of portraits, Johan de Ligne, Count of Arenberg.

[94] Jean-Marie Duvosquel and Ignace Vandevivere (eds.), *Luister van Spanje en de Belgische steden, 1500-1700* II (Brussels 1985) 437–438.

head.[95] In the Northern Netherlands, the valiant widow Kenau Simonsdr Hasselaer was portrayed a number of times for her role during the siege of Haarlem.[96]

In addition to descriptions that connected the person to the Revolt, there was another type of painting that was quite common in the Dutch Republic: medal portraits. On these portraits the person wore a medal which he or she had received. The medal was worn on a ribbon or a chain, for which purpose the medal usually had an eye attached to it.[97] The Revolt remained a subject in medal portraits throughout the seventeenth century. Magistrate Gerard van Egmond van de Nijenburg from Alkmaar, for example, had his portrait painted while he wore a medal of the 1573 siege of Alkmaar.[98] Van Egmond had received this medal as a member of the town council in 1693 when the magistrate decided to issue a medal to commemorate the siege of 1573.[99] Out of the many medals that appeared on portraits, however, the Revolt was only one subject. Other subjects included marriage and christening medals, medals given as rewards during the Anglo-Dutch wars, awards by the Dutch East India company and other professional awards.[100]

The most famous example of a medal portrait with the Revolt as theme must be the *Vrolijke Drinker*, a painting by Frans Hals which depicts a militiaman wearing a medal of Prince Maurits.[101] As we have already seen, medals could be received as rewards or gifts, and in both cases they appeared on portraits. For instance, Gebrand Claesz. Pancras received a medal of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 due to his position as burgomaster of Amsterdam during that time. Each council member received the same medal, but Pancras was depicted with it after his death in 1649. Pancras holds the medal in his hand, and next to it a note reads: 'after eighty years of struggle and many battles God has liberated the

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[95] Anonymous, *L'assassinat de Guillaume d'Orange*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, Musée Sarret de Grozon Arbois, inv nr 2009.0.12

[96] See for example Anonymous, *Kenau Simonsdr Hasselaer*, ca. 1590-1609, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-502; Anonymous, *Historiserend portret van Kenau Simonsdr Hasselaer*, 1600-1699, oil on panel, Frans Halsmuseum Haarlem, inv nr OS-I-171; Anonymous, *Historiserend portret van Kenau Simonsdr Hasselaer*, 1600-1699, oil on panel, Frans Halsmuseum Haarlem, inv nr OS-75-338.

[97] Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 56–57; Koning, 'Alkmaar op de penning', 76–77.

[98] Anonymous, *Gerard van Egmond van de Nijenburg*, ca. 1700- 1725, oil on canvas, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nr 027021.

[99] P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Bolk (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden 1911-1937) 431–432, via http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken; Koning, 'Alkmaar op de penning', 109.

[100] See for example Katlijne van der Stighelen, *Kinderen op hun mooist. Het kinderportret in de Nederlanden, 1500-1700* (Amsterdam 2000) 232; Sabine Craft-Giepmans and Annette de Vries, *Portret in portret in de Nederlandse kunst 1550-2012* (Bussum 2012) 87, 111, 117, 137.

[101] Frans Hals, *Een schutter die een berkenmeier vasthoudt, bekend als 'De vrolijke drinker'*, ca. 1628-1630, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-135.

fatherland, and has honored its town council with this medal'.[102] Through his portrait, Pancras' family showed a sense of pride in the gift he had received due to his position on the town council. Having this gift at home and depicting it on the portrait demonstrated the connection the family had to the Peace of Westphalia, an important event in Amsterdam's history. While the city celebrated its involvement in the peace negotiations, Pancras and his family commemorated their personal connection to it.[103] The portrait is therefore a display of family status within the urban community.
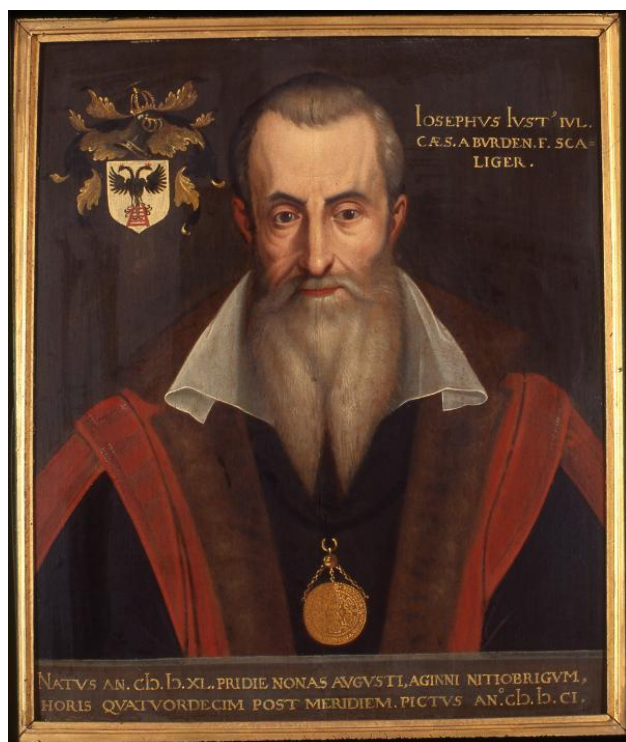
Fig.28 Portrait of Joseph Scaliger wearing the medal of the reduction of Groningen and the victory at Coevorden in 1594 (University Library Leiden).

While many people were depicted wearing medals of the Revolt, some episodes seem to have been more popular than others. Professor Josephus Scaliger from Leiden University, for instance, was depicted wearing a medal of the 1594 victory of Coevorden and Groningen on his portrait in 1600 (fig.28). This medal was a reward for the presentation of one of his books to the States of Holland. What is interesting, though, is that we know he had been given a choice: he could receive a medal of either the siege of Leiden or the siege of Geertruidenberg. The image seems to suggest that he chose a third option: the more recent siege of Coevorden and Groningen.[104] Whether the medal itself or the event was so enticing is hard to say, but it was rather popular at the end of the sixteenth century. Politician Wytze van Cammingha, who was injured at Coevorden in 1593 is also wearing this medal in his 1596 portrait.[105] And Johannes Huyssen I, delegate for Goes in the States General, is proudly wearing this object in a 1598 portrait that also featured his son Johan.[106]

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[102] 'Near 80 Jaren Strijt Ende meenich Batalij Heeft Godt t' Vaderlant bevrijd En Stat Raet vereert met dese medalij'. Anonymous, *Gerbrand Claesz. Pancras (1591-1649)* , 1649 – 1658, oil on panel, Amsterdam Museum Amsterdam, inv nr SA 3000.
[103] The peace negotiations and their role in Amsterdam's history of the Revolt will be discussed in chapter 5.
[104] Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 34–36.
[105] Anonymous, *Portret van Wytze van Cammingha (1547/1548-1606),* 1596, oil on panel, private collection, http://explore.rkd.nl/explore/images/148633 , consulted 6 December 2013.
[106] Daniël van den Queborn, *Portret van Jan van Huyssen (1566-1634) met zijn zoon Johan*, 1598, oil on canvas, private collection, via Rijkdienst voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD) IB nr 116256.

As these portraits demonstrate, medals proved to be important attributes of status for men, women and children, with a noted popularity for Revolt medals amongst children's portraits. These children, both boys and girls, often wear the medals that were presented to their parents. Girls are a particularly interesting category because on family portraits, christening medals were usually worn by boys while girls were depicted with other attributes.[107] For example, a young girl was depicted wearing a medal of the siege of Bergen op Zoom in 1622. This painting seems to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the relief of Bergen op Zoom since it was created in 1632.[108] On another portrait a young girl is painted with a medal that displays Stadholder Maurits in 1623.[109] The Maurits medal seen in the *Vrolijke Drinker* also seems to have been popular. A young boy, who could possibly be a bastard son of Stadholder Maurits, wears a medal depicting Maurits, but this one was issued in his honor in 1602 to commemorate the siege of Grave.[110] Since these medals are quite similar they may all have been commissioned for this occasion.

Two other medal portraits of children depict the Breda medal we have already seen in Charles de Héraugières' portrait. In fact, the first is a portrait of a boy presumed to be Maurits de Héraugieres, Charles' son. The child, however, seems to have been identified solely by the medal around his neck, which resembles the medal and chain in De Héraugieres' portrait.[111] Since seventy-six of these medals had been produced, it could also be another child. Indeed, there is another portrait known featuring a young boy

Fig.29 Portrait of Rochus Rees wearing the Breda medal, which had been presented to one of his ancestors, 1622 (Dordrechts Museum, Huis van Gijn).

Kees Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw. Kaptiaal, macht, familie en levensstijl* (Amsterdam 2006) 61.
[107] Stighelen, *Kinderen op hun mooist*, 232.
[108] David Finson, *Portret van een meisje met mandje en kersjes,* 1632, oil on canvas, Noordbrabants Museum 's-Hertogenbosch, inv nr 15529.
[109] Paulus Moreelse, *Portrait of a child*, 1623, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, inv nr NGI.263; Stighelen, *Kinderen op hun mooist*, 135–136.
[110] Anonymous, *Portret van een jongetje, misschien Lodewijk van Nassau (1602-1665)*, 1604, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-956.
[111] Anonymous, *Portret van mogelijk Maurits de Héraugieres*, 1595, oil on panel, private collection, via Rijksdienst voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD), ibnr 74772.

wearing this particular medal. In 1622, more than thirty years after the attack, young Rochus Rees was also depicted wearing the gold Breda medal (fig.29).[112]

These children and their parents were well aware of the status the medal brought with it. In addition to cherishing it in a cabinet or on the mantel piece they chose to represent it in a different medium: a portrait. Moreover, the portraits present a sense of lineage, inheritance, and legacy since it is often the next generation that is visually connected to the acts of their forefathers.

Keeping up appearances: family memories in a broader context

Family memories too were often captured in objects such as medals, portraits and silverware. Whether these had been presented to a family as gift or had been commissioned to mark a certain episode or achievement did not matter: in both cases the object was connected to a story about the Revolt. Yet, whereas some stories were straightforward and invoked feelings of pride, others were more complicated. They told tales of suffering or of seeking justification for wrongdoing during the Revolt. These stories in particular provide context for the existing civic memory cultures, as they demonstrate the way individuals tried to (re)establish their position in the community in the seventeenth century.

Stories of suffering during the Revolt were quite common. Both Catholic and Protestant martyrs were recorded in martyrologies, and cities commemorated the furies and attacks their city had endured.[113] In addition to the stories individual citizens also decided to immortalize their personal experiences in objects. Chancellor of Brabant Jan Scheyfve, for instance, commissioned a medal in 1575 to commemorate his struggle against rebels and heretics in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1567. Appointed by Governess Margaretha van Parma, Scheyfve had negotiated with the Calvinists in 's-Hertogenbosch where he was imprisoned before successfully restoring a Catholic regime. Eight years later he commissioned a medal which displayed his bust on the front and on the reverse showed an allegory of his political career as chancellor. Scheyfve is depicted kneeling in front of an altar accompanied by a dog wearing a collar with loyalty written on it. To the left of Scheyfve the word 'justice' and the symbol of unity are shown while to his right the word 'rebellion' is written beneath two fighting horsemen. At the bottom, directly underneath Scheyfve, the word 'perseverance' represents the conclusion of this medal: the rebellion had threatened justice and unity, but the chancellor had remained loyal to the true religion and had shown perseverance.[114] Although

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[112] Anonymous, *Kinderportret van Rochus Rees*, 1622, oil on panel, Dordrechts Museum, inv nr 1401.
[113] Pollmann and Kuijpers, 'Why remember terror?', 180–181; Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Introduction. On the early modernity of modern memory', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 1–23, there 18–20.
[114] Michel Baelde, "Jan Scheyfve", Dutch Revolt website, Leiden University, http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/personen/S/Pages/scheyfve.aspx, consulted 10 June 2013;

it remains unclear for whom the chancellor commissioned this medal, it seems likely that it was meant for his family. Instead of keeping his memories to himself Scheyfve chose to have them depicted on a medal, which as we have already seen could be worn, put on display or even reproduced in a portrait.

Fig.30 (p.101)   So-called Courten dish, commissioned by Guillaume Courten as a set of four tazza's for his family. They can be dated in the late sixteenth century which suggests that they were commissioned individually, but the scene is almost identical (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

This urge to pass on personal memories to the rest of the family is also visible in the so-called Courten dish (fig.30). This silver dish was commissioned as a set of four tazzas by the Protestant textile merchant Guillaume Courten, who came from Menen in the Habsburg Netherlands. In 1567 Courten had been imprisoned on the orders of the Duke of Alva, but he had managed to escape with the help of his wife. Subsequently they fled to England. Courten, however, did not wish to forget his suffering and commissioned at least four similar tazzas that were kept by his family members. On the tazza we see Courten sitting behind bars in the center surrounded by a flower decoration in which the following inscription can be read

On 2 March in Menen 1567 the Duke of Alva thought to rob Guilliaume Courten of his life, but God has given victory through his wife Margherite on 29 March 1567.[115]

Although it is not entirely clear when the tazzas were made, the family archives and year marks on the dishes suggest that they were produced in different years. At least one can be

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Jan van Oudheusden, 'De kanselier en zijn penning. 's-Hertogenbosch als symbool van rebellie?', *Bossche Bladen* 8 (2006) 140–144, there 143–144.
[115] 'Den 2 Marcy in Meenen 1567 Dacht Duc Dalve Ghuilliame Coerten te Beroven sijn leven Maer Godt heft Den 29 Marcy 1567 Door sijn huijsvrouwe Marghuerieta fictorie gegeven' Katie Heyning, 'Tazza voor de familie Courten', *Bulletin Vereniging Rembrandt* 20 (2010) 20–22, there 20.

dated to 1597, another one has been dated to 1567 and a third before 1582.[116] The 1567 date seems especially dubious because the tazza has an anonymous maker and the year mark is missing. This tazza therefore seems to have been dated only by the inscription that reads 1567.[117] Nevertheless, the dishes were definitely produced in different cities, and therefore have a few variations in the use of capitals and decoration.[118] Because the overall scene is the same, it seems that Courten had these dishes produced for his children, who lived in different cities in the Dutch Republic. He did, however, not commission the tazzas together or even in the same year or city.

While Scheyfve and Courten made conscious choices not only to share their memories of suffering and struggle with their families but to have objects made as eternal reminders of their stories. They also had in common that despite the hardship during the early years of the Revolt they found a way out of their oppressive situation, which seems to have given them a certain sense of pride. Scheyfve presented himself as the good Catholic citizen who had endured his struggles but had not strayed from the right path. Courten reflected on his perilous escape from the Netherlands before he settled in England as an exile. Both men thus chose to depict the actual moment of suffering to reflect on their current status. Their families had to remember what they had gone through during the Revolt.

While Courten and Scheyfve were concerned with their own past and how their experiences and achievements during the Revolt would be passed on, the past could also be employed to increase status through invoking a famous family member. While Courten and Scheyfve themselves 'managed' the memories surrounding their person, descendants could also use the past in their own favor. For example, Johan Willem Ripperda from Groningen used his ancestor Wigbolt Ripperda, the military governor of Haarlem during the siege of 1572-73, to get ahead in his political career in the early eighteenth century. In 1566 the prominent Ripperda family from Winsum in Groningen had joined the Reformed religion. By 1594, however, four brothers had been killed, their status was gone and their lands had been sequestered by the city of Groningen during the Catholic regime. After the city was captured by Stadholder Maurits in 1594, the only way to regain some their former status was to join the States army.[119] More than a century later, Johan Willem Ripperda married a rich wife and inherited an estate. When he had his portrait painted in 1705, he also ordered a second

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[116] The Rijksmuseum dates its dish ca. 1567, but since a year sign is missing this dating is probably related to the inscription. See Object description Anonymous, Drinkschaal met de gevangenschap van Willem Courten in 1567, ca. 1567, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr BK-NM-3220. Ibidem, 22.

[117] Object description Anonymous, Drinkschaal met de gevangenschap van Willem Courten in 1567, ca. 1567, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr BK-NM-3220.

[118] Heyning, 'Tazza voor de familie Courten', 21–22.

[119] R.A. Luitjens-Dijkveld Stol, 'De Ripperda's van Winsum', in: *Winsums Verleden* (Groningen 1957) 34–124, there passim.

painting depicting his ancestor Wigbolt Ripperda. Moreover, both men wear the same eighteenth-century breastplate and helmet and share similar facial features.[120]

Wigbolt's portrait not only displays the siege of Haarlem in the background, but he also wears a large medal around his neck, which represents a female figure holding a torch. This prominent addition, however, could not have been owned by Wigbolt himself since he was decapitated by the Habsburg army on 16 July 1573. Before this date medals as large as this one, depicting this type of scene, were not yet common in the Low Countries as rewards or gifts.[121] Maybe this medal was a fictive addition by the artist, but its prominence and detail suggests that it may also have been added at the request of Johan Willem or another descendant. Was it a medal from his own collection? What is certain is that Johan Willem's political prospects looked bright in 1705. Through his marriage he acquired land and fortune, and became a representative in the States General in 1713.[122] It seems that Johan Willem relied not only on his present status but also on that of his ancestor Wigbolt to provide him with a connection between the Revolt and his own time. Such behavior may be a reflection on Johan Willem's rather opportunistic nature. After he became ambassador in Madrid, he defected to the Spanish king in 1724 and became first minister of Spain. In 1726 he fell into disgrace, was imprisoned and escaped to England before settling in Morocco.[123] Wigbolt's reputation could do Johan Willem proud in the States General, so what harm would it do to present Wigbolt with the necessary honors around his neck?

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[120] Freerk J. Veldman, *Hermannus Collenius 1650-1723* (Zwolle 1997) 166–168.
[121] Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I, 1–163.
[122] Veldman, *Hermannus Collenius*, 166.
[123] Henk Boels and Albert Buursma, 'Groninger Boegbeeld (15) Johan Willem Ripperda, jonker, diplomaat, hertog en grande van Spanje', via www.hetverhaalvangroningen.nl, consulted 28 June 2013.

Although Johan Willem was involved in scandals, Wigbolt's achievements were real enough. In other cases the fame of an ancestor was rather questionable. In that case descendants could resort to clearing that person's name, which was what happened to Magdalena Moons from The Hague.

Magdalena's story started in the 1620s when historians Pieter Bor and Famianus Strada included an unknown woman from The Hague in their accounts of the siege of Leiden. She had accompanied the Habsburg army commander Francisco Valdez and convinced him to postpone on attack on Leiden for a few days. This delay allowed the Beggar fleet to cross the inundated lands surrounding Leiden to relieve the city from the Habsburg enemy.[124] In 1646 when Reinier Bontius published the second edition of his play about the siege of Leiden he gave the woman a name, 'Amalia', and had her visit the Habsburg army camp to seduce the commander.[125] Only a few years later this woman named Amalia would be revealed as Magdalena Moons by one of her descendants, Jan Moons.

Fig.31 Cornelis de Visscher III, Portrait of Magdalena Moons (University Library Leiden).

In 1649 Jan Moons mentioned her name to Petrus Scriverius who then commissioned engravings portraying four leading figures during the siege of Leiden: Jan van der Does, commander of the civic militia in Leiden, Louis de Boisot, commander of the Beggar fleet, Francisco Valdez and Magdalena Moons (fig.31). Moons was represented as the Venus who had convinced Mars not to attack because so many of her relatives were still in Leiden. Her likeness was derived from an existing portrait. Ten years later, in 1659, Jan Moons wrote his

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[124] Els Kloek, '*Moons, Magdalena*', in: *Digitaal Vrouwenlexicon van Nederland,* http://www.historici.nl/Onderzoek/Projecten/DVN/lemmata/data/moons, consulted 31 May 2013.

[125] Els Kloek, 'Moons, Magdalena'; Reinier Bontius, *Belegering ende het ontset der stadt Leyden. Geschiet in den jare 1574. beginnende den 27 May, ende eyndighde den derden Octobris, seer levendich afgebeelt door Reynerius Bontius.* (2nd edition; Leiden 1646) f. 4r, via http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/Bontius/Bontius1646.html, consulted 31 May 2013.

own explanation of his great-aunt's story which apparently caught on rather quickly. Bontius included her initials M.M. in the new edition of his play that was published in the same year.[126] Jan Moons' unveiled his aunt's name to defend her honor. In his account she had been promised to Valdez, but the wedding had been postponed until the siege was over. After the siege she married the Habsburg commander, which made her attempt to delay an attack on the city a heroic deed.[127] Indeed, due to Jan Moons' intervention Magdalena became one of the heroines of the siege of Leiden and remained so for centuries.[128]

According to Jan himself, it had never been his intention to boast about his family's past.

> nor the afore mentioned lady nor those of her family never tried before now to circulate this case or to make the most of it, since they have not sought any credit or gratitude[129]

Despite this claim, however, Jan does seem to have been eager to prove the noble lineage of both his own and Valdez's family throughout the text. Was Jan afraid that the existing rumors would finally connect Amalia to his respectable great-aunt Magdalena? Whether out of fear of scandal or not, Jan made his own decision to speak to Scriverius about Magdalena. One year after the Peace of Westphalia had been signed in 1648 he deliberately put his great-aunt's name and face into the public eye as one of the heroines of the Revolt. Conceivably he had waited until the war was officially over before connecting his name to that of Valdez's mistress. Only then could he be sure that such a revelation would contribute to his personal status and would put him on the map as the defender of his great-aunt's honor. He even put a disclaimer at the end of his text, that if someone did still not believe his story, he would be glad to provide any additional information.[130] In the end Jan Moons succeeded in his mission, Magdalena Moons became a heroine of the siege of Leiden. His

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[126] Els Kloek, '*Moons, Magdalena*', see for the different versions of Bontius' play about the siege of Leiden Ceneton C0802, Leiden University, consulted 31 May 2013.

[127] Magdalena Moons and Francisco Valdez indeed married each other after the siege, as Els Kloek has been able to prove. Els Kloek, 'Het huwelijk van Magdalena Moons (1541-1613) met Francisco Valdez (gest. 1581?)', in: Eef Dijkhof and Michel van Gent (eds.), *Uit diverse bronnen gelicht. Opstellen aangeboden aan Hans Smit ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzestigste verjaardag* (Den Haag 2007) 229–243, via www.historici.nl; Jan Fruytiers, *Korte beschrijvinge van de strenge belegeringe en wonderbaarlyke verlossinge der stad Leiden in den jaare 1574* (Haarlem 1739) 161–187.

[128] See for example Marijke Meijer-Drees, 'Vaderlandse heldinnen in belegeringstoneelstukken', *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 85 (1993) 71–82; Sien Fijs, ''Tot eer van mijne kunne'. Vaderlandse helden en vrouwelijk heroïek in de Nederlandse literatuur uit de achttiende eeuw' (Thesis Ghent University 2012) via www.lib.ugent.be.

[129] 'nochte de voornoemde jonkvrouw, nochte die van haaren geslagte noyt voor deesen getragt die saake seer te verbreyden ofte breed uit te meeten, als daar over niet gesogt hebbende eenige eer of dank' Fruytiers, *Korte beschrijvinge*, 174.

[130] Ibidem, 187.

family would thus be connected to the siege until the nineteenth century when historians began to question the story.

Connecting one's family to an episode during the Revolt was thus something that happened quite often, and the medium was usually an object such as a portrait, a medal or a document. While we have already seen the way these medals were passed on and how portraits connected the depicted person to his history, documents need consideration as well. Media such as paintings and medals were beyond the financial reach of poorer, middle-class families, but they could go to a notary for an affidavit of bravery. Such a document would state the acts of bravery during the Revolt or declare someone's good character in relation to his ancestor's services to the fatherland. Both in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic these documents became important objects to demonstrate someone's family identity as well as proof of good citizenship.

In the Habsburg Netherlands it was important to prove loyalty to the crown, as we have already seen in Scheyfve's ordeal in 1567. Burgomaster Franciscus de St Victor from Leuven, for instance, could claim to be a good citizen because he was a patrician, he had attended the university, and his father had been the governor of Grol during the Revolt.[131] In Ghent an investigation was made into the family of Jan van Havre when he was under consideration for the town council. In the report that was commissioned by the central government in Brussels, his family proved to have been loyal to King Philip II, which was presented as a good characteristic. One of Jan's cousins had even died defending the good cause during the siege of Ostend. Most importantly, Jan himself had shown his loyalty when he had been imprisoned in Ghent in 1580 by the Calvinists.[132] In 1598 's-Hertogenbosch pastry cook Peter Colen had to appear in court to face charges of witchcraft and rebellion. Various witnesses testified in his favor because Peter had a pious nature and was a good citizen. More specifically, a willingness to defend the city in times of war ran through Peter's blood, they said, because 'Peter's father had been severely wounded on 19 January 1585 in the attack on this city by the enemies, after which he has died from this world, having been injured for the defense of this his majesty's city, and died, as is known to the community of citizens of this city.'[133]

This appeal to the past happened more often in affidavits. For example, Joost Jansz van Geersbergen had been a soldier during the siege of Ostend between 1601 and 1604. Forty

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[131] Erycius Puteanus, *Eryci Pvteani Historiae Belgiae liber singvlaris, de obsidione Lovaniensi anni M.DC.XXXV Novi sub Ferdinando Principe belli auspicia* (Antwerp 1636) 51–52.

[132] Liesbeth De Frenne, 'Verzoening en herstel van het vorstelijk gezag. De aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella en de stad Gent (1598-1621)', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 60 (2006) 247–284, there 270–271.

[133] 'Peeters vadere opten 19 januari 1585 int overvallen deser stadt van vianden seer swaerlick gewont, daer aff hy deser werelt is overleden, hebbende alsoe den door voor de defensie dese sijne majesteits stad besiert, ende gestorven, soe den gemeynen borgeren deser stadt genoch is bekent' With thanks to Sonja Deschrijver. SAH, *Archief van de Schepenbank*, inv nr 063-12, f.112-113.

years later he visited a notary to testify and record before witnesses that he had been brave during the siege.[134] Garbrant Jansz. Pauw from Monnickendam visited a notary to state that he was the grandson of the famous admiral Cornelis Dircksz who fought and won the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573, and that his father had also served the fatherland.[135] Claes Dircxsz van Montfoort possessed an affidavit of his bravery and his meritorious behavior during the siege of Leiden in 1574. The affidavit had been signed by a notary in 1575, and a later copy had been provided in 1593.[136] A similar document can be found in 's-Hertogenbosch where two brothers testified in 1609 that their father, Jan van der Steghen, had defended the city against the reformed enemy in 1578.[137] In the majority of these cases it is not entirely clear why the men requested affidavits because they were made a considerable time after the events had taken place. In Van der Steghen's case, however, the family history does shed some light on the situation. The Van der Steghen's had been a prominent family in 's-Hertogenbosch, but one of their family members, Nicolaes van der Steghen, had been a supporter of the reformed religion and the prince of Orange in 1566. After Catholicism had been reinstated in 1567 Nicolaes went to prison until he was released due to his old age in 1569. In 1609, when 's-Hertogenbosch was still a Catholic city, the Van der Steghen's therefore might have thought it wise to highlight the bravery of their father Jan in order to avoid accusations of sympathy for the Protestant cause.[138]

Countermemories: family memories beyond the urban memory culture

As we have seen above families, could employ their own and their ancestor's experiences during the Revolt to further their own interests, but what happened if family memories and local memories did not coincide? This was particularly of consequence for those who continued to live in their old surroundings even though they had, for instance, been removed from public office due to the Revolt. Protestants from the Habsburg Netherlands, such as Guilliaume Courten, went into exile and kept their memories within their exile community even though his children relocated from England to the Dutch Republic where they led comfortable lives.[139] Catholic families in the Dutch Republic, however, often continued to live in their own community. After all, there was no persecution of Catholics, and they could still practice their religion in private.[140] Nevertheless, for many Catholics who had been part of the

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[134] HUA, Notarissen in de stad Utrecht 1560-1905, Gerrit Houtman, 01-02-1642, inv nr U022a014.

[135] L. Appel, *De slag op de Zuiderzee* (Zutphen 1973) 85.

[136] C. Seyn, *Catalogus van oudheden en bijzonderheden, betreffende het beleg en ontzet der stad Leyden* (Leiden 1824) 5.

[137] SAH, Jonge Schuts, toegang 39, inv nr. 34, 17 december 1609

[138] A.F.O. Sasse van Ysselt, 'Het huis der familie Van der Steghen', via: http://www.bossche-encyclopedie.nl/panden/, consulted 27 May 2013.

[139] Heyning, 'Tazza voor de familie Courten', 20–22.

[140] See for the practice of religion amongst Catholics, for example, Christine Kooi, 'Paying off the Sheriff. Strategies of Catholic Toleration in Golden Age Holland', in: R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van

town council or other public offices the Revolt and the rise of Protestantism meant that they were no longer allowed to keep their former status and position in the civic community. Catholicism was officially banned, and members of this group remembered how they were forced to leave office.

For instance, the portrait of Catholic burgomaster Joost Buyck of Amsterdam commemorates the way he was forced to leave the city in 1578 when the city joined the Revolt.[141] Buyck subsequently moved to Leiden with his family although he was buried in the New Church in Amsterdam in 1588.[142] The family remained Catholic and had a portrait painted of their ancestor, a seventeenth-century copy of a late sixteenth-century original still exists, indicating that the family thought the portrait and what it represented was important enough to reproduce in the seventeenth century. Moreover, the accompanying text in Latin was also copied. In 1650 poet Joost van den Vondel, who by then had converted to Catholicism, translated the Latin verses into Dutch. After stating who was depicted on the portrait he continued that Buyck was

> The most useful member of the council, who without an equal was true to God and Justice, and stood by his citizens: still the rebellious rabble, dishonorably incited, finally drove away this loyal hero of the land and father away, so that his virtue, elevated to heaven by disaster, from God received the reward, that had been denied to him on earth.[143]

The Latin text, probably written by one of Buyck's family members, does not directly refer to the Protestants who took over the magistrate of Amsterdam: they are called 'the rabble'. Yet, what is clear is that he did not agree with the way Buyck and his fellow Catholics had been treated in 1578. Due to Vondel's translation, and the reproduction of the portrait in his work in 1650, the memories of the Buyck family became public. Their dissatisfaction with the way they had been treated reveals a set of memories about the Revolt that existed below the surface. In the subculture of the Catholic community, countermemories of the Revolt thus

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Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and religious toleration in the Dutch Golden Age Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge 2002) 87–101.

[141] Anonymous, *Joost Sybrandtsz. Buyck (1505-1588),* ca. 1600-1649, oil on canvas, Amsterdam Museum Amsterdam, inv nr SA 3005.

[142] Vondel, Joost van den, *De werken van J. van den Vondel* 1648-1651: Salomon – Horatius Lierzangen, J.H.W. Unger (ed.) (Leiden 1890) 181, via www.dbnl.org; Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 244.

[143] 'Het nutste lidt des Raets, dat zonder Wedergade, Getrouw aen Godt en 't Recht, zijn' burgren quam te stade: Noch dreef 't oproerigh graeuw, al 't eerloos opgeruit, Dien trouwen helt des lants en vader entlijck uit; Op dat zijn deught, door ramp ten hemel toe gesteigert, By Godt ontfing het loon, het welck heur d'aerde weigert' As explained in the accompanying exhibition text for inv nr SA 3005, on Amsterdam Museum, Collectie Online Research, via http://collectie.amsterdammuseum.nl, consulted 11 June 2013.

also survived. Indeed, as we have seen in chapter two, relics of saints still circulated in the Catholic community, even when a Calvinist regime ruled the city. In the Dutch Republic this situation eventually proved to be permanent. Yet, this did not mean that Catholic elements disappeared completely; they survived but in smaller circles. Moreover, as we have seen in chapter one, the Catholic community found ample ways to continue to venerate saints at their places of memory. These memories also countered the (urban) memory cultures emphasized by the Reformed church and the magistrate.

Another group that suffered in the Dutch Republic during the Revolt was the Remonstrant community. During the Twelve Years' Truce between 1609 and 1621 the political and religious conflict between the Counterremonstrant and Remonstrant sides of the Reformed church was decided in favor of the Counterremonstrants with support of Stadholder Maurits. This meant that Remonstrants were purged from town councils and other offices.[144] The consequences of the removal of Remonstrant magistrates could be felt especially in Utrecht and Holland. In response these former Remonstrant cities tried to prove themselves as loyal to Maurits. These utterances of loyalty, which will be discussed in further detail in chapter four, became visible in the number of commissions to commemorate the events of 1618. As we have already seen above, the disbanding of the *waardgelders* became a popular episode for paintings. In addition, numerous forms of Remonstrant memorabilia were commissioned, including prints, paintings, pamphlets, and relics.[145] All these objects demonstrated (renewed) loyalty to Maurits by referring to the necessity of the removal of Remonstrant elements from the community but also the need for the Remonstrant community to keep their heritage and heroes alive.

In private circles, for example, Remonstrant families remembered the Revolt outside the urban memory culture. In Leiden former council member Ysbrant Visscher kept an old banner from 1573 at home. He asked that after his death the flagstaff be broken and the banner be torn during his funeral to remember that the old freedom was no longer there after the Remonstrants had been removed from the council. Yet, the story continued. The magistrate in 1620 prevented Ysbrant's wish from being executed and delivered the banner to his family.[146] In the local memory there was simply no room for this counter memory of the Revolt. Other families did their best to preserve their reputation. For instance, the prominent Van der Werf and Van Assendelft families lost their positions in the town council in 1618 because they were Remonstrants. Yet, while the Van der Werf family never made it onto the

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[144] Cossee, 'Rekkelijk of precies', 12–28.
[145] Zandvliet, *Maurits*, 383–402.
[146] Judith Pollmann, *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten. Het beleg en ontzet van Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden 2008) 17–18.

council again; the Van Assendelft family returned to the highest level of civic politics in 1655.[147]

Until 1618 the Van der Werf family had relied on one particular ancestor for their reputation in the city: former burgomaster Pieter van der Werf. Before and during the siege Pieter van der Werf had been burgomaster of Leiden, but he had been forced to resign from this post shortly after the relief. We know from correspondence that Van der Werf had been thinking about surrendering to the Habsburg army, something that other members of the elite had complained about to William of Orange. In November 1576, however, Van der Werf was reinstated and spent the rest of his life assembling documents and affidavits about his role during the siege. It may have been on his instigation that Jan Fruytiers included a heroic story about him in his second edition of the account of the siege in 1577, and he compiled a dossier with testimonies of his patriotic nature.[148] By the time of Van der Werf's death in 1604 the image he had created seems to have paid off; his family belonged among the five most prominent families in Leiden.[149] After 1618 the situation changed. When Pieter van der Werf's daughter Clara married Bartholomeus van Assendelft in 1620, both Remonstrant families had already been removed from the town council.

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[147] Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld', 36–38.

[148] J. Fruytiers, *Corte beschrijvinghe vande strenghe belegeringhe ende wonderbaerlicke verlossinghe der stadt Leyden in Hollandt* (2nd edition; Delft 1577) 24v; RAL, 501 Archief der secretarie van de stad Leiden, (1253) 1290-1575, inv nr 1380, Collectie stukken betreffende Pieter Adriensz. van der Werff, afkomstig van de Heer F. de Wildt; see for the image of Van der Werf in Leiden's history Jori Zijlmans, 'Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werf; held van Leiden', in: Joris van Eijnatten, Fred van Lieburg and Hans de Waardt (eds.), *Heiligen of helden. Opstellen voor Willem Frijhoff* (Amsterdam 2007) 130–143; Pollmann, *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten*, 14.

[149] Dirk Jaap Noordam, *Geringde buffels en heren van stand . Het patriciaat van Leiden, 1574-1700* (Hilversum 1994) 29, 37; J.W. Water, *Levensbijzonderheden van Pieter Adriaansz. van de Werff, burgemeester der stad Leijden, ten tijde van hare beide belegeringen door de Spanjaarden in de jaren 1573 en 1574 . Meest uit ongedrukte stukken verzameld* (Leiden 1814) 170.

Still, Clara apparently did not forget her father's memory. In 1643 she commissioned a painting from Joris van Schooten portraying the burgomaster's sacrifice during the siege.[150] The measurements of the painting suggest that it hung in one of the reception rooms in Clara's home, as would also be the case in the future residence of the family on the Rapenburg after 1711.[151] This prominent place suggests that Clara passed on to her three sons pride in the heroism of their grandfather. When Clara's son Pieter van Assendelft returned to the town council in 1655, he was certainly aware of both his own fragile position and his descent from Pieter van der Werf. Together with his brothers he decided to commission the famous sculptor Rombout Verhulst to create a monument to their heroic grandfather in the Hooglandse Church. The unveiling of the monument was such an important event for the family that they commissioned a copy of Verhulst's bust of Pieter van der Werf and a medal in celebration (fig.32).[152]

Fig.32 Rombout Verhulst, monument for Pieter van der Werf in the Hooglandse Kerk in Leiden commissioned by his three grandsons in 1663 (Hooglandse Kerk Leiden).

At some point the Van Assendelfts had also started a domestic collection of Revolt memorabilia referring to the siege of Leiden in general. By the end of the eighteenth century at least eleven objects that commemorated the siege were in their possession, including a glass, paintings, medals, and the kettle they had bought from the Schaeck family.[153] The importance of this collection for the family can be established from the fact that in 1728 the settlement of Johan van Assendelft's estate specifically mentioned this collection. His son Adriaan was supposed to keep the collection of memorabilia, but only if he compensated his two sisters with five hundred guilders each.[154] This practice, which we have seen amongst the Sijloo family in Delfshaven as well, emphasizes the importance of the

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[150] Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel', 139–140.

[151] Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld', 38-39.

[152] RAL, Oud Notarieel Archief, inv nr 2518 (Hermanus van Waalswijk) nr 26 (17 March 1785); RAL, Stadsarchief 1816-1929 (SA III) inv nr 4397; Rombout Verhulst, monument for Pieter van der Werf, 1663, Hooglandse Kerk, Leiden.

[153] Three medals, two paintings, a glass, a piece of turf, a portrait, a ring, the kettle of the Schaeck family and a bust. RAL, ONA, inv nr 2528 (Hermanus van Waalswijk), nr 81 (8 December 1795). In 1838 a descendant of the Van Assendelft family donated the whole collection to Museum De Lakenhal in Leiden where it was joined with the civic collection of the city; see introduction for the kettle.

[154] Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. Willemijn Fock and A.J. van Dissel, (eds.), *Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* (Leiden 1986) IV, 642.

memorabilia. Although whether the Van Assendelfts started assembling their collection solely for the purpose of returning to the town council will never be clear, it is revealing to know the value they put on the objects. Had Pieter van der Werff inspired his daughter by starting his own collection of documents to which she and her descendants added all sorts of memorabilia? And if so, could this collection have been actively shown to other members of the elite who visited their home? Finally, if this was the case, did the Van Assendelft collection contribute in any way to the return of the family to the town council, or had the time simply been ripe to admit members of former Remonstrant families to public office again? Even though we may never know for certain the answers to these questions, the importance that was attributed to this collection by so many members of the Van Assendelft family reveals that these objects captured an intrinsic part of their family identity.

Material memories of the Revolt slowly became part of domestic interiors in the seventeenth century. Gifts, rewards and memorabilia were presented in reception rooms, demonstrated a person's connection to the war and revealed a sense of pride. Medals were minted in great numbers throughout the Low Countries, often depicted episodes from the Revolt, and were presented as awards to a variety of people from diplomats to writers to ordinary citizens who had performed extraordinary deeds. Another reason why medals are important is because they were cherished in different ways. Sometimes they were not only physically passed down through generations as symbols of what an ancestor had achieved during the Revolt but also featured as props in paintings and prints. Medal paintings featuring children wearing the medals stand out here because they particularly express a message of pride in an ancestor's achievement.

Commemorative objects were part of urban memory cultures and especially urban memory landscapes. Yet, they also circulated between the public and the private realms, which can make them difficult to interpret. The objects gave shape to an individual achievement or memory and did not necessarily feature in the public urban memory culture. Nevertheless, individual objects and collections could add to a family's status and ensure their place in the urban community. What distinguished commemorative objects from relics was not only that they were made after the event but also that they often contained visual references to the Revolt. A medal depicted a scene from the Revolt, a silver gift was shaped like a tower and adorned with an inscription, and a print showed the episode it referred to. Moreover, while artists used traditional media such as medals and paintings, the imagery both remediated scenes from the past and reflected new inventions. For instance, medals had usually depicted only portrait busts, but now battle scenes and biblical scenes were captured on metal as well.

What the first part of this study has also shown is how material memories of the Revolt were present on all levels of the urban community and that stakeholders could exert their influence on personal and urban levels. Material memories existed in the fabric of the city, such as places, buildings and houses, but also in their interiors in public and private settings. In this context memories influenced the urban appearance and urban identity. Yet, while material memories were present, they relied on stakeholders for their interpretation and dissemination, which is why these will take center stage in the second part of this study.

Part 2

Stakeholders

In 1577 the magistrate of Leiden commissioned Cornelis Stam to remove an altar stone from its original location in the Pieterschurch and use it for an inscription commemorating the relief of the city from the Habsburg army in 1574. The inscription, written by city secretary Jan van Hout, was subsequently placed on the façade of the town hall.[1] The magistrate of Leiden made a symbolic gesture by violating the altar stone and showcasing it in the physical heart of their power in the town hall. The message which was inscribed on the stone, however, did not reveal the religious implications of removing it from the Pieterschurch. Instead it referred to the starvation Leiden's people had endured and to the subsequent feeding of the population after the relief of the city on 3 October 1574.[2] This was the magistrate's take on what had happened three years earlier during the siege. Why did it choose to promote this specific memory of the Revolt?

As recent research on Leiden has demonstrated, the story about starvation stands out in the vivid memory culture that emerged after the siege in 1574. Not only was the magistrate very active in propagating this aspect of the siege but they were joined by other stakeholders within the community to promote the same theme. The starvation theme was particularly convenient for the magistrate because it had to deal with several unpleasant memories of the siege which were more difficult to explain. During the siege most casualties had died of a variety of diseases, described as plague, but these were considered a punishment from God. Furthermore, religious and political tensions within the city had driven the population apart. Therefore, when it came to the commemoration of the Revolt, it was much more convenient to remember that every inhabitant had been struck by hunger, whether Catholic or Protestant, or rich or poor, but since the population had withstood the enemy, they had all been redeemed. The hunger story therefore served to demonstrate a collective struggle which had been won.[3]

After 1574 the relief of Leiden became part of a memory culture about starvation and the subsequent feeding of the population. This theme was initiated and propagated most actively by the magistrate. It placed inscriptions on the town hall as well as on the *Vlietbrug*, the place where the Beggar army entered the city in 1574.[4] It drew parallels with the two Assyrian sieges of Jerusalem and Samaria in the Old Testament, which featured respectively on the medal to commemorate the siege of Leiden after 1574 and on a window the magistrate

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[1] Marike Hoogduin-Berkhout, ''Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden' geschilderde voorstellingen in het Leidse stadhuis 1575-1700', *De Zeventiende Eeuw 22* (Hilversum 2006) 59–105, there 77; Frans van Mieris and Daniel van Alphen, *Beschryving der Stad Leyden* II (Leiden 1770) 364.

[2] Inscription façade town hall Leiden.

[3] Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel. Leiden, 1574', in: Herman Amersfoort et al. (eds.), *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam 2011) 118–145, there 128; see also Judith Pollmann *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten. Het beleg en ontzet van Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden 2008).

[4] Hoogduin-Berkhout, 'Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden', 81.

commissioned for the Janschurch in Gouda in 1601 (fig.33).[5]

Fig.33 Gerard van Bylaer, medal on the relief of Leiden in 1574, this particular medal was minted in brass but others were in gold, silver, copper and bronze (Museum De Lakenhal Leiden).

The parallel between Leiden and the two cities was clear because Jerusalem had withstood the enemy and Samaria had suffered from starvation.[6] Moreover, the magistrate decorated the burgomaster's room in the town hall with paintings that commemorated the siege and relief of the city. One of them had been commissioned from Isaac Claesz van Swanenburg in 1612; the other had been a gift in 1615 from Pieter van Veen, pensionary of Leiden as well as a painter. Both paintings remained on site until the 1660s when the burgomaster's room was redecorated and they were moved to the aldermen's room.[7]

The magistrate of Leiden was thus very active in propagating the starvation theme, but this did not mean that the magistrate was the only stakeholder in the urban community involved in commemorating the relief of Leiden. First of all, the population joined in the annual celebrations of the siege that included a fair and festivities such as a parade by the militia and performances by rhetoricians sponsored by the magistrate. In these celebrations God was omnipresent, but it was the commemoration itself was not 'confessional'. In order words, a general service of thanksgiving was held annually, but the relief was not presented as a triumph of Reformed faith.[8] This did not mean that the religious aspect was suppressed, but it is evident that it was less prominent in Leiden's community than the starvation theme.

Along with the general celebrations organized by the magistrate, the theme also caught on amongst groups within Leiden's community as well as with individual citizens and their

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[5] Gerard van Bylaer, Vergulde triomfpenning op het beleg en ontzet van Leiden, 1574, guilded silver, Museum De Lakenhal Leiden, inv nr 1381; the same medal also in brass, Museum De Lakenhal Leiden, inv nr 3342.2; Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* II: the South (Amsterdam 2011) 532–534.

[6] Hoogduin-Berkhout, 'Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden', 78; Pollmann, 'Een "blij-eindend" treurspel', 126–127.

[7] Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden*, 163-164; Hoogduin-Berkhout, 'Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden', 78-87, 98; Marloes Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog en de Vrede van Munster in de decoratie van zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse stadhuizen. Een verkenning', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 335–346, there 335.

[8] Ingrid W.L. Moerman and R.C.J. van Maanen (eds.), *Leiden. Eeuwig feest* (Leiden 1986) 19–21; Judith Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden van de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden 2008) 7, Pollmann, *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten*, 20.

families. Rhetoricians joined in the celebrations and performed plays. Immigrants, such as exile Jacob Duym from the Southern Netherlands, also commemorated the siege. He published books and plays about the siege of Leiden and the suffering of the population.[9] Alumni of Leiden's university, which was founded in 1575, celebrated the day of the relief, took these memories to their home towns after they graduated and incorporated them in sermons throughout the seventeenth century.[10] Individual citizens also contributed to the stories about starvation. A local hero such as Willem Cornelisz Speelman, for example, took pride in using his pigeons to communicate with William of Orange in Delft instead of eating them, for which he was generously rewarded by the magistrate during the annual celebration of the relief in 1578. He received a gold medal, the name *Van Duivenbode*, or pigeon messenger, and had his new coat of arms placed on the façade of his home on the Rapenburg.[11] Other stories about suffering were included in the history of the siege by Jan Fruytiers in 1574 and 1577 as well as in Leiden's chorography by Jan Orlers which was published in 1614 and 1641.[12]

As the Leiden example demonstrates, an urban memory landscape was built on a dynamic interaction between different stakeholders. Not only the magistrate, and to a lesser degree the church, but also rhetoricians, immigrants, authors and individual citizens contributed to the urban memory culture of Leiden after its relief in 1574. Although the magistrate clearly set the agenda for the memory practices in the city, other stakeholders joined in, shared their memories of the siege, and contributed details and new angles to the general story. Moreover, as we have already seen in the previous chapters, stakeholders preserved their memories through all sorts of material media such as inscriptions, paintings, cooking pots and gable stones. These objects were not only material memories for their owners, however, but also served as symbols within urban memory cultures. Still this did not mean that other memories were not present in Leiden. The Reformed Church had its own story about the siege, and as we have already seen in chapter three, the Remonstrant community shared their memories in family circles after 1618 as well. The aim of the second part of this study is therefore to discuss the different stakeholders that emerged in urban communities during and after the Revolt and to analyze their motives for their involvement in the urban memory culture.

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[9] Pollmann *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten*, 15; Cobi Bordewijk, '*Lof zij den helden!' Vier eeuwen Leidse stedentrots op het toneel* (the Hague 2005) 10.

[10] Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel', 131; Judith Pollmann, *Early modern memory. Practicing the past in Europe, 1500-1800* (forthcoming), chapter four.

[11] Pollmann *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten*, 16; Moerman and Van Maanen, *Leiden*, 20.

[12] J. Fruytiers, *Corte beschrijvinghe vande strenghe belegeringhe ende wonderbaerlicke verlossinghe der stadt Leyden* (Delft 1574); J. Fruytiers, *Corte beschrijvinghe vande strenghe belegeringhe ende wonderbaerlicke verlossinghe der stadt Leyden in Hollandt* (2nd edition; Delft 1577); J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden* (Leiden 1614); J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden* (Leiden 1641).

Chapter 4 – Stakeholders in urban memory cultures

In 1585 the new magistrate of Antwerp commissioned Hans Vredeman de Vries to paint for the town hall an allegory depicting the reconciliation between the city and the Habsburg regime. In the painting Governor Alexander Farnese, who had captured Antwerp after a period of Calvinist rule, presents the city's coat of arms to King Philip II. In the background we can read political message that Antwerp would enjoy good government, wealth and prosperity now that the city had returned under Habsburg rule.[1] Vredeman de Vries had been employed by the city magistrate for several decades. He depicted Antwerp's future and the city's new relationship to the Habsburg regime after 1585 and to the Catholic religion.[2]

In its representation of the reconciliation the magistrate of Antwerp made an important decision. Instead of referring to the city's rebellious past it emphasized what the prosperous future would hold. This approach to the recent past fitted in with the reconciliation treaty the city had signed upon its capitulation to Farnese in August 1585. The treaty included an oblivion clause, which was the second article of the treaty and declared that all 'causes of mistrust and dissidence' would be dispelled, a general pardon would be issued, and everything would be 'forgotten'.[3] By offering oblivion the magistrate could look towards the future. Yet, while it focused on the recovery of the Catholic religion, it did not forget the Protestant community, which had been given four years to decide whether to stay or to leave the city. The magistrate wanted rich Protestant merchants to stay rather than to leave Antwerp, as almost half of the population did following the reconciliation. Therefore it also tried its best to settle existing differences within the urban community.[4]

The magistrate of Antwerp thus focused on the future, but this did not mean the past could not be remembered. Indeed, the period of the Calvinist regime was adapted to suit Antwerp's new urban identity of a loyal, Catholic city. For instance, around 1585 songs were sung in the city, which tried to connect the Calvinist regime to the reconciliation with the

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[1] Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Allegorie van de heropbloei van Antwerpen na de overwinning van Alexander Farnese*, 1586, oil on canvas, Museum aan de Stroom Antwerp, inv nr AV.2009.009.001; Jean-Marie Duvosquel and Ignace Vandevivere (eds.), *Luister van Spanje en de Belgische steden, 1500-1700* II (Brussels 1985) 416–417.

[2] Carl van de Velde, 'Hans Vredeman de Vries en de blijde intreden te Antwerpen', in: Heinder Borggrefe, Thomas Fusenig and Brabara Uppenkamp (eds.), *Tussen stadspaleizen en luchtkastelen. Hans Vredeman de Vries en de Renaissance* (Amsterdam 2002) 81-88, there passim.

[3] 'alle oorsaken van mistrouwicheyt en dissidentie', 'eewich en generael Pardon en vergetingen van aller en eene ygelicken vande voors. borgere', *Articulen ende conditien vanden tractate, aenghegaen ende ghesloten tusschen den Prince van Parma ter eenre, ende de Stadt van Antwerpen ter andere syden* (Antwerp 1585).

[4] Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen* (Amsterdam 2008) 41, 79, 103; Marie Juliette Marinus, *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676). Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad* (Brussels 1995) 159–160.

Habsburgs as well.[5] Moreover, Jesuit Carolus Scribani included and referred to the recent past in his history of Antwerp in 1610.[6] While Antwerp will be considered in more detail below, two elements are important to observe here. First, the city did not choose oblivion despite the fact that its memories of the Revolt were complex. Antwerp had been besieged for more than a year, but the city had finally lost, had reconciled with the Habsburg regime, and had reconverted to Catholicism. Second, many stakeholders who did not necessarily share the same ideas about the past were involved in an urban memory culture. The magistrate considered both economic and religious interests of Protestants and Catholics. The church, Catholic families that had returned from exile in Cologne and other cities, and corporations such as religious brotherhoods advocated the Counterreformation. Protestants still cherished memories of the Calvinist regime but were forced to express their feelings privately.

The Antwerp example thus reveals not only the complexity of an urban memory culture but also the variety of stakeholders. All these individuals and corporations could have political or religious motivations to propagate a certain story, to want to forget, emphasize or reinterpret the recent past, or to ignore discord amongst the population. Whatever their motivation, however, they interacted and communicated in the same urban community. This communication of memories took place on several levels, starting with the oral tradition of telling each other stories to putting these stories into writing, performing them in plays and urban ceremonial and capturing memories in objects. The audiences for these media differed, from private family circles to large crowds which came to see urban ceremonies such as processions and entries. It was the combination of memories, stakeholders, media, and audiences which created the urban memory culture the population could identify with.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss how stakeholders employed material memories of the Revolt within the urban community. Before turning to these material media, however, it is important to understand them within the wider context of an urban memory culture. Memory practices availed themselves of a variety of media through which memories could be communicated, including written, visual, ritual and performative media. In this context it is useful to make the distinction between 'archive' and 'repertoire' as described by performance scholar Diana Taylor.[7] Material memories including written and visual sources belong to the first category while verbal and non-verbal performances belong to the second. The 'archive' will be discussed in more detail below, but this type of memory functioned within the broader

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[5] See for example A. Erens, 'Literarische archivalia voor Antwerpen, 1580-1585', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 11 (1933) 241–316.

[6] Raingard Esser, *The politics of memory. The writing of partition in the seventeenth-century Low Countries* (Leiden 2012) 170.

[7] Diana Taylor, *The archive and the repertoire. Performing cultural memory in the Americas* (Durham 2003) 18-23.

context of the 'repertoire'. As part of this research, the 'repertoire' will be touched upon only briefly, before returning to the 'archive'. Of course ceremonies such as entries and processions could reach large audiences, sermons and plays sometimes specifically referred to the Revolt, and the material side of performances should also not be underestimated. Yet, since this research focuses on material memories, performative media that have been studied often in other (art historical and literary) contexts will be considered as a framework in which material memories circulated within urban communities. People were informed through these media and were offered an interpretation for what had happened to the city during the Revolt. Both the 'repertoire' and the 'archive' are therefore instrumental in the formation of urban memory cultures and landscapes that emerged in the Low Countries after the Dutch Revolt.

This chapter will discuss performative media and material media while texts, particularly published and unpublished chorographies, will be explored in the next chapter. Of course these accounts are important 'tools' of memory, but they could also easily transcend a single urban community. Texts were more flexible than media such as gable stones that were set in one specific location and, more importantly, usually existed in a single copy. They could thus spread a certain message beyond the city walls, which is why they will be discussed in chapter five, which deals with memories of the Revolt in the regional network, issues of urban rivalry, and media of civic self-representation. This chapter is thus a first step towards understanding how stakeholders worked within their own community, while chapters five and six will ask the question how stakeholders functioned on the regional level and what happened to them (and material memories) after 1648. Two issues will be explored: which stakeholders were involved in advocating memories of the Revolt? and how did these stakeholders interact within the community? The first part will examine three corporate stakeholders: the magistrate, the church and the militia companies. The second part will discuss two urban memory cultures, those of Haarlem and Antwerp, and study the activities of various stakeholders simultaneously.

Corporate identity, urban commemoration and the Revolt

How urban memory cultures that emerged during and after the Revolt turned out in many ways depended on the civic culture that was already in place. This traditional civic culture included rituals and spectacles such as processions and entries, preaching, songs and plays but also history writing, paintings and architecture. Each of these media circulated within an urban community and could be used by different stakeholders to promote a certain message. In order to interpret what happened during the Revolt stakeholders often fell back on both existing media and existing stories from the Bible and mythology to provide context to what happened to the urban community. For instance, as we have seen in Leiden, episodes from

the Bible were connected to stories about starvation and miracles, and there fore captured in paintings and medals. Mythological stories such as the saga of Andromeda and Perseus were performed in urban rituals. Antwerp, for example, represented itself as Andromeda who was saved by William of Orange (before 1585) or by the archdukes (in 1599) during the entries the city organized.[8] This remediation of old stories to (re)interpret what had happened during the Revolt was common practice.

The stories that were propagated by stakeholders depended not only on what people knew but also on their position and sense of identity within an urban community. On an individual level this was determined by a stakeholder's family, neighborhood or religious background as well as his membership in the middle classes or the elite and in certain corporations such as craft guilds, chambers of rhetoric, militia companies and religious brotherhoods. On a corporate level as well decisions were made regarding whether or not to propagate a certain memory. The magistrate, the church, the chambers of rhetoric or the militia companies represented their group and acted on their behalf. Moreover, the political, religious, economic, social, cultural and educational settings in which corporations gathered encouraged a sense of group identity within and beyond the city. In contact with other cities or the sovereign corporations propagated an urban identity on top of their corporate identity. This created a civic culture built on the interaction between groups, or corporations, within the city walls as well as civic representation vis-à-vis other cities and the central government.[9]

During the Revolt internal relations between groups could be strained by political, religious and social differences, which made the post-Revolt efforts to settle on the right interpretation of what had happened even more important so as to maintain a sense of cohesion in the urban community. In this context urban and corporate identity could be put to the test but also help to solve tensions between individuals and groups. Yet, there were still multiple ways to approach the recent past. Stakeholders could choose to remember but also to forget the war or reinterpret it in a different context. As we have seen, oblivion could be an option especially when a reconciliation treaty had been signed. The past would be forgiven and forgotten, amnesty provided, and property disagreements solved.[10] Yet, even when the history of the Revolt was successfully downplayed, such as in Valenciennes in Hainaut,

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[8] Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer. Bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerst helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerp 1933) 9-10, via www.dbnl.org.
[9] Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies (eds.), *1650 bevochten eendracht* (The Hague 1990) 177, 210; Gerhard Dilcher et al., 'The urban belt and the emerging modern state', in: Peter Blickle (ed.), *Resistance, representation, and community* (Oxford 1997) 217-323, there 264-265; Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam 2008) 254; Arjan van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten. Rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480-1650)* (Amsterdam 2009) 57-58.
[10] Judith Pollmann, 'Acts of oblivion. The virtues of forgetting in early modern Europe', Lecture Dahlem Humanities Center, Berlin 7 November 2013.

some references to its siege of 1567 and the preceding period of Calvinist rule still survived.[11] Both in the Southern and Northern Netherlands a more common phenomenon, however, was to reinterpret the past as we have already seen in Leiden and Antwerp.

Whether or not stakeholders decided to incorporate and / or reinterpret the Revolt, the message about the city's identity and past still needed to be spread. Traditionally stakeholders such as the magistrate, the church and the corporations such as guilds, brotherhoods and rhetoricians relied on urban ceremonial, processions, plays and sermons. In addition, songs were a popular means to spread news and propaganda amongst the population. These performative media interacted with material memories in the urban memory landscape. For instance, in 's-Hertogenbosch the annual procession to celebrate the expulsion of the Calvinists in 1579 was decorated more elaborately each year until in 1600 the magistrate commissioned a painting depicting the episode for one of the altars.[12] This interaction between the performative and material media makes it necessary and worthwhile to look at the way the Revolt influenced urban ceremonies, plays and sermons.

Urban ceremonial such as entries, processions, shooting festivals and rhetorician's contests were public rituals in which many members of the urban community joined as part of corporations, the church and / or the magistrate. In 1984 historian Hugo Soly argued that the Revolt had undermined the tradition of what had become the celebration of the sovereign during entries in the sixteenth century. The Revolt began a new tradition in which the festivities were propaganda instruments that represented the 'social classes, political factions, and religious communities'. In the Habsburg Netherlands, according to Soly, this dialogue between civic groups and the prince ended after 1585 when entries started to represent only festive spectacles orchestrated by the governor and, more importantly, the church.[13] While recognizing the importance of Soly's work, researchers now believe that urban ceremonial continued to be politically important. Historian Anne-Laure van Bruaene, for instance, has shown that the dialogue Soly describes was still very much alive during the reign of the archdukes after 1599. Indeed, the Archdukes demonstrated the will to interact with an urban community during entries, shooting festivals, and processions as they became members of many religious brotherhoods and militias which respectively represented religious uniformity and military prestige.[14]

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[11] Henri d' Outreman, *Histoire de la Ville et Comté de Valentiennes* (Douai 1639) 201–225.
[12] See introduction.
[13] Hugo Soly, 'Plechtige intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Nieuwe Tijd: communicatie, propaganda, spektakel' *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 97 (1984) 341-361, there 360-361.
[14] Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 12, 85, 178; Anne-Laure van Bruaene, 'The Habsburg theatre state', in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (eds.), *Networks, regions and nations. Shaping identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650* (Leiden 2010) 131-149, there 135-137.

Urban ceremonial offered a framework for different stakeholders to commemorate, reframe, or forget the Revolt. During entries, processions, shooting festivals and rhetoricians' contests different corporations could manifest themselves. The magistrate, the church, and corporations used these occasions to show themselves to the population and to display their status within the urban community. Ceremonies such as processions and entries were orchestrated from beginning to end and followed a strict order of officials. Processions were known as religious celebrations but were also meant as 'manifestations of civic unity' which involved the magistrate, the church, and the guilds.[15] The position of the corporation in the parade marked its status, and to promote a sense of corporate identity men dressed alike and wore a banner as marks of recognition.[16] Moreover, when corporations left the city, they took both their corporate and urban status with them. Rhetoricians and shooting guilds, for example, respectively joined other chambers of rhetoric or guilds in contests across the Low Countries during which they not only represented themselves but also their city's status and honor.[17] In the Habsburg Netherlands this sense of order and status remained important during the Revolt, and ever more processions were organized due to the war.[18]

Within an urban community the chambers of rhetoric performed during many public festivities. Traditionally rhetoricians organized entries, public contests with other chambers, performed plays and wrote and published poetry. During the Revolt the position of rhetoricians changed. Although processions were abolished in rebel areas, rhetoricians in the Dutch Republic joined in the propaganda of William of Orange and performed during the annual commemorations of sieges or attacks.[19] Despite the resistance of ministers and the Reformed Church they also continued to publicly perform in plays which were popular amongst the population.[20] In these performances the Revolt became a subject, such as in plays about the capture of Breda and the sieges of Haarlem and Leiden. Moreover, violence

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[15] Margit Thøfner, *A common art. Urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle 2007) 46–47.

[16] Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, 'Craft guilds in comparative perspective. The Northern and Southern Netherlands, a survey', in: Maarten Prak et al. (eds.), *Craft guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries. Work, Power, and Representation* (Aldershot 2006) 1–31, there 25.

[17] Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 251; Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*, 302.

[18] For example in Bruges on 25 November to commemorate an attack by Stadholder Maurits in 1593 Jens Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II. De rol van het stadsbestuur in de constructie van de katholieke stadsgemeenschap (1584-1598)' (Thesis Ghent University) 131; In Leuven on 1 July the annual celebration of the relief in 1635 Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer*, 271, via www.dbnl.org; In Antwerp the second Sunday after the Assumption of Mary the reconciliation in 1585 was celebrated Marinus, *De contrareformatie*, 273.

[19] Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*, 54-55; Th.C.J. van der Heijden and F.C. van Boheemen, *Met minnen versaemt. De Hollandse rederijkers vanaf de Middeleeuwen tot het begin van de achttiende eeuw. Bronnen en bronnenstudies* (Delft 1999) 74-75.

[20] Natascha Veldhorst, *De perfecte verleiding. Muzikale scènes op het Amsterdams toneel in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2004) 34-35; Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*, 109-117.

was not avoided when horrific scenes which involved Spanish cruelties or the decapitation of the counts of Egmond and Horne were seen on stage.[21]

In the Habsburg Netherlands the chambers of rhetoric were mistrusted and repressed by the central government due to their earlier criticism of political and religious practices in rhetorician's contests.[22] Some chambers, however, managed to retain their public activities as long as the magistrate showed support. In Brussels, for instance, rhetoricians performed during the entry of the new governor Archduke Ernest in 1594. In general, however, rhetoricians were allowed to perform publicly only during the Calvinist regimes in the 1570s and 1580s in cities in Brabant and Flanders and during the Twelve Years' Truce between 1609 and 1621. In this latter period the Archdukes saw an opportunity to use the chambers much as their Burgundian predecessors had as advocates of harmony, religious unity and the Habsburg dynasty. After 1621, however, these activities were not continued, and only religious plays in Latin were performed publicly by the Jesuits and their students. Rhetoricians were also no longer allowed to participate in processions and entries.[23]

Apart from in urban ceremonial the Revolt was also commented on in songs and sermons. During the Reformation and Counterreformation both secular and religious songs were sung everywhere and were set to familiar melodies as well as sung in the vernacular. The most famous examples are the Beggar songs, which commented on current events and were collected in song books. Through frequent reprints these books came to function as popular histories of the Revolt.[24] Songs communicated to people via the melody and the words, but this oral transmission of memories of the Revolt also happened through sermons. For the audience sermons were considered both entertainment and instruction.[25] A distinction should be made between those delivered on ordinary prayer days and those for special occasions. The first category usually referred to everyday life. During extraordinary sermons, however, the Revolt was an important topic, and both the Catholic and Reformed

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[21] See for example Jacob Duym, *De cloeck-moedighe ende stoute daet, van het innemen des Casteels van Breda en verlossinghe der stad* (Leiden 1606); Govert van der Eembd, *Haerlemse belegeringhs trevr-bly-eynde-spel. Gespeelt by de Wijn-gaerd -ranken onder Liefd' boven al* (The Hague 1619); Jacob van Zevecote, *Jac. Zevecotii Belegh van Leyden. Trevr-spel* (Leiden 1626); Anna de Haas, 'Gruwelen op het achttiende-eeuwse toneel. 'Wy openen de gordijn van ons bebloet Toneel'' *Literatuur* 12 (1995) 198-204, there 200-201, via www.dbnl.org; the Revolt also occurred in contests of rhetoricians, see Arjan van Dixhoorn, ' Liefhebbers van de redekunst. De Vlaardingse rederijkerswedstrijd van 1616 en de principes van het Hollandse rederijkersleven', in: Bart Ramakers et al., *Op de Hollandse parnas. De Vlaardingse rederijkerswedstrijd van 1616* (Zwolle 2006) 11-29.
[22] Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé, 'Introduction', in: idem (eds.) *Urban theatre in the Low Countries 1400-1625* (Turnhout 2006) 1-33, there 16-17, 25-26.
[23] Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 173-188; Goran Proot, 'Het schooltoneel van de jezuïeten in de Provincia Flandro-Belgica tijdens het ancien régime (1575-1773)' (Dissertation University of Antwerp 2008).
[24] Natascha Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven. Het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam 2009) 11-17, 21, 139.
[25] Joris van Eijnatten, 'Getting the message. Towards a cultural history of the sermon', in: Joris van Eijnatten (ed.), *Preaching, sermons and cultural change in the long eighteenth century* (Leiden 2009) 343-388, there 366-367.

Churches offered their believers an interpretation of what happened as well.[26] In the Habsburg Netherlands general processions were often accompanied by a sermon to pray for victory over the heretical enemy and to avert the wrath of God. The population was asked to pray for peace and to fight heresy. During the Twelve Years' Truce, for instance, Jesuits even held special sermons to warn people about the heretical visitors from the Dutch Republic.[27]

In the Dutch Republic sermons for extraordinary occasions such as centenaries, national prayer days and celebrations of episodes during the Revolt were initiated by local governments, the provincial States or the States General. These sermons delivered a message that was religious, political and social. The rhetoric often referred to issues such as freedom and religion, and stressed divine providence and how the destiny of the Republic lay in the hands of God. In this context the Revolt was often used as an example of what a city or the nation had gone through. Importantly, the preacher had to accommodate both the wishes of the political elite and his own religious beliefs in a sermon that reached a large audience since everyone was allowed to hear him in the main church. The content therefore often tried to convey what everyone had in common, and the message has been considered as political propaganda.[28] The Revolt was referred to in sermons most often during annual commemorations of sieges and attacks.[29] In 1618, for instance, Remonstrant minister Jan Geisteranus from Alkmaar delivered a sermon to celebrate the victory over the Habsburg army in the siege of 1573. In this sermon he thanked God for saving the city and sparing Alkmaar from more bloodshed.[30]

Performative media such as entries, processions, plays and sermons had in common that they had traditionally been important instruments to display status within the urban community. Stakeholders thus also used these instruments in presenting their interpretation of the Revolt to a wider audience on the streets, in the church and on stage. The Revolt, however, did make significant changes regarding who was involved in public ceremonies. In

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[26] Pasi Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined. Changing perceptions of national identity in the rhetoric of the English, Dutch and Swedish public churches, 1685-1772* (Leiden 2005) 51-53.

[27] Judith Pollmann, *Catholic identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford 2011) 91-93, 187.

[28] Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined*, 53-57; O.C. Edwards, 'Varieties of sermon. A survey of preaching in the long eighteenth century', in: Joris van Eijnatten (ed.), *Preaching, sermons and cultural change in the long eighteenth century* (Leiden 2009) 3-53, there 50-51; Donald Haks, 'Propaganda from the pulpit?', in: Jan A.F. de Jongste and Augustus J. Veenendaal jr (eds.), *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688-1720. Politics, war, and finance* (The Hague 2002) 89-114, there 106-108.

[29] See for example, Bernard Dwinglo, *Aenspraecke van Bernardus Dwinglo aen de Remonstrans-gesinde ghemeynte ende burgherye der stadt Leyden, over het ontzet derzelfder stede, gedaen op den 3 Oct. 1620* (1620); Johannes Martinus, *'t Licht in de duysternisse der Stadt Groningen uyt loutere genade Godes voor vijftich jaren ende nu wederom der Christelijcken gemeynte aldaer te gemoete gevoert in openbare jubel-jaers-praedicatie* (Groningen 1644).

[30] Johannes Evertsz Geisteranus, *Predicatie over 't ontset van Alckmaar, gedaan anno 1618. den 8 Octobris, in de Groote Kerk, over Actor, capit. IX vers 31* (1665) 5.

the Habsburg Netherlands the rhetoricians were usually banned from processions and public activities after 1585, although they could continue their activities for a short time during the Twelve Years' Truce. In the Dutch Republic the Reformed Church put its mark on urban ceremonial by having processions abolished. The urban ceremonial that took over this public role was often connected to the Revolt in parades by the urban militia and days of thanksgiving. In general, however, three groups were most involved in interpreting the recent past: the magistrate, the church and the militia companies. Each of these stakeholders will be discussed below.

Harmony and a sense of communal identity: the magistrate

The most important stakeholder on an urban level was the magistrate. Especially in the seventeenth century the local government increasingly commissioned all sorts of Revolt memorabilia. In general, the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the Twelve Years' Truce in particular, served as a catalyst for the commemoration of the first phase of the conflict.[31] During this period the Revolt was reinterpreted both in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic. The civil war character of the conflict disappeared completely. In the Southern provinces the Archdukes interpreted the conflict as caused by heresy, the ambition and deceit of the prince of Orange, and the aggression of the Beggar armies. In the Northern provinces the Revolt was now presented as a struggle against 'Spain', an interpretation that featured the Black Legend, anti-Spanish propaganda emphasizing the cruelties of the Habsburg army.[32]

These national stories emerged from existing memory cultures, but they did provide local governments with an opportunity to place their own memories in a larger framework and an incentive to look at the existing memory culture. In general magistrates did not wait to see which memories would take root amongst the population but were actively involved in the emerging memory culture of the Revolt in their city. The themes magistrates exploited in dealing with their own population were also often similar. Local governments wanted to propagate harmony and a joint fight against the enemy in order to (re)create a shared sense of communal identity. The differences that had occurred between members and groups

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[31] Judith Pollmann, 'Brabanders do fairly resemble Spaniards after all'. Memory, propaganda and identity in the Twelve Years' Truce', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands. Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden 2007) 211–228, there 220.

[32] Judith Pollmann, ''No Man's Land. Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585-1621', in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (eds.), *The dynamics of identity in the Low Countries, 1300-1600. Towards a comparative perspective* (Leiden 2010) 241-262. See for 'canon' formation and how these narratives became part of national politics in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands Jasper van der Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014). For the Black Legend K.W. Swart, 'the Black Legend during the eighty years war', in: John Bromley and Ernst Kossmann (eds.), *Some political mythologies. Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch historical conference* Britain and the Netherlands V (The Hague 1975) 36-57.

within the civic community needed to be smoothed over in order to prevent a return of the unrest or of political and religious tensions amongst the population.

To propagate a certain message, the magistrate not only used performative media, but they commissioned all sorts of objects such as gable stones, inscriptions, tapestries, medals and silverware. In the previous chapter we have already seen that some of these items, such as medals and silver, were presented as gifts. Others were attached to places of memory in order to evoke what happened at that particular site. Yet the most obvious space they had at their disposal was the town hall, and it is to this public building we will now turn. For this location in the city paintings and tapestries seem to have been the primary media to commemorate the Revolt. The number of paintings still hanging in town halls or civic collections across the Low Countries reveals the ability and presence of the magistrate as stakeholders during and after the Revolt. For the magistrate to commission paintings of disasters, victories, and sieges was not new.[33] For instance, in the Great Church in Dordrecht a painting commemorated a siege in 1418.[34] This practice occurred in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands. Moreover, new paintings depicting episodes from the Revolt continued to be commissioned well into the seventeenth century (fig.34).[35]

Fig.34 Nicolaes I van Eijck, the capture of Mechelen (or English fury) in 1580, after 1648 (Stedelijke Musea Mechelen).

[33] We can see this phenomenon in other parts of Europe as well Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *1648. War and peace in Europe* (Munich 1998) 92–96.

[34] John Loughman, 'Een stad en haar kunstproductie. Openbare en privé-verzamelingen in Dordrecht, 1620-1719', in: Peter Marijnissen et al. (eds.), *De Zichtbaere werelt. Schilderkunst uit de Gouden Eeuw in Hollands oudste stad* (Zwolle 1992) 34–64, there 37.

[35] Dirk Stoop, *De Oudewaterse Moord*, 1650, oil on panel, Oudewater town hall; Nicolaes I van Eyck, *De inname van Mechelen door de Geuzen onder bevel van Olivier van den Tympele en John Norrits op 9 april 1580*, after 1648, oil on canvas, Stedelijke Musea Mechelen, inv nrs S0223 and S0225. Museum Schepenhuis in Mechelen dates the paintings between 1650-1670.

Paintings were the most common object through which the Revolt was commemorated in the town hall. In Goes the magistrate commissioned a painting to commemorate the failed attempt of the rebel army to capture the city in 1572. The exact date of the painting is unknown, but since the city changed sides in 1577 it must have been made before Goes joined the side of William of Orange. Although only an eighteenth-century copy survives, the original is reported to have hung in the *Landrecht* room in the town hall. Despite the subject the painting had thus not been removed after the city changed hands.[36] Leiden's magistrate commissioned Claes Isaacsz van Swanenburgh in 1612 to paint the people of Israel on their passage through the Red Sea and how they were miraculously fed during their stay in the desert.[37] In 1615 this biblical scene was supplemented by a work from Pieter van Veen which represented the Beggar fleet entering Leiden to bring herring and white bread to the starving people (fig.35).[38] Both themes fitted in with the memory of starvation and suffering that was propagated in Leiden. In the Habsburg Netherlands the magistrate of Antwerp commissioned a painting of the defeat of the States army during the battle of the Blokkersdijk in 1605, and as we have seen, the magistrate of 's-Hertogenbosch commissioned a painting in 1600 to commemorate the 1579 expulsion of the Calvinists.[39] These paintings had in common that they promoted a communal sense of identity, whether under the theme of starvation or as part of a (renewed) Catholic identity.

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[36] Marloes Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog en de Vrede van Munster in de decoratie van zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse stadhuizen. Een verkenning', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 335–346, there 337; Frank de Klerk and Leen Moerland, *Van gesloten bolwerk tot open stad: vier eeuwen veranderingen in en rond Goes* (Goes 1993), 12–13.

[37] J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden* (Leiden 1641) 163; Marike Hoogduin-Berkhout, '"Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden" geschilderde voorstellingen in het Leidse stadhuis 1575-1700', *De Zeventiende Eeuw 22* (Hilversum 2006) 59–105, there 78; Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 335.

[38] Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden*, 164.

[39] Bonaventura Peeters, *De Slag bij de Blokkersdijk 1605*, ca 1605, oil on panel, Rubenshuis Antwerp, inv nr RH.S.212; Anonymous, *De mislukte aanslag op Antwerpen door prins Maurits, 17 mei 1605*, 1605-1699, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-4848; Jan van Diepenbeek, *Het Schermersoproer te 's-Hertogenbosch in 1579,* 1600, oil on canvas, Noordbrabants Museum 's-Hertogenbosch, inv nr 00852.

Fig.35 Pieter van Veen, feeding the population after the relief of Leiden, before 1615 (Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden).

Another Catholic city that celebrated the way it had defended itself several times against the rebel army was Venlo in Limburg. From 1610 onwards the city annually celebrated on 2 October how it had foiled the States' plans to capture the city in 1606. To mark the occasion the procession for St Willibrord was moved to this date by the bishop.[40] In 1613 the magistrate of Venlo went even further when it commissioned three depictions of important events from the city's history from local painter Frans Everts. The first featured a siege in 1511, but the second and third represented the failed sieges of 1597 and 1606 by the States army.[41] Each painting is divided into two parts: on the right the siege of Venlo and on the left a scene from the Old Testament.[42] Not only in Protestant cities such as Leiden was the Old Testament thus used to commemorate the Revolt. In Venlo Catholics also remediated these episodes from the Bible.[43]

The painting of the siege of 1597 is complemented by the story of Esther who prevented the murder of the Jewish people (fig.36). On the frame both stories are connected

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[40] Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 338–339.
[41] Frans Everts, *Schilderijen beleg van Venlo in 1511, 1597 en 1606*, 1613, oil on canvas, town hall Venlo, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, inv nrs 16.321, 16.322, 16.323.
[42] Marloes Huiskamp, 'Een gemeenschappelijk verleden verbeeld. Drie schilderijen in het stadhuis van Venlo', *Spiegel historiael* (1994) 56–60, there 56.
[43] See for example, Pollmann, *Catholic identity*, 170-171.

the year ninety and seven Venlo was sold and saved by God, liberated like the Jewish seed from Haman's trick and false treason[44]

Haman deceived King Ahasuerus to allow him to kill all the Jews in Persia, but the Jewish queen Esther persuaded her husband not to permit it. As Leiden had made use of the sieges of Jerusalem and Samaria, Venlo referred to the story of Esther to give meaning to what happened to the city in 1597. The States army tried to enter the city by cunning, but Venlo managed to avert the attack.[45]
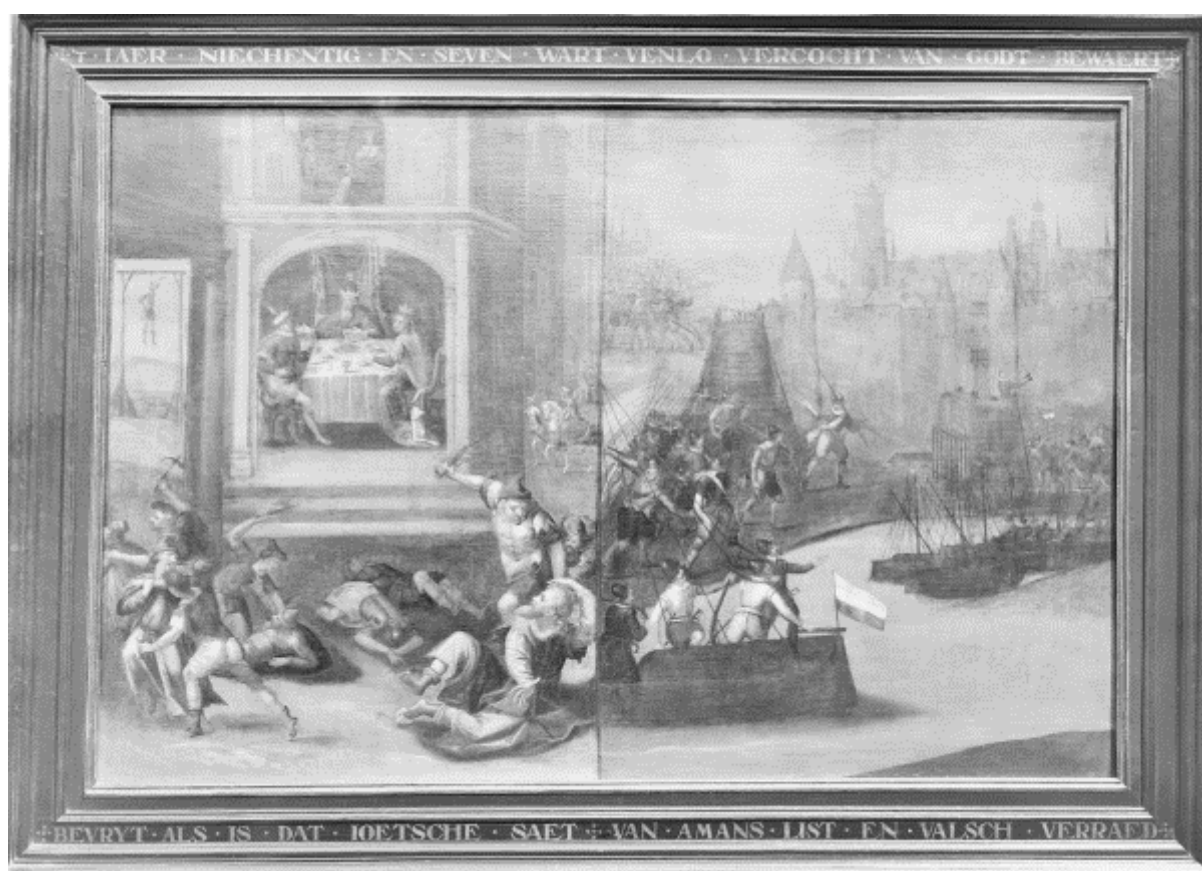
Fig.36 Frans Everts, the siege of Venlo in 1597 paired with the biblical story of Esther, 1613 (Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed).

The siege of 1606 is paired with the story of Judith and Holofernes. The Jewish widow Judith saved her city Bethulia from an ongoing siege by entering the enemy camp and decapitating General Holofernes. She took his head to Bethulia, and when the enemy discovered that their leader was dead, they left the city. The heroic act by Judith, and more

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[44] 't iaer niechentig en seven wart venlo vercocht van godt bewaert, bevryt als is dat ioetsche saet van amans list en valsch verraed' Frans Everts, *Schilderij beleg van Venlo in 1597*, 1613, oil on canvas, town hall Venlo, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, inv nr 16.322, via http://beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl, consulted 5 July 2013.
[45] Huiskamp, 'Een gemeenschappelijk verleden', 57–58.

importantly, the way the troops of Holofernes left the city was compared to the brave people from Venlo who managed to keep the enemy troops out of the city.[46] Like 's-Hertogenbosch, Venlo also chose to depict an episode which reminded its population of what had happened during the Revolt and put it in a setting of the Catholic struggle against the heretical enemy. Again it was a joint effort between the magistrate and the Catholic clergy to get across the message that the heretical enemy had been beaten.

In addition to celebrating victories, however, magistrates sometimes decided to commemorate a massacre. The first city to commission a painting of the cruelties that had been inflicted on the population was Naarden in Holland in 1604. For the town hall the magistrate commissioned an anonymous painter to depict the massacre which had occurred after the city had surrendered to the Habsburg army in 1572. All the men had been gathered inside the church and murdered, and the city was plundered. The painting presented a cityscape of Naarden, and the cruelties during the sack were visible in the details such as burning houses and Spanish soldiers on the horizon. A Latin verse remarked upon what happened in 1572. The first part of the text referred to the 'Spanish fury' the city had endured in which defenseless citizens had been slaughtered, and girls had been raped. The second part expressed gratitude to Prince Maurits of Nassau who had allowed the city walls to be rebuilt. A chronogram at the bottom of the text referred to how the Habsburg army had set Naarden on fire after the city had signed a peace treaty, which showed the indignation of the magistrate that the city had been sacked anyway.[47]

The focus on cruelties stands out here. While other magistrates focused on harmony and communal identity by encouraging the population to remember a positive episode, Naarden chose to incorporate the national story about the Revolt and to remember the 'martyrdom' of the city in a period during which emphasis was put on the Spanish cruelties in the Low Countries.[48] Of course, this approach still provided the city with a sense of communal identity because the population had suffered together. In the urban memory culture the magistrate also continued to emphasize this fact. For instance, in 1615, eleven years after the painting had been made, the magistrate commissioned three gable stones which included a depiction of the murder of all the town's men.[49] By then the memories of what happened to Naarden

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[46] Frans Everts, *Schilderij beleg van Venlo in 1597*; Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 58–59.

[47] Nerda Batavorum consisto limite in imo, Hesperidum tristem tristis sum passa furorem, Namque ruunt flamma passim exuberante penates, Instar oves cives mactantur vulnere reinermes, In festo, dicam violantur forte puellae, Sed comes a Nassau casum miseratus acerbum, Me refici portis iubet et circumdare vallo, Excelso, hunc igitur seri celebrate nepotes, SIc Iber InCendit Nerdenas tVrpIter aedes. Et CIVes faLso MaCtat sVb foedere paCIs kaL decem'. Anonymous, *Spaanse Furie in Naarden*, 1604, oil on panel, Naarden town hall.

[48] See for example, *Tweede deel van de Spieghel der Spaensche tyrannye, Gheschiet in Nederlandt* (Amsterdam 1620) 75; Anonymous, *Bestraffing van Haarlem, 1573*, ca 1618-1624, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-78.993.

[49] Gertrudis Offenberg, *Gevelstenen in Nederland* (Zwolle 1986) 123.

had been embedded in the urban memory landscape and the city's identity. Naarden was not the only city which took pride in martyrdom, but it was the first to do so in multiple media by naming houses and commissioning gable stones and a painting to perpetuate the memory of these events. And it was the first to commemorate the massacre so early in the seventeenth century. Other magistrates, such as those of Oudewater in Holland and of Antwerp and Mechelen in the Habsburg Netherlands did the same, but it took until after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 before paintings started to refer to the massacres their cities had endured between 1575 and 1580 (fig.37).[50]

Fig.37 Dirk Stoop, massacre at Oudewater in 1575, 1650 (raadhuis Oudewater)

As stakeholders within the urban community magistrates seem to have presented themselves as bringing peace and harmony after recent suffering. Whether or not they integrated their stories into the larger national narratives which emerged at the beginning of the seventeenth century, local governments seem to have been aware of their position within and beyond the city, and they used a variety of media such as urban ceremonies, plays and objects to persuade the population to accept the magistrate's views about the incorporation of the Revolt in the city's history. Material memories were positioned in visible places of memory, presented to members of the community or placed strategically in public buildings such as the town hall.

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[50] The massacre in Oudewater in 1575, the 'Spanish Fury' in Antwerp in 1576 and the 'English Fury' in Mechelen have been depicted in Dirk Stoop, *De Oudewaterse Moord*, 1650, oil on panel, town hall Oudewater; Daniel van Heil*, Spanische Söldner setzen am 4. November 1576 das Antwerpener Rathaus in Brand*, ca 1650, oil on panel, Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, inv nr Gm 94/17; Anonymous, *De Spaanse Furie*, after 1576, oil on panel, Museum Vleeshuis Antwerpen, inv nr AV.1150; Nicolaes I van Eyck, *De inname van Mechelen door de Geuzen onder bevel van Olivier van den Tympele en John Norrits op 9 april 1580*, after 1648, oil on canvas, Stedelijke Musea Mechelen, inv nrs S0223 and S0225.

Church buildings and saints

Besides local authorities the churches also actively participated in an urban memory culture. Of course, there were great differences in the way churches did so in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. In the Dutch Republic the presence of several religions prevented a 'coherent religious reading' of the past.[51] The Reformed Church had abolished processions, and while public celebrations of the Revolt started with a religious ceremony, they also had a more secular appearance, which could include an annual fair and fireworks.[52] In the Habsburg Netherlands the commemoration of the Revolt was very much connected to practicing the Catholic religion. In public processions the church took a leading role, especially since ecclesiastical feast days often coincided with the celebration of victories that were attributed to the intervention of local (patron) saints.[53]

Another difference which affected the status of the church as stakeholder in an urban memory culture was the acquisition of funds to decorate and maintain church buildings. In the Habsburg Netherlands both the parish churches and those of the clerical orders were subsidized by local authorities, and church wardens were appointed by the magistrate. The decoration of the church buildings themselves, such as altars and chapels, was usually left to corporations and families. These altars were connected to their identity and provided an opportunity to display piety.[54] In the Dutch Republic the church wardens, who were public officials employed by the magistrate, were responsible for the church buildings which were owned by the city. Any decorations or objects with the Revolt as subject were thus approved by them and indirectly by the magistrate. In both cases, however, church buildings were public buildings which were used for sermons or mass and burials, but also for leisure activities such as strolls or listening to concerts and as meeting places. Moreover, proclamations from the local government, public days of prayer of commemoration, and elections of the new magistrate could take place within the church.[55]

The role of the church as stakeholder was thus more complex than that of the magistrate because on an urban level the magistrate and even corporations influenced what happened in church buildings and, in the Habsburg Netherlands, in processions. Nevertheless, the church is worth studying as an institution because of the impact the Reformation, Counterreformation, and Revolt had on the traditional role of the church in an urban memory

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[51] Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 70-71.
[52] Ingrid W.L. Moerman and R.C.J. van Maanen (eds.), *Leiden. Eeuwig feest* (Leiden 1986) 19; W.A. Fasel, 'De ontzetviering te Alkmaar in de loop der eeuwen', in: E.H.P. Cordfunke (ed.), *Alkmaar ontzet 1573-1973* (Alkmaar 1973) 85–196, there 104–106.
[53] Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 129; Geoffrey Carpentier, '"Vrije" tijd? Vermaak en openbare orde te Gent tussen 1545 en 1616' (Dissertation Ghent University 2008) 51.
[54] Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 188-194.
[55] C.A. van Swigchem, T. Brouwer and W. van Os, *Een huis voor het Woord. Het protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* (The Hague 1984) 69.

culture. Some of the effects we have already seen in previous chapters, such as the impact of iconoclasm, the destruction, rebuilding and re-use of sacred space. In this context material memories of the Revolt, such as traditional and new relics, were also gathered and displayed in church buildings in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands. Church buildings were therefore immediately marked as places of memory. Finally, as we have seen in the beginning of this chapter, processions and sermons were influenced by the Revolt.

The Revolt also entered the church in other ways. In the Habsburg Netherlands new altars and altarpieces were commissioned, and in the Dutch Republic text panels with Biblical verses and poems, but also coats of arms, were hung in churches.[56] In both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands heroes were buried in local churches. William of Orange, for instance, was buried in the New Church in Delft in Holland in 1584 although it took until the 1610s before a large monument was built to mark his grave.[57] In 's-Hertogenbosch the body of Lekkerbeetje was buried in the church of the Dominicans who commissioned a painting of the battle as well. Through this act of commemoration the religious order appropriated the battle of Lekkerbeetje, a popular subject during the Revolt as we have already seen in chapter three.[58] After the city capitulated to Frederik Hendrik in 1629 the Dominicans even took the painting with them, which suggests that they still wanted to claim their role as stakeholder in the commemoration of the battle.

While material memories in the Dutch Republic took a more secular direction, the Archdukes in the Habsburg Netherlands ensured that the Habsburg dynasty was promoted through religious practices, piety and devotion.[59] The Archdukes undertook many pilgrimages, venerated saints and relics, and commissioned religious art.[60] As a result all sorts of media ranging from paintings to cheap prints and from jetons to booklets circulated through the Habsburg Netherlands to support the Archdukes' religious politics.[61] In urban memory cultures this influence was also visible. In religious art an increasing interest in martyrdom and suffering saints was visible. Priests started to study and re-popularize old saints after 1600.[62] And when chambers of rhetoric were allowed, they sometimes decided to

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[56] Ibidem, 131-139; Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish image after iconoclasm, 1566-1672. Material religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot 2008).

[57] Jasper van der Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014) 123-124.

[58] Marion de Koning, 'The battle of Lekkerbeetje. Imagery and ideology during the Eighty Years War (1568-1648)' (Dissertation University of Southern California 2003) 156–158.

[59] Bruaene, 'The Habsburg theatre state', 137.

[60] Marcel de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIIe eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Brussels 1955) 94–96; Jaap van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger. Schilderijencollecties in de Nederlanden', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen 1993) 145–164, there 145–147.

[61] Bruaene, 'The Habsburg theatre state', 137.

[62] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 177–178; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 157, 175.

change their old patron saint to one that better suited the policy of the Archdukes.[63] As a result, during the regime of the Archdukes between 1599 and 1633 the Counterreformation and the commemoration of the Revolt joined together. The church thus became an important advocate in the way the Revolt would be remembered.

One significant aspect of this interpretation of the Revolt was the way the church promoted defenders of the Catholic faith. The most public defender of true believers proved to be the Virgin. The Marian devotion, as far as the Archdukes were concerned, had a good reputation for ending civil war in the Low Countries. In the late fifteenth century the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary had provided solace for people who were tired of endless civil war. In the seventeenth century this particular devotion was revived by the Archdukes not only for its reputation of ending civil war but also because it had already been encouraged before in plays, prints, preaching, music, and sculptures.[64] Locally, the Marian devotion continued as part of the commemoration of the Revolt as well. As we have already seen. the Virgin became known for her interventions during the war, such as catching cannonballs in her lap.

In addition to the Virgin, local patron saints could also be admired for their fierceness in fighting heretics. St Clare of Assisi, for example, had a reputation for fighting heretics and was painted by Peter Paul Rubens for the Jesuit church in Antwerp before 1621.[65] Another example from Antwerp is St Norbert, a saint who became renowned for his contribution to the destruction of the heretic Tanchelm in the twelfth century. When the abbey of St Michael burned down in 1620, the Norbertines of Antwerp started a campaign to rebuild their home in which their order's founding father St Norbert took center stage. The Norbertines and their order had been in decline for decades, but after Norbert's canonization in 1582 and gaining the support of the Archdukes for a (failed) attempt to transport his body to Antwerp in 1610, the time was right to exploit the saint's principal achievement. Norbert was an excellent Counterreformation saint because he defended piety, used his powers as an exorcist and opposed heresy.[66]

In 1623 the future abbot of the Norbertines, Chrysostomus van der Sterre, published a book about St Norbert. In this book he not only connected the Norbertines to Antwerp's patron saint, the Virgin, but he also recounted the story of how Norbert had rescued the city from the heretical ideas of the preacher Tanchelm. This was the beginning of Van der Sterre's campaign to demonstrate the essential position of his order and abbey in Antwerp,

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[63] Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 180.
[64] Bruaene, 'The Habsburg theatre state', 137–142.
[65] Peter Paul Rubens, *De heilige Clara van Assisi*, before 1621, modello, Rubenshuis Antwerp; Object description Clara van Assisi, www.rubenshuis.be / collectie / schilderkunst / Rubens' eigen werk / heilige Clara van Assisi, consulted 27 August 2013.
[66] Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 175–176; Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 134, 190.

an attempt that caught on quickly.[67] In the years following Van der Sterre's account several commissions demonstrate Norbert's popularity amongst patrons who wanted to connect his achievements to Antwerp in the seventeenth century. Two different iconographies of this connection are still known. The first is the 'the triumph of St Norbert' in which the personification of Antwerp is depicted kneeling in the foreground.[68] The second shows Norbert entering the port of Antwerp with his entourage where he is received by the local magistrate. At least four paintings have been recognized as this scene.[69]

Yet, not only Norbert's connection to Antwerp is of interest here. The iconography of the saint himself also changed in the seventeenth century. St Norbert started to be depicted holding a monstrance, which was a historically incorrect attribute. During the Counterreformation, however, early saints received new attributes more often if they were appropriated for a new purpose.[70] The popularity of St Norbert inspired individuals from Antwerp to commission paintings which included the saint (fig.38).[71]

Fig.38 Bonaventura Peeters, the dock of Antwerp with St Norbert arriving in 1121, 1614-1652 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen).

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[67] Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 176–177.

[68] Ch. van Gerwen et al. (eds.), *Kunst uit Norbertijner abdijen in Brabant* (Valkenswaard 1995) 44.

[69] With thanks to Jasper Hilligers of Salomon Lilian for this information. Anonymous, *De aankomst van St Norbertus van Xanten in Antwerpen in 1121*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, Amsterdam, Salomon Lilian Dutch Old Master Paintings; Bonaventura Peeters, *H. Norbertus en Witheren op de werf te Antwerpen ontvangen in 1121 door de magistratuur*, 1614-1652, oil on canvas, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerp, inv nr 756; Anonymous, *De aankomst van St Norbertus in Antwerpen*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, Walraff-Richartz-Museum Cologne, inv nr 633 (destroyed during an air raid on 29 June 1943); Bonaventura Peeters, *Ontvangst van St. Norbertus op het Kranenhoofd te Antwerpen*, 1600-1649, oil on canvas, Museum aan de Stroom Antwerp, inv nr AS.1952.045.002.

[70] Gerwen, *Kunst uit Norbertijner abdijen*, 33.

[71] Cornelis de Vos, *Sint Norbertus en de teruggave van de monstrans en de gewijde vaten*, 1630, oil on canvas, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerp, inv nr 107; Hildegard van de Velde, *Godsgeschenk. Privémecenaat in de Antwerpse kerken in de 16e en 17e eeuw* (Antwerp 2009) 8–9; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 177.

Finally, the Norbertines profited from St Norbert's popularity. Their prosperity, for example, was reflected in a commission for forty-one windows to adorn the cloisters of their Abbey 't Park in Heverlee in 1635 which depicted St Norbert's life.[72]

Some saints, however, went through a more coincidental revival due to an event during the Revolt. In Bruges, for example, St Catherine was venerated from 1593 onwards because an assault on the city took place on her name day. From that year onwards an annual procession on 25 November commemorated the attack and started to include the veneration of the saint. She even became so important that the important relics of St Donaas were integrated into this procession through Bruges.[73] After the end of the Calvinist regime in Brussels, St Gudula received a prominent place as patroness of the city along with St Michael. While Gudula had been venerated during the Middle Ages, her revival came during the Revolt since her church was raided by rebels, and her relics were scattered. In the history of the church of St Gudula written in 1605 she was referred to as patroness of the city. An engraving in the same book depicted Gudula in Brussels with the town hall and the statue of St Michael in the background. The church dedicated to both saints was depicted in the margins of a map of Brussels which was sent to King Philip IV.[74] The Revolt had inspired renewed veneration.

Civic heroism: the militia companies

Besides the magistrate and the church there was one corporation in particular which claimed its role during the Revolt: the militia. The militia companies were an important stakeholder in urban communities because they were proud of their contribution to the city's defense in the absence of a garrison and presented themselves as local heroes. In the Middle Ages the militia guilds had functioned like the other urban corporations and joined in processions and other displays of civic ceremony. Militiamen were meant to protect the urban community, fulfil religious duties, and participate in communal life, for example, by taking part in shooting contests. Much like religious brotherhoods and craft guilds the militia guilds unified members with the same social status from different professions.[75] During the Revolt the position of the

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[72] See for example, S.F. Maes 'De oude glasramen van de abdij van 't Park te Heverlee', *Mededelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring voor Leuven en omgeving* 12 (1972) 3-34, there 10-19.

[73] Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 131.

[74] Véronique van de Kerckhof, H. Bussers and David Buisseret, *Met passer en penseel. Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels 2000) 137.

[75] Paul Knevel, 'Armed Citizens. The Representation of the Civic Militias in the Seventeenth Century', in: Arthur K. Wheelock and Adele F. Seeff (eds.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 85–99, there 88; Anne Woollet, 'The altarpiece in Antwerp, 1554-1615. Painting and the militia guilds' (Dissertation Columbia University 2004) 3; Paul Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer. De schutterijen in Holland, 1550-1700* (Hilversum 1994) 36-61, 86–91, 370-371; Aart Vos, *Burgers, broeders en bazen. Het maatschappelijk middenveld van 's-Hertogenbosch in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum 2007) 94–96.

militia became more important within the urban community. Militiamen sometimes refused to serve the magistrate when matters of peace or privileges were at stake. The position of the militia and its relationship to the magistrate therefore had an impact on whether or not a city joined the Revolt. Moreover, during the 1570s William of Orange reorganized the militia companies in the rebel provinces. Instead of the old, exclusive militia guilds he created militia companies which incorporated every able-bodied citizen who could afford his own equipment.[76]

Militia companies and their individual members were proud of their share in military campaigns. For this purpose they kept lists of men who had been active during the Revolt which were archived to commemorate those who had participated in specific events. For instance, the men of the St Sebastian's guild from Mechelen were carefully listed for their role in the liberation of the neighboring city of Lier in 1595.[77] In addition, specific militia companies or militiamen were honored for their collective and individual achievements on behalf of their city. As we have seen, the militiamen in 's-Hertogenbosch were honored annually for their contribution in the uprising of the Calvinists.[78] The men were celebrated for their heroic conduct during the Revolt and reminded the population of the fact that the city had been able to defend itself instead of taking in a garrison. In the Dutch Republic as well as the Habsburg Netherlands militia companies were considered important symbols of civic, military prestige. The Archdukes even deliberately stimulated militia pride by participating in shooting festivals such as those in Brussels in 1615 and in Ghent in 1618.[79]

The militiamen themselves also became civic heroes, which may have been a trigger for the increase in stories about (other) civic heroes in the seventeenth century.[80] A sense of pride in their status was also reflected in the many portraits they had painted of their companies in the seventeenth century. Especially in Holland militiamen commissioned artists to paint their companies, for which they paid themselves.[81] Nevertheless, individual portraits occurred elsewhere as well. A good example of a militia hero was the standard-bearer of the Kolveniersguild in Mechelen, Rombout Heyns, alias Smets. In 1580 when the English attacked and conquered Mechelen, Heyns had risked his life to save the standard of his guild from the enemy. Yet, his story did not end there. After 1580 Heyns found a good way to hide

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[76] Knevel, *Burgers*, 74-84, 96-111.
[77] W. van Nespen, *Schatten van de vlaamse schuttersgilden. Catalogus* (Antwerp 1967) 25.
[78] Rogier A. van Zuijlen, *Inventaris der archieven van de stad 's Hertogenbosch,chronologisch opgemaakt en de voornaamste gebeurtenissen bevattende stadsrekeningen van het jaar 1399-1800* ('s Hertogenbosch 1861) 996, 1044.
[79] Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 178.
[80] Erika Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling and patriotic scripture. The memory brokers of the Dutch Revolt', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 183–202, there 185–186.
[81] Knevel, 'Armed Citizens', 85; Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, 311–322.

the standard from the rebels who occupied the city. His wife Elisabeth hid the flagstaff in an old hearth, and the flag itself she sewed into the lining of her own clothes

> Until the year 1585, when she, after the beggars had left, showed herself on the main square with the flag in her hand, to the great astonishment and joy of the guild and the city.[82]

Rombout Heyns and his wife thus became famous citizens of Mechelen. He had saved the flag, and she had successfully hidden it for five years by carrying it on her person and parading it around the main square after 1585 when Mechelen returned to the Habsburg regime. Their glory in the civic spotlight, however, seems to have ended there. After Heyns' death in 1630, he was buried in St Rombout's cathedral, but his gravestone commemorated only the fact that he had been standard-bearer of the

Fig.39 Jan Verhoeven, portrait of Rombout Heyns, alias Smets, as standard bearer of the Kolverniersguild carrying the banner he saved from the English troops in 1580, 1642-1669 (Stedelijke Musea Mechelen).

Kolveniersguild for fifty years.[83] His heroic act may therefore have been expected of a standard-bearer of the guild. In this occupation he was also celebrated by his guild since his portrait was painted in the seventeenth century (fig.39).[84] In 1729 it hung over the mantelpiece in the guild chamber which they had acquired in the Schepenhuis in 1617.[85] While this portrait may have been intended as the depiction of a hero, it was not unusual to

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[82] 'tot den jaere 1585: wanneer sij naer dat de geúsen vertrocken waeren haer heeft verthoont op de groote merckt met het vendel in haer handt, tot eene groote verwonderinge ende blijschap van de gúlde ende Stadt' With thanks to Jan Severeyns, captain Kolveniersgilde Mechelen, Stadsarchief Mechelen (SAM), Oud Archief, inventarisdeel 8, E Kolveniersgilde, IV, Reglementen ende costuymen voor de Caloveniers gulde binne de stadt Mechelen, 1729.

[83] Jozef Cuypers van Alsinghen, *Provincie, stad, ende district van Mechelen. Opgeheldert in haere kercken, kloosters, kapellen, gods-huysen, gelden, publieke plaetsen* II (Brussels 1770) 133.

[84] Jan Verhoeven, *Portret van Rombout Heyns, alias Smets, vaandrig van het Kolveniersgilde in 1580*, ca. 1625-1680, oil on canvas, Hof van Busleyden, Mechelen, inv nr S0065. The museum dates the painting ca. 1625. Yet, the portrait was probably painted between 1642 and 1669 since the artist worked in Mechelen during that time. RKD, RKD Artists database, Jan Verhoeven, record nr 80365.

[85] SAM, Oud Archief, inventarisdeel 8, E Kolveniersgilde, IV, Reglementen ende costuymen voor de Caloveniers gulde binne de stadt Mechelen, 1729.

have the standard-bearer painted. For example, in Bruges a portrait of the standard bearer for the St Sebastian's guild was painted in 1641.[86] In the same year the standard-bearer of one of Enkhuizen's militias was also painted.[87] Heyns therefore seems to have been honored by his own guild, more than by the city.

A civic heroine who was celebrated continually was Kenau Simonsdochter Hasselaer from Haarlem. Her heroic performance during the siege of Haarlem in 1572-1573 brought her immediate fame. People commissioned paintings of her and referred to her in books, prints and plays.[88] Despite the fact that Kenau was a woman, and she was not part of the civic militia, she soon became incorporated into the stories of the siege which Haarlem's militia propagated. In 1646 when an inventory of their building in the Gasthuisstraat was made, it included a room named after Kenau which held her portrait.[89] Kenau, however, was not the only reminder Haarlem's militia kept of the siege.

From 1628 onwards a painting of the capture of Damietta hung in the old militia building, the *Cloveniersdoelen*. The painting made by Cornelisz Claesz van Wieringen represented an ancient victory of Haarlem during the Fifth Crusade in 1219, which was recalled to celebrate the innate bravery of Haarlem's citizens.[90] Finally, in the eighteenth century an inscription was added to the façade of the building which referred to the bravery of the militia during the Revolt.[91]

The militia companies in Alkmaar were also very active in celebrating their role during the Revolt. In 1629, for example, they went to Nijmegen to defend the city against enemy troops while Nijmegen's garrison was used for the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch. Upon their return the *Oude Schutterij*, or old militia company, commissioned a large portrait which referred to this episode in their history.[92] The main achievement which the militia companies celebrated, however, was their contribution to the relief of the city in 1573. In 1580 the St Sebastian or new militia company commissioned two paintings to demonstrate and emphasize their role in Alkmaar's victory over the Spanish army. The first showed the siege from the north and represented an assault on Alkmaar by the Spanish army. The second depicted the siege from the south with a focus on the enemy's army camp. Both paintings depicted the enemy, and not the militia itself, and emphasized its military strength. This made the achievement of Alkmaar's militia in fending off the enemy even bigger, as the

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[86] Van Nespen, *Schatten*, 109–110.
[87] Ed Dekker et al. (eds.), *Ach lieve tijd. West-Friesland* 10. Twintig eeuwen Westfriezen en hun oorlogen en opstanden (Zwolle 1998) 236 via www.westfriesgenootschap.nl.
[88] Els Kloek, *Kenau. De heldhaftige zakenvrouw uit Haarlem (1526-1588)* (Hilversum 2001) passim.
[89] Ibidem, 81.
[90] Knevel, 'Armed Citizens', 88.
[91] Haarlem, Gasthuisstraat, via www.gevelstenen.net.
[92] Willem Bartsius, *Officieren en vaandeldragers van de Oude Schutterij*, 1634, oil on canvas, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nr 020726.

accompanying text confirms.[93] Of course, the old militia company could not lag behind. In 1598 it commissioned a painting that depicted the enemy camp in the foreground and the city in the background. The accompanying text emphasized the military achievements during the city's defense such as the number of regiments and citizens (fig.40).[94]

Fig.40 Anonymous, the siege of Alkmaar depicting the enemy camp commissioned by the old militia company, 1603, (Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar).

The memories of the siege of Alkmaar were thus carefully kept alive. The paintings even suggest that there may have been a sense of competition between the militia companies in claiming their role in the siege. Not only were militia companies proud of their achievements, however, local governments also offered a helping hand in propagating their militia's role in the Revolt. As in Alkmaar, Dutch militia companies were frequently sent away on military expeditions to defend other cities in frontier areas whose garrisons fought on the frontline. Afterwards, the magistrate demonstrated a sense of pride after the safe return of their militia.[95] As we have seen, the magistrate of Haarlem, for example, commissioned a medal to commemorate the role which its militia had played in the defense of Hasselt during the siege of Bergen op Zoom in 1622.[96] In the same year a militia company from Amsterdam went to

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[93] Pieter Adriaensz Cluyt, *De belegering van Alkmaar door de Spanjaarden, gezien vanuit het noorden en het zuiden*, 1580, oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nrs 020856 and 020857.

[94] Anonymous, *Het beleg van Alkmaar in 1573 door de Spanjaarden*, 1603, oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nr 020600; Object description, Beeldbank Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, http://stedelijkmuseumalkmaar.nl/beeldbank, consulted 27 August 2013.

[95] In the Dutch Republic the militias from cities in Holland were used to defend other regions many times, especially between 1599 and 1604 and 1622 and 1637. Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, 254–255.

[96] Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* II (The Hague 1726) 147.

defend Zwolle. After their return two prints, a painting, and a poem represented the militiamen as saviors of the Republic and its freedom.[97]

In the Habsburg Netherlands, militia companies also participated in expeditions to other cities. In 1595 the city of Lier was liberated by militia companies from Antwerp and Mechelen. Lier's magistrate was grateful for this release from the Dutch troops and probably commissioned a painting to commemorate the event. The painting, which hung in the town hall in 1740, depicted a cityscape of Lier with the militia approaching the city. Earlier provenance of the painting is unknown, but it is generally accepted that this painting was commissioned by Lier's magistrate since the accompanying text referred to the assistance of Mechelen and Antwerp in freeing the city from 'Calvin's rabble'. The painting became an eternal reminder of the 'fury' of 1595.[98] The prominence of the militia is important here because not every scene of the events in Lier focused on this topic. A second, anonymous painting dated in the first half of the seventeenth century, for instance, depicted the enemy troops fleeing the city.[99]

Lier, however, was not the only city to commemorate this episode. The magistrate from Mechelen commissioned a painting from Jan Ghuens which prominently depicted Lier in the background, but the foreground was reserved for Mechelen's militia. The magistrate was so proud of their men that they hung the paintings in one of the reception rooms of the town hall (fig.41).[100] The location of the painting was not coincidental because the captains of the militia who participated in the liberation of Lier were also part of the magistrate of Mechelen.[101] Antwerp's magistrate also demonstrated its pride in the local militia and their role in the relief of Lier. In celebration a medal was commissioned to reward the leaders and other deserving men of the militia who had participated. The medal stated 'Lira Recepta', or Lier recaptured, and depicted the castle of Antwerp.[102] The connection between Lier's liberation and Antwerp was thus made clear on the object. The magistrate focused only on

[97] Jan Jansz Starter, *Tocht van de Amsterdamse schutterij naar Zwolle*, 1622, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-81.011; Kees Zandvliet (ed.), *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam 2000) 408–409; Knevel, 'Armed Citizens', 86; Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, 259–262.

[98] 'Calvinus gebroet', Anonymous, *De Lierse Furie (14 oktober 1595),* ca. 1595, oil on canvas, Museum Wuyts van Campen Lier; Chr. Van Lom, *Beschryving der stad Lier in Brabant* (The Hague 1740) 96; J. Weyns, *Lierse furie* (Lier 1978) 82; Anton Bergmann, *Geschiedenis der stad Lier* (Antwerp 1873) 80; F. Verbiest, 'De Lierse furie, anno 1595, in beeld, boek en blad', *Noordgouw. Cultureel tijdschrift van de Provincie Antwerpen* 1 (1961) 117–143, there 141; Luc Coenen, 'Lier en lyrana in de verzameling oude schilderijen van het stedelijk museum Wuyts-van Campen en Baron Caroly', in: *Post Factum. Jaarboek voor geschiedenis en volkenkunde* 3 (Antwerp 2011) 53–93, there passim.

[99] Anonymous, *De Lierse Furie. De herovering van de stad Lier door de Antwerpenaars en de Mechelaars op 14 oktober 1595*, first half seventeenth century, oil on panel, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv nr 1311.

[100] Ibidem, 77; Jan Ghuens, *Het ontzet van Lier, 1595*, ca. 1595, oil on canvas, Hof van Busleyden Mechelen, inv nr S0054.

[101] Bram Caers, 'In fide constans'? Politiek van herinnering in het Mechelse stadsbestuur', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29 (2013) 228-246, there 236-237, 242-243.

[102] Weyns, *Lierse furie*, 82.

Antwerp's men and ignored that the militia from Mechelen had helped as well. While Antwerp and Mechelen each primarily focused on their own men, Lier celebrated both militias and thanked them for their intervention.
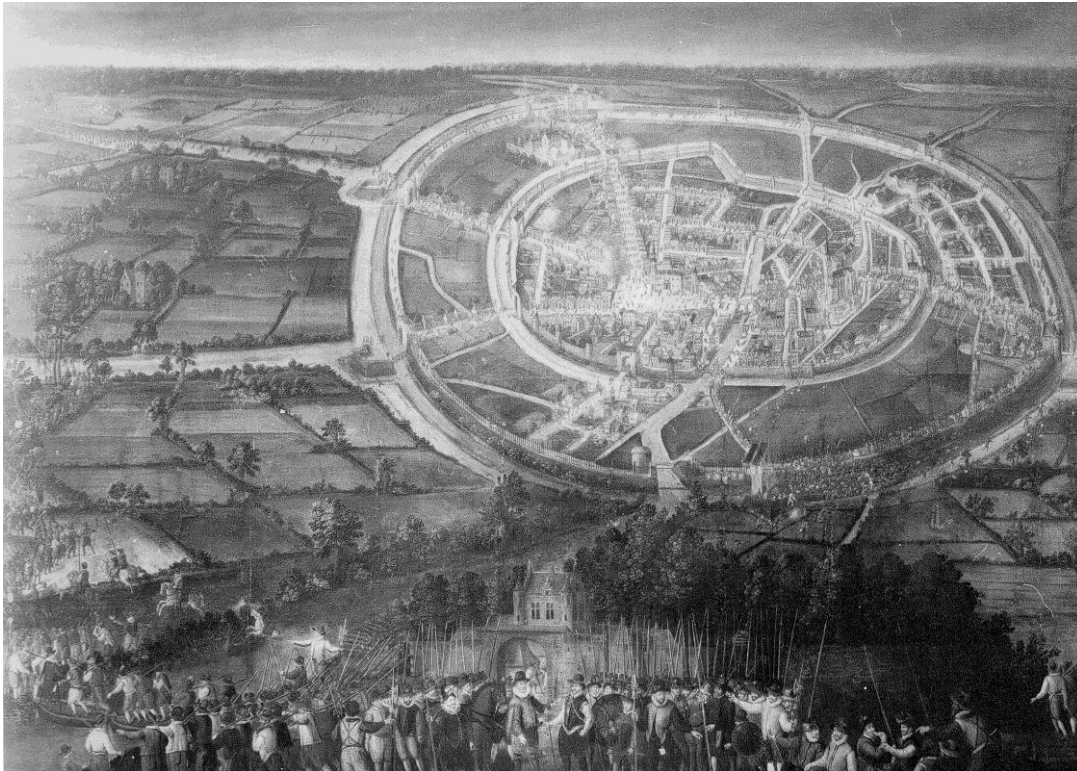
Fig.41 Jan Ghuens, the relief of Lier as depicted for the magistrate in Mechelen, ca. 1595 (Hof van Busleyden Mechelen).

The complex nature of memory cultures: losing a siege

The magistrate, the church and the militia companies all had their own motives to propagate certain stories about the Revolt. Within an urban memory culture, however, all these stories circulated and interacted with each other. As we have already seen, many of the memories were meant to instigate a sense of harmony and communal identity, but this was not always easy to achieve. The nature of the Revolt had been such that many civic groups opposed each other, and a victory for one faction could pose a threat to another. Moreover, while victories could be difficult to interpret at times, experiences such as lost sieges were even more complicated. A new regime, the loss of lives, and the embarrassment of the capitulation shaped the urban memory culture that emerged after the event. This makes cities which had experienced a siege that did not end well, such as Haarlem in 1572-1573 and Antwerp in 1584-1585, interesting cases for studying the interaction between stakeholders.

In 1573 after a seven-month siege by the Habsburg army the city had been forced to capitulate. For four years Haarlem was ruled by a Habsburg regime, until the city and William

of Orange signed a Satisfaction in 1577, which was meant to establish religious coexistence. In theory the treaty ensured that both the Catholic and Protestant religions would coexist, but in practice the peace did not last long. In 1578 armed soldiers entered and plundered St Bavochurch during mass and harmed several Catholics. Although peace was restored quickly, and the culprits were sent away for trial, fear caused the bishop to flee the city. The 'religious peace' would not officially end until 1581, but religious and civic tensions persisted within Haarlem.[103]

Haarlem's urban memory culture has been studied by several scholars. Historian Joke Spaans argued in 1989 that because the siege had ended badly, it had been disregarded in the city's memory culture. Instead Haarlem propagated the more neutral siege of Damietta, which had taken place in 1219. During this siege the people from Haarlem had been brave and cunning enough to cut a chain which closed off Damietta's harbor.[104] Other scholars, however, disagreed. Henk van Nierop persuasively argued that the siege was not forgotten at all, as could be seen in the local history written by local historian Samuel Ampzing in 1628.[105] Art historians Carol Janson and Mia Mochizuki revealed that reminders of the siege were still visible and prominently on display inside St Bavochurch.[106] In 2006 Willem Frijhoff wrote an extensive article about the role the siege of Damietta played in Haarlem's memory culture. Without referring to Spaans he argued that the magistrate promoted the Damietta story because it did not want to remember the religious discord in the city and because the Damietta tale could be commemorated amongst the many immigrants in Haarlem as well.[107] His argument, however, does not do justice to the complexity of Haarlem's memory culture from 1577 onwards.

The complex nature of Haarlem's memory culture can best be explained from two perspectives. The first was the way the local magistrate and other stakeholders dealt with the past in both the short and the long term within the city walls. The second was the way the magistrate took its urban memory culture and represented it to the outside world, more specifically within its regional network. The notion, as emphasized by both Spaans and Frijhoff, that Haarlem commemorated only the siege of Damietta stems from this supralocal level. Indeed, if we look at the number of stained-glass windows the magistrate donated to churches across Holland, it is clear that Damietta was a popular theme. These windows,

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[103] Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie. Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven 1577-1620* (The Hague 1989) 49–71.
[104] Willem Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée. La mémoire de croisade, instrument de concorde civique (Haarlem, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)', *Revue du Nord* 88 (2006) 7–42, there 11–12.
[105] Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city. Samuel Ampzing's vision of the history of Haarlem', *Theoretische geschiedenis* 20 (1993) 268–282.
[106] Carol Janson, 'Public places, private lives. The impact of the Dutch Revolt on the Reformed churches in Holland', in: Arthur K. Wheelock (ed.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 181–190; Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish image*, 188–192.
[107] Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée', 9–10.

which were donated to churches by different cities, were an opportunity for a city to present itself to the outside world. While other cities traditionally displayed their coat of arms or a biblical scene, Haarlem commissioned around fifty windows in Holland that depicted Damietta.[108] Yet, as will be demonstrated in more detail below, when we look at the first, local, perspective, Damietta was outclassed by memories of the Revolt.[109] Moreover, we have already seen, Haarlem's memory culture was extensive. The gable stones the militia commissioned for its headquarters, the many portraits of the local heroine Kenau, and the cannonball tales already suggest that the siege of 1572-1573 was far from forgotten in the seventeenth century.
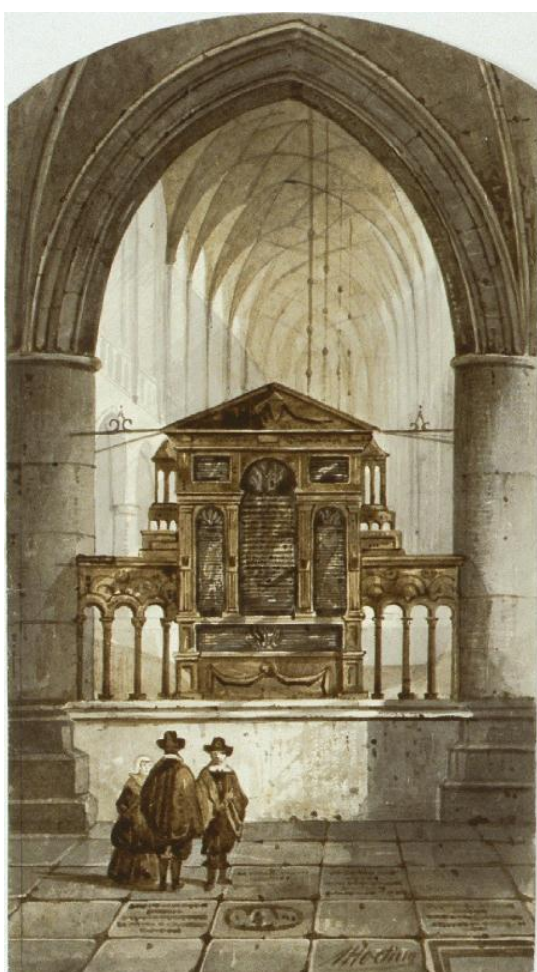
Fig.42 (p.138)   Church panel 'the siege of Haarlem' as drawn in the nineteenth century (Noordhollands Archief Haarlem).

The commemoration of the siege of Haarlem seems to have been influenced by several events which took place in the city after 1577. First of all, when the city officially banned the Catholic religion in 1581, it was probably the church wardens of St Bavo who immediately commissioned a new painting entitled 'the siege of Haarlem'. This painting, or church panel, was fitted on the reverse of the most important panel in the church, the Lord's supper (fig.42). Its prominent location reflected the significance of the political message the painting carried. Instead of celebrating the victory of the Reformed religion it expressed a moderate view of shared suffering, harmony and a common enemy. Therefore the painting reflected what the population of Haarlem had in common rather than what had driven them apart in the previous years. The church wardens chose to emphasize that citizens of Haarlem had joined together in fighting the Spanish enemy but had unfortun ately been forced to surrender because of hunger.[110] This moderate message of courage

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[108] Simon Groenveld, *Haarlemse glasraamschenkingen. Stedelof tussen dominee, regent en koopman* (Gouda 1998) 29-32, 41–42; See also Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* I: the North, passim.

[109] An earlier version of this argument can be read in Marianne Eekhout, 'De kogel in de kerk. Herinneringen aan het beleg van Haarlem, 1573-1630' *Historisch tijdschrift Holland* 43 (2011) 108-119.

[110] For the argument of the church wardens as the ones who commissioned this painting see also Ibidem, 116–117.

and harmony was meant to unite the population as had been done in Leiden after 1574, but it also had been inspired by the Pacification of Ghent and its emphasis on forgiving and forgetting.

Rather than taking the siege memories as decisive, the church panel demonstrates that the local magistrate (via its church wardens) already had another satisfactory explanation in place. The church wardens were not the first to offer this solution because Hadrianus Junius had already integrated a story of harmony and courage into the notes for his book *Batavia*, which he wrote in 1575. Junius, who had lived in Haarlem, emphasized that Haarlem broke the pride of the Habsburg army and deserved glory because it had delayed the progress of the army and gave the other cities time to prepare for their sieges.[111] Furthermore, in 1593 Haarlem's chambers of rhetoric performed a play about 'the miseries of the past and the prosperity in the present' on the day of St John, 24 June.[112] Although the sources do not tell what was performed exactly, it is evident that the present and the past were compared. In all likelihood the miseries referred to the hardship during the siege and the subsequent Habsburg regime.

The urban memory landscape, however, did change dramatically from 1595 onwards when the first print of Damietta was published.[113] Although the imagery was familiar because it had been used in the sixteenth century as well, the simplicity and familiarity of the scene ensured that it caught on immediately amongst and beyond Haarlem's population.[114] The depiction of the Damietta theme was always the same: a large ship (from Haarlem) sailing through a snapping chain connecting the two towers of the Egyptian city. Other cities tended to use different emblematic images for their civic representation, but because Haarlem always depicted this particular image of Damietta, it quickly became part of the city's memory culture. Moreover, the Damietta theme built on the already existing theme of bravery amongst Haarlem's population. Haarlem had been blessed with an innate talent for bravery since their victory in Damietta. And to ensure a proper connection between 1219 and 1573 historian Ampzing simply left out the intervening years from his local history in 1628.[115]

From the start of the seventeenth century Haarlem's urban memory culture was thus built on two memories: the siege of Damietta and the siege of 1572-1573. Yet, after the

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[111] Hadrianus Junius, *Holland is een eiland. De Batavia van Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)*, translated and introduced by Nico de Glas (Hilversum 2011) 9, 12, 327–329.

[112] Bart Ramakers, 'Voor stad en stadgenoten. Rederijkers, kamers en toneel in Haarlem in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw', in: Bart Ramakers (ed.), *Conformisten en rebellen. Rederijkerscultuur in de Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam 2003) 109–124, there 120.

[113] Nicolaes Jansz. Clock, *Inname van Damiate en het overzeilen van de ketting, 1219*, 1595, print, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-76.972.

[114] Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée', passim; W. van Anrooij, 'Middeleeuwse sporen van de Haarlemse Damiate-legende', in: E.K. Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem vóór 1800* (Hilversum 1993) 11–25; Junius, *Holland is een eiland*, 326–327.

[115] Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Reprint 1628; Amsterdam 1974) 159.

installation of a new regime in 1618 there was a notable change of direction in memory practices in Haarlem. In this year Prince Maurits appointed a new magistrate after dismissing the old regime which had supported the Remonstrant faction. The religious and political conflict during the truce inspired Haarlem's magistrate to emphasize a 'confessionally neutral' civic culture as well as its loyalty to Prince Maurits.[116] As we have seen, this neutrality was already present in the church panel in St Bavo, but the new magistrate now increasingly used Damietta to emphasize this message, for instance by commissioning Damietta memorabilia such as a window for St Bavo and the large tapestry for the council chamber in the town hall. This tapestry, designed by artist Cornelis Claes van Wieringen, was even hung from the balcony of the town hall during urban festivities (fig.43).[117]

Fig.43 Joseph Thienpont, tapestry representing the siege of Damietta in 1219 as designed by Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen, 1629 (town hall Haarlem).

Still, despite the emphasis on Damietta in both local and regional politics, the Haarlem siege was not forgotten. In 1619 rhetorician Govert van der Eembd published his play about the siege of Haarlem.[118] A year later, in 1620, a new songbook appeared in Haarlem which included two songs about the siege of 1572-73, strategically placed at the beginning of the publication.[119] In addition, Kenau was still celebrated as a local heroine and a painting depicting the main characters of the siege in 1660 included her as well.[120] Memories of the siege thus continued to circulate in the urban memory culture. It was only after 1618, and especially in regional politics, that Damietta took off as a substitute for the siege of Haarlem in 1572-1573. Contrary to what cities such as Alkmaar and Leiden put forward, as we shall see in chapter five, Haarlem did not refer to its siege when recalling the urban past on a

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[116] Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*, 220–225.
[117] Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée', 24, 30; Joseph Thienpont, *Inname van Damiate*, 1629, tapestry, 10,75m x 2,4m, town hall Haarlem, designed by Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen.
[118] Govert van der Eembd, *Haerlemse belegeringhs trevr-bly-eynde-spel. Gespeelt by de Wijn-gaerdranken onder Liefd' boven al* (The Hague 1619).
[119] Louis Peter Grijp, ''De Rotterdamse Faem-Bazuyn'. De lokale dimensie van liedboeken uit de Gouden Eeuw', *Volkskundig bulletin* 18 (1992) 23–78, there 44–45.
[120] Neeltje Köhler, *Painting in Haarlem, 1500-1850. The collection of the Frans Hals Museum* (Ghent 2006) 677.

regional level. All in all Haarlem's memory culture can be seen as an example of how the focus of local memory could change over time and through different regimes.

A second example of the complexity of a local memory culture is Antwerp after the city reconciled with the Habsburg regime in 1585. After a siege lasting more than a year the city capitulated to Governor Alexander Farnese on 17 August 1585. As we have already seen, the new Catholic magistrate found itself in a difficult position. The siege had weakened Antwerp economically, the river Scheldt remained closed, and many rich Protestant merchants took their business elsewhere. Antwerp, however, also welcomed the regular clergy and the orders that had been banned during the Calvinist regime as well as the return of Catholic families that had been in exile. On the one hand, the magistrate therefore tried to create an economic climate in which different denominations could do business while, on the other hand, it supported and propagated Catholicism. The magistrate thus actively participated in many forms of Catholic urban ceremonial such as processions and celebrations but also refused to punish every infraction of the new religious rules.[121]

The Catholic identity of the city was important, especially after the Calvinist regime had ruined so many Catholic symbols. Not only the magistrate, but also the religious brotherhoods, undertook initiatives to show their dedication in propagating this new identity. In 1587 the Marian sodality, and especially its founder Jesuit Franciscus Costerus, successfully petitioned the magistrate to replace the existing statue of Sylvius Brabo, the traditional founder of Antwerp whose statue stood on the façade of the town hall, with one of the city's patron saint, the Virgin. The magistrate approved the plan but did not finance the statue from public funds. A minority even feared the effect of such a symbolic statement on the remaining Protestants. Moreover, the magistrate was inclined to extend the period of four years that Protestants had been given to decide whether to stay and reconvert to Catholicism or to leave Antwerp. Only when Bishop Livinus Torrentius intervened did the magistrate decide against this idea.[122] However, many of the aldermen did sign on privately to finance the new statue that was unveiled on 25 March 1587.[123]

On the day of the Feast of Annunciation, 25 March, the new statue was crowned after a mass had been celebrated in the Jesuit church. Speeches connected the event to the Revolt and emphasized that Antwerp should never abandon its patron saint again. In fact this message was so important that it had been already performed in a play two days prior to the

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[121] Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 41, 79, 103–107; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 138–139; Marinus, *De contrareformatie*, 51, 159–160.

[122] Marie Juliette Marinus, 'Het verdwijnen van het protestantisme in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', *De Zventiende* Eeuw 13 (1997) 261–271, there 263.

[123] Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 104–105; Peter Arnade, *Beggars, iconoclasts, and civic patriots. The political culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca 2008) 326–327; Jochen Becker, 'Review. Das Rathaus von Antwerpen', *Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 17 (1987) 199–203, there 202.

coronation. Prints with the image of the new Madonna were distributed amongst the population in order for them to show their appreciation of the Virgin and the Catholic restoration.[124] Yet, the statue of Brabo was salvaged by the magistrate. The Roman founding father of the city was relocated to the top of the Werfpoort, the gate to the economic heart of the city.[125] Brabo, as a non-religious symbol of Antwerp, could thus remain part of public life due to the efforts of the magistrate. Apparently the magistrate also wanted to uphold the older, civil symbols of Antwerp to which Protestants could relate as well.

While the magistrate thus took a moderate view towards the Protestants still living in Antwerp, other stakeholders took it upon themselves to reflect upon the recent past and to understand how the city could have been subjected to a Calvinist regime for so long. The magistrate, as we have already seen in the painting by Hans Vredeman de Vries, tried to look forward, but others dared to look back. After 1585 some Antwerpers started to explain the Calvinist regime as the work of Reformed intruders for which the citizens were not to blame. These sentiments, according to several authors during the siege of Antwerp in 1585, had already begun to surface when the Calvinist regime was still in place. For example, in a pasquil found in a manuscript in the abbey of Tongerloo the merchants wanted peace in order for their trade to prosper and the poor workers wanted food, but the magistrates of Antwerp said 'rather the city in ruins, than an agreement with Parma'.[126] In reality, however, the magistrate had decided to start negotiations with Parma after an attempt to relieve the city in May 1585 had failed. From that moment Catholics as well as Protestants had urged the magistrate to negotiate for peace while Calvinist ministers, the craft guilds, and the captains of the neighborhoods protested against these attempts.[127]

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[124] Judith Pollmann, 'Een "blij-eindend" treurspel. Leiden, 1574', in: Herman Amersfoort et al. (eds.), *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam 2011) 118–145, there 140–141.
[125] Daniel Papebrochius, *Annales Antverpienses ab urbe condita ad annum M.DCC.* IV (Antwerp 1845) 227; Becker, 'Review', 201.
[126] 'liever de stad gheruineert, dan met Parma ghappointeert' A. Erens, 'Literarische archivalia voor Antwerpen, 1580-1585', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 11 (1933) 241–316, there 271, this pasquil is only one in a series of songs against the Calvinist regime in Antwerp in this collection.
[127] Guido Marnef, 'Burgemeester in moeilijke tijden', *Een intellectuele activist . Studies over leven en werk van Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde* (2001) 28–36, there 32–33.

Other poems which circulated in 1585 referred to the city's 'rebellious' past but usually in combination with a reference to the heretical past.

> I [Antwerp] have called myself Reformed, but those who spring from me have betrayed me, evil justice, all malice. Wars and conflict make for expensive times. Houses burn, the lands are oppressed. Murder, thievery, tyranny all come from heresy.[128]

The Reformed religion was connected to all evil, and the Calvinists had caused a deviation from the true faith amongst the citizens of Antwerp. This argument remained important during the seventeenth century. In the manuscript histories of Antwerp it is often repeated. For example, chronicler Louis van Caukercken blamed William of Orange and his arrival in Antwerp for the ruin of the city.[129] By making Orange the scapegoat Antwerp's citizens shifted the blame for their decisions onto a small, political elite. The citizens could claim they had been gullible, deceived and 'ill advised', rather than having had a steadfast belief in the Calvinist regime

> The elevated royal seed of Spain, Duke of Brabant our righteous lord, whom we, driven by evil council, had abandoned, comes in paternal manner, to accept us, and will not remember the misdemeanors anymore.[130]

Poems like these were written for and displayed during the entry of Alexander Farnese ten days after the fall of Antwerp. The citizens showed their governor that they were relieved that he had liberated the city after its insurrection. Antwerpers also found other ways not to mention heresy. In 1606 when he wrote his history of Brabant Laurens van Haecht Goidsenhoven remembered Antwerp's citadel that had been built in 1567, but instead of emphasizing the heretical nature of the people who demolished it in 1577, he just mentioned that they had been 'revolting and raging'.[131] In his argument Goidsenhoven distances himself from those who demolished the citadel but in very general terms, without referring to whether or not they were heretics.

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[128] 'ghereformeert heb ick my selven ghenaempt, maer die uut my spruyten hebben my beschaempt, quade justitie, alle malicie. Oorloghen, strydt scherpen dieren tyt. Huysen verbranden, verdrucken de landen. Moorderye, dieverye, tyrannye compt al uut ketterye'. Erens, 'Literarische archivalia', 279.

[129] FAA, PK 116, Chronicle Louis van Caukercken, f. 191-193.

[130] 'T coninclyck saet van Hispanien verheven, Hertoch van Brabant, ons natuerlyck heere, Vanden welcken wy deur t'quaet raets ingheven, Gheweken waren, compt met vaderlycken keere Ons aennemen en d'misbruyck ghedencken niet meere'. Erens, 'Literarische archivalia', 280.

[131] 'oproerich en rasende'. Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven, *Chroniicke van de Hertoghen van Brabant vvaer in hun leuen, oorloghen ende acten perfectelijck beschreuen zijn* (Antwerp 1606) 11.

References to the Revolt in Antwerp were thus still offered, in order to put the blame for the city's insurrection on heretics and William of Orange. Yet, already in 1606 Goidsenhoven's account shows a distance between what happened in the 1580s and the present. In the seventeenth century Antwerp seems to have moved beyond the Calvinist regime and advocated the idea, as we can see in Jesuit Carolus Scribani's work in 1610, that the Revolt was only a temporary deviation from the right path. He feels secure enough to mention it in his preface and moves on to describe the city's golden age in the sixteenth century.[132] In addition, Scribani emphasized that the rulers of Brabant had faced such foes as the Turks, Saracens and Ottomans who could be compared to the heretics the Habsburg regime now fought in the Low Countries.[133] A return to the more distant past also occurred in other contexts. In 1643-1644 the members of one of the militia companies in Antwerp had themselves depicted in a portrait bringing honor to Charles V.[134]

Much as in Haarlem, in Antwerp stakeholders such as the church and the militia companies looked back at the distant past. Yet, while Haarlem also commemorated its resistance to the siege, no such commemoration was possible in Antwerp. Haarlem had been captured and later rejoined the rebel provinces, but Antwerp had been captured and remained part of the Habsburg regime.

The complex interaction between stakeholders within the community largely determined how an urban memory culture in the Low Countries turned out. Each stakeholder, whether an individual, a family, the local magistrate, the church or one of the corporations, had its own interest in promoting or forgetting certain stories about the recent past. These stories were remediated and propagated through various media which together provided a larger framework of memory practices. Performative media such as urban ceremonial, processions, entries, plays, songs and sermons set part of the stage in which material memories function in the urban community. Since they were performed publicly and could thus reach a large part of the population, they offered an interpretation of the Revolt which cannot easily be ignored. After all, urban ceremonial had the potential to influence the way people thought about the recent past.

Since material memories thus depended on and interacted with oral, textual and performative media that existed in the urban community, stakeholders could use these media to their own advantage. The messages they spread also seem to have been relatively similar. Both in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands magistrates emphasized a sense of communal identity and harmony in order to resolve discord which had arisen during

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[132] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 180–188.
[133] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 173.
[134] Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 163, 246.

the war. In many cases the church, the corporations, and individual citizens joined in this story, as we have already seen in previous chapters. Nevertheless, these stakeholders did provide their own arguments. The militia companies in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands were proud of their achievements during the Revolt and started to profile themselves as having been played a role in the city's defense. This sense of pride contributed to their distinctive corporate identity within the city.

The church differed as stakeholder in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. The Catholic Church in the Habsburg Netherlands provided its audience with saints which were known for fighting heretics. The veneration of these saints (from the distant past) was directly related to the Dutch Revolt. In the Dutch Republic ministers often conformed to the public commemoration of the past by the magistrate. In both states, however, the church building was an important place of memory as was the town hall. The religious reading of the Revolt the church offered in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands does not seem to have overshadowed the memory politics of the magistrate. While different strands of memory practice are clearly visible, as we have seen in Haarlem with the siege of 1572-1573 and the Damietta story, the magistrate remained the main player in determining the urban memory landscape. Of course, there was much at stake because the magistrate dealt not only with its population but also with the city's position in the regional network. And, as we shall see in chapter five, on this supralocal level the Revolt could make or break a city's reputation.

Chapter 5 – Beyond the city. Propagating the Revolt in a regional network

In the 1620s the magistrates of two cities in Holland commissioned paintings to celebrate and remember their own past. The West Frisian city of Enkhuizen paid painter Abraham de Verwer in 1621 to depict the victorious 1573 battle of the Zuiderzee for the aldermen's room in the town hall (fig.44).[1] The magistrate of Haarlem commissioned a rendition of the lost 1573 battle on the Haarlemmermeer from Hendrik Vroom for the council chamber in the town hall in 1629.[2] The motivation behind the commissions of these paintings was similar. In 1621, when the war was resumed after the Twelve Years' Truce, both cities used these images not only to emphasize their role during the early phase of the Revolt, but more importantly, the magistrates of Enkhuizen and Haarlem wanted to highlight Amsterdam's long support of the Habsburg regime through a subtle hint in the paintings. Where the enemy fleet was depicted, the ships carried Amsterdam's flags, reminding beholders of Amsterdam's late decision to join the Revolt in 1578.[3]

Fig.44 Abraham de Verwer, battle at the Zuiderzee in 1573 which displays the enemy ships with banners from Amsterdam, 1621 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

Commissioning these paintings reflected a one-sided animosity of Enkhuizen and Haarlem towards Amsterdam. Both cities chose to depict a scene from the early Revolt to create an image of Amsterdam as the enemy of the States' armies. This animosity was

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[1] Abraham de Verwer, *Battle of the Zuiderzee*, 1621, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-603. See also J.P. Sigmond, W.Th Kloek and L.H Zuiderbaan, *Zeeslagen en zeehelden in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam 2007) 16–18.
[2] Hendrik Vroom, *Battle of the Haarlemmermeer*, 1629, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-602.
[3] Sigmond, Kloek and Zuiderbaan, *Zeeslagen en zeehelden*, 16–18.

based on contemporary economic, political and religious differences, in which cities did not hesitate to claim and guard their acquired rights. For example, during the religious troubles in the Twelve Years' Truce Haarlem and Amsterdam belonged to opposing factions. In the 1620s both Haarlem and Enkhuizen belonged to the war faction while Amsterdam had profited from the truce through an expansion of export markets. Like Haarlem, Enkhuizen belonged to the faction in the States of Holland that opposed Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Delft and Dordrecht when commercial interests and privileges were at stake.[4]

The behavior of cities during the Revolt became another argument in the many conflicts caused by civic rivalry in a regional network. Since the Middle Ages cities in the Low Countries had attempted to increase their own political or economic influence at the expense of their rivals.[5] As historian Marjolein 't Hart has stressed, frictions and rivalries between cities 'guided the coalitions, bargaining, and resolutions of the provincial government and the States General'.[6] Moreover, urban rivalry was visible not only in political, religious, and economic conflicts but also in the way cities used their past. In fact, rivalry between cities even inspired magistrates to sponsor a specific medium: the chorography.[7] These descriptions of cities usually included topics such as history, topography, industry and local government.

We have already seen that the media cities used to propagate urban identity were not limited to chorographies. Paintings, gable stones, and inscriptions are only some examples of how the city, or more specifically the local government, could emphasize certain stories about the past. Research on civic representation and urban rivalry, however, has usually focused on chorographies. In this genre, as historians E. Haitsma Mulier, Henk van Nierop, Eddy Verbaan and Raingard Esser have successfully demonstrated, stories about the Revolt

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[4] See for example James D. Tracy, *The founding of the Dutch Republic war, finance, and politics in Holland, 1572-1588* (Oxford 2008) 125; Leo Noordegraaf, 'Internal trade and Internal Trade Conflict in th Northern Netherlands. Autonomy, Centralism, and State Formation in the Pre-Industrial Era', in: Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle (eds.), *State and trade. Government and the Economy in Britain and the Netherlands since the Middle Ages.* Britain and the Netherlands X (Zutphen 1992) 12–28, there 19–20; Jonathan Israel, *Empires and Entrepots. Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585-1713* (London 2003) 66–68, 81–83; Marjolein 't Hart, 'Intercity rivalries and the making of the Dutch state', in: Charles Tilly and Wim Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and the rise of states in Europe, A.D. 1000 to 1800* (Oxford 1994) 196–217, there 205; see for several conflicts regarding trade routes in the Noorderkwartier Diederik Aten, '*Als het gewelt comt'. Politiek en economie in Holland benoorden het IJ, 1500-1800* (Hilversum 1995) 1–118; R. Willemsen, *Enkhuizen tijdens de Republiek. Een economisch-historisch onderzoek naar stad en samenleving van de 16e tot 19e eeuw* (Hilversum 1988) 92.

[5] J. van Herwaarden, 'Stedelijke rivaliteit in de Middeleeuwen. Toscane, Vlaanderen, Holland', in: P.B.M. Blaas and J. van Herwaarden (eds.), *Stedelijke naijver. De betekenis van interstedelijke conflicten in de geschiedenis. Enige beschouwingen en case-studies* (The Hague 1986) 38–81, there 58.

[6] Marjolein 't Hart, 'The Dutch Republic. The urban impact upon politics', in: Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen (eds.), *A miracle mirrored. The Dutch Republic in European perspective* (Cambridge 1995) 57–98, there 66.

[7] Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city. Samuel Ampzing's vision of the history of Haarlem', *Theoretische geschiedenis* 20 (1993) 268–282, there 274.

were frequently employed.[8] Despite their valuable work on chorographies these historians have usually limited themselves to the Dutch Republic, and particularly (one city in) Holland. Only recently has a comparative approach between cities been undertaken. Verbaan has compared several chorographies on style while Esser has included both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands. As a result she has been able to provide a larger framework for the study of chorographies, their authors and their content.[9]

This chapter builds on Esser's new research and compares chorographies in different cities across the Low Countries but also expands her conclusions by analyzing them in the context of multiple media. Esser argued that chorographical writings should be 'seen as a conscientious effort by the urban and provincial elite to influence memories and, by extension, the creation of an identity of their own city or province'.[10] She also convincingly demonstrates that chorographies corresponded with and were influenced by other contemporary writings and elements in the urban landscape, which made them 'one form of commemorative media'.[11] Yet, unlike Esser, this chapter will go beyond published chorographies and consider manuscripts, stained-glass windows, rituals, and paintings as well. Research on civic representation has included prints, windows and paintings. These media were employed to express urban identity and to communicate a city's political and economic status to other cities in the region.[12] Furthermore, research on the antiquarian tradition has revealed that monuments, ruins, and material remains were already included in chorographies, as they were considered a part of the urban memory landscape.[13] How these media transferred memories of the Revolt as part of a city's identity and the role the recent past played in urban rivalry form the subject of this chapter.

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[8] See for example van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city'; Raingard Esser, 'Political change and urban memory. Amsterdam remembers her past', *Dutch Crossing* 25 (2001) 89–102; Raingard Esser, ''Concordia res parvae crescunt'. Regional histories and the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands. Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (2007) 229–248; E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'Descriptions of towns in the seventeenth-century province of Holland', in: Arthur K. Wheelock and Adele F. Seeff (eds.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 24-32; Eddy Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek* (Hilversum 2011).

[9] Esser, Raingard, *The politics of memory. The writing of partition in the seventeenth-century Low Countries* (Leiden 2012).

[10] Ibidem, 21.

[11] Ibidem, 14.

[12] Juliette Roding, 'Beelden van Leiden. Inleiding', in: Juliette Roding, A. Agnes Sneller and Boukje Thijs (eds.), *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 22 (Hilversum 2006) 9-14, there 10–11; Leonore Stapel, 'Haarlems welvaart: "de konst van Bier te brouwen" of "excellente stucken lijnwaerts"? - De beeldvorming rond het economische leven van Hollands tweede stad (1600-1650)', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 18 (2002) 167–183, there 167–183; Andrew Spicer, '"So many painted jezebels". Stained glass windows and the formation of urban identity in the Dutch Republic', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands. Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden 2007) 249-278.

[13] Graham Parry, *The trophies of time. English antiquarians of the seventeenth century* (Oxford 2007) 3.

Urban memory cultures and their accompanying landscapes were significant not only for the urban community but also for the reputation a city wished to build for itself in its regional network. In chapter four we have seen the role of the magistrate, church, and militia companies within an urban memory culture. This chapter will focus on the stakeholder in particular who acted both on the urban as well as the regional and national level: the government. As we have already seen in the case of Haarlem, the goals of local authorities in advocating or omitting certain stories about the Revolt differed between cities and also differed according to whether the stories were meant for the local or regional memory culture. Therefore this chapter will explore several communities and demonstrate how cities employed different strategies in dealing with their past in the regional network.

Before looking into the regional networks themselves and the strategies governments employed, it is worth considering the chorographies a little further. While Esser did not focus on the Dutch Revolt specifically, she did study the Revolt as one of the topics which her published chorographies dealt with. In general she concluded that in the Dutch Republic, and especially in Holland, pride and glory during the war were stressed and the changes the Revolt had brought about were celebrated. In the Habsburg Netherlands themes such as being part of the Habsburg Empire and the Counterreformation were propagated, with emphasis on the continuity between the past and the present.[14] Esser's conclusions are important but are also prompted by the fact that she studied chorographies. For instance, Southern authors all had religious or personal motives, or even (royal) instructions, to omit the Revolt in descriptions of cities such as Antwerp and Leuven.[15] As we shall see below, however, the inclusion of other media such as manuscripts and paintings provides a more nuanced view of the impact of oblivion.

As a genre chorographies were subject to the same restrictions as any medium which reflected the Revolt. Just like the people who commissioned other Revolt memorabilia, most authors were members of the urban and provincial elite such as clergymen, town clerks and academics who dedicated their texts to the political elite.[16] The eligibility for sponsoring depended on the book's content. In 1648 when a revised history of Hoorn by Theodorus Velius was published posthumously, for instance, the authorities refused to accept the dedication because they did not agree with the 'slander' about Prince Maurits, the States of Holland, and the former government of Hoorn. Velius, who had been banned from public office because he was a Remonstrant, had gone too far.[17] Considering the argument of Hoorn's magistrate against sponsoring, it may be argued that when the authorities did give their consent, this action implied approval of the way the author treated the city's history.

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[14] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 187–188, 218, 322–324.
[15] Ibidem, 4, 200, 210.
[16] Ibidem, 15.
[17] Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*, 31, 178.

Thus, if the Revolt was treated extensively in a chorography approved by the government, that version of history may be accepted as the government's vision of the war at that particular time. Chorographies could be used as a tool to convince rival cities of a city's influence and interests during the war in order to maintain and increase the city's reputation. Their audience was a regional and national network of intellectuals in the Habsburg Netherlands and a local, regional and national network of antiquarians, humanists and interested individuals in the Dutch Republic.[18]

The representative function of chorographies should thus not be underestimated. Unlike other media such as paintings, they were much more flexible in their audience. Even though the prices of books were considerable, and these publications were out of reach for ordinary people, someone could carry a book or manuscript with him. Simultaneously the level of literacy was high in the Low Countries which stimulated the circulation of all sorts of publications including chorographies but also manuscripts about the history of the city.[19] What medium a city selected, and what strategy it adopted, however, largely depended on what had happened during the Revolt. As a result, there were several cards cities played when they wanted to confirm their position. First, the loyalty card which could be played by cities that had been loyal throughout the Revolt such as Lille, Enkhuizen or Leuven as well as by cities that had been disloyal such as Antwerp. Second, the success card which put cities such as Alkmaar and Leiden in a position to try and enhance their status after they successfully fended off the enemy after a siege. Finally, several cities played the oblivion card. Cities with a difficult history such as Brussels, Valenciennes, and Amsterdam redesigned their past to fit in with their new status after the Revolt.

Regional networks in the Low Countries

Traditionally, with its commercial centers Ghent, Bruges and Ypres, Flanders had been the richest county in the Low Countries. In the 1540s Charles V suppressed a serious insurrection in Ghent.[20] As punishment Charles removed privileges from the cities of Flanders, allowing cities in Brabant to benefit by extending their trade and influence in the Low Countries. In the the sixteenth century Antwerp had become 'the first and foremost

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[18] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 14–15.

[19] See for literacy in the Low Countries for example Jeroen Blaak, translated by Beverly Jackson, *Literacy in everyday life. Reading and writing in early modern Dutch diaries* (Leiden 2009) 9-12, 342-344; Erika Kuijpers, 'Lezen en schrijven. Onderzoek naar het alfabetiseringsniveau in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 23 (1997) 490-522.

[20] J.J. Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog. Over de Nederlandse Opstand 1555-1580* (Amsterdam 1994) 122.

merchant city of whole Europe' and Brussels the seat of the national government while Brabant had become the most important province.[21]

When the political, religious and social difficulties in the Low Countries erupted in the Dutch Revolt, it was the cities in Brabant that took the lead. By the sixteenth century they had lost power to the central government with the introduction of new bishoprics and to the Council of Brabant, which acted as an intermediary in disputes between towns, and between cities and the king when the duchy's privileges were concerned.[22] The centralization process and conflicts concerning their privileges, however, had inspired the three largest cities Leuven, Brussels and Antwerp to work together in political conflicts. [23] During the Revolt the States of Brabant had organized deliberations about the ongoing troubles without the governor's consent, and they appealed to the Joyous Entry of Brabant to abjure Philip II as their king in 1581.[24]

The collaboration between the cities in matters concerning the monarchy did not stop them from having differences on a regional level. For example, Brussels was the center of government while Antwerp was the center of trade, and Leuven the oldest city.[25] In the struggle for political power in Brabant these cities used this status to construct the internal hierarchy between the cities in the duchy.[26] In the beginning of the seventeenth century Antwerp was recognized as the most important city of Brabant and the Habsburg Netherlands.[27] Antwerp's position relied on its wealth while Leuven and Brussels were

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[21] 'de eerste ende principaelste coopstadt van geheel Europa' as cited in Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550-1577* (Antwerp 1996) 23; See for the status of Brabant as the first province in the Low Countries also Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tvtti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore* (Antwerp 1567); Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven, *Chroniicke van de Hertoghen van Brabant vvaer in hun leuen, oorloghen ende acten perfectelijck beschreuen zijn* (Antwerp 1606) 1r; Guy Edward Wells, 'Antwerp and the government of Philip II, 1555-1567' (Dissertation Cornell University 1982) 34–40.

[22] Wells, 'Antwerp and the government of Philip II', 34–36, 65–66; See for example Jeanne Mennes, 'De Staten van Brabant en de Blijde Inkomst van Kroonprins Filips in 1549', S*tanden en Landen* 18 (1959) 49–165; Raymond van Uytven, 'Imperialisme of zelfverdediging. De extra-stedelijke rechtsmacht van Leuven', *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 58 (1975) 7–71, there 37–41; Karin van Honacker, *Lokaal verzet en oproer in de 17de en 18de eeuw. Collectieve acties tegen het centraal gezag in Brussel, Antwerpen en Leuven* (Kortrijk-Heule 1994) 87.

[23] See in Antwerp and Leuven for example Wells, 'Antwerp and the government of Philip II', 68–71, 158–159; P. Avonds, 'Lovene, die beste stat van Brabant. Stedelijk zelfbewustzijn in de late middeleeuwen', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 68 (1985) 5-23, there 13–16.

[24] Robert Fruin and H.T. Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der Republiek* (The Hague 1980) 165, 172–173; M.P. Christ, *De Brabantsche Saecke. Het vergeefse streven naar een gewestelijke status voor Staats-Brabant 1585-1675* (Tilburg 1984) 8–9.

[25] Marjolein 't Hart and Michael Limberger, 'Staatsmacht en stedelijke autonomie. Het geld van Antwerpen en Amsterdam (1500-1700)', *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 3 (2006) 36–72, there 53.

[26] Avonds, 'Lovene, die beste stat van Brabant, 13–16.

[27] Claes Jansz. Visscher, Novissima, et accuratissima leonis belgici, seu septemdecim regionum description, 1609, Atlas van Stolk Rotterdam, inv nr. 15362; Guicciardini, *Descrittione*; Antwerp was still the most extensively covered city in later editions of Guicciardini H.P. Deys et al., *Guicciardini illustratus. De kaarten en prenten in Lodovico Guicciardini's Beschrijving van de Nederlanden* (Houten

situated in the 'old part' of the duchy and had been the most important cities of Brabant since the Middle Ages.[28] Leuven, the oldest and richest of the two cities, had always acted as the capital of Brabant until its economic decline and the rise of Brussels as the center of government reduced its power to the third city in Brabant at the end of the seventeenth century. Yet, Leuven could rely on its university for status.[29] As Justus Lipsius put it in 1605, the city's economic and political decline had been due to its pride, greed and selfishness, but the university had become a substitute for the material riches the city had lost. [30] Brussels had aspirations to become the 'best' city in Brabant, but Leuven's ancient privileges stood in the way. Leuven could still host the ceremony for the peace of Brussels in 1577 and the first Joyous Entry for the Archdukes in 1599.[31] Subsequently, however, Leuven complained that the Archdukes had left the city so soon after the Entry to return to Brussels that it feared a decrease of its status in Brabant because of the short stay.[32] As we shall see below, the history of the Revolt was integrated into this debate about political power within Brabant.

Whereas conflicts in Brabant tended to focus on the political position of three important cities in the duchy, clashes between cities in Holland were much more diverse. One reason for this difference lay in the way Brabant and Holland were organized politically. For example, the duchy was governed by the States of Brabant, and power was divided between the church, the nobility and the governments of Leuven, Brussels, Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch (until 1629).[33] This meant that other, smaller cities did not have much political power. In Holland, however, the *Ridderschap*, the college of nobles, and representatives of six cities: Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam and Gouda formed the States; the

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2001); Véronique van de Kerckhof, H. Bussers and David Buisseret, *Met passer en penseel. Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels 2000) 131.

[28] Avonds, 'Lovene, die beste stat van Brabant', 5–9.

[29] See for example, the reduced privileges of the guilds of Leuven and the reduced jurisdiction of Leuven's courts Van Uytven, 'Imperialisme of zelfverdediging. De extra-stedelijke rechtsmacht van Leuven', 37–41; Honacker, *Lokaal verzet*, 87; Raymond van Uytven, *De geschiedenis van het stadsgewest Leuven tot omstreeks 1600* (Leuven 1980) 31–37; Paul Janssens, (ed.), *België in de 17de eeuw. De Spaanse Nederlanden en het prinsdom Luik* I: Politiek (Ghent 2006) 225–227; Avonds, 'Lovene, die beste stat van Brabant', 5–9; Arlette Smolar-Meynart, 'Bruxelles. L'élaboration de son image de capitale en politique et en droit au moyen âge', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 68 (1985) 25–46, there 32–34, 44–45; Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'De universitaire vorming van de Brabantse Stadsmagistraat en Stadsfunktionarissen - Leuven en Antwerpen, 1430-1580', in: *Verslag vijfde colloquium de Brabantse Stad* ('s-Hertogenbosch 1978) 21–126, there 23.

[30] As cited in Esser, *The politics of memory*, 203; Justus Lipsius, *Leuven. Beschrijving van de stad en haar universiteit*, J. Papy (ed.) (Leuven 2000) 147.

[31] Willem Boonen and Edward van Even, *Geschiedenis van Leuven* (Leuven 1880) 121, 400; Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and piety. Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg political culture in an age of religious wars* (Farnham 2012) 108–109.

[32] M. Soenen, 'Fêtes et cérémonies publiques à Bruxelles aux Temps Modernes', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 68 (1985) 47–102, there 62.

[33] Jacques Le Roy, *Groot werreldlyk tooneel des hertogdoms van Braband. Behelzende eene algemeene, doch korte beschryving van dat landschap; als mede een chronologische opvolging zyner hertogen; de beschryving der steden, haare regeerings-vorm, en voornaamste gevallen tot op heden* (The Hague 1730) 4.

church was excluded.[34] A substantial number of cities could thus exercise power in the States which meant that they could form factions in their conflicts. Moreover, when Holland and Zeeland rebelled against the central government in Brussels in 1572, the States of Holland and the stadholder began to share power, and smaller cities were admitted to the States of Holland due to their achievements during the Revolt so that the States of Holland included a total of eighteen cities.[35] This meant that establishing a provincial picking order was even more significant than before.

The order of cities in the States was determined by their seniority which could be observed in politics but also on regional maps and in histories of Holland.[36] The eighteen cities that were now ruling Holland were divided into two groups, each with a Delegated Council to act in daily matters, one in the northern part of Holland, or *Noorderkwartier*, and one in the southern part, or *Zuiderkwartier*. The most important reason for this decision was that in the Revolt years 1572 – 1577 Haarlem and Amsterdam, both situated in the middle of Holland and under Habsburg control, had formed a corridor that separated the northern from the southern cities.[37] A strict hierarchy between cities did exist but was flexible. Yet, when certain issues needed to be resolved prominent (and senior) cities often acted as the leaders of political factions.[38] Having rejoined the Revolt in 1577, Haarlem, for example, acted as a leader of factions throughout the seventeenth century due to its position as second city in the provincial hierarchy.[39] During times of political difficulty, such as the religious conflict between the Remonstrants and Counterremonstrants in 1617-1618, Haarlem acted as spokesman of the eight cities that formed the Remonstrant faction. The Counterremonstrants, however, broke with this tradition when they appointed Amsterdam instead of Dordrecht – the first city

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[34] Fruin and Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, 78–79; The *Ridderschap* was seen as representative of the countryside and had the first right to vote. Yet, after 1572 the cities had more power than the *Ridderschap* in the States of Holland Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog*, 125.

[35] Fruin and Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, 161–163.

[36] Hadrianus Junius, *Holland is een eiland. De Batavia van Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575),* translated and introduced by Nico de Glas (Hilversum 2011) 310–311; Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia* (Plantin 1588) 241–309; The hierarchy in Holland, however, did not always remain the same. Some cities, such as Rotterdam and Alkmaar, changed in position. See for example, Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, *Toneel ofte Beschryvinge der steden van Hollandt waer in haer beginselen, voortganck, privilegien, historie ende gelegentheyt vervat worden* (Amsterdam 1634); Jean Francois le Petit, *Nederlandtsche republycke, bestaende in de staten so generale als particuliere van 't Hertochdom Gelder, Graefschap van Hollant* (Arnhem 1615); Dirk Blonk and Joanna Blonk-van der Wijst, *Hollandia comitatus. Een kartobibliografie van Holland* (Houten 2000).

[37] Thimo de Nijs, Eelco Beukers and P.H.A.M. Abels (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Holland* II 1572-1795 (Hilversum 2002) 24.

[38] See on factions for example Daniel Jeen Roorda, *Partij en factie. De oproeren van 1672 in de steden van Holland en Zeeland, een krachtmeting tussen partijen en facties.* (Groningen 1961); Simon Groenveld, *Evidente factiën in den staet. Sociaal-politieke verhoudingen in de 17e-eeuwse Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Hilversum 1990); M. van der Bijl, 'Familie en factie in de Alkmaarse stedelijke politiek', in: E.H.P. Cordfunke et al., *Van Spaans beleg tot Bataafse tijd. Alkmaars stedelijk leven in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Zutphen 1980).

[39] Gineke Ree-Scholtens, *Deugd boven geweld. Een geschiedenis van Haarlem 1245-1995* (Hilversum 1995) 147.

of Holland – as their spokesman.[40] Other conflicts that arose were economic in nature, during which specific cities joined factions to uphold their privileges. Rotterdam, for example, came to pose a threat to Haarlem, Dordrecht and Gouda due to its wealth from the trade with Spain, England and France. Haarlem, Dordrecht and Gouda were concerned for their inland trade and their share in the economy of Holland. [41]

In all these conflicts, both in Brabant and in Holland, the Revolt had played its own part. Sometimes the war interfered in economic, religious or political conflicts by bringing a siege to the city's walls; at other times memories of the Revolt could be employed in arguments. In general, however, it was much harder for cities in the Habsburg Netherlands, and Brabant in particular, to find the right story to tell about their past. Brabant was part of the frontline during the eighty years of war, which made their position very vulnerable. Cities such as Breda and 's-Hertogenbosch had been besieged and conquered several times, and others feared the enemies' armies for decades. Moreover, the majority of cities which had reconciled with the crown had signed treaties to which oblivion clauses had been added. Although this did not mean that the preceding years were no longer discussed, it did create a situation in which people could not act upon their knowledge of the past in public.[42]

By contrast the war in Holland lasted until the Pacification of Ghent in 1576. After this treaty had been signed actual warfare no longer reached the province, and after the Dutch Republic was founded in 1588 the Revolt began to be represented as the beginning of a new period in history. This was reflected, for instance, in the publication of the first regional history of the province, entitled *Batavia* in 1588.[43] The author, physician Hadrianus Junius, was commissioned by the States of Holland to defend the county's glorious past which he did at the height of the war in Holland between 1567 and 1575.[44]

For king or country: the question of loyalty

One aspect that was important to stress when remembering the Revolt for cities in Holland and Brabant was loyalty. For Enkhuizen, as we have already seen above, the relationship with Amsterdam played an important part in the way the local government sought to profile itself. In the beginning of the 1570s Enkhuizen had benefited from the conflict and from Amsterdam's absence on the rebel side. Together with Hoorn it was granted the official Baltic Sea trade and took in many exiles from Amsterdam and their accompanying trade, while it

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[40] Groenveld, *Evidente factiën in den staet*, 11–13, 18.

[41] Arie van der Schoor and Nora Schadee, *Stad in aanwas. Geschiedenis van Rotterdam tot 1813* (Zwolle 1999) 160–167, 191–195, 230–231.

[42] Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Introduction. On the early modernity of modern memory', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 1–23, there 9–10.

[43] Junius, *Batavia*.

[44] Junius, *Holland is een eiland*, 18–20.

also received Amsterdam's *paalgeld*, a tax paid by ships when they entered the Zuiderzee from the North Sea.[45] After 1578, when Amsterdam joined the Revolt, Enkhuizen kept its renowned herring fleet and became the second harbor of the province after Amsterdam.[46] Moreover, Enkhuizen promoted the fact that it had been the first city to support the prince of Orange.[47] In 1666, for example, when Geeraert Brandt published his history of Enkhuizen he devoted a substantial number of pages to how the city had become so loyal and was the first to choose the prince of Orange and had done so freely.[48] This loyalty remained important throughout the eighteenth century.

Subsequently Enkhuizen used its loyal status to color the animosity with Amsterdam. The city commissioned a painting depicting Amsterdam as the enemy during the Revolt in 1621, but a look at the city's history written in 1603 reveals that this sentiment had long been present. Its author Pieter Kock, for example, characterized the battle of the Zuiderzee as follows:

> A very large triumph took place within the city, to win such a glorious victory, it was glorious because Amsterdam had to give up afterwards, Alva went bankrupt and was beside himself.[49]

While Kock could have mentioned a Habsburg fleet, commanded by admiral Bossu, he decided to mention only Amsterdam, the city that had supplied the enemy with ships. By doing this, he stressed the civil war element of the Revolt, deliberately creating an opposition between Amsterdam, the disloyal and Spanish city, and Enkhuizen, the loyal and successful city. Moreover, Kock claimed the battle of the Zuiderzee, which took place on the open sea, as an urban victory for Enkhuizen. In 1666 the pride in the battle had not subsided although Brandt did take a more factual approach than Kock and based his story on the histories of Hoorn's town chronicler Theodorus Velius, and historians Pieter Bor and Pieter

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[45] Tracy, *The founding of the Dutch Republic*, 125, 196; Aten, *Als het gewelt comt*, 12, 19, 42.

[46] Richtje J. de Vries, 'Crisis en sociale politiek in Enkhuizen, 1650-1850', in: R.P. Zijp (ed.), *Barre tijden. Crisis en sociale politiek rondom de Zuiderzee, 1650-1850* (Enkhuizen 1989) 36–57, there 38.

[47] See for the celebration of the centenary in 1772 Thierry Allain, '"Zonder magt en adsistentie van buiten" De viering van de opstand van Enkhuizen tegen de Spanjaarden in 1772', *De Achttiende Eeuw* 36 (2004) 42–49. Other centenaries during the seventeenth century will be discussed in chapter 6.

[48] The topic is the most important of the history of the Revolt in this chorography that deals with the history of the city only up to the Twelve Years' Truce. Geeraert Brandt, *Historie der vermaerde zee- en koop-stadt Enkhuisen, vervaetende haere herkomste en voortgangh. Mitsgaders verscheide gedenkwaerdige geschiedenissen, aldaer voorgevallen* (Enkhuizen 1666) 106–142; about the period of the Revolt 96–207.

[49] 'Een triumphe seer groot wert in de stadt bedreven, om so een heerlijcke victorie te winnen, heerlijc wast want daer na most Amsterdam op geven, D"Alva speeld" banckeroet door dit was buyten sinnen.' Pieter Pietersz Kock, *Historia, dat is een verhael in rym van den oorspronck ende fondeeringe der seer vermaerder zee- ende coopstadt Enchuysen, met syn gheleghentheyt ende wat daer mede gepasseert is van den jare 1353, doen sy eerst ghepreviligeert wert door Hertoge Willem haren heere, tot desen tegenwoordigen jare 1603* (Enkhuizen 1603) 53.

Hooft. Brandt, having been born in Amsterdam, however did not support the hostility towards the latter city in his account.[50] The book, dedicated to Enkhuizen's magistrate, therefore no longer expressed the earlier one-sided animosity towards Amsterdam in the battle of the Zuiderzee, but it demonstrated that Enkhuizen had found its own niche in the memory market of seventeenth-century Holland. The city could present itself as the most loyal to the prince of Orange, which could be seen as a political statement during the first stadholderless period (1650 – 1672).

While memories of loyalty were important in the Dutch Republic, they were even more crucial in the Habsburg Netherlands. Many of the cities had rebelled at some point during the history of the Revolt, but they had eventually reconciled with the king. There were cities, however, that did not have to sign a reconciliation treaty because they did not rebel. Lille, for example, managed to stay loyal to the crown throughout the Revolt.[51] Another loyal city was Leuven. In 1730, according to chronicler Le Roy, the city of Leuven's biggest achievement during the Revolt had been not to have been conquered by arms.[52] Therefore the troubles featured prominently in the city's history. Indeed, Leuven was proud of its steadfast belief in the Catholic faith, its refusal to join the heretics and rebels, and its loyalty to the Habsburg regime.

The first history of the city that emphasized these characteristics was written by city clerk Willem Boonen in 1594.[53] Boonen wrote his history of the city in the traditional format of presenting the reigns of the dukes of Brabant in chronological order. While the book is presented on the title page as a history of Leuven, Boonen actually wrote a history of the Low Countries during the troubles without omitting any uncomfortable episodes such as sieges or battles the Habsburgs lost.[54] Nevertheless, Boonen praised Leuven and subsequently blamed other cities for their behavior during the Revolt. One of the most important remarks in this respect is his description of the beginning of the troubles in 1566. Here, he recounted that the Calvinists started preaching in West-Flanders, then moved on to Antwerp

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[50] Brandt, *Historie der vermaerde zee- en koop-stadt Enkhuisen*, 152–153.
[51] Robert S. DuPlessis, *Lille and the Dutch revolt. Urban stability in an era of revolution, 1500-1582* (Cambridge 1991) 13, 45.
[52] Le Roy, *Groot werreldlyk tooneel*, 15.
[53] Boonen and Van Even, *Geschiedenis van Leuven*, x; Van Uytven, *De geschiedenis van het stadsgewest Leuven*, 1.
[54] See for example the foundation of the university in Douai, Mechelen becoming an archbishopric, the lost battle of Heiligerlee in 1568, the siege of Middelburg in 1574 and the Pacification of Ghent in 1576 and also the lost battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573, the siege of Leiden in 1574 or the capture of Breda in 1590. Boonen and Van Even, *Geschiedenis van Leuven*, 96, 101, 110, 112, 114, 119, 168.

and afterwards almost every place in these Netherlands, except in the city of Leuven, which has steadfastly maintained the old Catholic religion, practicing great diligence in keeping watch and otherwise.[55]

The image Boonen created of Leuven's loyalty to the Catholic religion was an exaggerated view of what had happened in the city in 1566. The nineteenth-century publisher of his manuscript, for example, immediately remarked on the presence of heretics in Leuven throughout the sixteenth century.[56] In addition, Boonen was proud of the fact that Leuven escaped iconoclasm and argued that this city was an exception in a general trend of image breaking.[57] This remark was not true or at least not true for 1566 because in many other cities the iconoclasm had been prevented as well although some did not escape a second wave of image breaking.[58] To Boonen, however, 1566 was the beginning of the demonstration of Leuven's loyalty to Catholicism and the crown.

In fact, this issue was so important to Boonen that he dedicated a section to the subject in which he emphasized that

I do not believe that anyone surpasses those from Leuven in loyalty, as the dukes of Brabant themselves affirm.[59]

Not only did Boonen express his own opinion, he employed the authority of the dukes of Brabant to support his claim of loyalty. Of course even Leuven had known short periods of disagreement with the dukes – during the reigns of Jan I of Brabant and Wenceslas in the early Middle Ages, and that of Emperor Maximilian and Philip of Austria in the beginning of the sixteenth century – but there had never been anything to worry about regarding the city's loyalty

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[55] 'ende daernaer bijnaer in alle plaetsen binnen deze Nederlanden, behalve inde stadt van Loven, die hen stantafftich gehouden hebben aende oude catholijcke religie, doende groote diligentie in waecken' Ibidem, 97.

[56] Ibidem, 97–98.

[57] Ibidem, 98.

[58] See on iconoclasm and its impact and chronology for example J. Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm* (2nd edition; Haarlem 1978).

[59] 'Ick en geloove niet datter iemant in getrouwicheijt die van Loven te boven gaet, gelijck de hertoghen van Brabant dat selve betuighen' Boonen and Van Even, *Geschiedenis van Leuven*, 236.

> And despite those, they have nevertheless always been loyal to the dukes, until the present day, and it is known to all, how fiercely they have protected their city since the year 1577 from the enemies of his royal Majesty, their duke, and this not without great poverty, sorrow and material losses.[60]

Leuven had been prepared to fight the enemy for its king and the duke of Brabant, Philip II, and had suffered because of it. Waging war against the Beggar armies therefore represented a token of faith and loyalty. These armies had been enemies from abroad which Boonen presented as 'our public mortal enemies'.[61] Moreover, he did not fail to mention that while Leuven had remained loyal, Antwerp had been a 'rebel against the Catholic religion and his royal Majesty'.[62]

The issue of loyalty remained important in Leuven's representation of its role during the troubles. In addition to local authors, others such as Catholic theologian Johannes Molanus and Norbertine abbot Franciscus Wichmans supported Boonen's claim that Leuven had been a loyal subject of the king and had followed the Catholic religion.[63] Moreover, chronicler Johannes Jacquinet from Tienen wrote in his history of the Low Countries at the end of the seventeenth century that Leuven had always been loyal to the duke of Brabant.[64] This, however, did not mean that every author on Leuven chose to incorporate the Revolt. Humanist and professor at the university of Leuven, Justus Lipsius wrote his history of Leuven and its university in 1605 without mentioning the conflict.[65] By writing history up until 1482, when the Habsburgs inherited the Low Countries, Lipsius took the opportunity to emphasize the city's medieval past, the period in which Leuven flourished, a decision which concurred with the revival of the Burgundian past during the reign of the Archdukes which started in 1599.[66]

A new phase in the history of the Revolt in Leuven was marked by the siege of 1635 by the Dutch and French armies. In a song to remember this siege, written in 1635, the author emphasized the struggle Leuven went through during the troubles.

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[60] 'Ende dijes nochtans niettegenstaande zijn zij den hertoghen altijts getrouw gebleven, tot opden dach van heden, eenen iegelijcken kennelijck, hoe vierich zij hunnen stadt, sedert den jaere xvclxxvij tegens de vijanden van de conicklijcke Majesteijt, hunnen hertoghe, hebben bewaert, ende dat niet sonder groote armoede, verdriet ende verlies van goet.' Ibidem.
[61] 'onse openbaere doot vijanden' Ibidem, 166.
[62] 'rebel tegens de catholijcke religie ende Coninclijkce Majesteijt.' Ibidem, 139–140.
[63] Ibidem, 143 footnote.
[64] Johannes Jacquinet, 'Historie der Nederlanden onder de Regering van Albertus en Isabella Philippus IV en Karel II 1612 tot 1683', KBB, Ms 15938, f. 348–349.
[65] Justus Lipsius, *Lovanium sive. Opidi et academiae eius descriptio* (Antwerp 1605).
[66] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 189–202.

> Still I [Leuven] have always been on my guard, this is what middle way has been the right
> one, because one has to choose the best from two evils: if one sees a virgin brought up in
> honor and virtue, she will never lose her chastity.[67]

The song demonstrated the sacrifices Leuven, personified as a virgin, had to make during the troubles to overcome the Beggars. Suffering could not be avoided, but the city stayed firm to defend her honor. The city's position before 1635 and the victory in 1635 became the ultimate proof of Leuven's status as loyal, Catholic subject of the king.

When Jean Nicolas de Parival presented his history of Leuven in 1667, for which he received 100 guilders from the magistrate, these sentiments were repeated. De Parival, a Catholic citizen from Leiden, praised the city and the University of Leuven as defenders of the Catholic faith.[68] In his dedication De Parival praised Leuven for 'its steadfast perseverance in the Catholic Religion, during the troubles'.[69] This had become a reputation Leuven could rely on for 'eternal glory' during the second half of the seventeenth century and the war against the French armies.[70]

While Leuven could thus focus on its continuously loyal support for the Catholic crown, a city that could not do this very easily was Antwerp. As we have seen in chapter four, an urban memory culture was rather complex, but the message Antwerp sent to the outside world seems to have been much clearer after 1585: the city had become a loyal supporter of Philip II once again. The first action the authorities took to support the city's claim was to commission Hans Vredeman de Vries to paint an allegory of Alexander Farnese handing over Antwerp's coat of arms to King Philip II (fig.45). This painting, which has also been discussed in chapter four, had a dual function. It was a message towards the population as well as an expression of loyalty towards the king.

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[67] 'nochtans heb' ick altyt gheweest op mijn hoede, dit heb' ick moeten middelen als die goede, want van twee quaey moetmen het beste kiesen: alsmen een maeght eerbaer in deughden ziet opvoede, die en zal nemmermeer haer eerbaerheyt verliesen.' *Rym-dicht ter eeren die maeght Loven daerinne verhaelt wordt alle het ghene datter ghepasseert is t'zedert het Jaer 1542. tot het Jaer 1635. aengaende die troubelen aldaer gheschiet* (Brussels 1635) 3.

[68] Van Uytven, *De geschiedenis van het stadsgewest Leuven*, 2; P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Bolk (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden 1911-1937) 939, via http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken.

[69] 'leur constance inebranlable dans la Religion Catolique, Durant les troubles' Jean Nicolas de Parival, *Louvain, très ancienne et capitale ville du Brabant* (George Lips 1667) dedication.

[70] 'gloire immortelle'. Ibidem, dedication.

Fig.45 Hans Vredeman de Vries, allegory on the recapitulation of Antwerp to the Habsburg regime in 1585 emphasizing the city's prosperous future, 1586 (Collectie Antwerpen).

Governor Farnese is accompanied by the personifications of Wisdom, Providence, Temperance, and Understanding while the king is celebrated by Reason, Clemency, and Humility. On the steps in front of them are Virtue, Fidelity and Obedience while Concord, Peace, Justice, Truth and Mercy are depicted in a painting behind the king and his governor. At either side of the painting stand Force and Perseverance, presented as statues. In the left foreground the enemies Tyranny, Heresy, Discord and Evil Council flee the scene. In the background the future is predicted; now that the city has returned to the Habsburg regime: Antwerp will enjoy good government, wealth and prosperity.[71] This prediction came true fairly quickly since Antwerp managed to restore its economic and financial position in Brabant and the Southern Netherlands from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards.[72] Once again, the city became the commercial center and art market of the Habsburg Empire. It

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[71] Jean-Marie Duvosquel and Ignace Vandevivere (eds.), *Luister van Spanje en de Belgische steden, 1500-1700* II (Brussels 1985) 416–417.
[72] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 161–162; Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie*, 24–34; Wells, 'Antwerp and the government of Philip II', 545; Janssens, *België in de 17de eeuw* I: Politiek, 28.

served as a warehouse for luxury goods and a producer of books and maintained a specialized workforce.[73]

Different media such as provincial and urban histories, but also paintings and prints, contributed to the new image of the city. In 1600 Abel Grimmer painted a cityscape of Antwerp which prominently featured both its economic wealth and its Catholic nature. The economic prosperity was represented by the many ships that sailed in Antwerp's waters, and the city's piety was literally depicted as Christ and the Virgin appealing to God in the heavens.[74] This dual image of Antwerp also featured in the two books on Antwerp Jesuit Carolus Scribani published in 1610, which presented the city as a model city for the Counterreformation. In the first, *Antverpia*, his readers received an overview of city life including literature, the arts, international commerce and wealth.[75] This presentation was designed to convince his audience that Antwerp's citizens served as a model to other cities because of their virtues, education and commercial skills, in the process allowing Scribani to gloss over the city's past mistakes.[76] To present Antwerp as a 'staunch' Catholic city, as Raingard Esser put it recently, made it seem as if the Calvinist regime had been forgotten.[77]

The generosity, loyalty, steadfastness, bravery and religious beliefs of the citizens of Antwerp were praised and explained in the light of their return to the Catholic Church after 1585 while what had come before was dismissed as a temporary weakness but certainly not a strong belief in Calvinism.[78] In Scribani's second book, *Origines Antverpiensium*, he referred to the troubles during the Revolt but blamed the Calvinists for having 'tricked the Low Countries out of their loyalty to Spain'.[79] In this book the Jesuit did refer to the Revolt, albeit very briefly in the preface

> I will show it [Antwerp] in war and recovered with blood, then resurfacing after adversity and threatening decline, and finally brought to safety by its patience and fortune.[80]

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[73] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 161–162; Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie*, 24–34; K. van Damme, 'Slecht nieuws, geen nieuws. Abraham Verhoeven (1575-1652) en de Nieuwe Tijdinghen. Periodieke pers en propaganda in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de vroege zeventiende eeuw', *BMGN* 113 (1998) 1–22, there 5.

[74] Erik Vandamme and Yolande Morel-Deckers, *Catalogus schilderkunst oude meesters* (Antwerp 1988) 169.

[75] Carolus Scribani, *Antverpia* (Antwerp 1610).

[76] L. Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J., 1561-1629. Een groot man van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp 1961) 188–198.

[77] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 169.

[78] Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani*, 198; Scribani, *Antverpia*, 127–128.

[79] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 170.

[80] 'dabo bellantem & reparatam sanguine adversis dein & extrema minitantibus superiorem; in tutum denique patientia & fortuna sua eductam' Carolus Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensivm* (Antwerp 1610) preface; cited and translated as 'ik zal het tonen […] in oorlog verwikkeld en bloedig hersteld, dan tegenspoed en dreigende ondergang te boven komend, en eindelijk door zijn geduld rn horf ksnd in veiligheid gebracht' in Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani*, 199.

He presented the seven Northern rebellious provinces as having been 'stolen from the part of lower Belgium by deception'.[81] Scribani therefore did not seem to blame the city for its insubordination but rather accused the rebels of indoctrination and misleading its citizens. Antwerp had been patient and fortunate enough to survive its adversity.

Scribani also referred to the position of Brabant as the province that had remained faithful to the king and placed Antwerp in this tradition.[82] From the Middle Ages, and especially the age of the crusades, Antwerp's religious past had fitted into a continuous fight against heresy.[83] Instead of the myth of Brabo, for example, Scribani emphasized the roles of St Willibrord, St Eligius and St Walburga in the foundation of Antwerp. All these saints had reputations for converting the peoples in the Netherlands or symbolized the continuity of the Catholic Church in the Southern Netherlands.[84] Scribani's work became a frame of reference for many of the other authors writing on Antwerp. This meant that in 1678, when the Revolt had been over for almost a century, the religious past was still the most important subject of Jacques le Roy's history.[85] Already on his frontispiece he connected Antwerp to both war and peace, by letting these allegories flank the city's coat of arms. Like Scribani he omitted the history of the Revolt, except for a brief and very general remark, and focused on the city's religious, medieval past.[86]

This focus on the religious past did not prevent Antwerp from commemorating its role during the Revolt after 1585 altogether. The preparations for the negotiations of the Twelve Years' Truce in the town hall, for example, reveal how the magistrate integrated the Revolt into its urban memory culture. In 1609, after it became clear that the final negotiations for the truce would take part in Antwerp, the magistrate decided to redecorate the States room in the town hall. Abraham Janssens and Peter Paul Rubens received orders to paint respectively the allegorical 'Scaldis et Antverpia' and biblical 'the Adoration of the Magi'. The first painting, which was hung over the mantelpiece, was meant to demonstrate Antwerp's connection to the river Scheldt, which had been closed for decades by a Dutch blockade. The second painting depicted the arrival of the Magi, which was supposed to remind the negotiators of their own arrival and an urge to bring peace. The gifts the Magi carry also referred to Antwerp's position as merchant city.[87] Moreover, in 1609 Antwerp's government integrated its message of peace into the annual *ommegang* as well by using a float of Peace and Justice

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[81] 'Belgica exuta, magnaq; insuper secundae Belgicae parte defraudata'. Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensivm* (Antwerp 1610) 16.
[82] Ibidem, 49.
[83] See chapter 2 of Scribani's book. Ibidem, 31–49; Esser, *The politics of memory*, 173.
[84] Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensivm*, 58–62, 69, 87–88; Esser, *The politics of memory*, 175–176.
[85] Jacques le Roy, *Notitia marchionatus sacri Romani Imperii, hoc est urbis et agri Antverpiensis, oppidorum, dominiorum, monasteriorum, castellorumque* (Amsterdam 1678).
[86] Le Roy remarks on the iconoclasm of 1566 and the peace of Westphalia in 1648 without expressing an opinion. Ibidem, 87.
[87] Hans Devisscher, 'Rubens', *Openbaar kunstbezit in Vlaanderen* 42 (2004) no 1, 1-43, there 11-12.

at the start of the procession.[88] Antwerp therefore had not only become a loyal city but used references to its own past to emphasize its position in Brabant and in the Habsburg Netherlands.

Where local meets national history

As the stories of Leuven, Enkhuizen and Antwerp confirm, questions of loyalty could determine a city's policy towards its history of the Revolt. Even more so, the loyalty to either the Habsburg king or the prince of Orange was so important that it influenced the way the Revolt was perceived and advocated by the city's government. In Ghent, for instance, a city that had been known for its Calvinist regime, one could visit the main reception room of the town hall to see 'twenty-four paintings of the history of Spain'.[89] Unfortunately the source does not reveal the content of these paintings, but the fact that they are there should be considered as an act of allegiance towards the king. Ghent's government went even further with the erection of a monument to the emperor on the *Vrijdagmarkt*, Ghent's main square, for the Joyous Entry of Albert and Isabella in 1600. In a city that had been punished by Charles V following an insurrection in the 1540s this seemed a surprising act of loyalty, as is underlined by the fact that the statue was guarded to protect it from vandalism. For the government and the elite, however, it was important to eradicate memories of Ghent's disloyalty during a more recent episode, the Calvinist regime from 1578 until 1584. The monument therefore represented the 'celebration' of Charles V's birth in Ghent one hundred years earlier, the lineage of Albert and Isabella as counts of Flanders, and the will to show the archdukes that Ghent cared for peace and prosperity.[90]

Besides Joyous Entries, national victories provided an opportunity to reflect on a city's reputation as well. In the Dutch Republic the two most celebrated victories before 1621 were the battle of Nieuwpoort on land in 1600 and the battle of Gibraltar at sea in 1607.[91] After the war resumed in 1621 stakeholders started to use the memory of these victories to remind Prince Maurits of their loyalty. For instance, the admiralty of Amsterdam commissioned a painting of the destruction of the Spanish flagship during the battle of Gibraltar. Subsequently the admiralty presented the image as a gift to Maurits, who was no doubt aware of its message. The admiralty wanted to emphasize not only its own contribution to the battle in

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[88] Margit Thøfner, *A common art. Urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle 2007) 231.

[89] 'vingt quatre tableaux de l'histoire d'Espagne'. Payen, *Les voyages de monsievr Payen, ov sont contenves les descriptions d'Angleterre, de Flandre, de Brabant, d'Holande, de Dennemarc, de Suede, de Pologne, d'Allemagne, & d'Italie où l'on voit* (Paris 1663) 23.

[90] Liesbeth de Frenne, 'Verzoening en herstel van het vorstelijk gezag. De aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella en de stad Gent (1598-1621)', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 60 (2006) 247–284, there 253–254.

[91] Kees Zandvliet (ed.), *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam 2000) 406.

the past but also its loyalty in the present. In the painting this intention becomes visible as the artist, Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen, included a fictitious yacht that displayed the coats of arms of both the admiralty and Maurits.[92] Moreover, since the admiralty and the city magistrate were closely related, the painting should also be seen as a display of renewed loyalty from the government after 1621.[93] The good relationship between Maurits and the city of Amsterdam had been underlined from the beginning of the seventeenth century. For instance, the magistrate paid silversmith Adam van Vianen in 1614 to depict the battles of Turnhout (1597), Nieuwpoort, and Gibraltar as well as the victories in Breda (1590), Geertruidenberg (1593), and Grave (1602) on a silver plate. Indeed, the battle of Nieuwpoort was the central scene around which the others were presented on the edge (fig.46).[94] Emphasis on the national episode thus reflected Amsterdam's loyalty to Maurits.

Fig.46 Adam van Vianen, Silver plate and water jug depicting important battles and sieges from the early stages of the Revolt until 1600, 1614 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

National victories were also celebrated in the Habsburg Netherlands. The battle of Kallo in 1638, for example, was celebrated on local and national levels. The battle was part of a larger offensive the States had planned in alliance with the French in order to conquer the Habsburg Netherlands and which failed on both fronts. Kallo, located close to Antwerp, had

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[92] Remmelt Daalder, 'Een zeeslag voor prins Maurits', *Amstelodamum* 95 (2008) 3–12.
[93] Zandvliet, *Maurits*, 406.
[94] Adam van Vianen, schaal met veld- en zeeslagen uit de Tachtigjarige Oorlog, 1614, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr BK-AM-17-A (this is a pendant of BK-AM-17B, a water jug with the sieges of Alkmaar and Leiden, and the battle of the Zuiderzee which will be discussed below); Ibidem, 271–273.

been a target of the Dutch army in order to secure the city for the Republic. When the Cardinal-infant Ferdinand won the battle, commemoration started immediately with a procession to celebrate the victory.[95] Antwerp was particularly active with processions, masses, songs and texts to celebrate the victory. In addition, the battlefield immediately became a place of pilgrimage for at least eight days following the battle while the conquered Dutch ships were exhibited in the port of Antwerp and visited by a large crowd. The celebration, and the active participation of the people as well as the government of Antwerp, was particularly enthusiastic for several reasons. First of all, Antwerp was no longer threatened by the Dutch army. Second, the victory caused renewed hope that the river Scheldt would finally reopen after a long blockade which had started in 1585. Third, the success of the cardinal-infant was attributed to the intercession of the Virgin.[96]

Although all these elements were important in the aftermath of the battle, one element of the celebration stands out as far as the government is concerned: the victory was represented as a military triumph of the Habsburg army. This theme is clearly visible in two commissions by the magistrate. The first was a painting for the States room in the town hall in Antwerp for which the magistrate paid Bonaventura and Gillis Peeters 480 guilders. This painting depicted the battlefield with Ferdinand in the foreground.[97] The second commission was to court painter Peter Paul Rubens to design a new float for the annual Antwerp *Ommegang*, the festive parade through the city. Instead of focusing on the religious aspect of the victory, Rubens' design was rather a political statement. More importantly, it can be considered as another example of Antwerp's effort to display its loyalty to the crown. The float represented a triumphal chariot shaped like a ship, but instead of a mast it carried an enormous trophy with plunder, banners and prisoners attached to it. The chariot is driven by Providence, and seated behind her are the allegorical female representations of Antwerp and Saint-Omer. At this city the Spanish army had scored another military success only a few days after the battle of Kallo. Other personifications represent Virtue and Fortune, Victory and Fame.[98] As we can see, religious elements were not covered in this chariot, but instead Rubens emphasized many references to the military triumph. The chariot can therefore be

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[95] Marie Juliette Marinus, *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676). Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad* (Brussels 1995) 273.

[96] Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer. Bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerst helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerp 1933) 383–421; Henk Borst, 'Broer Jansz in Antwerpse ogen. De Amsterdamse courantier na de slag bij Kallo in 1638 neergezet als propagandist', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 25 (2009) 55–89, there 74–76; Ank Adriaans-van Schaik, 'Triumph in Antwerp Rubens's oil sketch The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo', *Rubens Bulletin van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 3 (2011) 41–65, there 46–47.

[97] Gillis and Bonaventura Peeters, *Kallo belegerd op 21 juni 1638*, 1639, oil on canvas, Museum Vleeshuis Antwerp, via http://balat.kikirpa.be object number 144797, information in database Belgian Art Links and Tools.

[98] Adriaans-van Schaik, 'Triumph in Antwerp', 41–42; Vandamme and Morel-Deckers, *Catalogus schilderkunst oude meesters*, 325.

considered as the city's celebration of Ferdinand, the army's commander. This was similar to Antwerp's celebration of the victories of Archduke Albert in a commission of seven tapestries.[99] While Antwerp could have focused on religion and the possibility of opening up the river, it thus chose to emphasize military success and to include the other victory at Saint-Omer.

The victory at Kallo was also celebrated nationally. On this level, however, the cardinal-infant's military success was represented in a religious setting. Ferdinand's preacher paid for a painting in Kallo's parish church to commemorate the victory. The painting depicted a kneeling Ferdinand accompanied by the Virgin, Christ as a child, and Peter and Paul in the heavens. The background featured the battleground of Kallo and a panoramic view of Antwerp. The image presented Ferdinand as the adversary of heresy who could save the Habsburg Netherlands from the Calvinists. The painting hung in a very local setting, but its imagery still spread across the country through prints.[100] This ubiquity indicated that the painting was part of a well-thought-out strategy to show the cardinal-infant fighting heresy like his predecessors before him.

The difference between the imagery in Antwerp and that for a more general audience stands out here. The same event could thus inspire various interpretations on local and national levels. Stakeholders chose the right interpretation for either political or religious settings. This dynamic relationship between memories on national and local levels is worth investigating a little further. For example, a national battle between two armies could be celebrated on a local level as well. The first bishop of Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe, Johan Knijff, commissioned a window depicting the battle at Jemmingen in 1568 for his new episcopal residence in Groningen in the same year.[101] Although this was a private initiative, the bishop did transfer the memory of the battle to the urban memory culture of the Revolt in Groningen. Similarly, a local episode could be celebrated on a national level. The peat barge attack on Breda in 1590, for instance, was initially celebrated as a national victory by Stadholder Maurits. The attack was considered a new Trojan horse and admired in songs, literature and memorabilia. Only after some time did the government of Breda appropriate the memory of this attack for its own urban memory culture.[102]

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[99] Marcel de Maeyer, 'Otto Venius en de tapijtreeks "de veldslagen van aartshertog Albrecht"', *Artes Textiles* 2 (1955) 105–111, there 105–106, 111.

[100] René Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog. Filips IV en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1629-1648* (Maastricht 2001) 212.

[101] Arnoldus Buchelius, 'Monumenta quaedam sepulchralia et publica', ca. 1617, translated by Kees Smit, original at Tresoar Leeuwarden EVC 3373, via www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl, f. 21v The window remained in place until the 1610s.

[102] Marianne Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse. Memories of the Dutch Revolt in Breda, 1590-1650', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 129–147, there passim.

This dynamic relationship between memories of certain events can also be seen on a regional level. An example is the aftermath of the siege of Leiden in 1574. Soon after the city had been relieved, the southern part of Holland and Zeeland claimed the siege as a joint effort to beat the enemy. Leiden recognized their role since the government commissioned a tapestry depicting the military situation during the siege from the workshop of Joost Jansz. Lanckaert in Delft. The design was based on a map of the siege and showed the contribution of the region surrounding Leiden to the relief of the city.[103] Moreover, different institutions claimed the memory of the siege of Leiden by commissioning medals in celebration, as did both the States of Holland and the States General.[104] In 1603 the States of Zeeland also purchased a painting of the relief of Leiden from Isaak Claesz van Swanenburg, an artist from Leiden. Whether or not the States commissioned this painting or merely bought it from Van Swanenburg's workshop is unclear, but they were eager to emphasize their role during the siege. Admiral Boisot, who was in charge of the Beggar fleet, had needed Zeeland's ships to sail to Leiden to relieve the city.[105]

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[103] Marloes Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog en de Vrede van Munster in de decoratie van zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse stadhuizen. Een verkenning', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 335–346, there 335; Jori Zijlmans, *Leidens Ontzet. Vrijheidsstrijd & volksfeest. De 3-oktobercollectie in Museum De Lakenhal* (Leiden 2011) 61–65; Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel. Leiden, 1574', in: Herman Amersfoort et al. (eds.), *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam 2011) 118–145, there 123–124. A similar way of acknowledging the regional network during a siege can be seen in Zaltbommel after it successfully fended off a siege by the Habsburg army in 1574. Two copies of the same painting depict the countryside surrounding Zaltbommel. J.C.A.M. Bervaes, 'De Veldschans Bruchem', *Historisch Geografisch Tijdschrift* 21 (2003) 19-25, there 19-20; Anonymous, *De belegering van Zaltbommel in 1574,* 1574, oil on canvas, Stadskasteel Zaltbommel, inv nr 0244-0679.
[104] Zijlmans, *Leidens Ontzet*, 56–59; George Sanders, *Het present van staat. De gouden ketens, kettingen en medailles verleend door de Staten-Generaal, 1588-1795* (Hilversum 2013) 34, 330–331.
[105] Katie Heyning, ''Tot eere van den lande'', in: Jaenine Dekker (ed.), *De Abdij van Middelburg* (Utrecht 2006) 142–152, there 144.

The siege of Leiden had thus become an event that was celebrated on all levels: national, regional and local. Normally the claims on the events leading up to the relief of Leiden did not conflict, but they did on one occasion. When governments were asked to donate windows to the Janschurch in Gouda in 1601 both Leiden and Delft commissioned windows that referred to the siege of 1574. Delft's window represented Prince William of Orange before the inundated lands surrounding Leiden.[106] Leiden chose to depict the siege of Samaria by the Assyrians. This siege had caused much hunger within the city, but after the enemy troops fled Samaria the citizens feasted on the food the enemy had left behind. The similarity between Samaria and Leiden inspired the magistrate in this choice of subject (fig.47).[107] Yet, Delft did not stop at the window. The city presented the imperial envoy, the count of Schwarzenberg, with a tapestry depicting the relief of Leiden from Joost Jansz. Lanckaert Bascouter.[108] What these commissions demonstrate is that it was possible for local governments to emphasize different elements of the same event. Local, regional, and national governments thus seem to have succeeded in appropriating the elements of particular episodes during the Revolt to suit their own needs.
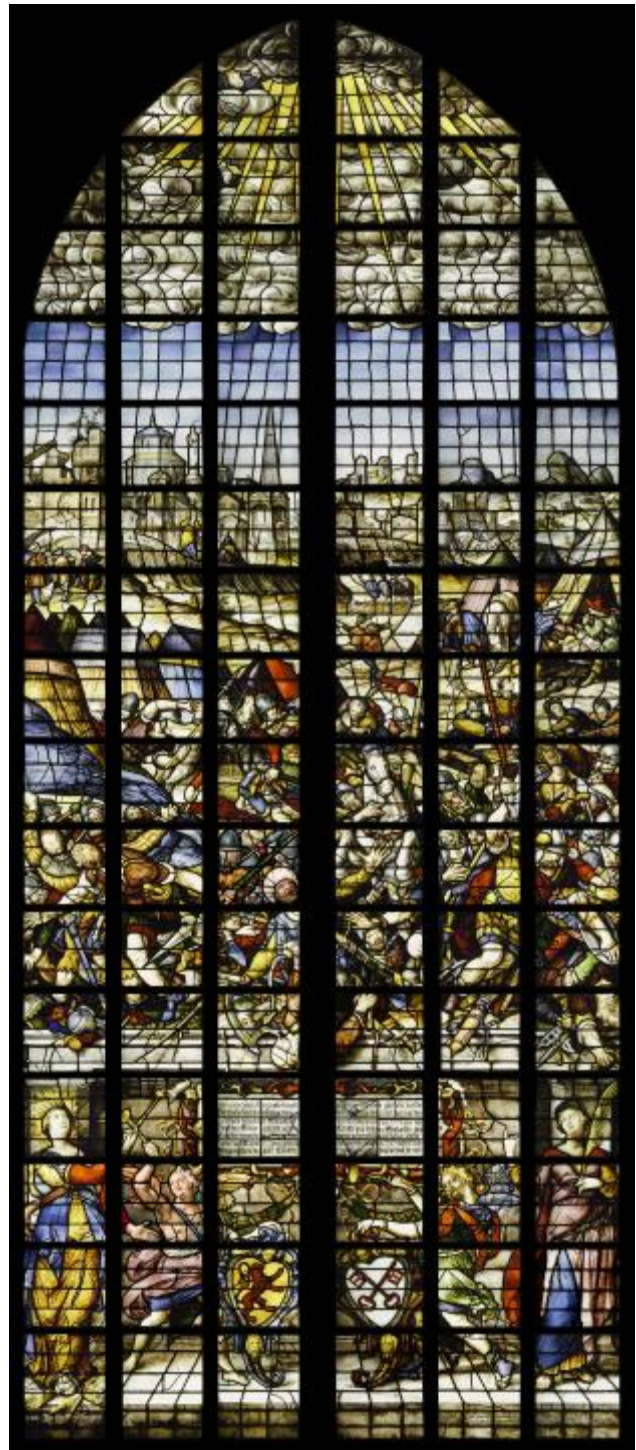
Fig.47 Stained glass window depicting the siege of Samaria as commissioned by the magistrate of Leiden for the Janskerk in Gouda, 1601 (Sint-Jan, Gouda).

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[106] Marike Hoogduin-Berkhout, '"Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden" geschilderde voorstellingen in het Leidse stadhuis 1575-1700', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 22 (Hilversum 2006) 59–105, there 78.
[107] Ibidem.
[108] G.T. van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunstnijverheid* II (Leiden 1936) 32.

A quest for success: Alkmaar and Leiden

Whereas loyalty to either the crown or the stadholder often motivated local governments to remember certain episodes during the Revolt, there was another way to try and enhance status in the regional network: by emphasizing the city's success during the Revolt. In Leuven's case, for example, the success of fending off the enemy in 1635 further contributed to its status as loyal city to the crown. In the Dutch Republic these successes also counted when the city's reputation was at stake. In fact, when a city was so unlucky that it could not claim any success during the Revolt, it felt left out. Gouda, for instance, had not been able to benefit much from the Revolt. The city's relationship with the prince and the States of Holland was fraught since the city had joined the Revolt only as a result of 'accident, opportunism and cowardice' rather than conviction, and it had suffered economic decline during the 1570s.[109] This awkward position of Gouda often led to arguments with other cities in Holland.[110] In a letter written by Gouda's government to Roosendael the officials concluded that the city was one of the victims of the Revolt and that everyone in Holland seemed to profit from the war except Gouda. As the government claimed 'it has benefited everyone except us, who have only lost by it'.[111]

Gouda's complaints were not common in Holland. Nevertheless a city such as Alkmaar suffered from having another city beat it in the popularity of its siege. Alkmaar had been the first city to celebrate its relief in 1573, but this reputation was soon overshadowed by the glorious relief of Leiden in 1574. In the representation of the first phase of the Revolt in Holland both sieges featured prominently. In 1614, for example, silver smith Adam van Vianen forged a water jug depicting three important episodes: the siege of Alkmaar, the battle of the Zuiderzee and the siege of Leiden.[112] The iconic status of the siege was thus recognized, but it seems that Alkmaar was able to use their past only in its own region, whereas Leiden's fame reached national audiences.

Alkmaar's main competitors in the regional hierarchy were Hoorn and Enkhuizen. The relationship between Alkmaar and Hoorn had been particularly tense for many years due to the fact that both cities engaged in commercial activities in the same area. These economic conflicts often led to blockades of waterways and interventions of magistrates from both

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[109] 'toeval, opportunisme en angsthazerij'. P.H.A.M. Abels et al. (eds.), *Duizend jaar Gouda. Een stadsgeschiedenis* (Hilversum 2002) 308.

[110] For example, the Remonstrant faction was strongest in Gouda, Ibidem, 308–317; C.C. Hibben, *Gouda in Revolt. Particularism and pacifism in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1572-1588* (Utrecht 1983) 149–159.

[111] Gemeentearchief Gouda, Oud Archief, inv nr. 147, 9 May 1579. As cited in Hibben, *Gouda in Revolt*, 154.

[112] Adam van Vianen, Lampetkan met veld- en zeeslagen uit de Tachtigjarige Oorlog, 1614, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, BK-AM-17-B. This water jug belonged to the silver plate in note 94.

cities to prevent the other city from increasing its influence over their common hinterland.[113] In 1598, during a political conflict between Hoorn and Alkmaar about which city would become the next seat of the Delegated Council of the *Noorderkwartier*, Alkmaar played the card of having offered brave resistance against the Spanish army.[114] The magistrates of Hoorn, however, pointed to their city's convenient location and the custom that West Frisian affairs had always been settled in Hoorn.[115] Unfortunately for Alkmaar, the States were not convinced, although the Council did move to Alkmaar for a few months due to an outbreak of plague in Hoorn.[116] The use of an argument related to the Revolt thus did not always work for Alkmaar, and incidentally this conflict and the foundation of the Council were carefully omitted from its first chorography in 1645.[117] Only the more successful outcomes of the conflict with Hoorn, such as a blockade of the city's waterways, were reported.[118]

That Alkmaar failed in landing the Delegate Council meant that it lost face in Holland. That the argument of its siege did not work was a bad sign. Of course, it was not the only argument that had been used, but the fact that it did not tip the scales in Alkmaar's favor clearly showed that references to the siege alone could not convince the States. Maybe the city had not done enough to promote the importance of its siege. Leiden, on the other hand, very successfully built a reputation on its 1574 siege. In 1586, for example, the Earl of Leicester threatened to move its university to Utrecht. In response the city sent burgomaster Pieter van der Werf and town secretary Jan van Hout as representatives to Leicester, who successfully argued that the university

> was founded as a recompense for the piety and steadfastness shown by the citizens of the same city during two sieges and for the hunger, grief and misery suffered by the same without ever receiving any other recompense[119]

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[113] Aten, *Als het gewelt comt*, 42–48, 56–58.

[114] Paul Knevel, 'Hoofdstad van Holland boven het IJ', in: Jurjen Vis et al., *Geschiedenis van Alkmaar* (Zwolle 2007) 190–209, there 209.

[115] Feyken Rijp, *Chronijk van de vermaarde zee en koopstad Hoorn* (Hoorn 1706) 83; Theodorus Velius, *Chroniick van Hoorn, daer in particulierlijck verhaelt worden des selven Stadts eerste begin, opcomen en ghedenckweerdighe gheschiedenissen, tot op dit teghenwoordighe jaer 1617* (Hoorn 1617) 203.

[116] Rijp, *Chronijk van de vermaarde zee en koopstad Hoorn*, 117.

[117] Cornelis Woude, *Kronijcke van Alcmaer; met sijn dorpen, waer in op 't kortste verhandelt worden vande Kermers, ende West-Vriesse oorlogen. Ende de voornaemste gheschiedenissen des selfs, van 't beginsel der bouwinge der voorsz. stad Alckmaer, tot den jare Christi 1645* (Alkmaar 1645) 80, 95.

[118] Nijs, Beukers and Abels, *Geschiedenis van Holland* II 1572-1795, 25; Woude, *Kronijcke van Alcmaer*, 97; Aten, *Als het gewelt comt*, 42–48.

[119] 'es gefondeert als sij een recompensie van de vroomheyt ende volstandicheyt byde Burgeren der zelver stede in haer twee belegeringen getoont ende den honger commer ende elende byde zelve geleden oyt andere recompensie genoten te hebben' RAL, SA II (1574-1816), 0501A, inv nr 335, instructie voor burgemeester Van der Werf en secretaris Van Hout als afgevaardigden naar graaf van Leicester, 1586. English citation as cited by Christine Kooi in Christine Kooi, *Liberty and religion. Church and state in Leiden's Reformation, 1572-1620* (Leiden 2000) 110.

The two sieges that the city referred had both taken place in 1574, with only a few months in between. The first siege passed without much suffering at all but stressing both sieges put extra weight on top of Leiden's argument that it had suffered hunger, grief and misery.[120] Moreover, the claim extended beyond the fact that the university was a just reward to the city. The university had become an intrinsic part of the city's identity and removing it would cause much damage to Leiden's reputation. As the governments instructed their representatives, the university is 'the only and best pearl that we have'.[121]

Recent research on Leiden has emphasized that the city effectively used its siege in both internal and external propaganda. The siege was well-known in the Netherlands, considered to be the key to Holland's freedom from Spanish occupation and an example of the city's bravery and harmonious struggle against a common enemy.[122] Compared to Leiden, Alkmaar seems to have deployed a less active propaganda strategy to build an image of the victorious city in a struggle against the common enemy in Holland. Memories of the siege were included in annual celebrations and paintings commissioned by the civic militia, but most were efforts directed towards its own population.[123] The donation of windows for churches in other cities by the Alkmaar government, an instrument of civic propaganda actively employed by Haarlem, did not feature the siege of Alkmaar but rather heraldic views or references to economic activity. The only exception was the window it commissioned for its own St Laurenschurch in 1642 which became a very expensive depiction of the siege of Alkmaar.[124]

While Alkmaar thus emphasized its siege, this was usually for domestic consumption only, whereas Leiden also directed its attention to the outside world (and was helped to do so by its alumni). Of course, Alkmaar used the siege in conflicts with the States of Holland or Hoorn, but this happened away from the public eye. It probably did not help that Alkmaar was located on the periphery of Holland while Leiden was located in the heart of the province; Alkmaar seems to have had more difficulty in maintaining the reputation it acquired during the Revolt. This declining status became visible even before the end of the war with the Habsburgs when in 1645 Cornelis van der Woude wrote his history of Alkmaar. Even in the preface it became clear that Alkmaar had not been able to exploit its economic position in

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[120] R.C.J. van Maanen, (ed.), *Leiden. De geschiedenis van een Hollandse stad* I 1574-1816 (2002) 204–206.

[121] 'de eenige ende beste Paerel die wy hebben' RAL, SAII, 501A, inv nr 335.

[122] See for example Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel'; Jori Zijlmans, 'Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werf; held van Leiden', in: Joris van Eijnatten, Fred van Lieburg and Hans de Waardt (eds.), *Heiligen of helden. Opstellen voor Willem Frijhoff* (Amsterdam 2007) 130–143; Marianne Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld. Relieken van Leidens ontzet', *Leids jaarboekje* 103 (2011) 33–47.

[123] Knevel, 'Hoofdstad van Holland boven het IJ', 209 And see for the paintings Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar inv nr 020600, 020857 and 020856.

[124] Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* I: the North (Amsterdam 2011) 272, 292–301.

West Friesland nor its political position. Therefore Van der Woude felt the need to explain that Alkmaar had suffered no less than other cities in the past.[125] Between 1614 and 1645 something had happened to Alkmaar's visibility in the memory field of Holland. Fortunately, however, it was able to use the siege in its favor for some arguments. In 1650 the city claimed the right to appoint its own magistrates due to its involvement during the Revolt using the argument that

> the city of Alkmaar had helped to lay the foundations in the year 1573, sparing goods nor blood to stop the victorious and violent weapons of the king of Spain. As they had done so bravely with God's help.[126]

Alkmaar had spared no expense or lives in the struggle against the king of Spain and its efforts had laid the foundations for the Dutch Republic. This sacrifice had earned the city the right to elect and appoint its own magistrates. More than seventy-five years after the Revolt, this argument proved effective. Nevertheless, Alkmaar's 'victory' no longer had the clout it had enjoyed in the early phase of the Revolt. After 1667 it sometimes even disappeared from the lists of most important events during the Revolt while Haarlem, Naarden and Leiden were always mentioned.[127]

Omitting the Revolt

A successful siege may have worked in a city's favor, but if the past was not so glorious, there was another option for dealing with the Revolt: omitting it from local history altogether. Forgetting the past, however, was not easy. In some cases, such as in Valenciennes, its insurrection did not last very long. As early as 1567 the city reconciled with the king, and it subsequently stayed under Habsburg rule. Letting the recent past rest therefore seems to have been a favorable option. Yet, in Valenciennes' urban society elements of Protestantism and reminders of the Revolt continued to resurface throughout the seventeenth century. Protestants were arrested, their families were referred to as 'crypto-protestant', and authors still felt the need to interpret what happened to the city instead of letting the recent past fall

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[125] Cornelis van der Woude, *Kronijcke van Alcmaer,* preface.
[126] With thanks to Frank de Hoog. 'de Stadt Alckmaer inden Jare xv^c drijentseventich de fundamenten hadde helpen leggen, goet noch bloed sparende om te stutten de victorieuse ende geweldige wapenen vanden Coninck van Spangien. Gelijck zij door Gods hulpe soo vromelijck hadde gedaen.' RAA, Archief Gemeente Alkmaar, inv nr 268, Akte, waarbij de Staten van Holland toestaan dat de vroedschappen zelf de burgemeesters, schepenen en thesaurier kiezen, onder bepaling dat elke vroedschap een dubbeltal zal voordragen. 9 december 1650..
[127] Anonymous, *Conferentie tusschen een Brabander en Hollander waer by ten lesten komt een Fransman over de constitutie van den tegenwoordigen tijdt* (1667) Knuttel 9561, 5.

into oblivion.[128] Keeping this outcome in mind, the question of whether or not to forget the past gave rise to a further question: if a city chose to omit a certain piece of history, would it not be better to replace it with another story? This tactic at least seems to have been the solution adopted in two other cities: Brussels and Amsterdam.

Like Antwerp, Brussels had a difficult past during the Revolt; the Council of State had been unseated in 1576, and the city had been ruled by a Calvinist regime between 1577 and 1585. Yet, instead of publicizing its loyalty to the crown after 1585, it chose a different approach. In local histories the city successfully left out the details of the Revolt and emphasized its status as the first city of the duchy and the Habsburg Netherlands.[129] This was not very difficult because the city was still the seat of the central government and functioned as the main seat of the court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella from 1598 until 1632. Moreover, the city had been claiming a Trojan heritage since the fifteen century. Allegedly Roman soldier Silvius Brabo and Julius Caesar had not only travelled through Brabant where they founded Antwerp but also built a fortress in Leuven.[130] And the Romans were connected to the Trojans.

Brussels was proud of its connection to Troy. Not only did this heritage provide the city with the necessary ancient history to gain status, Brussels could also use it represent the connection between the city and the court.[131] The city had been the seat of the dukes of Brabant and subsequently also of the Habsburg government in the Low Countries. Since the dukes had presented themselves as the descendants of Priam of Troy, this claim allowed the city to share in this ancient lineage. Furthermore, its citizens descended from Trojan heroes and could therefore claim their blood and virtues.[132] This ancestry could be used in the representation (or rather omitting) of the Revolt as well. In 1699, for example, when the government of Brussels commissioned a new history of Brabant, it began with Julius Caesar. But while this text treated the Middle Ages extensively, the period between 1549 and 1599 was carefully omitted. By focusing on the Joyous Entries of Philip II and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, the author could conveniently leave out its own difficult past while it did include

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[128] See for example Yves Junot, 'L'impossible survie la clandestinité protestante à Valenciennes au début du XVIIe siècle', *Mémoires du cercle archéologique et historique de Valenciennes* 11 (2010) 175–183; Yves Junot, *Les bourgeois de Valenciennes . Anatomie d'une élite dans la ville (1500-1630)* (2009) 90–100; Henri d' Outreman, *Histoire de la Ville et Comté de Valentiennes* (Douai 1639) 201–225.

[129] Smolar-Meynart, 'Lovene', 37, 44–45; For the reign of Margaret of Austria the court had moved to Mechelen, but it returned to Brussels in 1531 when Mary of Hungary chose the old ducal court as her residence as governess of the Low Countries. Duvosquel and Vandevivere, *Luister van Spanje* II, 74.

[130] Wilma Keesman, 'Oorsprongsmythen als zelfuitlegging. Over achtergrond en betekenis van middeleeuwse verhalen rond Trojaanse stedenstichtingen', in: Herman Pleij (ed.), *Op belofte van profijt* (Amsterdam 1991) 262–279, there 275–276.

[131] Ibidem, 276.

[132] Van de Kerckhof, Bussers and Buisseret, *Met passer en penseel*, 146–147.

its ancient descent.[133] Yet, again this did not mean the Revolt was actually forgotten. In 1585, after the Calvinist regime had been ended by Alexander Farnese, the city also reinstated the procession of the Sacrament of Miracle, one of the most important relics in the Southern Netherlands. The sacrament was connected to threats to the Catholic religion since it had allegedly been stolen by Jews in 1370. For Brussels the sacrament could therefore be used in the restoration of Catholicism.[134]

A focus on lineage instead of the recent past contributed to Brussels' status as capital of Brabant. In 1730 Jacques le Roy published a history of Brabant which included the Revolt in Antwerp and Leuven but left out Brussels' past during the 1570s and 1580s.[135] Le Roy devoted his longest chapter to Brussels, the center of government and residence of the court, but without even mentioning the Revolt.[136] While this privilege had usually been reserved for Antwerp, Le Roy granted Brussels the title of the first city in the Habsburg Netherlands.[137] Although Brussels like Antwerp had known a Calvinist regime, the city had managed to become more famous for its court and government functions and had overcome its Revolt past by a different route than those chosen by Leuven and Antwerp. Le Roy's text thus confirms that the three cities successfully constructed a careful but separate program to rebuild their status in Brabant and the Habsburg Netherlands.

Another city that had to rebuild its reputation during and after the Revolt was Amsterdam. The city's past was something of an embarrassment in the Dutch Republic because it had voluntarily supported the Habsburg regime until 1578.[138] Yet, after it joined the rebel side, Amsterdam had developed into the most important city of Holland and the Dutch Republic. In the seventeenth century the city started to use its influence at the expense of other cities such as Dordrecht, traditionally the first city in Holland.[139] Nevertheless, in the seventeenth century its history in the Revolt was still a blemish on Amsterdam's reputation. While for neighboring cities the economic competition may have been a lost cause, the paintings in the city halls of Haarlem and Enkhuizen that depicted

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[133] *Den luyster ende glorie van het hertogdom van Brabant, herstelt door de genealogique beschryvinge van desselfs souvereyne princen, ende door het ontdecken van den schat der privilegien*, (Brussels 1699) passim.

[134] Jasper van der Steen, 'The politics of memory in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014) 76-78; Luc Dequeker, *Het Sacrament van Mirakel. Jodenhaat in de Middeleeuwen* (Leuven 2000) 51-60.

[135] Le Roy, *Groot werreldlyk tooneel des hertogdoms van Braband*.

[136] Ibidem, 27–33.

[137] Antwerp received the most pages of all the cities in the Low Countries in Guicciardini, *Descrittione*; In other editions of Guicciardini's work Antwerp remained the largest city in terms of pages awarded to the city. Deys et al., *Guicciardini illustratus*.

[138] Henk van Nierop, *Het foute Amsterdam*. inaugural lecture University of Amsterdam (Amsterdam 2000) 7, 20.

[139] Groenveld, *Evidente factiën in den staet*, 11–13, 18; Herwaarden, 'Stedelijke naijver', 78–80.

Amsterdam as the enemy during the 1570s prove that the Revolt could be employed to try to embarrass Amsterdam.

To improve its bad image, from 1578 onwards Amsterdam started to deploy two episodes from its medieval past: the reception of a new coat of arms in 1342 and its being granted the emperor's crown in 1488.[140] This strategy, however, did not suffice to compete with the civic propaganda produced in neighboring cities. Haarlem, for example, successfully employed the strategy of integrating an episode from the distant past, the siege of Damietta in 1219, in its civic self-representation for external-relations purposes. As we have seen in chapter four, the story of Damietta strengthened the theory that Haarlem's citizens had the innate quality of bravery. During the siege of 1573 the city used this bravery to withstand the enemy for seven months.

By contrast, Amsterdam took a very different approach to its civic representation. Its officials commissioned windows as well, but these were far less expensive and in smaller numbers than those commissioned by Haarlem. The government felt obliged to donate windows to other churches only when most of the other cities in Holland did the same.[141] The theme also differed considerably. For Amsterdam its most recent past, from 1578 onwards, and its medieval past were the most important aspects to emphasize. More importantly, the city wanted to find a story that could supplement its reputation as merchant capital of the world which it had acquired in the seventeenth century.

Amsterdam's wealth and power soon became the subject of civic representation. One of the first manifestations of the city's marketing strategy to promote its new position in the world was the commission of a harpsichord cover in 1606 (fig.48).[142] In collaboration with painter and author Karel van Mander, artist Pieter Isaacsz painted an allegory of Amsterdam which represented Amsterdam as the center of world trade. Amsterdam is portrayed as a woman holding a globe in her left hand, being offered a ship and a pearl necklace – the symbols of seamanship and wealth. In the background the world is represented by a map and several ships that refer to trade. This paean to Amsterdam was commissioned for the

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[140] For example, a medal was minted in 1578 depicting these themes. Anonymous print (after medal), *Graaf Willem IV schenkt het stadswapen aan Amsterdam zg 1342 en Maximiliaan schenkt de keizerskroon in 1488*, Nationaal gevangenismuseum, nr 126799180 and for later editions of the same theme Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen. Of beknopt verhaal van 't gene sedert de overdracht der heerschappye van keyzer Karel den Vyfden op koning Philips zynen zoon, tot het sluyten van den Uytrechtschen vreede, in de zeventien Nederlandsche gewesten is voorgevallen* I (The Hague 1723) 254 and on an anonymous medalbox commissioned by the city of Amsterdam after the Peace of Breda in 1669, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-78.387.

[141] Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* I: the North, 263–305; Simon Groenveld, *Haarlemse glasraamschenkingen. Stedelof tussen dominee, regent en koopman* (Gouda 1998).

[142] Pieter Isaacsz, Klavecimbeldeksel met allegorie op Amsterdam als centrum van de wereldhandel, 1606, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-4947.

city hall, and its designers were generously rewarded by the government.[143] The theme of the harpsichord proved the beginning of a new trend in the representation of Amsterdam.

Fig.48 Pieter Isaacsz, Harpsicord cover depicting Amsterdam as the center of world trade, 1606 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

In 1611 both map and a chorography of Amsterdam were published with the same theme: Amsterdam as merchant capital of the world. The map, made by Claes Visscher, depicted a panoramic view of Amsterdam with the allegorical female figure representing the city and several figures on the foreground. The allegorical representation of Amsterdam, in the center, receives merchandise from local, regional, national and international tradesmen to underline the city's function as staple market.[144] A similar view of Amsterdam was offered on the title page of the first chorography of Amsterdam, written by Johannes Pontanus in 1611.[145] The frontispiece of both the 1611 Latin edition and the 1614 Dutch edition both featured symbolic references to ships, navigational instruments, items of trade and globes to refer to international trade and commerce.[146] This imagery was to change little throughout the seventeenth century, making the theme of world trade the primary aspect of Amsterdam's self-representation.[147]

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[143] Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, collection website inv nr SK-A-4947, via www.rijksmuseum.nl, consulted 13 August 2012.

[144] Boudewijn Bakker, 'Het imago van de stad. Zelfportret als propaganda', in: Boudewijn Bakker and Erik Schmitz (eds.), *Het aanzien van Amsterdam. Panorama's, plattegronden en profielen uit de Gouden Eeuw* (Bussum 2007) 56–80, there 56–60.

[145] Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia* (Amsterdam 1611); For the interpretation of Pontanus I have used the Dutch edition that was published in 1614. Johannes Isacius Pontanus and Petrus Montanus, *Historische beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coop-stadt Amsterdam waer inne benevens de eerste beginselen ende opcomsten der stadt, verscheyden privilegien, ordonnantien ende andere ghedenckweerdighe gheschiedenissen* (Amsterdam 1614).

[146] Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia*; The 1614 edition was published with two different frontispieces, one was the same as the 1611 edition, the other featured a dog with a globe, a reference to its publisher Hondius. Pontanus and Montanus, *Historische beschrijvinghe*.

[147] For example, the frontispieces of the chorographies of Amsterdam by Olfert Dapper, Tobias van Domselaer and Caspar Commelin. Esser, *The politics of memory*, 40.

Esser has shown, however, that Pontanus went beyond presenting Amsterdam as the commercial center of the world and therefore also included the city's ambition of becoming the political heart of the Dutch Republic.[148] He described the history of the city and in particular the history of the Dutch Revolt. As a solution for Amsterdam's difficult past of siding with the Habsburg regime, Pontanus integrated the history of the emerging Republic during the 1570s into his account of Amsterdam.[149] In contrast to histories of other cities such as Haarlem, which focused entirely on their own history, Pontanus integrated Amsterdam into the history of the Revolt in order to downplay its own role in the 1570s. The history of the Revolt was thus used to frame Amsterdam's current position within the Republic.[150] The Dutch Revolt, and especially the Alteration in 1578, had been only the catalyst in Amsterdam's success.

Another successful element to emphasize was the city's founding myth. Instead recounting a descent from aristocratic forefathers Pontanus wrote about how the city was founded by two poor fishermen. These rather humble origins showed that Amsterdam was built on the hard work of its citizens.[151] On Visscher's print the two fishermen also feature prominently along with the patroness of Amsterdam (fig.49). Here they are represented as the contrast between the initial start of trade in Amsterdam and the city's contemporary status as a leader in international trade depicted by various international merchants.[152]

Fig.49 Claes Visscher, profile of Amsterdam with a focus on the city's patroness and two fishermen, 1611 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

One of the reasons why these origins were so important was that they distinguished Amsterdam from other, neighboring cities such as Haarlem. As demonstrated earlier, Haarlem relied on its reputation as senior city in Holland and chose the ancient siege of Damietta to represent the city. The success of its forefathers was important for Haarlem, but

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[148] Ibidem, 39.
[149] See for example the explanation of the word 'geus', the battles on the Zuiderzee, Enkhuizen's change of regime, the massacres in Naarden and Zutphen and the sieges of Haarlem and Leiden. Pontanus and Montanus, *Historische beschrijvinghe*, 63, 82, 86–87, 92–100.
[150] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 67.
[151] Ibidem, 49–57.
[152] Claes Jansz Visscher, *Profiel van Amsterdam vanuit het IJ genomen*, 1611, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-103.723; Bakker, 'Het imago van de stad. Zelfportret als propaganda', 60–62.

Amsterdam could not claim such an ancient lineage. It received its new coat of arms, the three crosses of Saint Andrew, as late as 1342 and had never been very important in Holland until the sixteenth century. Instead, the city opted for the other end of the spectrum and focused on its humble origins.[153] Moreover, this image corresponded with the idea that developed in the so-called Batavian myth, in which the Dutch Republic was founded by the Batavians rather than claiming a Roman ancestry.[154]

The medieval episodes, however, did have their place in the civic representation. For example, the episodes of 1342 and 1488 were depicted on medals, medal boxes and prints that depicted these medals.[155] In addition, Amsterdam commissioned church windows with the same theme for its New Church in 1648.[156] Even episodes from the Revolt itself appeared in Amsterdam's church windows. The magistrate commissioned windows representing the Peace of Westphalia. The first, made for the New Church in 1648, was the presentation of the treaty to King Philip IV and the second for the Old Church in 1654 was an imaginary meeting between Dutch delegates and the Spanish king.[157] This emphasis on the Peace of Westphalia concurred with the pride Amsterdam felt in its role in the realization of the treaty, as became clear in the most prestigious project undertaken by the magistrate: the new town hall. The building was meant to become a symbol of peace, and Amsterdam's efforts in the negotiations and its position in the world were to be commemorated extensively in its decorations.[158] Despite its difficult past Amsterdam thus succeeded in finding a narrative for itself that after 1648 could even include the Revolt. Unlike other cities, however, it never chose a local episode that could be connected immediately to the Revolt.

Different cities employed different strategies in dealing with the Revolt and when aiming for a local audience or for the regional elites in the Low Countries. Whether it was a conscious decision to emphasize loyalty or success, or to omit the Revolt from various media, is unclear, but the strategies do provide an insight into how media could be employed in civic

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[153] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 49–57.

[154] Ibidem, 53–55; S. Groenveld, *Het Twaalfjarig Bestand, 1609-1621. De jongelingsjaren van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (the Hague 2009) 74–78; E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'De Bataafse mythe opnieuw bekeken', *BMGN* (1996) 344–367.

[155] For example, a medal was minted in 1578 depicting these themes. Anonymous print (after medal), *Graaf Willem IV schenkt het stadswapen aan Amsterdam zg 1342 en Maximiliaan schenkt de keizerskroon in 1488*, Nationaal gevangenismuseum and for later editions of the same theme Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen*, 254 and the same theme on a medal box commissioned by the city of Amsterdam after the Peace of Breda in 1669, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-78.387

[156] Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* I: the North, 308–311.

[157] Ibidem, 271, 315.

[158] Eymert-Jan Goossens, 'De Vredestempel. Het Amsterdamse stadspaleis uit 1648', in: Jacques Dane (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle 1998) 205–223; Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam* (Zwolle 2011).

self-representation. Chorographies, paintings, windows, and even harpsichords were used to portray a certain image in print and in public spaces such as town halls. The coherence between the message this media propagated stands out. Although several stories could exist alongside each other, they were usually still embedded in a single, overall story which either in- or excluded the Revolt. In Amsterdam, for example, medieval stories were meant to show the humble origins of the city implying that this history provided a good basis for a merchant capital of the world. By emphasizing this message, Amsterdam not only promoted itself but also dismissed the aristocratic associations of other rival cities such as Haarlem. Despite the fact that the Revolt was not mentioned, that conflict had enabled this story to thrive as Amsterdam's founding myth.

Of course, not every city had a troubled past. Others could rely upon their loyalty or their success during the Revolt. In these cases the local history of the Revolt became an instrument in the ongoing urban rivalry. Sometimes cities, such as Alkmaar, even literally used their successful siege in arguments to reclaim certain rights. The success of these arguments, however, seems to have depended on the episodes' fame. The more famous the siege, the more eligible the city became for claiming subsequent status. Some cities used their loyalty to emphasize that other neighboring cities had not supported the Revolt for a long time (in the Dutch Republic) or had reconciled late with the crown (in the Habsburg Netherlands). While individual cities, however, claimed their own achievements, they could also claim 'national' episodes. Delft, for example, proved that it could claim part in the siege of Leiden by focusing on its role in the inundations. And Antwerp was able to claim the battle of Kallo because it had taken place near the city. This interaction between the local and the regional, and the national and the local, therefore determined that the Revolt would not be forgotten. Urban rivalry in all its facets ensured that cities could not wait to either use or omit the war in their self-representation, sometimes with the purpose of demonstrating the difficult past of their neighbors.

Chapter 6 – Reshaping the legacy of the Revolt

In 1648 the peace treaty of Westphalia was cause for celebration in prayers, performances, songs, poems, prints, medals and paintings across the Low Countries.[1] In Antwerp, for instance, the burgomasters had a stage built on the main square on which they performed the proclamation accompanied by four mythological figures.[2] A three-day feast adorned with illuminations was organized in Brussels to celebrate the peace.[3] Haarlem's government exhibited the tapestry of Damietta on the balcony to adorn the proclamation while *tableaux vivants* displayed peace allegorically (fig.50).[4] In Amsterdam the magistrates commissioned a window for the Old Church, which highlighted the presentation of the treaty to King Philip IV of Spain.[5] Moreover, across the city *tableaux vivants* celebrated freedom against the background of contemporary politics.[6] In addition to local and national governments, civic institutions also celebrated the peace enthusiastically. One of the militia companies in Antwerp commissioned a silver cup alluding to the peace.[7] And several militia companies from Amsterdam had portraits painted which displayed their men during the celebratory dinner for the Peace of Westphalia.[8]

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[1] Simon Groenveld, 'De Vrede van Munster. Einde en nieuw begin', in: Jacques Dane (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle 1998) 11–43, there 41; Emilie M.L. van der Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld. Zeventiende-eeuwse vredes in de prentkunst', in: Jacques Dane (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle 1998) 173–203, there 192–194; Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam. De dichters Geeraardt Brandt en Jan Vos bevestigen hun maatschappelijke positie', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* (1997) 193–200; Louis Peter Grijp, 'Muziek voor Munster; muziek en liederen gemaakt ter gelegenheid van de Vrede van Munster', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 209–221; Alison McNeil Kettering, *Gerard ter Borch en de Vrede van Munster* (Zwolle 1998); Maarseveen, Michel P. and Jos W.L. Hilkhuijsen, 'Van Breda tot Hulst, van schilderij tot tegel. Voorstellingen van het krijgsbedrijf op schilderijen, prenten, penningen en tegels in 1625 en 1645', in: Jacques Dane (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle 1998) 135–171, there 166.

[2] Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen* (Amsterdam 2008) 151.

[3] Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld', 193.

[4] Groenveld, 'De Vrede van Munster', 41; Cornelis Beelt, *De Grote Markt van Haarlem tijdens een feestelijke gebeurtenis*, ca 1670-1690, oil on canvas, Amsterdam Museum Amsterdam, inv nr SA 7449.

[5] Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* I: the North (Amsterdam 2011) 315.

[6] For example, Pieter Nolpe, *Zinnebeeldige vertoningen die op de Dam zijn opgevoerd ter ere van de Vrede van Munster*, 1648, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-76.489; Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld'; Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede'.

[7] W. van Nespen, *Schatten van de vlaamse schuttersgilden. Catalogus* (Antwerp 1967) 1–2.

[8] Kees Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw. Kaptiaal, macht, familie en levensstijl* (Amsterdam 2006) xvi, 39.

Fig.50 Cornelis Beelt, the tapestry of Damietta on the balcony of the town hall in Haarlem during the celebration of the peace of Munster in 1648, ca 1670-1690 (Amsterdam Museum

Now that the peace had been signed, the Revolt was an episode in the past. The warfare had stopped, the Dutch Republic had been recognized, and the political and religious boundaries had been set. By that time the Revolt had already become firmly embedded in the history of local communities. In Hoorn, for example, a group of rhetoricians organized a competition in 1646 in which they asked the participants to answer the following question: 'what, among others, are the three principal matters, done for her honor by our forefathers, that may make Hoorn's glory famous and great?'[9] In addition to the invention of a net to catch herring and organizing the first journey to Cape Horn the competitors answered that the third principal accomplishment was the capture of the count of Bossu, admiral of the Spanish fleet that fought in the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573. The Revolt had become one of the subjects in Hoorn's history that was memorable for future generations.

Yet, not everyone could share the same sentiments about the peace. Research has shown that for Catholics in the Dutch Republic, for example, the Peace of Westphalia started a new phase in the acceptance of a loss of identity and influence. Historian Willem Frijhoff has retraced this process back to the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, after which Catholics

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[9] 'Wat onder ander zijn de drie voornaemste saken, waer door men Hoorns Lof beroemt en groot mach maken, by ons Voor-ouders gedaen tot haerder eer?' Karel Bostoen, 'Held in een bloedstollend drama', in: Remmelt Daalder et al. (eds.), *De schipper, het journaal, de scheepsjongens* (Amsterdam 1996) 41–52, there 47.

realized that they had become a minority. Fifty years after the start of the Revolt new generations knew little more than that Catholicism was one of the many religions in the Republic. This realization started a 'process of adaptation' during which the Catholic community formed a strong confessional identity.[10] The period between the resumption of the war in 1621 and the 1660s has subsequently been characterized by historian Christine Kooi as a period of 'increased confessionalism', which sharpened the religious identity of both Catholics and Protestants.[11] In practice, Catholics did not forget their social position from before the war but adapted by visiting and furnishing clandestine churches, making pilgrimages to the Habsburg Netherlands, and practicing their religion in private. Moreover, Catholic hopes for a better future were kept alive by prophecies and the worship of saints. These activities provided the Catholic community with a long-term perspective despite the outcome of the Revolt.[12] They could usually continue to visit their places of worships, as we have seen in chapter one, as well as to practice their religion in 'private' gatherings in clandestine churches although the amount of interference from local authorities and institutions such as the Reformed Church could vary.[13]

On the other side of the border, however, Protestants did not have as many possibilities as their Catholic counterparts in the North. Since the Calvinist regimes in the Southern cities had capitulated to Governor Alexander Farnese in the 1580s the Catholic religion had been firmly reestablished. Reconciliation treaties did allow Protestants time either to convert or to leave the city, although in that period they were treated as 'second-class citizens'.[14] Yet, death sentences for heretics became rare, and no one was executed after 1597. This meant that converting Protestants to Catholicism became the only option, and a matter of both church and state. Despite the fact that many Protestants left the Habsburg Netherlands, especially after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, there were still signs of a Protestant presence. In Antwerp non-Catholics could wed according to their own rites, Protestants went to Lillo to attend services, and placards continued to be issued against Protestants. In general,

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[10] Willem Frijhoff, 'Catholic expectation for the future at the time of the Dutch Republic', in: *Embodied belief. Ten essays on religious culture in Dutch history* (Hilversum 2002) 153–179, there 160–164.
[11] Christine Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's golden age. Heretics and idolaters* (Cambridge 2012) 13.
[12] Frijhoff, 'Catholic expectation', 157–165.
[13] See for opportunities for Catholics in the Dutch Republic Christine Kooi, 'Paying off the Sheriff. Strategies of Catholic Toleration in Golden Age Holland', in: R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and religious toleration in the Dutch Golden Age Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge 2002) 87–101, there 88; Dominicus de Jong, *Grenskapellen voor de katholieke inwoners der Generaliteitslanden* (Tilburg 1963) 71–105; Frijhoff, 'Catholic expectation', 171–172; Judith Pollmann, 'Amsterdam. Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder. Paapse stoutigheden op de Wallen', in: Maarten Prak (ed.), *Plaatsen van herinnering Nederland in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (2006) 296–307, there 297.
[14] Marie Juliette Marinus, 'Het verdwijnen van het protestantisme in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', *De Zventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 261–271, there 262.

however, Protestants were left alone as long as they did not draw attention to themselves.[15] After 1648 this situation in the Habsburg Netherlands continued. For instance, in 1651 the Catholic government of Weert banished a local smith because he had sung heretical songs and refused to denounce his faith when he was brought to trial.[16]

In addition to the difficulties that arose for religious minorities, however, the end of the war also instigated a new phase in urban memory practices. After the celebrations for the end of the war in June 1648 subsided, moves to commemorate the Revolt quickly followed. Especially on a local level, authors, playwrights and ministers were keen to supply the growing demand for (re)interpretations of the past. After all, the Revolt had started more than eighty years ago, which meant that the last people who had experienced the iconoclasm of 1566 had been dead for quite some time. From 1648 onwards memory practices therefore slowly changed in nature while they became embedded in national and local history. From the communicative phase of memory, described by Jan Assmann, the memories of the Revolt now entered the phase of cultural memory. The memories exceeded 'everyday interaction and communication' and became institutionalized, preserved and reinterpreted for new generations.[17] The war had become a part of history.

Fig.51 Hendrik Cornelisz Pot, the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573 as depicted in the second half of the seventeenth century, 1647-1676 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

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[15] Ibidem, 262–268.
[16] Vos, *Burgers*, 355.
[17] Assmann, 'Communicative and cultural memory', 111.

Within local communities the renewed attention to the Revolt was noticeable on various fronts in the 1650s and 1660s. First of all, new prints and paintings of episodes such as the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573 were commissioned (fig.51).[18] In the Dutch Republic there seems to have been a market for scenes of the Revolt since artist Hendrick de Meijer produced at least twelve paintings that depicted how the Spanish garrison left Breda in 1637 and the siege of Hulst in 1645.[19] In both the Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands, however, not only victories, but also attacks and massacres on cities were captured in paintings in Oudewater, Mechelen, and Antwerp during this period. In addition to visual reminders of the Revolt, a variety of books, sermons and plays were (re)published.[20] Eyewitness accounts, for instance, were gathered and written down so they would not be forgotten.[21] Descriptions of cities and regions in Holland also blossomed after 1648, especially between 1660 and 1670.[22] Plays and *tableaux vivants* had been performed and published since the beginning of the war, but their popularity seems to have increased after 1648.[23] The most famous play in the Dutch Republic was 'the siege and relief of Leiden' by

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[18] Hendrik Cornelisz. Pot, *Slag op Zuiderzee tegen de graaf van Bossu, 1573*, 1647-1676, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.536; Jan Theunisz Blanckerhoff, *De slag op de Zuiderzee voor de rede van Hoorn tegen Bossu*, 1663-1666, oil on canvas, Statenlogement Hoorn; Abraham Jansz Storck**,** *Schlacht in der Zuidersee am 11. Oktober 1573*, 1663, oil on canvas, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv nr GOS-Nr. K1000773.

[19] Maarseveen and Hilkhuijsen, 'Van Breda tot Hulst, van schilderij tot tegel. Voorstellingen van het krijgsbedrijf op schilderijen, prenten, penningen en tegels in 1625 en 1645', 153–154.

[20] See, for example, Johannes Evertsz Geisteranus, *Predicatie over 't ontset van Alckmaar, gedaan anno 1618. den 8 Octobris, in de Groote Kerk, over Actor, capit. IX vers 31* (1665).

[21] Erika Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling and patriotic scripture. The memory brokers of the Dutch Revolt', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 183–202; Arnoldus Duin, *Oudewaters moord of waerachtig verhael van d'oudheid, belegering, in-nemen en verwoesten der geseide stad* (1669); Fery de Guyon, *Les mémoires non encor veues du sieur Fery de Guyon contenant les batailles, sièges de villes, rencontres, escarmouces, où il s'est trouvé, tant en Afrique, qu'en Europe pour l'empereur Charles V & Philippe II roy d'espagne, son fils de glorieuse mémoire* (Tournai 1664).

[22] Eddy Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende-eeuwse republiek* (Hilversum 2011) 20–22; Hendrik Jacobsz Soeteboom, *De historie van Waterland. Behelsende de oude, besondere en ghedenckwaerdige geschiedenisse van Waterlandt en de Waterlanders mitgaders de steden van Edam, Munckendam, en de alle dorpen van Waterlandt als mede een breede en generale beschrijvinge van 't begin, opgangh en voortgangh der stadt en heerlijckheyt van Purmer-endt* (Amsterdam 1660); Hendrik Soeteboom, *Vroonens begin, midden en eynde, met het opkomen der steden van West-Vrieslant, waer in nevens andere dingen te vinden is de alder oudtste en voornaemste geschiedenissen van West-Vrieslant tot aen de val van hare oude hooftstadt Vroonen, met het opkomen der steden Hoorn, Enckhuysen, Alckmaer en Medenblick, en de bloedige oorlogen, tusschen de Hollanders en kleyne Vriesen, tot het jaer 1303, alles in 4. boecken (met vlijt) by een vergadert en met kopere platen verciert* (Amsterdam 1661).

[23] See for example Jacob Duym, *De cloeck-moedighe ende stoute daet, van het innemen des Casteels van Breda en verlossinghe der stad* (Leiden 1606); Jacob Duym, *Belegheringhe der stadt Antwerpen, by den prince van Parma [...] in den jaere 1584.* (Leiden 1606); Govert van der Eembd, *Haerlemse belegeringhs trevr-bly-eynde-spel. Gespeelt by de Wijn-gaerd -ranken onder Liefd' boven al* (the Hague 1619); Jacob van Zevecote, *Jac. Zevecotii Belegh van Leyden. Trevr-spel.* (Leiden 1626); See also the celebration of the reduction of Groningen in Leiden and Haarlem in 1590 Th.C.J.

Reynerius Bontius which was printed and performed across the Republic many times after 1645.[24] Yet, also new plays about the siege of Haarlem and the murder of William of Orange in 1584 were published in the 1660s.[25] Finally, at least in the Dutch Republic the Revolt was frequently referred to in sermons on prayer days in the late seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century.[26]

Not only did the number of publications and commissions of objects rise after 1648, but the themes also changed. In the stories about the war more personal, emotional and dramatic elements were introduced. For instance, in books personal stories about bravery and (local) heroes were now celebrated, and these heroes were no longer motivated only by suffering, religion or freedom.[27] This focus on heroes, and thus an interest in personal stories of the war, can also be found in plays. The villains were portrayed as human beings instead of as stereotypical liars and cheats while love affairs were also included.[28] Moreover, the heroes who were presented on stage were patriotic, but their patriotism that had originally been connected to the city was extrapolated to Holland and even to the Republic after 1648.[29] We can see this trend confirmed in prints as well. Jan Luyken, who made the prints for the new edition of Pieter Bor's history of the Revolt, focused on the personal element of well-known episodes during the Revolt. For example, his print of the attack on Breda in 1590 did not feature the traditional approach of the peat barge to the castle but rather the scene where the soldiers, who had been hiding in the barge, came out and surprised the castle garrison in Breda.[30]

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van der Heijden and J.C. van Boheemen, 'Accommodation and possessions of chambers of rhetoric in the province of Holland', in: Elsa Strietman en Peter Happé (eds.), *Urban theatre in the Low Countries, 1400-1625* (Turnhout 2006) 253–281, there 270–273; J.C. van Boheemen and Th. C. J. van der Heijden, 'De rederijkers en Haarlem', in: E.K. Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem vóór 1800* (Hilversum 1993) 49–60, there 54; See for the performances of rhetoricians in Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp in the late 1570s Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam 2008) 168.

[24] Reynerius Bontius, *Belegering ende het ontset der stadt Leyden geschiedt inden jare 1574 beginnende den 17 may ende eyndigde den derden octobris* (Leiden 1645); Cobi Bordewijk, '*Lof zij den helden!' Vier eeuwen Leidse stedentrots op het toneel* (The Hague 2005) 15, 20; see for other editions also http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/Bontius/, consulted 15 October 2013.

[25] H. Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse Opstand. Studies over de relatie tussen politiek en toneel in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1990) 13; See also Steven Theunisz. van der Lust, *Herstelde hongers-dwangh, of Haerlems langh en strenghe belegeringhe, ende overgaen der selver stadt, door het scherpe swaerdt der ellenden. Treurspel* (Haarlem 1660).

[26] Donald Haks, 'Propaganda from the pulpit?', in: Jan A.F. de Jongste and Augustus J. Veenendaal jr (eds.), *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688-1720. Politics, war, and finance* (The Hague 2002) 89-114, there 106-108.

[27] Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling', 200.

[28] Marijke Meijer-Drees, 'Burgemeester van der Werf als vaderlandse toneelheld', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992) 167–176, there 171–172.

[29] Marijke Meijer-Drees, 'Vaderlandse heldinnen in belegeringstoneelstukken', *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 85 (1993) 71–82, there 78.

[30] Jan Luyken, *Het turfschip van Breda, 1590*, 1679-1681, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-80.102; compare Frans Hogenberg (workshop of), *Het turfschip van Breda*, 1590-1592,

Despite these thematic changes, however, the Revolt was still very much alive in the 1650s and 1660s. Now that the frames of memory were set and the eyewitness accounts had been drawn up, other stakeholders also attempted to propagate their stories (again). As this chapter will show, the memories of the Revolt both continued and changed as time progressed. On the one hand, the upcoming centenaries of events in the early phase of the Revolt kept memories of the Revolt alive and active within the civic community. On the other hand, the passing of time changed the way people perceived the existing memorabilia of the Revolt. The thematic changes in publications and commissions with the Revolt as subject were the start of this process. Yet, as this chapter will demonstrate, the existing memorabilia were subject to change as well. Memories that had been captured in objects such as manuscripts, relics, and art were still kept as heirlooms but were also increasingly sold to become part of personal and local collections not necessarily focused on the Revolt. This early form of musealization of memorabilia separated at least some of the objects from their original context as they were organized according to type or material.

Celebrating centenaries

The celebration of the one hundredth anniversary, jubilee or centenary, of important events was rather common in the seventeenth century. In 1617, for instance, the Dutch Republic had celebrated the centenary of the birth of the Reformed religion.[31] When the centenary of the iconoclasm came up in 1666, it was the first episode of the Revolt to reach the hundred-year mark. For Protestants, as we have seen in chapter one, iconoclasm could be difficult to interpret and was not depicted often. Catholics, however, had less trouble in commemorating these events. On 19 August a 'jubilee' was held in the cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, and probably at least two prints were issued which depicted a contemporary view on iconoclasm.[32] A few years later, when the centenaries of the victorious sieges in Holland approached, the Dutch Republic was in no condition to organize great feasts. In 1672 both the Southern Netherlands and the Republic were attacked by English, French and German armies. The 'prosperity, independence, and very existence of the Republic' were seriously

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etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-78.784-275 and Bartholomeus Dolendo, *Inname van Breda 1590*, 1600-1601, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-80.092.
[31] G. van Halsema, 'Van 1594 naar 1994. Over de "Jubeljaarspredikatiëen"', in: G. van Halsema, Jos Hermans and F.R.J. Knetsch (eds.), *Geloven in Groningen. Capita selecta uit de geloofsgeschiedenis van een stad* (Kampen 1990) 185-195, there 187.
[32] Johannes Jacquinet, 'Historie der Nederlanden onder de Regering van Albertus en Isabella Philippus IV en Karel II 1612 tot 1683', KBB, Ms 15938, f. 346; two prints depicting Iconoclasm in Antwerp survive at museum Plantijn-Moretus Gaspar Bouttats, *De Beeldenstorm in de kathedraal van Antwerpen*, dated around 1668, inv nr K.OP.11647, cataloguenr. III/B.242 and anonymus, *De Beeldenstorm in de kathedraal van Antwerpen*, dated between 1650 and 1750, inv nr AV.2007.003.045, cataloguenr. II/ON.275.

threatened during this traumatic year, but finally the Republic managed to avert the danger.[33] Still the centenary of the relief of Alkmaar on 8 October 1673 could not be celebrated elaborately during this political crisis although there was the annual celebration with church bells and recounting the story of the siege in 1573 in the morning service in the Great Church.[34] In addition, Cornelis Schoon published a book about the siege which would be reprinted five times before the next centenary in 1773.[35]

Despite the difficulties due to the political climate the Revolt once again took center stage during the celebrations of several centenaries over the course of at least twenty years. The hundredth anniversary of the relief of Leiden in 1574, the reconciliation of Antwerp in 1585, and the reduction of Groningen in 1594 were all celebrated. Furthermore, the festivities were grander than they had previously been. Yet, all of these centenaries should be considered not only in their capacity of memories of the Revolt but also in their new context. The celebration can be considered as an indication of how memories could be used in the present.

In 1674 the city of Leiden prepared itself for the celebration of the relief of the city on 3 October 1574. Over the past century an annual commemoration with a service, plays and a fair had become common practice, but for the centenary a larger commitment than usual can be detected. Unfortunately, the city lacked the necessary funds due to the troubles of the previous years, but this circumstance did not prevent lawyer and counsel Karel Crucius from making a speech at Leiden University's auditorium, book seller Adrianus Severinus from publishing a commemorative book and Reinier Bontius' popular play from being reprinted.[36] Severinus' book sold very well and remained in high demand for decades; by 1777 it had sold out at least five times. Furthermore, in 1676 it was decided to add Crucius' speech to the publication, making it available for everyone.[37] Finally, Bontius' play, which had already been popular for decades, ensured that Leiden's population was well aware of their past as they paid to buy and see this play. The play was performed often and reprints continued to be published throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the first edition with

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[33] Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall 1477-1806* (Reprinted paperback edition; Oxford 1998) 796–806.

[34] W.A. Fasel, 'De ontzetviering te Alkmaar in de loop der eeuwen', in: E.H.P. Cordfunke (ed.), *Alkmaar ontzet 1573-1973* (Alkmaar 1973) 85–196, there 104–105.

[35] Cornelis Schoon, *Alkmaers Bitter en Zoet, ofte een beknopt vertoog van de bange belegeringe, en heuglikke uytreddinge der stede Alkmaar, voorgevallen in den iare 1573* (Alkmaar 1673).

[36] Adrianus Severinus, *Het geluckig herdenken aen de vermaerde belegering der stad Leiden, kort en klaer voorgestelt voorgevallen in de vijftiende en sestiende eeuw.* (Leiden 1674); Reinier Bontius, *Belegering ende ontsetting der stadt Leyden. Geschiet in den jare 1574. beginnende den 27 May, ende eyndighde den derden Oct.* (Leiden 1674) See for Bontius also http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/LijstCeneton.html#01047.

[37] Severinus, Adrianus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving van de belegering en 't ontzet der stad Leiden* (5th edition; Leiden 1777). This is fifth edition, other editions are 1757, 1738, 1737 and the original in 1674; Passchier Fijne, *De oude Leidsche patroon, of Derden Octobers banket. Een verhaal van Leidens beleg en ontzet in 1574* (Leiden 1867) iii.

illustrations appeared in 1693, one hundred and twenty years after the event had taken place.[38]

While the book and the play highlighted the glorious past of Leiden during the Revolt, Crucius' speech connected the contemporary struggles during and after 1672 to the events of 1574. Crucius not only held his speech at the university of Leiden[39], the institution founded by William of Orange in 1575 as a reward for withstanding the Spanish army, but he also portrayed the events of 1672 as a warning to remember the past. The wealth and power the Dutch Republic had known for a long time had been tried and tested during the recent troubles because the Dutch had come to taking their position for granted.

> So it happened that our beloved Fatherland, after an Eighty Years' War, had caught its breath […] that is to say, this was our fate, for twenty years and more, to see the brave manliness of this combative nation weaken and be numbed so, that even the skirmishes of the bishop of Munster, sufficient omens of a more violent war, could not revive or sharpen it[40]

Even the danger in 1672 had not brought forth the courage and piety the Dutch had shown in the early stages of the Revolt. Whereas their ancestors had been brave, Crucius reviled his contemporaries by referring to them as 'effeminate'.[41]

Unlike Crucius, the city of Leiden did see bravery in contemporary society. The city awarded a golden medal to magistrate Gerard de Munt for the courage he displayed in 1673. He had taken charge of clearing the trees from the immediate surroundings of the city when the government feared an attack. The medal specifically reflected on the courage of citizens in both 1673 and 1574. And to make this reference even clearer it was also shaped like a sixteenth-century emergency coin. On the front it said 'in memory of the ancestral courage, 1673' and on the reverse 'this one is for liberty, 1574'.[42]

Crucius' statement should therefore be seen as a general complaint about the change in mentality in the Dutch Republic after 1648. His message was that Leiden should be grateful it

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[38] Ceneton, Leiden University, Department of Dutch Language and Culture, Reynerius Bontius, http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Cenetion, consulted 5 January 2012, also for the list of reprints.

[39] Aa, A.J. van der, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt,* continued by K.J.R. van Harderwijk en G.D.J. Schotel (Haarlem 1852-1878), via http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken, III, 893.

[40] 'Nu was het dat ons lieve Vaderlandt, na een tagtig-jarigen Oorlog, een sijn adem soude geschept hebben […] te weten, dit was ons beschoren, twintig en meer Jaren lang, de vrome manhaftigheid van dese strijtbare natie soo te sien verswacken en stompen, dat self de schermutselen van den Munsterschen Bisschop, genoegsame voorboden van een heviger oorlog, die niet weder opwecken of scherpen of kosten.' Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving*, 197.

[41] In Dutch 'verwijfd', Ibidem, 137–138.

[42] In Latin: 'avitae virtutis memor, 1673' and 'haec libertatis ergo, 1574' Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I (The Hague 1723) 113–114.

had survived 1672, despite its weakness, because God had rescued the Republic much as he had brought wealth and power in the past. With God's help William of Orange had led the Revolt against the Habsburg regime, and an alliance with England after Orange's death in 1584 had been formed. And once again it had been God who helped the Republic in 1672.

> God alone watched over this State; he restrained the enemy for long and kept him under control […] and while we had our hands so full at home, did nothing less, than work towards an attack on England, and only promote that.[43]

In Crucius' text this reference to the Armada in 1588 was followed by remarks on the contemporary situation. The renewed war between France and Spain, Crucius continued, helped to distract the international attention from Dutch politics as had been the case in 1588. Yet, even during the years of prosperity small calamities as well as God's favors had always come to keep the Dutch on their toes.[44] In his argument, the troubles of 1672 were a punishment the Republic had to suffer before the country could be rebuilt. Only with God's help could the Republic be restored to its former health.[45] For this reason, the Republic's narrow escape, Crucius concluded, required an expression of gratitude to God and the princes of Orange who restored order and peace in the Republic.[46]

   Although his speech was directed towards an audience in Leiden, Crucius mentioned the city and its past only at the very end of his narrative. While the Republic was to blame for its shameful behavior during the past twenty years, Leiden could learn from the siege of 1574. The city should continue to remember and recognize the way God had relieved Leiden from the Habsburg army.

> That has formerly been that day, on which our Leiden was covered with unspeakable joy, has rejoiced and has been lifted up, in which our Fatherland has seen the deliverance of such a faithful citizenry, and the Prince has recognized and considered God's finger in this deliverance, which was brought about by the water.[47]

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[43] 'God alleen waeckte voor desen Staat; die beteugelde den vijandt dus lange en hield hem in toom […] en deed hem soo lange wy onse handen te huis soo vol hadden, niet anders, als op een toeleg op Engelandt uit sijn, en die alleen behertigen'. Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving*, 192.

[44] Ibidem, 196.

[45] "Hij [God] heeft, onse sorgeloosheit, ondanckbaerheit en overtredingen te huis gesogt, om het Landt te behouden: want hij soude dese sieckte hebben laten ongeneeslik werden, soo hij voorgenomen hadde ons uit te roeijen" Ibidem, 200.

[46] Ibidem, 204–205.

[47] 'Dat is eertijts dien dagh geweest, in welk ons Leiden met een onuitspreeckelicke vreugde overstort sijnde, gejuight heeft en opgesprongen, in welke ons Vaderlandt de reddinge van soo trouwen borgerije gesien, en den Prince Godts vinger in dese verlossinge, door het water te weeg gebragt, erkent heeft en aengemerckt'. Ibidem, 205.

Crucius emphasized that the city should hold on to the example of courage and steadfastness that had been taught during the 1570s. Along with passing it on to the next generation, the relief should be celebrated at least for another hundred years.

> Then this city taught by her example, that only brave men did attain this glory, that steadfastness attained this price, and to such a peak of honor our virtue could ascend, that no antiquity shall reduce it, no time digest it, or a sequence of years destroy it, for so long as […] to celebrate this deliverance annually with a day of thanksgiving, and pass this on to the next generation as a pledge of divine favor (such as we have received), so that our late descendants, after the passing of another century, will have celebrated this anniversary of the city another hundred times.[48]

According to Crucius, Leiden had to fulfill the important task of keeping the example of 1574 alive and to pass it on. The day God had relieved Leiden had marked the beginning of a new period in the city's history, and the population should continue to remember this fact as current political events had made very clear in 1672.

In 1694 another local celebration of a centenary took place in a different part of the Dutch Republic, in Groningen. In this year the local government organized a service of thanksgiving for the removal of the Spanish and Catholic yoke during the reduction of the city one hundred years before.[49] In 1644 when Groningen celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the reduction, minister Johannes Martinus had raised the subject of 1594 in a sermon he dedicated to the city magistrates.[50] During the Habsburg regime in Groningen between 1580 and 1594 the city had lived in darkness, which had been lifted when Stadholder Maurits came accompanied by a light that made all darkness disappear.[51] Subsequently, the city had become a glorious example of loyalty and determination after 1594. Even though the city had known several difficult moments, according to Martinus, the ministers (himself included) had proven to be men of solid beliefs during the many troubles the city faced

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[48] 'Doen heeft dese Stadt met haer voorbeeld geleert, dat dese glorie alleen kloecke Mannen over "t hooft hing, dat tot dese prijs stantvastigheit geraken kost, en tot desen top van eere onse edelmoedigheit had konnen opsteigeren, welcke geen outheit verminderen, geen tijt verteren, of een reex van Jaren vernietigen sal, soo lang […] dese verlossinge jaerlix met een danckdag te vieren, en deselve tot een onderpant van de Godlicke gunste (gelijck wij die gekregen hebben) aen het volgende geslagte over te geven, op dat onse late nakomelingen, na het verlopen van nog een eeuw, en nog hondertmael dese geboorte-dagh der Stadt geviert te hebben.' Ibidem, 207–208.
[49] Henricus Hofsnider, *Kronyk van Groningen ene Ommelanden* (Groningen 1743) 268.
[50] Halsema, 'Van 1594 naar 1994', 187.
[51] Johannes Martinus, ' 't Licht in de duysternisse der stadt Groningen', in: S.D. van Veen (ed.), *Uit drie eeuwen. Zes jubeljaars-predicatiën* (Groningen 1894) 1-42, there 13–15.

furthermore that He has, with no exceptions, let them all present this light steadfast and harmoniously without the least shadow or darkening: even when through the power of darkness heavy dark clouds raised themselves in neighboring Provinces.[52]

Fifty years later minister Abraham Trommius followed in the footsteps of his father-in-law, Johannes Martinus.[53] During the centenary of the reduction in 1694 he delivered his sermon in the New Church.[54] Trommius, however, chose a different approach. He did not include the analogy of a light that lifted the darkness but preached about the dissemination of the Reformed religion throughout Europe.[55] As far as the actual reduction was concerned, Trommius did not mention the house of Orange in the same way Crucius had. He brought up Stadholder Maurits as the man who received the golden key to the city after the reduction, but he did not idolize him.[56]

According to the city magistrate, the celebration of the reduction of Groningen could not take place without a representative of the House of Orange. They invited the Frisian stadholder Hendrik Casimir of Nassau and his family to enjoy and behold the festivities on 24 July 1694. After the services in the city, the civic militia and students joined at the Grote Markt and walked to the Wijnhuis where the magistrates hosted a dinner. During this parade through the city, guns were fired, cannons roared and fireworks lit up the sky after sunset.[57]

To celebrate this day and commemorate the reduction, the magistrates also commissioned two medals, which were minted in silver and gold. Again, these medals showed the importance of Maurits in the celebration of the reduction. The first medal depicted a breastplated stadholder with a sword in his right hand and a shield with Groningen's coat of arms in his left (fig.52a) while the second depicted Maurits in Roman dress, a less military sight. The reverse of the medals, however, carried the same phrase

Groningen. The prince's sword with Gods arm / brought alarm to papist and Spaniard / who disappeared as a lie in the light / whose pure glow shone in temples / a true joy

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[52] 'Daer beneven dat hyse alle, geen uyt gesondert, heeft laten dit licht stantvastelick ende eendrachtelick sonder de minste schaduwe of verdonckeringe voordragen: Self als door de macht der duysternisse in de nabuyrige Provincien […] sware duystere wolcken sich verhieven.' Ibidem, 19.

[53] Trommius also wrote several religious books, see P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Bolk (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden 1911-1937), via http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken, consulted 8 December 2011.

[54] Joséphine Weegink-Schijve, 'Kerkinterieur voor en na de Reformatie, geïllustreerd aan de hand van drie Groninger stadskerken', in: G. van Halsema, Jos Hermans and F.R.J. Knetsch (eds.), *Geloven in Groningen. Capita selecta uit de geloofsgeschiedenis van een stad* (Kampen 1990) 57-72, there 67.

[55] Abrahamus Trommius, 'Jubel-jaers predikatie', in: S.D. van Veen (ed.), *Uit drie eeuwen. Zes jubeljaars-predicatiën* (Groningen 1894) 43-108, there passim.

[56] Ibidem, 46.

[57] *Europische Mercurius* (1694), part 4, July 1694, 66. The celebration of 1694 seems to have coincided with that of the university, which was founded in 1614.

for great and small / which Groningen took into her lap / this is what the Lord's hand has done / and had these medals minted (fig.52b).[58]

Fig.52a/b Johan von Reckingen, medal on the centenary of the reduction of Groningen in 1694 which displays stadholder Maurits with sword and shield (Teylers Museum Haarlem).

The medal referred to both Catholics and Spaniards, and reflected on divine providence in familiar ways. It also mentioned the prince's sword being moved with God's help, a direct reference to Maurits and divine intervention. The magistrates thus seemed to follow Martinus' reasoning of the light that defeated the city's darkness, but they did not seem to agree completely with Trommius' lack of attention for Maurits.

The question whether this division between the magistrates and the ministers was really meaningful can be solved by reading the published version of Trommius' sermon. In 1694 Trommius wrote an introduction and an additional historical work to accompany the sermon he delivered the same year. In this introduction Trommius clearly separated two essential assets of the Dutch Republic: religion and freedom. [59] The sermon belonged to the religious part of the celebration while the book also considered the political implications of the siege, including the role of Maurits. Still, the stadholder was mentioned only as commander of the States army together with Willem Lodewijk, the Frisian stadholder, an acknowledgment of the importance of the Frisian branch of the house of Orange.

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[58] 'Groninga/ des prinsen sweerd met godes arm,/ bragt paap en spanjaert in alarm/ als leugen voor het ligt verdween/ wiens suyvre glans in temp'len scheen/ een rechte vreugd voor klein en groot / die Groningen sluit in haer schoot / dit heeft des heeren hand gedaan / en dese penningen doen slaen' Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I, 117 See also Johann von Reckingen, Eeuwfeest van de bevrijding van Groningen, silver, Teylers Museum Haarlem, inv nr TMNK 01262.
[59] Abrahamus Trommius, *Reductie der stadt Groningen aen den staet der Vereenigde Nederlanden, gestelt by forme van extract uyt de Nederlantsche Historien van Emanuel van Meteren* (Groningen 1694).

To explain the dichotomy between religion and freedom Trommius quoted the motto on the States guilder, *hac nitimur, hanc tuemur* (this we defend, by this we are protected): people should rely on religion and protect freedom because religion is important for the soul while freedom is necessary for the body.[60] During the Habsburg regime both the body and the soul had thus suffered.

> Even so our Loss (so to speak) has been our Happiness; because while this City sat and sighed under the Spanish Government, the pure *Religion* was suppressed, and *Freedom* violated, but the only means to get out of that slavery, was the fortunate *Reduction.*[61]

Another aspect missing from his sermon which Trommius had included in his history of seventeenth-century Groningen were the troubles of 1672. Whereas Crucius organized his whole speech around these events in Leiden, Trommius did not mention them once in his sermon. He decided that current and political events belonged in the 'freedom' section of his work on the celebration of centenary of the reduction. This was a remarkable choice since Groningen had suffered deeply and much more seriously during the siege by the bishop of Munster in 1672 than had Leiden. While he could have interpreted the siege as a test and confirmation of faith, he chose to devote only a few pages to 1672 in his history of the reduction.[62] His decision might have been to leave 1672 in the margins since its annual celebration on 28 August took place only a month after the celebrations of 27 July. Maybe 28 August was sufficient to deal with the events of 1672, and therefore 27 July 1694 could be dedicated to the restoration of Calvinism alone.

Centenaries were not only a Northern phenomenon; the Habsburg Netherlands were also active in celebrating the anniversaries of victories during the Revolt. In 1671 the centenary of the battle of Lepanto was commemorated with the installation of four paintings in the Pauluschurch in Antwerp. The battle had ended in a great victory over the Turks by the Habsburg army and was celebrated accordingly.[63] In Bruges a special edition of the Holy Blood procession went out in 1686 to celebrate the jubilee, or centenary, of the reinstallment of this procession after the reconciliation with Bruges' Catholic overlord in 1584. From 1585 onwards the Holy Blood procession once again took place annually. Besides spectacular displays in the city, the students of the Jesuit college performed a play focused on the hiding

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[60] Trommius, 'Jubel-jaers predikatie', 45.
[61] 'Even soo is ons' Verlies (om soo te spreken) ons' Geluk geweest: want soo lang als dese Stadt onder de Spansse Regeringe sat en suchte, wierd de suyvere Religie onderdruckt, ende de Vryheyt verkracht; maer het eenichste middel om uyt die slavernye te geraken, was die geluckige Reductie.' Ibidem, 45–46.
[62] Trommius, *Reductie der stadt Groningen,* 114–117.
[63] Raymond Sirjacobs, *Antwerpen Sint-Pauluskerk. Historische gids* (Antwerp 2001) 80–84.

and restoring of the relic of the Holy Blood during the Calvinist regime between 1578 and 1584. This play was so successful that it was performed for seven days in a row. Yet, despite the lavish displays by the magistrate, the church and the corporations and the presence of the new governor Francisco de Agurto the centenary seems to have been celebrated one year to late.[64] Why would the city not have celebrated the jubilee in 1685? The most important reason was the French threat in 1683 and 1684, followed by the arrival of the new governor in 1685.

Another reason may have been the example of the celebration of the restoration of Catholicism in Antwerp in 1585, which was held in 1685. In this year the city went all out in the festivities for what was regarded as the start of a new period in civic history. In the preparations for the feast Antwerp left nothing to chance. The streets, squares, churches, houses and town hall were decorated with the most expensive wall hangings, displays, arches and columns.[65] To make sure that as many people as possible joined in the celebrations, placards were spread in nearby cities and villages to gather a large crowd.[66] Halberdier Antoine Creel from Amsterdam was one of the spectators during his visit to Antwerp in August 1685. For three days he witnessed the events, and remarked on the great turnout.

> the surge of the people was very great to see this hundred year jubilee feast, because it was very nice weather all the three days, that is to say on 25 August when the lord governor was welcomed and on 26 August when the procession for the octave of our lady assumption left and on 27 August when the hundred year jubilee was held.[67]

Besides remarking on the weather and the sights, Creel included a short history of why the events of 1685 took place.

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[64] Jan Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters, heidenen en rebellen. De stadsvieringen van 1685 ter gelegenheid van de honderdjarige herdenking van de herovering van Antwerpen', in: Stefaan Grieten et al. (eds.), *Vreemd gebouwd. Westerse en niet-westerse elementen in onze architectuur* (Turnhout 2002) 153–169, there 154; Charles Custis, *Jaerboecken der stadt Brugge* III (Bruges 1765) 285-293.
[65] Petrus Franciscus de Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught bewesen in dese stadt Antwerpen ter oorsaecke vande herstellinge des geloofs in't jaar 1585. door de glorieuse waepenen van sijne catholijcke majesteyt* (Antwerp 1685); Antoine Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', 1685, KBB, Ms. 18991-92.
[66] Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', 155.
[67] 'den toeloop van het volck was seer groot om dit hondert jarighe jubile feest te sien want het was alle de drye daghen seer schoon weer te weten op den 25 augusty doen den heer goeverneur is ingehaelt ende op den 26 augusty doen de procesy gegaen is van het octaef van onse lieve vrouwe hemelvaert en op den 27 augusty doen het hondert jarich jubile is gehouden'. Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 39v.

the hundred year jubilee feast being then a reconciliation of hundred years ago that the duke of Parma Alexander Farnese has captured the city of Antwerp under the government of his royal highness of Spain Philip the second.[68]

Creel read the displays in a very political manner and left out the religious implications of the reconciliation with the king in 1585. Based on what he saw during the festivities this seems a logical interpretation. The arches and displays confirm Creel's observation that Antwerp celebrated Farnese's contribution to the fall of the city since his portrait hung in almost every arch.[69] Moreover, being a halberdier may have colored Creel's interpretation of Farnese's military achievement, although his enthusiasm for Catholic rituals also suggests that he was a Catholic.[70]

Antoine Creel's account offers the description of a curious beholder but one without any religious or political agenda. He simply included his observations in his journal. Two other authors who remarked on the celebrations, however, did function deliberately as agents of memory: lawyer Hermannus van den Brandt and priest Petrus Franciscus de Smidt.[71] Each man wrote a description of the festivities, and offered an interpretation of what had happened in 1585. Van den Brandt emphasized that the religious struggles between the citizens of Antwerp had been the origin of the troubles in the city. Subsequently, Antwerp had learned the hard way that it should be loyal to its patron saint, the Virgin Mary.

> To her intercession alone he [Alexander Farnese] had attributed his victory, and taught us through our ancestors from that time onwards to honor her, as the most loyal sentinel […] to hold this centenary in her honor, and give our descendants an example through continuing joy and signs of triumph.[72]

The reconciliation of Antwerp for Van den Brandt meant the return of the city's patron saint and was a reminder that she should never be abandoned.

This rather moderate view of the Revolt offered by Van den Brandt could not compare to the way Petrus de Smidt interpreted the events before and after 1585. In general De Smidt

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[68] 'het hondert jarighe jubile feest synde doen een versoningh van hondert jaeren geleeden dat den hartoch van parma alexander fernese de stadt van antwerpen heeft ingenomen onder de reegeringhe van syne konicklycke majesteyt van hispanyen philippus den tweede'. Ibidem, f. 52r.

[69] Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*, without page numbers.

[70] Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 41r.

[71] Hermannus van den Brandt, *Korte beschryvinge van de triumph-arken en alle andere vreugde teekenen die te zien zyn binnen de stadt Antwerpen, op-gericht ende vertoont ten opzichte van de hondert jaerige gedachtenisse* (Antwerp 1685); Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

[72] 'Haere voorspraeke alleen heeft hy syne overwinninge toe-geschreven, en ons van dien tydt af in onse Voor Ouders geleert haer voortaen, als onse getrouwste Schildwacht te houden, en te eeren […] deze hondert-jearighe Feest tot haere Eere te houden, en onse naerkomelingen door de naer-gebleven Vreugdt, en Triumph teekenen een voorbeeldt te geven'. Brandt, *Korte beschryvinge*, 6.

emphasized the restoration of Catholicism and the new beginning Antwerp faced after 1585. As a loyal ally of the Habsburg regime and the Catholic Church 'unity, stability and prosperity' had come to the city once again.[73] As a member of the clergy he did not try to hide the fact that the religious component of the fall of Calvinist Antwerp was the most important. In his introduction De Smidt focused on the expulsion of heretics.

> [they] assaulted all the Holy Relics and Sanctuaries and have thrown [them] scandalously under their feet; except God had mercy and no longer wanted to tolerate that his elect people would bow under the tyranny of the godless heresy, has at last employed the blessed Austrian arms, to make this very sinful people disappear and flee as sand and dust in the wind.[74]

The Austrian arms were the Habsburg troops led by Alexander Farnese sent to relieve the city of its burden. Similar to Crucius' remarks about the princes of Orange, De Smidt's words thus honored Farnese for his military intervention against 'heretical furies and madness'.[75] This emphasis on heresy also became his explanation for why Antwerp had sided with the Protestants for so many years. The population had suffered from 'the dark night of the heretical deviations', but they had been inspired 'to bravely and persistently withstand the enemies of the Christian religion' and 'to make the scoffing and slandering tongues of heretics speechless'.[76]

In addition to offering an explanation of why the festivities took place, the books also served as guides for what was on display during the three-day feast. Van den Brandt's work was relatively small and could have served as a guide book during the celebration.[77] De Smidt's work, however, was made to commemorate the centenary and decorated with engravings.[78] The combination of the guide books and the richly decorated arches, altars and other displays demonstrated that the magistrate and church had spared no expense in organizing the jubilee of the restoration of Catholicism.[79] Moreover, the celebration was

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[73] Guido Marnef, 'Petrus Franciscus de Smidt, Hondert-jaerigh jubilé-vreught (1685)', in: Paul Begheyn et al. (eds.), *Jesuit books in the Low Countries, 1540-1773. A selection from the Maurits Sabbe Library* (Leuven 2009) 202–205, there 204.

[74] 'alle Heylighe Reliquien ende Heyligdom mishandelt ende schandelijck onder de voeten gesmeten hebben. Doch Godt ontfermende ende niet langer willende ghedooghen dat sijn uyt-ghelesen volck soo soude ducken onder de Tyrannie der Goddeloose Ketterije, heeft ten langhen lesten de ghebenedijde Oostenrijksche waepenen doen aen-wenden, om dit soo heyloos volck als sandt ende stof voor den wint te doen verdwijnen ende vlieden'. Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

[75] 'Kettersche furien ende rasernijne'. Ibidem.

[76] 'den donckeren nacht der Kettersche dwaelinghen, waer in sy nu al eenighe jaeren versucht hadde' and 'om de vyanden vande Christelijcke religie cloeckelijck ende volherdighlijck te wederstaen [...]om de schimpende ende lasterende tonghen der ketters spraeckeloos te maecken' Ibidem.

[77] Brandt, *Korte beschryvinge*.

[78] Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

[79] Marnef, 'Petrus Franciscus de Smidt', 202–203.

clearly a cooperative effort by these two corporations since the craft guilds and the neighborhoods made only small contributions. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that all the participating corporations paid for their own displays, and the religious orders and the local authorities had more funds available to spend on their decorations.[80] The arches they made, however, also differed in focus. The neighborhoods depicted the end of the war and Farnese's victory rather than the restoration of Catholicism.

Even so the religious and political themes of the occasion were featured in almost every display. At the start of the procession route the canons of Our Lady's cathedral had erected an altar which depicted the Virgin and Alexander Farnese. The Virgin's intercession as Antwerp's patron saint had not only helped during the siege, but Farnese had defeated the heretics and restored Catholicism in her honor.[81] Whereas the canons focused on the events of 1585, the Jesuits took a different approach. First, their arch was an expensive solid structure instead of a wooden frame covered with linen.[82] Second, the decorations focused on the reinstallation of their order in Antwerp, instead of their patron saint, unlike the other religious orders. The paintings on the arch did show Farnese's entry, but he was followed by true faith, Catholic religion, the religious orders and the Habsburg soldiers, an immediate reference to the importance of everyone involved in the fall of Antwerp.[83] The Jesuits therefore not only underlined their own importance and wealth in the city but placed themselves just behind true faith and Farnese and above the rest of the community.

The magistrates were in charge of two displays, one on the Grote Markt and one on the Meir, the two main squares of Antwerp. The first featured the town hall which was decorated with bay trees and the portraits of the dukes of Brabant, which had been cleaned especially for the occasion.[84] This political statement from the government was a reference to Antwerp's position within the province of Brabant.[85] The display on the Meir was the most spectacular of the centenary. An impressive temple was raised around the crucifix that had stood on the square since 1635. The octagonal construction surrounding the crucifix referred to the churches at Scherpenheuvel and Hanswijk, both important and politically charged places of pilgrimage in the seventeenth century.[86] In addition, the most marvelous scene in this display was the water spouting from the wounds of the Christ hanging on the crucifix during the celebration.

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[80] FAA, Stadsrekeningen, R119 f. 509r - f511v and R120 f.501r – f.504r.
[81] Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.
[82] Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', 156–157.
[83] Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.
[84] FAA, Ancien Régime archief van de stad Antwerpen, Stadsrekeningen, R119, f.510v and PK 2996 Het honderdjarig jubilee van het overgaan der stad onder het beleid van Alexander Farnese gevierd op 27 augustus 1685 (Verachter), no page numbers; Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.
[85] Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', 155.
[86] Ibidem, 160; Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*; Brandt, *Korte beschryvinge*; Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 50r.

and after the singing the lord bishop has given the benediction to all people who had been thereabouts with the Eucharist and when the lord bishop came down the stairs then large spouts of water came flowing from the five wounds of the Christ hanging on the large cross […] which was a wonder and a delight to behold.[87]

The scene represented the Eucharist, an element of the mass central to the renewed attention for this sacrament during the Counterreformation. This element was also emphasized in the depictions of this display by a priest carrying a monstrance.[88]

The magistrates' display on the Meir was depicted in prints and paintings several times in and after 1685. Besides the two prints in De Smidt's guide, no fewer than four paintings were made of the festivities (fig.53).[89]

Fig.53 Hendrik van Minderhout, The magistrate's temple on the Meir in Antwerp during the festivities in 1685 (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid).

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[87] 'ende na het singen heeft den heer bysschop de benedicty gegeven aen alle mensghen die daer omtrent hebben geweest met het alderheylichste ende doen is den heer bysschop de trappen afgegaen na beneden doen is uyt de vyf wonden vande chrystus die aen het groote kruys was hanghende met groote stralen water komen vloeden […] dat het te verwonderen is geweest ende een lust om te aenschouwen'. Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 51r.

[88] Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', 161.

[89] These paintings are at Vleeshuis in Antwerp (AV.1965.025); Cathedral in Antwerp; Prado in Madrid (inv nr PO3339) and Hermitage in St Petersberg (inv nr 4711). The Prado and Hermitage paintings have been attributed to Hendrik van Minderhout, the Vleeshuis version to Alexander van Bredael and the Cathedral version is anonymous.

All these paintings portray the same scene of the procession ascending the stairs into the temple, then towards the altar, and the subsequent descent of another set of stairs towards the Jesuit display. Although very little is known about these paintings they do suggest that the magistrates' display was considered the most important. Since two paintings are found in St Petersburg and Madrid, this may mean that they were presented to foreign diplomats as gifts, especially because they all display exactly the same scene.

The three-day celebration was closed by the reading of panegyrics about Antwerp and its centenary and another procession celebrating the triumph of Farnese and the Catholic faith. The enormous costs, however, contrasted with the bad economic and political situation facing the Habsburg regime at the end of the seventeenth century. Yet, with the magistrates, religious orders and population paying for their own decorations the jubilee relied less on the city's coffers than earlier entries had. A lucky coincidence presented itself on 28 August when the news reached Antwerp that the Turks had been defeated by the Austrian army near the Hungarian city of Gran. This news meant that the decorations for the jubilee remained standing for another week. A new victory against the heretics, similar to the one in 1585, needed to be celebrated.[90]

Collecting Revolt memorabilia

As the centenaries show, the interest in the Revolt remained strong throughout the seventeenth century. Indeed, the peace in 1648 proved to be an extra stimulus for cities and citizens either to hold on to Revolt memorabilia, or to sell or give them to collectors.[91] Cities sometimes also kept a small group of objects related to their own past, of which the Revolt was one topic among other famous episodes or individuals in their history. Furthermore, as we have already seen in chapter three, some of these collectors were families who tried to enhance their civic status through a collection of memorabilia. These families collected specific objects that were related to either their family or the city. Regent Cornelis Ascanius van Sypesteyn from Haarlem, for example, possessed a broad collection of Revolt memorabilia with a particular focus on his home town. In his numismatic collection he had at least seven pieces of emergency money from the siege of Haarlem.[92] Other collectors, however, were not so much interested in specific events but tried to build up collections of anything related to the Revolt. The majority of these collectors specialized in numismatic collections and acquired a large selection of emergency coins and medals. On the one hand,

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[90] Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', passim.
[91] Roelof van Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen in de zeventiende eeuw', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen 1993) 123–144, there 127–129.
[92] See below for emergency money in general.

this development meant a loss of meaning, since the original owners and their stories were no longer connected to the object. On the other hand, the specialization and broad interest in the Revolt meant that the objects finally ended up in museums and are still available today.

Collectors in the Low Countries had been interested in naturalia, antiquities, curiosities and art since the sixteenth century.[93] Assembling collections took time, money, knowledge and a steady supply of collectables. Therefore, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collectors were usually people with a good education and enough financial means.[94] Most collectors did not limit themselves to one type of object; in addition to an interest in coins, statues, prints, paintings, nature and science many collectors acquired historical artifacts.[95] Of course, the range of the collection depended on the collector's taste, but it was not unusual to assemble large collections which contained both art and curiosities.[96] Curiosities were especially of interest to historians and humanists such as minister Johannes Smetius, who used his coins to prove that Tacitus had written about Nijmegen in his book *Oppidum Batavorum* in 1644.[97]

Johannes Smetius is a good example of a humanist who collected antiquities in the Low Countries. Moreover, he belonged to the group of people who concerned themselves with antiquarianism and who used their collections to write history books. Smetius was renowned for his collection of Roman antiquities both in and beyond the Low Countries and employed his collection for his history of Nijmegen.[98] Besides objects, however, antiquarians also collected history books, archival material, and any other historic sources they could find. The antiquarian devoted himself to studying and writing about his material. In 1615, for instance, Franciscus Sweertius from Antwerp published a collection of genealogical and heraldic inscriptions on funeral monuments in the Habsburg Netherlands.[99] The interest of another scholar, Arnoldus Buchelius, resulted in two manuscripts which were meant to describe the churches in and around Utrecht and all sorts of inscriptions he found on his travels through the Low Countries, as we have already seen in chapter one.[100]

Besides antiquarians and collectors of art and curiosities, obvious candidates to collect memorabilia of the Revolt were the archdukes in the Habsburg Netherlands and the

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[93] Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen', 132–133.

[94] Paul Beliën, 'Waarom verzamelde Pieter Teyler penningen en munten?', in: Bert Sliggers (ed.), *De idealen van Pieter Teyler. Een erfenis uit de Verlichting* (Haarlem 2006) 97.

[95] Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen', 129–134.

[96] Ibidem, 133–134.

[97] Ibidem, 129–130.

[98] Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum 2001) 194–195; Esser, *The politics of memory*, 140–141.

[99] Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht*, 26–27.

[100] Arnoldus Buchelius, 'Monumenta quaedam sepulchralia et publica', ca. 1617, translated by Kees Smit, original at Tresoar Leeuwarden EVC 3373 and Arnoldus Buchelius, 'Inscriptiones monumentaque in templis et monasteriis Belgicis inventa', translated by Kees Smit, original at Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, manuscriptnumber 1648, via www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl.

stadholders in the Dutch Republic. Indeed the archdukes kept a collection of arms, banners and paintings which were connected to the Revolt in the Koudenberg palace in Brussels. This collection was open to the public and must have been relatively well known since halberdier Antoine Creel visited the palace after his visit to Antwerp in 1685.[101] In the Dutch Republic the Frisian stadholders possessed a small collection of relics that reminded them of how their ancestors Ernst Casimir and Hendrik Casimir had died during the Revolt.[102] Yet, these collections were comparable to the private collections that individuals kept to remember the deeds of family members as we have seen in chapter three. Of course, the archdukes did employ Peter Paul Rubens as court painter, and he did paint several allegorical paintings about defending Catholicism. By contrast the stadholders were not very interested in collecting and commissioning paintings about subjects broader than their own successes. More general collections of Revolt memorabilia were therefore more often found on civic and private levels.[103]

Although the museum had yet to be invented, the first civic collections did share some of its characteristics. Objects of all sizes, shapes and contexts were gathered in one room where they were exhibited to the public. These chambers of curiosities in the local town hall or another civic building were accessible to all citizens and became an attraction for tourists.[104] The one in 's-Hertogenbosch, for instance, supplied its visitors with a short guide to explain what was on display. According to the introduction, 'gentlemen and ladies, young and old' were welcome to see the curiosities, although they were not allowed to touch them. In addition, the objects were not ordered in any way and were displayed in drawers and chests or hung from the ceiling. Their numbers, however, did correspond with the captions in the visitor's guide. Since this guide was published at least seven times, the chamber probably had ample visitors for its collection of natural and historic curiosities. Indeed, the city displayed cannon, portraits and curiosities such as the shoes of the queen of Morocco side by side with a large collection of naturalia. Several pieces of memorabilia on display also recalled the Dutch Revolt or the Reformation. For example, the collection held the coat of mail and pistols of the famous Lekkerbeetje and a portrait of Erasmus.[105]

The focus of civic collections might not have been the Revolt, but the history of the city was a relevant theme. Any memorabilia related to the Revolt could therefore find their place in the local chamber of curiosities in the town hall. In Nijmegen, for instance, the sword which

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[101] Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 55v–58r.

[102] Harm Stevens, *Shades of Orange. A history of the Royal House of the Netherlands* (Amsterdam 2001) 11–13.

[103] See for example Jaap van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger. Schilderijencollecties in de Nederlanden', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen 1993) 145–164.

[104] Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen', 123.

[105] *Catalogus van alle de voornaemste rariteyten die op de rariteyt, ende konst-kamer, binnen de Stadt s' Hertogen-bosch verthoont worden* (7th edition; 's Hertogenbosch 1718), passim.

had decapitated Egmond and Horne in 1568 was on display in the town hall.[106] Why the sword was transferred to Nijmegen remained unclear, but the fact that it was on display revealed an interest in the Revolt nonetheless. In Hoorn the city kept a large silver cup that had belonged to the table service of the count of Bossu, the Spanish admiral, which was captured during the battle of the Zuiderzee.[107] Yet, other cities were able to gather and present larger collections of the Revolt to their public. As we have seen, Leiden possessed and displayed in its town hall several pieces that reminded the city of the siege and relief in 1574.

Besides the magistrate's interest in its own history, however, the popular interest in the Revolt should also not be underestimated. People loved to marvel at anything out of the ordinary. In Amsterdam, for example, two privately owned gardens with statues, so-called *doolhoven* or labyrinths were established in the early seventeenth century. These gardens offered a range of statues linked to subjects such as the Bible, mythology, morality, and sometimes contemporary history. One of the two gardens, the *Oude Doolhof*, displayed statues of William of Orange and his adversary the duke of Alva before 1648. This labyrinth was so popular that the guide book was printed multiple times throughout the seventeenth century, prints appeared which showed the garden, and it stayed open until 1862.[108]

When an object ended up in a civic collection, it could often still be connected to the event it commemorated, but this was a lot harder when the object was sold or given to a private collector. The most common collectable was the medal, which usually ended up in large numismatic collections. In fact, medals were so popular in the seventeenth century that they were sold to collectors by jewelers, merchants and medalists.[109] These medals therefore no longer represented a gift or reward but were sold as collectors' items. The serious demand for this type of momento probably convinced many families to sell their items. After all, when the person who had received the medal was deceased not everyone saw the necessity of keeping the objects of memory.

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[106] Johannes Smetius, *Chronyck van de oude stadt der Batavieren waer in (nevens de beschryvinge van Nymegen) de eerste oorspronck van dese landen, de achtbaere oudtheydt van dese stadt, de voortreflickheyt van haere privilegien, en de voornaemste geschiedenissen van de voorige eeuwen kortelick vertoont worden* (Nijmegen 1678) 34; Esser, *The politics of memory*, 156.

[107] Theodorus Velius, *Chroniick van Hoorn, daer in verhaelt werden des selven Stadts eerste begin, opcomen, en gedenckweerdige geschiedenissen, tot op den jare 1630 ...* (1648) 225; Cornelis A. Abbing, *Beknopte geschiedenis der stad Hoorn, en verhaal van de stichting ... van de groote kerk met platen* (Vermande 1839) 72, *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1873) 337–344, there 343.

[108] Marijke Spies, 'De Amsterdamse doolhoven. Populair cultureel vermaak in de zeventiende eeuw', *Literatuur* 18 (2001) 70–78, there passim; Hessel Gerritsz, Prinsengracht 338 Het Oude Doolhof, seventeenth century, engraving, SA, record 010097011866; *Verklaringe van verscheyden kunst-rijcke wercken en hare beweginghe, door oorlogie-werck ghedreven [...] Alles te sien in 't Oude Doolhof tot Amsterdam, op de hoeck van de Loyers-gracht*, (Amsterdam 1648).

[109] Jan Pelsdonk, 'De geschiedenis op orde. Collectioneurs, netwerken en verzamelingen in de Gouden Eeuw', in: Jan Pelsdonk et al. (eds.), *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle 2012) 51–78, there 52, 61; Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 324; Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 62.

The demand for medals is reflected in the publication of two fully illustrated monographs on Dutch medals. The French canon Pierre Bizot published his work in 1687 in Paris and included a short history of the Dutch Republic and Calvinism as well.[110] In 1690 a Dutch translation and extended version of Bizot's work was published by Pieter Mortier in Amsterdam. Apparently a Dutch monograph on medals and their history was in high demand in the Republic because Mortier obtained a patent on the Dutch edition, making him the only bookseller who could print and sell this book.[111] Mortier dedicated his book to seven medal collectors who helped him put together an extensive version of Bizot's book out of 'the love to study medals'.[112] The second Dutch monograph on medals was written by historian Gerard van Loon in 1723.[113] Van Loon expressed irritation about the lack of interest and study collectors put into their medals because he feared that the history behind the medals was mostly forgotten. In his opinion there was no limit to the amount of research that could be done on medals. To Van Loon's annoyance medals had become status symbols, something rich numismaticians could afford and put on display in their homes. The number of medals was more important than the meaning of their imagery.[114]

Numismatic collections made medals into museum pieces which disconnected them from their original stories. The collections often changed hands after their owner passed away, and the medals were assembled as an object type rather than as an object with its own individual context.[115] Nevertheless, on the basis of my research on auction catalogues it becomes clear that collectors were eager to have certain subjects in their collection, which also revealed an interest in the Revolt. The top ten subjects of the Revolt in medal collections were: the peace of Westphalia (1648), the siege of Leiden (1574), the peat barge of Breda (1590), the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch (1629), the siege of Ostend and Sluis (1604), the siege of Haarlem (1573), the battle of Turnhout (1597), the battle of Nieuwpoort (1600), the siege of Bergen op Zoom (1622), and the militia of Haarlem defending Hasselt (1622).[116] Most of these episodes were famous already during the Revolt in the Low Countries and

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[110] Bizot, *Histoire metallique de la Republique de Hollande* (Paris 1687).

[111] Pierre Bizot, *Medalische historie der republyk van Holland.* (1690) privilege.

[112] 'liefde tot de studie der Medalien' Ibidem, dedication.

[113] Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I.

[114] Ibidem, preface.

[115] The most extensive collection of auction catalogues concerning numismatic collections in the Netherlands belongs to the Geldmuseum in Utrecht and holds 20 auction catalogues for the period 1704-1759. These collections were auctioned in Amsterdam, The Hague, Leiden and Delft. For more on numismatic collections see Pelsdonk, 'De geschiedenis op orde. Collectioneurs, netwerken en verzamelingen in de Gouden Eeuw'.

[116] These episodes are arranged according to popularity. For a list of the auction catalogues see the bibliography. Other subjects include the petition of nobles, the beheading of Egmont and Hoorne, the statue of Alva in Antwerp, Iconoclasm, the siege of Antwerp, the relief of Lier, the Twelve Years' Truce, Synod of Dordrecht, the Silverfleet, the siege of Breda 1625 and the siege of Maastricht in 1632. Yet, it is difficult to date these medals exactly due to the fact that they have often been dated based on the episode they depict.

reflect the victorious sieges, battles and attacks celebrated in the Northern provinces. Yet, the Peace of Westphalia was the most popular episode, which featured in over ninety percent of the sold collections in the first half of the eighteenth century. This ubiquity can be explained both by the large number of medals produced for this occasion and by the availability of many different depictions of the peace.[117]

The availability of medals can be seen as a decisive factor in numismatic collections. The peat barge of Breda was a popular episode since 76 golden medals, a remarkably high number, were minted for the occasion.[118] A large number of medals depicted the turnout of Haarlem's militia to defend Hasselt in 1622. As a reward for their service the three hundred soldiers each received a medal from the magistrate in Haarlem upon their return.[119] Outside Haarlem this episode never received much attention at all, but the medal ensured its place in numismatic collections for centuries. Other examples of important events in the Dutch Republic were the sieges of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629 and Leiden in 1574. The siege of 's-Hertogenbosch was Frederik Hendrik's most important victory during the Revolt in 1629. The medals usually depict the stadholder on the front and the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch on the reverse.[120] The siege of Leiden was represented in more than eighty percent of the numismatic collections in the eighteenth century by two different medals. One of these we have already encountered; it portrayed the biblical scene of the siege of Sanherib on the front and the siege of Leiden on the reverse. The other, produced between 1680 and 1690, depicted the famous burgomaster Pieter van der Werf and an inscription of his deeds during the siege.[121]

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[117] See for example *Catalogus van een partye goude, silvere en kopere medailles, antique en moderne ... door Abraham de Hondt, op Vrydagh den 2 October 1722,* (The Hague 1722) 3; *Catalogus van een uitmuntend cabinet met antique en moderne goude, zilvere, kopere &c. medailles, nagelaeten by ... Abraham Zelkaert van Wouw ... welke alle by openbaeree veylinge zullen worden verkogt in 's Gravenhage door Cornelis Boucquet ..., op dinsdag den 29. Juny 1734* (The Hague 1734) 14; *Catalogus van medailles ... verkogt zullen werden door Pieter de Hondt op Vrydag den 29. October 1728* (The Hague 1728) 7; *Catalogus van een seer uytmuntend*, 60; *Catalogus van veele curieuse rariteiten*, 44.
[118] See for example *Catalogus van veele curieuse rariteiten*, 39, 43; *Catalogus van een weêrgaloos cabinet*, 64; *Catalogus van medailles*, 10; *Catalogus van een uitmuntend cabinet*, 154; See for the commission by the States General Japikse, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal* 7 (1590-1592), 22.
[119] See also chapter three about the propaganda value of this medal for Haarlem; shortly after 1618 it could prove the city's loyalty to Maurice during the siege of Bergen op Zoom.
[120] See for example *Catalogus van een uitmuntend cabinet*, 172; *Catalogus van een curieus cabinet medailles, bestaande in zeer rare, zo zilvere, tinne, koopere, en andere moderne medailles ... dewelke verkogt zullen werden door Abrah. de Hondt, ... op Woonsdag den 18. April 1714,* (The Hague 1714) 7; *Catalogus van een zeer uytmuntend en wel bewaard cabinet*, 62; *Catalogus van een weêrgaloos cabinet*, 78.
[121] See for example *Catalogus van een vorstelyk cabinet*, 18; *Catalogus van een uytmuntent cabinet, bestaande uyt veele welbewaarde en alle origineele zilvere medailles ... alle dese penningen zullen by openbare veylinge verkoft werden binnen Leyden ten huyse van Joh. Arnold. Langerak, op maandag den 8. Maart 1723* (Leiden 1723) 11–12; *Catalogus van een zeer uytmuntend en wel bewaard cabinet*, 19–20.

The latter medal by Johannes Smeltzing was aimed, in particular, at an audience of collectors at the end of the seventeenth century.[122] Its size and its appearance in many collections suggests that new producers responded to the fact that the siege of Leiden and Van der Werf had by then become popular subjects that could not be absent from a numismatic collection. In addition, the actual design of new medals meant that the Revolt itself was still important enough to ensure a market for an object that was related to a specific episode. New imagery of the Revolt continued to appear even though it had been over a generation since the Peace of Westphalia had been signed. Moreover, this practice of producing new medals aimed at a market of collectors was not new at the end of the seventeenth century. In fact there are several examples of medals specifically made for numismatic collections. In Amsterdam the magistrates commissioned a gold medal of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 for themselves, but at the same time silver versions were produced for a larger audience of collectors.[123] One of the medals made to commemorate the siege at Bergen op Zoom in 1622 is dated between 1654 and 1658. This silver medal was made for collectors to complete their collections of Revolt medals (fig.54).[124]

Fig.54 Pieter van Abeele sr., the relief of Bergen op Zoom in 1622, minted between 1654-1658 (Teylers Museum Haarlem).

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[122] Johannes Smeltzing, Zilveren penning ter ere van P.Az. van der Werf, 1680-1690, silver, Museum De Lakenhal Leiden, inv nr 3370.

[123] Johannes Lutma (sr), Vrede van Münster, medal, 1650, silver, Teylers Museum Haarlem, inv nr 00526; Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* II, 311–312; Dirk Jan Biemond, 'Johannes Lutma en de penningkunst. Handzame kunstwerken van een beeldhouwer in zilver', in: J.E.L Pelsdonk et al. (eds.), *Hulde! penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle: Wbooks 2012) 11–23, there 16–22.

[124] Pieter van Abeele sr, Ontzet van Bergen op Zoom door Maurits (1622), medal, 1654-1658, silver, Teylers Museum Haarlem, inv nr 00406 as displayed in the exhibition *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, Teylers Museum Haarlem, 2012.

In addition another version of the Bergen op Zoom medal appeared frequently in gold because the magistrate continued to reward people with this medal throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The imagery and circumscriptions remained identical.[125] This explains how this medal occurred so frequently in seventeenth-century collections.

In the Habsburg Netherlands medals were also popular. One of the largest numismatic collections in the Dutch Republic, assembled by merchant Balthasar Scott, reveals a substantial number of 'Southern victories'. Scott was a wealthy merchant, director of the Dutch East India Company and town councilor in Amsterdam. He became burgomaster of that city in 1735, where he died in 1741 leaving a widow and no children.[126] His collection of over a thousand medals demonstrated an urge to collect every medal relating to the history of the Low Countries including those from the Habsburg Netherlands. For example, Scott owned eight medals depicting Alexander Farnese and the siege and fall of Antwerp. The most spectacular is a medal representing Alexander Farnese on the front, while the reverse showed a column with Farnese on top surrounded by two conquered enemies in chains.[127]

A subcategory of numismatic collections was the emergency money that had circulated in cities during sieges. When regular currency was no longer available, and the garrison and soldiers needed payment, the local government collected gold and silver from churches, guilds and individuals to melt into coins.[128] If the city did not employ a minter, a silversmith would produce primitive shapes that could be exchanged for regular money after the siege. If there was no gold or silver available, emergency money was made from tin, lead, copper or paper, but this was accepted only with a guarantee that it would be exchangeable by the city or sometimes even by the States General.[129] The designs for this money were often reminders of the cause of the Revolt. For example, in the Dutch Republic phrases such as 'pugno pro patria' (I fight for the fatherland), 'haec libertatis ergo' (this one if for freedom) and 'God behoede Leyden' (God save Leiden) circulated on emergency money.[130] This type of money had therefore become part of the national propaganda during the Revolt and was collectable as well.

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[125] George Sanders, 'Penningen ter beloning', in: Jan Pelsdonk et al. (eds.), *Hulde! penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle 2012) 79–95, there 93.

[126] Elias, Johan E., *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795* (Amsterdam 1963) 701, via http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken.

[127] *Catalogus van een cabinet van goude en silvere medailles*, 45.

[128] For example the emergency coins in Amsterdam in 1578 were made of the silver of the Old Church *Catalogus van een vorstelyk cabinet*, 22.

[129] Hendrik Enno van Gelder, *De Nederlandse noodmunten van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Den Haag 1955) 6–7; C. Streefkerk, 'Geen geld? Geen nood. Noodgeld! Het noodgeld te Alkmaar tijdens het beleg van 1573', in: M.L. Pop-Jansen (ed.), *Geld in Alkmaar. Opstellen over geld en penningen in relatie tot Alkmaar* (Alkmaar 1993) 47–53, there 50.

[130] Arent Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden. Waarheid en verdichting* (the Hague 2007) 5–9; E.J.A. Beek, 'De munten van Leiden, geslagen tijdens de belegeringen van 1573 en 1574', *Leids jaarboekje* 66 (1974) 51–61, there passim.

Historian Hendrik Enno van Gelder already assumed in 1955 that people who had lived through sieges kept emergency money as tangible memories of the Revolt. In some cases, such as in Bergen op Zoom in 1622, emergency money had not even been made during the siege but was specifically made afterwards to hand out as commemorative objects. Moreover, Van Gelder observed that some of the coins carried commemorative inscriptions that had then been personalized and altered after the siege.[131] For example, in Haarlem the date and the number of cannonballs that had been fired during the siege of Haarlem were added to a coin after 1573.[132] Other people all over the Low Countries engraved their names and professions into the money.[133] In Brussels the siege of 1584 even inspired someone to put the name of his son on his emergency coin although the boy was born after the siege ended on 10 March 1585.[134] This practice continued for a long time, as late as 1662 when Hindrick van t Laer from Groningen put his name on an emergency coin to commemorate the siege of 1577.[135] Moreover, as we have seen already with the medals, emergency money was also altered to fit an eye and a chain in order to wear it. In combination with the personalization of emergency money this adaptation clearly demonstrates its commemorative value, especially when the birth of a child was engraved on a coin, which made it an heirloom within families.

The Revolt thus continued to be connected to family life. In 1674, during the centenary of the relief of Leiden, Adrianus Severinus also reflected on this function within families.

> As one presently still sees these pieces of money by the eldest families in town, by whom they were kept as valuable reminders and tokens of memory of the fierce siege.[136]

According to Severinus, the old families of Leiden thus kept emergency money and passed it on within family circles for at least a century. In addition, medals shaped like emergency money were awarded to local heroes.[137] In Leiden pigeon owner Willem Cornelisz Speelman was given a silver medal shaped like an emergency coin which remained a family heirloom

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[131] Enno van Gelder, *De Nederlandse noodmunten*, 6.

[132] 'Den 11 Decembris an 1572 ist leger voor Haerlem ghecome en den 13 iuly an 73 is die stat in hande van don Fredericko gelevert – op Haerlem syn gheschoten 10402 schoten'. Ibidem, 14.

[133] For example, Haarlem (1572): Maria van Pelt, Willem Verwer and Jan Pieter Deijma, Middelburg (1572): Cornelis Tas, Leiden (1574): Willem Berkhey, Woerden (1575): Jan Cornelis van Roe, Brussels (1584): Adriaen Janssens Rosenburch. Ibidem, passim.

[134] 'Adriaen Ianssens Rosenburch / natus anno 1585 tertio augusti'. Ibidem, 51.

[135] Ibidem, 34.

[136] 'Gelijk men dese stucken gelts by de oudste Geslagten der Stad heden nog siet, by wien ze als weerdige overblijfselen en gedenk-tekenen der felle belegeringe, bewaert werden'. Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving*, 74–75; Severinus, *Het geluckig herdenken*, 44–45.

[137] Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden*, 27.

until the middle of the eighteenth century.[138] Yet, the popularity also had another side. As we have seen, medals were sold by jewelers, but this happened with emergency money as well. In fact, emergency coins were executed in a heavier and more luxurious metal solely for commemorative purposes, which eliminated the relic status of the money.[139] People could simply buy the objects, or Revolt memorabilia, that appealed to them. Moreover, this practice also inspired people to produce forgeries or replicas of the emergency money, created from all sorts of metal and paper.[140]

Clearly there was a market for a variety of memorabilia from the beginning of the Revolt in 1566 until the eighteenth century. This included medals and emergency money but also the symbols the 'Beggars' and their opponents wore during the Revolt. Not only did the term become fashionable for a short time, but accompanying symbols were designed as well. These were inspired by the marks that were traditionally worn for identification by Beggars across the Low Countries. Moreover, rebels carried the symbols in their possession and wore them as political statements. Gradually these items also became collectables.[141] The first symbol was a small bowl, known as ´geuzennap´.[142] The second item was an oval-shaped medal, the so-called *geuzenpenning* or Beggar medal. The medal displayed Philip II on the front and two joined hands and a beggar satchel around them on the reverse.[143] It was made by several artists, including Jacques Jonghlinck, and it was in high demand amongst nobles who wore the Beggar medals in public.[144] Some of these medals were executed in gold, others in silver, copper, tin and lead which meant that they could be purchased by many.[145] At the end of the seventeenth century this Beggar medal was a true collectable, and it appeared in many numismatic collections.[146]

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[138] Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving*, 112–114.

[139] See for a discussion about silver coins Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden*, 13–14; This also happened in Middelburg, Zierikzee and Bergen op Zoom, while in the last city emergency money had not even been issued. Enno van Gelder, *De Nederlandse noodmunten*, 6.

[140] Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden*, 15–21.

[141] Henk van Nierop, 'Edelman, bedelman. De verkeerde wereld van het Compromis der Edelen', *BMGN* 107 (1992) 1–27, there 4.

[142] See for example Anonymous, Geuzennap met kalebas, 1550-1600, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-NM-878-A; Geuzen-nap, Bedel-nap. Behorende aan de Graaf van Horne (1524-1568), Admiraal van de Nederlanden; Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie, inv nr 052172

[143] See for example, Anonymous, Geuzenpenning, 1575-1600, gold, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-NM-878-C; Jacques Jonghelinck, Geuzenpenning, 1566, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-VG-1-359

[144] Simon Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen, 1559-1609', in: Simon Groenveld et al. (eds.), *De Kogel door de kerk? De opstand in de Nederlanden en de rol van de Unie van Utrecht, 1559-1609* (Zutphen 1979) 68–141, there 72.

[145] G. van der Meer, 'Geuzenpenningen, napjes en kalebasjes', *De Beeldenaar* 4 (1980) 91–95, there 91–93; Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen, 1559-1609', 72.

[146] *Catalogus van een seer uytmuntend*, 6; *Catalogus van een zeer uytmuntend en wel bewaard cabinet*, 7; *Catalogus van een sindelyk en wel bewaart cabinet moderne zilvere medailles, meest gehorende tot de historie der Nederlanden, Vrankrijk, Engeland, Duytsland, Sweeden, Deenemarken, mitsgaders die der pausen, en eenige geleerde en beroemde mannen . Nagelaten door wylen Jacob Bart*, (The Hague 1725) 2; There was also another version of this medal: on the front it showed the

Other Beggar medals were shaped like a crescent with the circumscription 'liver turcx dan paus', or 'rather Turkish than Pope', and worn by the rebels under Admiral Boisot.[147] This phrase had been introduced by minister Herman Moded whose adherents started to wear these particular crescents for the first time in 1566 when attending his field preaching near Antwerp. In addition, the object referred to the preferability of allying with the Turks over submitting to the Catholic Spanish king.[148] Catholics in the Habsburg Netherlands also designed a symbol of their own. They minted oval medals that depicted Our Lady of Halle, after the duke of Aarschot had started wearing this medal on his hat.[149] Yet, despite the effort not many Catholics decided to wear them except in the provinces of Artois, Hainaut and Namur.[150] Eventually, however, these medals still made it to the Northern Netherlands in numismatic collections at the end of the seventeenth century.[151] While the Catholics had not succeeded in introducing this symbol in the sixteenth century, the medals found their way into collections a century later where they featured besides the Beggar memorabilia.

Beggar symbols were integrated quickly into the imagery of the Revolt. For instance, the Beggar song books that appeared always displayed the same Beggar medals on their frontispiece.[152] Even when the imagery had become much more refined, as we can see in Valerius *Neder-landtsche gedenck-clanck*, the song books continued to display the old woodcut with Beggar symbols.[153] Similarly the actual symbols became collectables and were integrated into numismatic collections. And like the medals and emergency money, new seventeenth-century Beggar memorabilia were made for collectors in order to complete their collection. Van Loon, for instance, depicted several versions of the original Beggar medal and small calabashes and bowls that were attached to them. As far as the medals were concerned, research has shown that they were probably seventeenth-century copies or interpretations of the original medal executed for collectors. For the calabashes and bowls, however, Van Loon could produce their provenance. Out of the seven objects he displayed

Beggar satchel but on the reverse it depicted the nobles instead of Philip II *Catalogus van het cabinet goude en zilvere moderne medailjes*, 4.

[147] See for example Anonymous, halve maan door de 300 bootsgezellen van admiraal de Boisot gedragen, 1574 silver, Rijkmseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-VG-1-407-A.

[148] K.F. Kerrebijn, 'Zilveren halve manen', *De Beeldenaar* 25 (2001) 173–175, there 173–174.

[149] Justus Lipsius, *Historie van Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Halle* (Brussels 1714) 92.

[150] Judith Pollmann, *Catholic identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford 2011) 72.

[151] *Catalogus van een vorstelyk cabinet*, 12; *Catalogus van een cabinet van goude en silvere medailles*, 17.

[152] See for example *Eerste deel van 't Nieu Geusen Liet Boeck waerinne begrepen is den gantschen handel der Nederlanden beginnende Anno 1564, uyt alle oude Geusen Liet boecken by een versamelt. Verciert met schoone Oude Refereynen ende liedekens te voren noyt in eenige Liedt-boecken gedruckt* (Amsterdam 1624); *Geuse lietboek waer in begrepen is den oorsprongh vande troublen der nederlantsche oorlogen mitsgaders sommighe refereynen ende liedekens in desen druck hier by gevoeght als mede ook het tweede deel, dit jaar eerst in druck uytgegeven* (Amsterdam 1645); *Een Nieu Geusen lieden boecxken. Geuse lietboek, waer in begrepen is den oorspronck van de troublen der Nederlantsche oorlogen en het gene daer op ghevolght is* (Amsterdam 1671).

[153] Adrianus Valerius, *Neder-landtsche gedenck-clank. Kortelick openbarende de voornaemste geschiedenissen van de seventhien Nederlandsche Provintien* (Haarlem 1626) 13.

and described in his book, at least four could be traced to their original owners according to Van Loon. Moreover, two out of these four were still in the possession of the original owner's family and had thus been part of his inheritance.[154] Again, as we have seen before, some of the Revolt memorabilia was cherished in families, while other items entered into collections.

By the end of the seventeenth century collecting Beggar memorabilia had become so fashionable that people also started depicting their (small) collections of bowls, medals and other memorabilia.[155] In some cases Beggar symbols were combined with other memorabilia, such as the print by Abraham Delfos that displayed the cooking pot from Leiden as well as two Beggar medals (fig.55).[156]
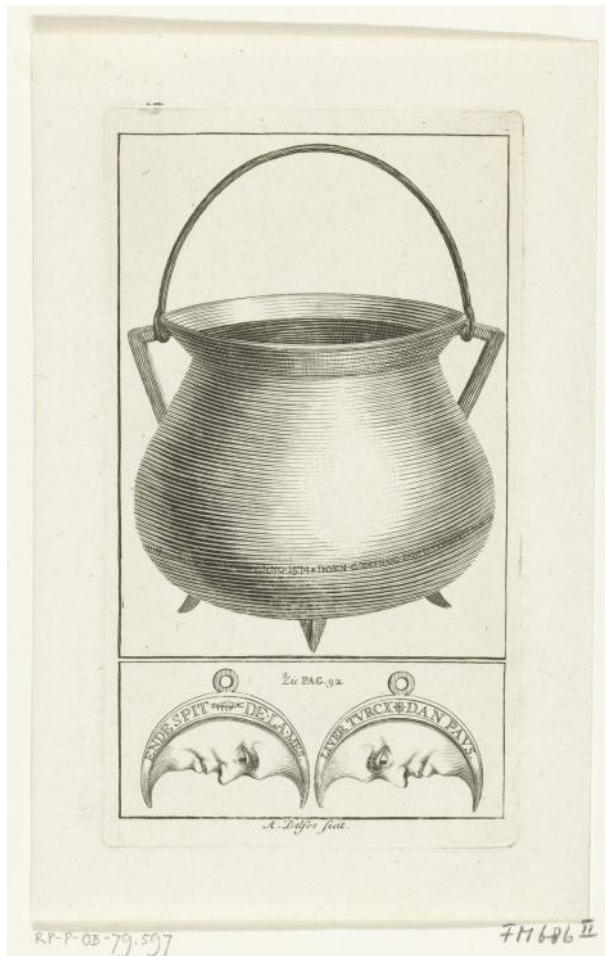
Fig.55 Abraham Delfos, The cooking pot from Leiden combined with two beggar medals, 1741-1820 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

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[154] Meer, 'Geuzenpenningen, napjes en kalebasjes', 93–95; Bizot, *Medalische historie der republyk van Holland.*; Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I, 83–85.
[155] Anonymous, *'t Geuze Napje*, painting in the collections of Johan de Milan and Alexandrina Criex (1701), Getty Provenance Index Database, Archival Inventory N-1736; Justus van Attevelt, *Geuzennap*, 1680-1690, drawing, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-T-00-3576; J. van Attevelt, Afbeelding van twee zijden van een geuzenpenning, een geuzennap en twee andere, kleine voorwerpen, drawing, HUA, inv nr 38682; Francois van Bleyswyck, *Het Geuze-napje*, 1730-1735, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.250.
[156] Abraham Delfos, *De Spaanse kookpot van Leiden*, 1574, 1741-1820, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.597.

This print was probably made for a Leiden context since it also appeared in the new edition of Severinus' book about the siege of Leiden in 1777.[157] The connection to the Beggars either in spirit or in reality was also made through prints that displayed both a portrait and Beggar symbols. A print depicting Count Floris I of Culemborg, for instance, featured not only his portrait but several items of Beggar memorabilia at the end of the eighteenth century.[158] In addition, new Beggar memorabilia were also made in the eighteenth century, possibly to create a connection between the owner and his Beggar ancestors.[159] Beggar symbols therefore remained visible in public from the end of the sixteenth century onwards.

After the conflict had finally ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the commemoration of the Revolt continued and changed again after eighty years of warfare. A new generation grew up in peace, and the older generations feared that the past would not be remembered. As a result the 1660s, in particular, were marked by increasing attention to memories of the Revolt. Plays were performed and published, sermons referred to the local past, books with eyewitness accounts appeared, and artists were employed to depict certain episodes. All of these efforts were pointed towards remembering the past and keeping the past alive for future generations. Moreover, for playwrights, authors, and artists the Revolt proved to be big business since the audience was willing to pay for hearing, reading and experiencing their history. The commemoration of the Revolt had entered its 'cultural memory' phase.

As part of the cultural memory, the Revolt was still remembered, but the commemoration had become more abstract and memories of difficulties and opposing groups within society had successfully been blended out of urban memory cultures. These changes were visible in the organization of several centenaries of the Revolt that took place from 1666 onwards. The political climate of the 1670s did not always allow for large celebrations, but people did consider their relationship to the past. In Leiden in 1674 the Revolt was interpreted against the backdrop of the contemporary political and economic situation. In Groningen the local minister looked back upon the city's glorious past. While in both cities civic unrest had occurred during the sieges they so vigorously celebrated each year, the long time span between the past and the present meant that these difficulties could be forgotten. Instead contemporary politics was included in the commemorative process. In the Habsburg Netherlands the same tendency was visible. The spectacular celebration of the restoration of

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[157] Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving*, 128–129.
[158] J. Buys, Gravure getiteld *'Floris (I) Graave van Cuylenborch'*, 1750-1780, engraving, Museum Elisabeth Weeshuis Culemborg, inv nr 0570-0248.
[159] Anonymous, Zilveren geuzenpenning met beeltenis van koning Filips II, 1700-1799, silver, Belasting en Douane Museum Rotterdam, inv nr 00108.

Catholicism in 1685 reminded everyone of Antwerp's Catholic identity, rather than looking back on what local Calvinists had done there during their regime.

Besides the fact that these celebrations were a reinterpretation of the past to suit current needs, the memorabilia of the Revolt also underwent significant changes in meaning. As we have seen in previous chapters, individuals and families cherished objects, but as time progressed, the relationship between the object and its owner loosened. First of all, the original owner had died and passed his reminder of the Revolt on to his descendants. Subsequently, two scenarios applied. In the first people and cities held on to the memorabilia that had been received, bought or commissioned by their ancestors. In the second scenario these individual objects or sometimes small collections were sold or given to collectors. In the former case, the connection between the object and its original context during the Revolt was maintained. In the latter, the object was collected not for its commemorative value but for its shape, material or genre. Slowly, a process of musealization took hold, and the majority of the objects transformed from being connected to the Revolt by a private or local story to being one of many similar objects collected for their shape or artistic value. Especially for relics and gifts this process meant a loss of meaning they would never regain. Nevertheless, interest in memorabilia of the Revolt never waned, and the market for objects such as medals even inspired people to reproduce, sell and copy original pieces. This practice, in combination with all the still existing memorabilia in an urban memory landscape, ensured that the Revolt lived on for centuries.

Conclusion

On 25 March 1696, Franco Dias wrote to the burgomasters and aldermen of Antwerp to tell them he had seen the relic of the Holy Circumcision in a castle near Rome. This relic, one of the most important in Antwerp, had been lost during the iconoclasm. Dias, writing from the Italian town Pitigliano, had an interesting offer for the city council. If they would provide the necessary financial support, he would be able to recapture the relic by organizing a raid on the castle.[1] Although any official correspondence between the city council and Dias is missing, this letter is exemplary for the way the Dutch Revolt was integrated into urban memory cultures in the Low Countries. Dias' questionable proposal, the letter's authenticity, its late date and the fact that it mentions a relic that had been lost for more than a century prove that memories of the Revolt not only circulated but still inspired people to take action. Moreover, the letter and its content demonstrate an ongoing interest in material memories of the Revolt.

On an urban level, memories of the Dutch Revolt were usually expressed via a rich material memory culture. Stories about the past survived within the existing memory landscape and often had a material component as proof of their authenticity. As we have seen, this memory landscape was built upon the civic memories of previous eras, in which relics took a special position. Traditional relics had been present since the early Middle Ages but could gain new meaning during the Revolt. The relic of the Holy Circumcision was such a relic. Throughout the sixteenth century it held a special place amongst Antwerp's civic elite and the nobility who were members of the brotherhood of the Holy Circumcision.[2] The Circumcision had its own annual procession in the beginning of June, and was the most important relic in Antwerp. During the iconoclasm in Antwerp the cathedral of Our Lady, which also held the Circumcision chapel, had been hit the hardest.[3] The violence added another layer of memory to both the cathedral and the relics.

Considering the importance of the Holy Circumcision for Antwerp we can now put the letter in perspective. Dias wrote that while he was on a boar hunt with a 'certain prince' the man told him that he held 'the greatest relic of all the world, the circumcision of Jesus Christ, stolen in our fatherland during the iconoclasm […] brought there by a certain Englishman on

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[1] FAA, Private Archieven, Archieven van kerken en kloosters, inv nr KK210 Onze Lieve Vrouw sermoenen en hoogmissen, brief 1696; R. van Uytven et al. (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Brabant. Van het hertogdom tot heden* (Zwolle 2004) 258.

[2] Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550-1577* (Antwerp 1996) 88.

[3] Peter Arnade, *Beggars, iconoclasts, and civic patriots. The political culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca 2008) 142–146.

his way to Rome'.[4] What stands out here is the amount of detail Dias included in his letter. More than one hundred years after the episode took place he knew about the relic, he knew about its importance for the 'fatherland', and he knew that it had been stolen during the iconoclasm. While these details may well have been a trick to convince the city council of the letter's authenticity, they are also an indication of the impact of an urban memory culture. Even if the story about the prince and the Englishman in Italy was a deception, Dias did know the story of the relic and what happened to it, which implies that an urban memory culture, and the stories that were part of it, took root in people who could then act upon these memories.

The fact that the letter was not part of the official archive of the town council, its sometimes questionable content and that the relic never returned to Antwerp suggest that it was a scam, which in the context of my research this makes the letter even more interesting. First and foremost it reveals how Dias situated the relic of the Holy Circumcision as part of the heritage of the fatherland. Not only did he know the story, but he offered an interpretation of the relic's value for Antwerp to impress and persuade the town council. In addition, even though the relic had been missing for one hundred and thirty years Dias also knew that the Holy Circumcision still held an important place in Antwerp's religious life. In 1685, during the celebrations of the restoration of Catholicism, a new altar had been erected, and its brotherhood was still one of the most prestigious in the city during the seventeenth century.[5] In his letter Dias thus revealed his knowledge of the commemorative value of the object as part of Antwerp's urban memory culture.

The relic of the Holy Circumcision in Antwerp is just one example of how urban, material memories of the Revolt circulated in cities in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Low Countries. Until this dissertation, however, the urban and the material component of memory had not yet been studied systematically. Historians Willem Frijhoff, Judith Pollmann, Raingard Esser and Peter Arnade, for instance, each studied elements of both the urban and the material but limited themselves to a single urban community, a single medium or a short time period. What this study has shown is that the comparison between different cities and different media is essential to understand how the Revolt was remembered in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands and why. Not only were urban memories also deployed to tell a story about the 'national' past, but many of the material memories employed by propagandists on a national level originated and existed in an urban setting.

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[4] 'de aldergrooste relique van gants de weirelt de besnijdenisse van onsens Jesu Christi gestolen in ons vaderlandt ten tijde van de belt stormerije […] daar gebrocht door sekere engelsche die near Roma reijsde' FAA, inv nr KK210, f.1.

[5] Felixarchief Antwerp, Private Archieven, Archieven van kerken en kloosters, inv nr KK210, resolution 23 July 1685 (taken from resolutionbook 1686); Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen* (Amsterdam 2008) 115–116.

Since the Dutch Revolt was a civil war and was fought in sieges rather than open battles, the 'national' narratives that developed in the seventeenth century were inspired by local developments. Recent research by Jasper van der Steen has demonstrated that some of local episodes such as the siege of Leiden in the North and the siege of Ostend in the South were included in the national narratives of the Revolt that developed in the early seventeenth century. Moreover, as Van der Steen observed, the role of the cities in the 'national' memory culture should not be underestimated since 'the federal and decentralized nature of the polity required propagandists to invoke a wide variety of events that could appeal to Netherlanders from different cities and regions'. Because religion was a divisive issue in the Dutch Republic, such appeals to memory usually focused on a secular history of the Revolt. In the Habsburg Netherlands memory on the 'national' level was less complicated since both church and state centered their memory culture of the rebellion on the evils of Protestantism. Many Southern cities, however, had a complicated relationship to memories of the Revolt because they had participated in the rebellion.[6] On an urban level, as we have seen in this study, it seems that memories of the Revolt in the South were more often reinterpreted than left out of urban history. Even in cities such as Antwerp, which was known for its rebellion, the history of the Revolt was not forgotten.

The practices of memory and oblivion which came into being on the national level not only built on local episodes but also relied on the fact that urban communities were much more active in the practices of memory than national governments. The States General in the Dutch Republic awarded medals, put banners on display in its meeting place, and paid for general histories of the Revolt but did not actively participate in advocating a distinctive story about the Revolt. Individual cities did far more to commemorate Revolt episodes. National memories of the Revolt recurred in political debate, but it was left to urban communities themselves to find a way to deal with their past. In the Habsburg Netherlands the Archdukes were more active in propagating their message of dynastic traditions and piety history to the public, but they also relied on local governments to amplify their message during Joyous Entries, pilgrimages and shooting contests. Even though the Archdukes commissioned art, collected (new) relics and propagated the Counterreformation, they could not compete with the impact of memory on an urban level. It was at this level where memories of the bond with the dynasty and the message of piety and loyalty to the crown, for example, were propagated during festivities throughout the seventeenth century, such as the celebration of the restoration of Catholicism in Antwerp in 1685.

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[6] Jasper van der Steen, 'The politics of memory in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014) 273-274.

While national memories were usually spread in cities via temporary displays, local memories of the Revolt could be displayed permanently in the city. An urban memory landscape reflected the variety of media that propagated memories of the Revolt, whereas 'national' memories usually existed in written form such as general histories or pamphlets. Of course, there are some exceptions. In the Habsburg Netherlands the Duke of Alva erected a column to remember the destruction of the Culemborg palace in Brussels. Yet, even these material memories were often also part of an urban memory landscape and to be found in the local churches or on urban public buildings. In the Dutch Republic national memories of the Revolt were sometimes created, such as the lavish tomb for William of Orange. Yet, this funerary monument was situated in the New Church in Delft which ensured that it also became part of the urban memory landscape of that city. Finally, art was an important instrument by which the Archdukes displayed the historic role of their dynasty and exemplary piety. The early stadholders were less involved in creating this type of memory in art. This did not mean there was no national interest in Revolt memorabilia. As we have seen, for instance, the States General did prevent a silver replica of the peat barge that had captured Breda in 1590 from being melted down in 1611. Their acquisition of this material memory demonstrates that the States General were aware of the commemorative value of such items and that urban and national memory cultures were intertwined.

In addition to demonstrating how urban memory cultures had an impact on the national memory culture that emerged in the Dutch Republic as well as in the Habsburg Netherlands, this dissertation is the first to offer a comparative study of several urban communities, the way they remembered their recent experiences with war in the early modern period, and how these memories became part of the city's identity. By focusing on material culture as a source, as well as studying several cities over the long term, this study has revealed that urban memory cultures resulted from a dynamic interaction between different stakeholders, the message they propagated and the media they used. Without downplaying the role of less material memories such as sermons and plays, the material approach has given us the opportunity to integrate sources that had so far been left untouched by historians, such as cannonballs, clothing, and street names. In combination with elite media such as paintings and gable stones, material memories have provided a solid foundation to understand urban memory cultures and their stakeholders.

Through the analogy with an urban memory landscape this study has demonstrated that different stakeholders and media interacted within and beyond the urban community. Instead of a magistrate that imposed its will on the population and decided which stories should become part of an urban memory culture, a variety of different stakeholders was involved in a constantly changing memory culture. This comparative study has uncovered that an urban memory culture was based on a complicated set of memories and counter-memories that

relied on stakeholders to be heard. Furthermore, it has revealed that material memories were accessible to many, and an intrinsic part of the way people remembered, or rather forgot, the Revolt within the urban community.

The presence of different stakeholders, such as the magistrate, the church, and the militia but also individual men and women who wanted to remember their own experiences ensured that an urban memory culture was dynamic and subject to change. In Haarlem, for instance, the first memories of the Revolt centered around the lost siege of 1572-1573. From 1577 onwards the churchwardens, the militia companies and individual citizens publicly remembered their suffering both from hunger and cannon fire but also their local heroine Kenau. This story about the siege was later joined by another memory from civic history, the medieval siege of Damietta. Unlike the lost siege during the Revolt, this episode had been successful, had earned Haarlem its coat of arms, and had shown an innate sense of bravery in Haarlem's citizens. After the regime change of 1618 these characteristics were propagated enthusiastically by the magistrate, especially in its civic representation towards other cities in Holland. But within Haarlem the memories of 1572-1573 were still in place and continued to live on in chorographies, manuscripts, and other media such as plays, cannonballs, and paintings. The focus on Damietta, however, added an extra layer to Haarlem's urban memory culture, and it reflects how different memories could exist alongside each other.

Moreover, changes in memory could occur when the political situation called for them. Indeed, memories of the Revolt could become political symbols for the urban community. In Breda, for instance, the successful attack on the city in 1590 with a peat barge started an urban memory culture which centered around this particular barge. In fact, the magistrate decided to put it prominently on display on the market square. In 1625, however, when the city was captured by the Habsburg army, the new regime wanted to eradicate this memory by burning the barge almost immediately. Twelve years later, in 1637, the city was taken by the Dutch stadholder Frederik Hendrik. In the aftermath of this siege the rudder of the peat barge miraculously resurfaced.[7] Changes of the political situation could thus inspire an additional memory culture, as we have seen in Haarlem, but also the renewal of older memory cultures, such as in Breda. This shows the dynamic nature of an urban memory culture and the influence different stakeholders could have on the development of certain memories within the city.

The influence of stakeholders on urban memory cultures was thus visible within the urban landscape. Sometimes different stakeholders worked together in advocating certain memories within the community. In 's-Hertogenbosch after the Calvinist defeat on the market

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[7] Marianne Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse. Memories of the Dutch Revolt in Breda, 1590-1650', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 129–147.

square in 1579 Catholic stakeholders such as the new magistrate, the church and the militia joined hands to create a local memory culture, including an annual procession to celebrate the expulsion of the Calvinists. They deployed memories of this episode to rebuild the city's identity as staunchly Catholic and loyal. Sometimes the magistrate offered a new version of an event which other stakeholders appropriated. In Leiden the population had been divided and had suffered from plague during the siege of 1574, but after the city's relief the magistrate focused on a different element in the existing memories: starvation. Not only did this story divert attention from what the city would rather forget, but it created a new story in which everyone had suffered. Sometimes different stakeholders did not agree completely on the course of action and responded to each other in an urban memory landscape. The Marian sodality in Antwerp, for example, convinced the magistrate to replace the statue of the city's founding father Brabo in the façade of the town hall with a statue of the city's patron saint the Virgin. Yet, instead of removing Brabo from the public eye the statue received a new place on the gate which led to the economic heart of the city. While this replacement is not necessarily a statement by the magistrate, the local government was known for its attempts to create a profitable economic climate which included the many Protestants that still lived in Antwerp.

Stakeholders also marked urban memory landscapes by advocating counter-memories that were not part of the 'official' urban memory culture. Both Northern and Southern cities provided memory climates that accommodated memories other than the ones propagated by the magistrate. This invites us to revisit arguments about the effectiveness of the politics of oblivion which has often been suggested for Southern cities in the Low Countries. When cities such as Antwerp, Brussels and Mechelen reconciled with the Habsburg regime, they each signed a treaty containing an oblivion clause. According to this clause everything would be forgiven and forgotten, and the city would start again with a clean slate: offers for legal amnesty were made and disagreements about property were solved. These clauses were not limited to the Southern provinces since the Pacification of Ghent also included an article to forgive and forget. In practice, however, the Revolt was far from forgotten. In the Southern Netherlands there were many people who could benefit from invoking the Revolt when claiming rewards for their contribution to the struggle against the rebels or when wanting to demonstrate their loyalty to the Habsburgs. In order to make this happen the past needed to be commemorated.[8] Therefore even when oblivion was part of the city's history of the Revolt, the past did not just disappear. Both in the Northern and Southern Netherlands, urban

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[8] Judith Pollmann, 'Acts of oblivion. The virtues of forgetting in early modern Europe', Lecture Dahlem Humanities Center, Berlin 7 November 2013.

memory cultures remained an environment in which some people would rather forget the recent past, while others saw the benefits of remembering,

In this context, the role of the magistrate and the strategy it employed to either remember or forget the past has also been considered. Especially on a regional level it is possible to see how the magistrates profiled the city and its memories of the Revolt. As historians have shown before for the Dutch Republic, cities used the Dutch Revolt on a supralocal level as part of the rivalry that existed between cities. As we have seen in this study, cities such as Alkmaar and Leiden exploited their successful sieges to win arguments to gain economic or political privileges. A Southern city like Leuven, however, deployed the same tactic and advocated its position as a city loyal to the crown. Since the Revolt had become important in regional politics, magistrates took their self-representation very seriously and invested large sums of money in media such as stained-glass windows with Revolt themes which were visible in many local churches. Yet, on the regional level oblivion also played its part and was not limited to the Southern Netherlands. For instance, in Brussels and Amsterdam, both cities with a past that was marked by choosing the enemy side for too long, the city's role during the Revolt was carefully omitted or avoided by emphasizing the more distant past or the present. This demonstrates that stakeholders such as the magistrate, but also admiralties and other representatives on a regional level, gave careful consideration as to how they wanted to relate to the recent past. Oblivion did exist because there are cities such as Zutphen in Gelre and Aalst in Flanders in which memories of the Revolt seem to have disappeared.[9] Whether this absence is the result of the serious nature of the massacres these cities encountered, a lack of source material, and/or an act of oblivion remains unclear.

Even when new regimes wanted to look forward, however, counter-memories existed within the urban community as long as stakeholders were willing to find ways to commemorate what they had been through during the Revolt. Many of these counter-memories can be connected to religious differences within the community. In the Habsburg Netherlands mainstream memory practices embraced the Habsburg dynasty and the Catholic Church while piety and religious unity were propagated. Protestant memories, however, still resurfaced after 1585, such as the demolition of the citadel in Antwerp in 1577. Even though the commissions for the paintings of this demolition may well have been given during the Calvinist regime, the works resurface in Antwerp inventories in the seventeenth century, suggesting that after the Catholic restoration this subject still circulated in Antwerp's households. In the Dutch Republic religions other than Calvinism were tolerated to a certain

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[9] Judith Pollmann en Erika Kuijpers, 'Why remember terror? Memories of violence in the Dutch Revolt', in: *Ireland 1641. Contexts and Reactions* (Manchester 2010) 176–196, there 181.

extent, but Catholics could no longer fit their own stories into the 'official' memory culture. Much clearer than in the Habsburg Netherlands, traces of clandestine churches, (old) pilgrimage sites, and individual achievements of members of this group survived in urban memory landscapes in the Dutch Republic since Catholics were tolerated to a certain degree.

The existence of different stories and stakeholders within the urban community cannot be separated from the availability of media in the seventeenth-century city. In the melting pot of stories out of which an urban memory culture could emerge, memories and media became intertwined. And, as this study has argued, the city provided an excellent environment in which material memories could circulate and have an impact on a large audience ranging from the urban magistrate to individual citizens such as helbardier Antoine Creel who visited the celebration of the restoration of Catholicism in Antwerp in 1585. This interaction between stakeholders, their audience and the media was crucial for an urban memory culture to develop because the choice of medium reflected its (potential) audience.

In order to share memories each stakeholder selected one or more media. On an individual level, people could tell stories to family members, neighbors or at a local inn, they could write about the war in a journal, could keep a relic such as an emergency coin or could decide to capture a memory in an object such as a painting, medal or piece of silver. Indeed, sometimes a commemorative object could even become a collection of material memories. For instance, to remember the siege of Leiden an individual combined a dried out peace of peat with a silver clasp, a chain, and a copper emergency coin. To the clasp he added an inscription that the peat had been found in 1574 (fig.56).[10]

Fig.56 Peace of peat with a copper emergency coin and a clasp with an inscription referring to the siege of Leiden in 1574 attached to it (Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden).

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[10] Anonymous, Turf gevat in een zilveren beugel met een koperen noodmuntje aan een ketting, ca. 1574, peat, silver, copper, Museum De Lakenhal, inv nr 3350.

On a corporate level, groups of people decided to commission objects which represented a certain episode from the Revolt. These memories could be paintings, tapestries, and gable stones but also less material forms of commemoration such as sermons, plays, and street names. How many people each medium could reach varied, of course. Journals could remain private, but they could also be circulated in manuscript, be published in print or turn up in family archives in the seventeenth century. Relics could be on display in the church or in private homes. Paintings could be hung in private or in reception rooms in individual homes, but also in public rooms in the town hall, militia headquarters or at the church. Gable stones and street names were even more publicly accessible because these were available on street level.

Stakeholders thus had many options at their disposal when deciding which material form their memory should take. The memory itself, which had at first been only a story, now received a material component. Unfortunately the source material often leaves us in the dark about these decisions regarding medium, but sometimes there are indications that it was an important decision. In Bruges, for example, citizen Everard Tristram applied to the magistrate for money to adorn the façade of his home with several ornaments depicting the relief of the city from the States army in 1631. Since the magistrate agreed, they obviously approved of the medium Tristram had selected. In general, however, the medium also depended on tradition. Medals, for example, had been used to reward people before the Revolt while paintings depicting sieges had hung in town halls and churches and written accounts had been published during earlier wars.

Not only was the shape in which a memory was presented to its audience often inspired by what people knew, but this was also true for the words or images that were selected for the medium. Biblical and/or mythological episodes were remediated in the representation of the Revolt. In Venlo in Limburg, for example, images of biblical episodes were literally flanked by episodes of the Revolt which drew attention to the analogy between the past and the present. During the Habsburg regime two contemporary sieges, in 1597 and 1606, were presented respectively as the story of Esther and that of Judith and Holofernes. The siege of Leiden in 1574 in the Northern Netherlands inspired people to use two biblical scenes to explain the siege and the city's relief from hunger. In this case the Calvinist regime referred to the siege of Samaria as well as the siege of Jerusalem to explain the hardship amongst the population on a medal which was presented to contributors to Leiden's relief and a stained-glass window for the church in Gouda in 1601. The capture of Breda in 1590 was immediately compared to the Trojan horse since seventy soldiers hid in a peat barge before successfully taking the city's castle. Even in the imagery of the event the peat barge is always shown as lying in front of the gate, much as the Trojan horse would be presented.

While tradition thus played a part in the selection of media, there were several other factors which determined which objects would become material memories of the Revolt, such as the amount of money someone had available and the period in which the (material) memory was created. Especially during and after the Twelve Years' Truce, for example, the economy allowed for an increase in luxury items in the Low Countries which made more lavish material memories of the Revolt available to more people. Therefore we see the largest number of Revolt memorabilia in the period roughly between 1620 and 1640, even if the end of the war in 1648 served as inspiration for another peak until the 1660s. As this study has shown, however, money was not always necessary to commemorate the Revolt or to partake in forms of commemoration. Anyone could transmit a memory orally, save a skirt or pick up a relic from the street to keep at home, and tell stories about it. Moreover, street names changed, inscriptions were placed, and festivals celebrated the victories of the Revolt. People could see paintings and relics in public buildings such as the church. Therefore the Revolt was literally out there on the streets.

In addition to the variety and availability of memorabilia that were present in the city, it is also important to distinguish between two types of material memories. Some relics had 'witnessed' the episode they referred to. This aspect of their 'life' made them worthwhile to keep, collect and pass on to new generations and provided a sense of authenticity. It was therefore the story in combination with the actual object it described that gave the relic its meaning. The other type of memories comprises everything that has been made to remember the Revolt from tapestries to clay pipes. Unlike the relics, which usually had little aesthetic appeal, these objects were subject to issues of style, how much could be spent on them and how the patron wanted them to look. The story or episode these objects represented was also often included visually or in writing which made them easier to connect to a time and place than relics. Nevertheless, it was still the combination of the story and the object that ensured the material memory would survive.

The sum of all the available memories created an urban memory landscape which could reflect several sets of memories. Of course, not each memory was visible for everyone, but it is remarkable how many individual achievements can still be traced in the public memory culture. By placing a gable stone referring to this event on his home's façade, tailor's assistant Pieter Janssen from Vlissingen, for example, ensured that everyone would remember the way he put the Orange banner on the tower of the St Jan church in 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629. There was no necessity to do so, but pride played an important role in people's needs to materialize their memories. In this way even personal memories could become part of an urban memory landscape which already integrated so many stories, and material memories, of the Revolt. Simultaneously, urban memory landscapes became a basis for national memories.

Urban memory cultures that emerged were unique to each city but, as the comparison between cities has proven, they were also influenced by what surrounding cities had experienced. Because cities largely operated in an urban network, the Revolt could become an important asset in a city's identity and the rivalry between cities. Not only the experience with war, such as a siege, attack, or massacre therefore determined the actual memory culture but also how this experience fitted into regional and national politics. In the Dutch Republic victorious cities such as Alkmaar and Leiden used the Revolt, but since the conflict more and more became a war of independence against Spain, other cities also deployed Revolt memories whenever they could. One of the first cities to do so was Naarden, which had suffered a massacre; it quickly appealed to the national story of suffering Spanish cruelties that surfaced in the beginning of the seventeenth century. In its turn Amsterdam, by emphasizing its role as merchant capital of the world, tried to cover up the fact that it had supported the Habsburg regime for a long time. Even a city like Hoorn, which did not really have an episode to celebrate or commemorate, tried its best to claim a sea battle as its own contribution to the Revolt. On a supralocal level it was therefore not so much the experience itself but how it was integrated into the national / regional story as well as a city's reputation in the urban network that was at stake.

In the Habsburg Netherlands the situation was different because the central government and particularly the archdukes were more active in memory practices than their equivalent in the Dutch Republic, the States General. While it was still left to the cities themselves to find suitable memory cultures, these communities often first turned to the Habsburg government before considering (existing) urban rivalries. In general, Southern cities emphasized their loyalty to the crown as well as their (newly found) Catholic identity. The first city that successfully built such a reputation of Catholicism out of its war memories was s 's-Hertogenbosch. Even after the city was conquered by the Dutch Republic in 1629, this reputation never left 's-Hertogenbosch. Other cities that became known for their loyalty were Leuven and Lille, while Antwerp propagated its new Catholic identity. That city made a remarkable turnaround after it capitulated to the Habsburg regime in 1585. Returning families from exile in Cologne, Jesuits and the Catholic Church started a process of recatholization that was very successful. In the story about the Revolt that still survived in Antwerp, the city had, only temporarily, lost its way but had refound its true nature.

Despite the similarities and differences between urban memory cultures, what this study has revealed is that it is worthwhile to look at multiple cities at the same time not only to discover material memories and a diversity of stakeholders but also to see how at an urban level memory cultures could be dynamic and complex. The development of memory cultures on an urban level is, of course, not unique to the Low Countries or the early modern period. Warfare and disasters had inspired governments as well as individuals to commission art

and memorabilia since antiquity.[11] In the Middle Ages there are numerous examples of sieges and battles which were depicted for town halls and churches.[12] Moreover, in the early modern period the wars of religion in France and the Thirty Years' War also inspired individuals and communities to commission art, to keep relics as material memories, and to use the past in civic representation.[13] Yet, what makes the Low Countries stand out is the high rate of urbanization, the proximity of cities to each other, and the governmental structure of the Dutch Republic which meant that they depended on each other economically and politically. In turn this fueled a competition between cities in which the Revolt continued to play a significant part.

Because of the role which material memories played in civic representation there are perhaps more memorabilia available in the Low Countries than elsewhere in Europe. Urban rivalry, especially, served as a catalyst for a large variety of material culture. We need to further explore material memorabilia in locations such as the Holy Roman Empire, England and France. A comparative study between these areas of Europe should be undertaken to understand how material memories of war such as the wars of religion and the English civil war were commemorated and whether and how the way these events were remembered differed from the memory processes of the Low Countries. There is also more to be learned about the Low Countries. I have not tried to provide a comprehensive overview of material memories in the Low Countries. Moreover, as the digitization of archives, libraries and museum collections continues, the accessibility of various sources will increase, allowing scholars to investigate individual cities not explored in this study due to the selected focus on Holland and Brabant.

Nevertheless, we can already conclude that the material memories of the Dutch Revolt were plentiful and their role remarkable. The objects told stories, were depositories of memories, and connected storytellers to their audience. Without these material memories many stakeholders would not have been able to spread their stories and to locate them within the existing urban memory culture. The objects not only authenticated a story or message, but they provided it with a physical shape in which it could survive until the

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[11] Martin van Creveld, *Oorlogscultuur* (Houten 2009) 221–319.

[12] See for example, Meester van Rhenen, *Inname van Rhenen in 1499*, sixteenth century, town hall Rhenen; Anonymous, Buitenzijde van de rechter vleugel van een altaarstuk met de Sint Elisabethsvloed, 18-19 november 1421, met de dijkbreuk bij Wieldrecht, ca 1490-1495, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-3147-B; Marc Boone en Maarten Prak, 'Rulers, patricians and burghers. The great and little traditions of urban revolt in the Low Countries', in: Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen (eds.) *A Miracle Mirrored. The Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge 1995) 99–134, there 108, 110.

[13] Creveld, *Oorlogscultuur*, 279–280; Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling, (eds.), *1648. War and peace in Europe* (Munich 1998); Hilary Bernstein, *Between crown and community. Politics and civic culture in sixteenth-century Poitiers* (Ithaca 2004).

present. Each object therefore made its own contribution to the history and memory of the Dutch Revolt. Alone these objects represent the memory of an individual stakeholder, but together they represent the memories of a variety of stakeholders in the urban community who were concerned with their own and / or their city's representation and identity. Whether a document, painting, gable stone, jug, print, or cannonball, each of the material memories discussed above has left its permanent mark on an urban memory landscape somewhere in the Low Countries.

Sources and bibliography

Abbreviations
BMGN *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden*
SAR Stadsarchief Rotterdam
HUA Het Utrechts Archief
SAB Stadsarchief Breda
RAL Regionaal Archief Leiden
RAA Regionaal Archief Alkmaar
SAM Stadsarchief Mechelen
RKD Rijksdienst voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie
SA Stadsarchief Amsterdam
NHA Noord Hollands Archief
HUA Het Utrechts Archief
FAA Felixarchief Antwerpen
KBB Koninklijke Bibliotheek Brussels

Museums and collections
In this research I have included (non-textual) objects from the following institutions such as museums, libraries and archives, inventorynumbers specify the exact objects from their collections.

Amsterdam Museum Amsterdam (SA 3000, SA 3005, SA 7449)
Atlas van Stolk Rotterdam (15362)
Belasting en Douane Museum Rotterdam (00108)
Centraal Museum Utrecht (2468, 2469, 2300, 12645a, 1536, 1537, 2525, 4852)
Chateau Beloeil (Lamoral at Venlo)
Collectie Antwerpen / Museum Vleeshuis / Museum aan de Stroom (AV.1912.009, AV.1911.017, AV.1895.023.1-2, AV.1895.023.2-2, AV.1980.014, AV.3194.1-55, AV.2009.009.001, AV.1150, AS.1952.045.002, AV.1965.025, Kallo belegerd)
Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin (GOS-Nr. K1000773, Gm 94/17)
Dordrechts Museum (collectie Huis van Gijn 1401)
Frans Halsmuseum Haarlem (OS-I-171, OS-75-338)
Grote Kerk Breda (Our Lady of Sorrows)
Hermitage St Petersburg (4711)
Het Utrechts Archief Beeldbank (30928, 39497, 28643, 38682)
Hooglandse Kerk Leiden (monument Pieter van der Werf)
Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen (756, 685, 107, 670)
Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Brussel (1311)
Museé Sarret de Grozon Arbois (2009.0.12)
Museo Naval Madrid (208)
Museum Catharijneconvent (BMH m00834, BMH g0056.01, BMH te00015, BMH s00430, BMH dp02207, BMH s00430, BMH s00473b)
Museum De Lakenhal Leiden (1381, 3358, 3370, 3350, 3346)
Museum Elisabeth Weeshuis Culemborg (0570-0248)
Museum Plantijn-Moretus (PK.OPB.0182.001-008, PK.OP.13573 | III/G.1032, AV.2007.003.045 | III/B.242, AV.2007.003.045 | II/ON.275)
Museum Prinsenhof Delft (PDS 313)
Museum Sypesteyn Loosdrecht (7432)
Museum Wuyts van Campen Lier (Lierse furie)
Nationaal Gevangenismuseum (126799180)
National Gallery of Ireland (NGI.263)
Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie (052172)
Noordbrabants Museum 's-Hertogenbosch (06408.2, 15529, 00852)

Prado Madrid (PO3339)
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Rubenshuis Antwerp (RH.S.212)
Stadarchief Amsterdam Beeldbank (010097011866)
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Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar (022129, 020856, 027021, 020600, 020857, 020856, 020726)
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Town hall Leiden (inscription)
Town hall Naarden (Spaanse Furie in Naarden)
Town hall Oudewater (De Oudewaterse Moord)
Town hall Rhenen (inname Rhenen)
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        Archival Inventories, N-1749, N-1736, N-2802, N-2052, N-1539, N-3117, N-3031, N-1614, N-5314, N-2212, N-2240, N-2180, N-1698, N-1545, N-1130, N-399, N-414, N-373, N-897, N-2312, N-99, N-2856, N-3444, N-2234, N-2040, N-2110, N-1476, N-1550, N-4908, N-391, N-2290
Gevelstenen Database (http://gevelstenen.net)
        Naarden, Turfpoortstraat 27

Hoorn, Slapershaven 1 and 2 and Grote Oost 132
Bruges, Wollestraat 28
Vlissingen, St Jacobstraat 10
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---, *Vroonens begin, midden en eynde, met het opkomen der steden van West-Vrieslant, waer in nevens andere dingen te vinden is de alder oudtste en voornaemste geschiedenissen van West-Vrieslant tot aen de val van hare oude hooftstadt Vroonen, met het opkomen der steden Hoorn, Enckhuysen, Alckmaer en Medenblick, en de bloedige oorlogen, tusschen de Hollanders en kleyne Vriesen, tot het jaer 1303, alles in 4. boecken (met vlijt) by een vergadert en met kopere platen verciert* (Amsterdam 1661).

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Index

Summary (in Dutch)

Ter herinnering aan de Nederlandse Opstand, of Tachtigjarige Oorlog, zijn zowel in de Noordelijke als Zuidelijke Nederlanden een enorme hoeveelheid voorwerpen gemaakt, bewaard en verzameld. Van schilderijen tot kleipijpen, van haardplaten tot gevelstenen, van kledingstukken tot kanonskogels; al deze voorwerpen maakten onderdeel uit van het proces van herinneren en vergeten in de zeventiende eeuw. Door hun aanwezigheid riepen ze herinneringen op, omdat ze waren gemaakt of bewaard naar aanleiding van een bepaalde gebeurtenis. Dirck Schaeck uit Leiden, bijvoorbeeld, bewaarde trots een kookpot die zijn vader had gevonden in de Lammenschans in de vroege ochtend van het ontzet van die stad op 3 oktober 1574. Daarnaast stonden de voorwerpen in een dynamische relatie tot hun eigenaar en omgeving. In de stedelijke gemeenschap werden ze ingezet om een bepaalde visie op het verleden uit te dragen. Zo bestelden de schepenen van 's-Hertogenbosch in 1600 een schilderij van het Schermersoproer in 1579 waarmee ze trots het verhaal van hun katholieke, stedelijke identiteit uitdroegen ten koste van de calvinisten, die na deze gebeurtenis de stad hadden verlaten. Het schilderij riep zo niet alleen herinneringen op, maar diende ook in een groter stedelijk verhaal over katholieke identiteit. Zonder dit verhaal was de betekenis van het voorwerp veel minder groot, of in het geval van de kookpot waarschijnlijk zelfs nihil. Immers, er bestonden vele duizenden kookpotten, maar slechts één vertelde dit verhaal.

De kookpot en het schilderij zijn materiële herinneringen, voorwerpen die zowel door hun aanwezigheid en hun verhaal als de dynamiek met hun eigenaar en hun omgeving het verhaal over de Opstand uitdragen. Herinneringen aan de oorlog waren in de zeventiende eeuw niet weg te denken uit het publieke leven. Met name in steden in de Noordelijke en Zuidelijk Nederlanden vormde zich een zogenaamd herinneringslandschap waarin allerlei materiële en immateriële dragers van herinnering de Opstand levend hielden in de lokale gemeenschap. Beelden stonden op de hoek van de straat, gevelstenen sierden gebouwen, prenten hingen aan muren en boeken stonden in de boekenkast. Daarnaast bezochten mensen toneelstukken, vertelden verhalen in herbergen, luisterden naar preken en namen deel aan processies waarin werd verwezen naar de Opstand. Het samenspel tussen al deze herinneringen creëerde een herinneringscultuur. Dit is een verzameling van gedeelde verhalen (aan de Opstand) die aanwezig waren op verschillende niveaus van de stedelijke samenleving en waarbij meerdere belanghebbenden, of 'stakeholders', betrokken waren waaronder de magistraat, de kerk, corporaties en individuele burgers. Al deze groepen hadden gemeen dat ze de Opstand gebruikten om een specifieke boodschap uit te dragen. Ze streefden bijvoorbeeld naar eenheid na een periode van politieke en religieuze onrust, ze

legitimeerden hun eigen positie in het conflict of ze probeerden hun eigen aandeel in de Opstand uit te buiten.

De wisselwerking tussen materiële herinneringen en hun plaats in het herinneringslandschap enerzijds en belanghebbenden en hun gebruik van materiële herinneringen anderzijds staat centraal in dit proefschrift. Onderzoek naar nationale herinnering heeft laten zien dat veel verhalen over het nationale verleden hun oorsprong hadden in lokale gebeurtenissen zoals bijvoorbeeld het ontzet van Leiden in de Noordelijke Nederlanden of het beleg van Oostende in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden. In de zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlanden bevindt het herinneringslandschap zich dan ook vooral op het niveau van de stad. Tot nu toe zijn echter zowel de stedelijke als de materiële component van herinnering niet systematisch bestudeerd. Onderzoekers beperkten zich tot één stedelijke gemeenschap, één medium of een korte periode. Deze studie analyseert hoe herinneringen aan de Opstand zich ontwikkelden tot stedelijke herinneringsculturen, hoe deze herinneringen onderdeel werden van de stedelijke identiteit en hoe die identiteit veranderde door de tijd heen. Een vergelijking tussen verschillende steden en diverse media is daarvoor essentieel.

Ondanks individuele verschillen tussen steden, zijn stedelijke herinneringen die ontstonden als gevolg van de oorlog goed vergelijkbaar. Iedere stad had herinneringen aan de Opstand die de lokale, stedelijke gemeenschap en de stedelijke identiteit beïnvloedden. Niet alleen vond een deel van het oorlogsgeweld plaats in de steden, maar politieke, religieuze en sociale conflicten moesten worden bijgelegd om opnieuw samen te kunnen leven in harmonie. Tegelijkertijd vielen de Nederlanden tijdens de Opstand echter uiteen in de Republiek en de Habsburgse Nederlanden. Ook op stedelijk niveau had dit veel invloed. Veel zuidelijke steden, zoals Antwerpen, hadden een lastige relatie met hun recente verleden omdat ze hadden geparticipeerd in de Opstand. Daarentegen kozen een aantal noordelijke steden, zoals Amsterdam, lang de kant van de Spaanse landheer Filips II. In beide gevallen betekende dit echter niet dat het Opstandsverleden werd vergeten; het werd in de stedelijke herinneringscultuur geherinterpreteerd met als doel het aansluiting te vinden bij het grotere, nationale verhaal. Een ander verschil ontstond door de manier waarop religie werd geïntegreerd in het herinneringsproces. In de Habsburgse Nederlanden besteedden zowel de nationale als stedelijke overheden veel aandacht aan de manier waarop de maagd Maria diverse steden had weten te redden uit handen van de ketterse vijand. In de Republiek, waar meerdere religies samenleefden, speelden steden liever in op een gezamenlijk gevecht tegen de vijand waaronder de hele bevolking had geleden. Verschillen in herinneringscultuur waren dus niet alleen afhankelijk van wat de stad had meegemaakt, maar ook van hoe herinneringen pasten in een groter, nationaal verhaal over de Opstand.

In de stedelijke herinneringscultuur waren materiële herinneringen een belangrijk instrument waarmee verhalen over de Opstand werden uitgedragen. De oorlog veranderde de manier waarop burgers en corporaties zoals de magistraat, de kerk en de gilden zichzelf presenteerden in de stedelijke gemeenschap met behulp van allerlei media. Herinneringen aan het conflict werden niet alleen overgebracht op schrift. Een stedelijke samenleving was bij uitstek multimediaal, omdat de meeste media (financieel) toegankelijk waren voor zowel de elite als de middenklasse. Bovendien waren in de meeste steden in de Nederlanden door het gemeenschappelijke verleden dezelfde media beschikbaar. Deze diversiteit aan media maakte het mogelijk een boodschap over de recente geschiedenis op verschillende manieren over te brengen. De nadruk ligt in deze studie op materiële cultuur, zonder de rol van bijvoorbeeld preken of toneelstukken te willen onderschatten. Waar deze media echter al geregeld onderwerp zijn geweest van onderzoek zijn materiële bronnen zoals kanonskogels, kleding en straten minder vaak onderzocht. In combinatie met elitaire media zoals schilderijen, zilver en gevelstenen waren materiële herinneringen echter een belangrijk element in de stedelijke herinneringscultuur. Gezamenlijk brachten deze voorwerpen en hun verhalen op verschillende niveaus permanente veranderingen aan in het bestaande herinneringslandschap.

De eerste verandering aan het herinneringslandschap bestond uit de fysieke aanpassing van het bestaande erfgoed als gevolg van de Opstand. Op dit niveau werden de herinneringen aan de oorlog tastbaar voor iedereen die onderdeel uitmaakte van de stedelijke bevolking. Niet alleen de Opstand zelf, maar ook de Reformatie en Contrareformatie zorgden voor grote (mentale) veranderingen die terug te zien waren in het fysieke landschap van de stad. Zowel in de Republiek als in de Habsburgse Nederlanden werden bijvoorbeeld kerken, beelden en kastelen verwoest, weggehaald of afgebroken om vervolgens plaats te maken voor nieuwe gebruikers. Gebouwen werden heringericht en oud erfgoed werd opnieuw geïnterpreteerd. De Opstand voegde ook een nieuwe laag toe aan het bestaande herinneringslandschap door middel van inscripties in gebouwen, monumenten, plaatsen van herinnering, nieuwe straatnamen en gevelstenen. De initiatiefnemers van deze toevoegingen waren zowel de magistraat, corporaties zoals gilden als individuele burgers. Het uiterlijk van de stad en de dagelijkse leefomgeving van de bevolking reflecteerde op die manier wat de gemeenschap had meegemaakt.

Elke nieuwe waterweg, gevelsteen en inscriptie werd een permanente herinnering aan de Opstand in het landschap. Het verbond een bepaalde plaats aan een specifieke gebeurtenis. Vooral in de Republiek, en in regio's in de frontlinie tussen de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden, waren deze fysieke herinneringen op straat populair. Zelfs als er niets was achtergebleven, zoals na het afbreken van een kapel, probeerden katholieken door middel van pelgrimages en afbeeldingen het verhaal bij de plaats levend te houden.

Verwijderde of verwoeste gebouwen behielden zo hun betekenis in de stedelijke herinneringscultuur zoals bijvoorbeeld de kastelen van Antwerpen en Utrecht laten zien. De afbraak van deze kastelen stond in de zeventiende eeuw symbool voor eenheid en verzet, maar was ook een voorbeeld van hoe burgers zich hadden bevrijd van de onderdrukking door de Habsburgers. Samen vormde zowel het toevoegen aan als het verwijderen van elementen uit het herinneringslandschap de basis van de lokale herinneringscultuur.

Een tweede verandering was het ontstaan van vele relieken die verband hielden met de Opstand. Beelden werden gebroken en traditionele relieken verbrand, maar ze werden ook beschermd en veilig bij mensen thuis bewaard. Wonderen vonden nog regelmatig plaats. Vanaf het begin van de oorlog in 1566 kregen echter ook allerhande voorwerpen zoals kookpotten en kleding een nieuwe betekenis tijdens belegeringen, aanvallen en massamoorden. Sommige van deze relieken werden tentoon gesteld in stadhuizen en paleizen, zoals bijvoorbeeld de duiven die briefjes overbrachten tijdens het beleg van Leiden in 1574 of de vlaggen van de vijand in het paleis van de aartshertog in Brussel. Andere relieken overleefden bij mensen thuis, zoals de rok die Cornelissen Coltermans droeg toen zij werd geraakt door een kanonskogel tijdens het beleg van Haarlem. De plaats waar de meeste relieken echter terecht kwamen was het kerkgebouw, waar ze, in het geval van protestante kerken, de traditionele relieken vervingen. Met het plaatsen van deze voorwerpen in de kerk bekrachtigden de kerkmeesters, en soms ook de lokale overheid, niet alleen hun status als reliek maar gaven ze ook een aura van authenticiteit in het verhaal over de Opstand.

Er was een type reliek dat zowel in protestante als katholieke steden bijzonder populair was: de kanonskogel. Bombardementen waren een gebruikelijk onderdeel van belegeringen, aanvallen en veldslagen in de Nederlanden, en de zowel de Nederlandse als de Habsburgse troepen vuurden duizenden kanonskogels af op de vijand. Verslagen van belegeringen stonden vol van verhalen over mannen, vrouwen en soldaten die werden gered van artillerievuur door middel van goddelijke interventie of wonderen. In Alkmaar, bijvoorbeeld, drong een kogel een huis op Luttik Oudorp binnen waar op dat moment zeven vrouwen aan het werk waren. Alle vrouwen bleven ongedeerd. Talloze andere verhalen vertellen over eenzelfde 'geluk' voor met name predikanten, vrome mannen en (jonge) vrouwen, katholieke soldaten. Door hun vroomheid, of door de bereidheid van de Maagd om te interveniëren, maakten zij in de verhalen een grote kans een aanslag met een kanonskogel te overleven. Naast de verhalen, werden de kanonskogels zelf in de Noordelijke en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden ook bewaard en verzameld. Zo verzamelde Erycius Puteanus uit Leuven tientallen kogels met zijn zoon, en werden gedichten over de voorwerpen op de muur geschreven.

Een derde verandering betrof de aanwezigheid van allerlei materiële herinneringen aan de Opstand in woonhuizen. Geschenken, beloningen en memorabilia werden gepresenteerd aan bezoekers. Deze voorwerpen representeerden de relatie van de eigenaar tot de oorlog en onthulden meestal een gevoel van trots. Penningen, of medailles, zijn hier een goed voorbeeld van. Ze werden in grote getale geslagen in de Nederlanden en beeldden niet alleen vaak episodes uit de Opstand uit, maar werden als geschenk uitgedeeld aan diplomaten, schrijvers en burgers die buitengewone diensten hadden verleend. Penningen zijn belangrijk in de herinnering van mensen aan de Opstand, omdat ze de trots van de eigenaar uitdragen. Vaak werden ze vererf aan kinderen en kleinkinderen als symbool van wat de voorvader had bereikt. Daarnaast verschenen penningen regelmatig op schilderijen en prenten. Deze penningportretten waarop vaak kinderen werden afgebeeld met de penning van hun vader of grootvader bevestigen de trots die een bijdrage aan de Opstand opriep binnen families.

Veel van deze voorwerpen waren verbonden aan een individuele herinnering, waardoor ze circuleerden tussen het publieke en privé leven. Enerzijds hadden ze een relatie met de geschiedenis van de stad, anderzijds waren ze in bezit van particulieren. Dit had zijn weerslag op het gebruik van deze voorwerpen in de stedelijke gemeenschap. Zo bleven de zilveren schalen die Guillaume Courten zijn kinderen schonk om zijn herinnering aan 1566 levend te houden grotendeels in de familiekring. Pieter Janssen uit Vlissingen, daarentegen, koos ervoor de zilveren specerijnentoren die hij ontving voor zijn bijdrage aan het veroveren van 's-Hertogenbosch door Frederik Hendrik in 1629 publiekelijk tentoon te stellen in de gevel van zijn huis. Hij bestelde een replica van de toren in de vorm van een gevelsteen. De manier waarop eigenaren voorwerpen gebruikten om herinnering uit te dragen verschilde dus, maar ze gingen allemaal wel zo ver dat ze hun verhalen over de Opstand lieten vereeuwigen in de vorm van een object. De vorm, het materiaal en de verbeelding die ze daarvoor kozen verschilde, en was afhankelijk van hun vermogen en wensen.

Materiele herinneringen bestonden op alle niveaus van de stedelijke gemeenschap, zoals de drie geschetste veranderingen aan het herinneringlandschap laten zien. Op straat, in woonhuizen, in kerken en in stadhuizen kon iedere inwoner van de stad de Opstand opnieuw tegenkomen nadat de oorlog (tijdelijk) voorbij was. Herinneringen beïnvloedden zo het 'uiterlijk' en de identiteit van de stad. De aanwezigheid van materiële herinneringen alleen was echter niet voldoende. De boodschap die ze uitdroegen werd namelijk grotendeels bepaald door belanghebbenden. Zij initieerden, interpreteerden en verspreidden zowel de materiële herinneringen als de boodschap die daaraan verbonden was. De complexe interactie tussen de verschillende boodschappen binnen de stedelijke gemeenschap was van grote invloed op de bestaande stedelijke herinneringscultuur in de

Nederlanden. Deze belanghebbenden staan daarom centraal in het tweede deel van deze studie.

Elke belanghebbende, of dit nu een individu, een familie, een stadsbestuur, de kerk of een corporatie was, had zijn eigen belang in het promoten of vergeten van bepaalde gebeurtenissen uit het recente verleden. Zij propageerden of hergebruikten verhalen in diverse media die samen een groter netwerk van herinneringspraktijken vormden. Performatieve media zoals stedelijke rituelen en ceremonies, processies, intredes, toneelstukken, liederen en preken zorgden voor een context waarbinnen materiële herinneringen functioneerden binnen de stad. Deze media waren publiek, bereikten een groot publiek en boden een interpretatie van wat er gebeurde tijdens de Opstand. Dit stedelijk ceremonieel had daarom veel potentieel in het beïnvloeden van de manier waarop mensen dachten over het recente verleden. Materiële herinneringen communiceerden op hun beurt met deze mondelinge, schriftelijke en performatieve media die ook in de stedelijke gemeenschap circuleerden.

Belanghebbenden gebruikten elk van de media die ze het beste konden gebruiken. De boodschap die zij verspreidden vertoont overeenkomsten. Zowel in de Republiek als in de Habsburgse Nederlanden benadrukte de magistraat een gevoel van een gedeelde identiteit en harmonie met als doel de tegenstellingen die de oorlog had opgeroepen op te lossen. In veel gevallen deelden ook de kerk, de corporaties en individuele burgers deze boodschap. Desalniettemin waren er ook verschillen. De schutterijen in zowel de Noordelijke als de Zuidelijke Nederlanden waren trots op de rol die zij hadden gespeeld in de Opstand. Zij profileerden zich als degenen die de stad (mede) hadden verdedigd. Dit gevoel van trots droeg bij aan hun groepsidentiteit binnen de stedelijke gemeenschap.

De rol van de kerk als belanghebbende verschilde in de Republiek en de Habsburgse Nederlanden. De katholieke kerk in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden presenteerde haar publiek met een reeks heiligen die bekend stonden om het bestrijden van ketters. Deze heiligen, die vaak al lang weinig bekendheid hadden, werden direct verbonden aan de Opstand. Ze konden helpen de ketters en geuzen tegen te houden. In de Republiek conformeerden predikanten zich over het algemeen naar de bestaande publieke herinneringspolitiek die het stadsbestuur voorstond. Het verhaal over harmonie was vaak terug te vinden in de kerk. Zowel in de Republiek als in de Habsburgse Nederlanden speelde het kerkgebouw een belangrijke rol in de herinnering. Daar werden helden geëerd met grafmonumenten en relieken tentoongesteld. Bovendien was het een publieke plaats waar de stedelijke bevolking regelmatig kwam. Hier kwam dan ook het verhaal van de magistraat en de kerk vaak samen waardoor het zowel een religieuze als politieke betekenis had in het herinneringslandschap.

De magistraat vervulde als belanghebbende een dubbelrol, omdat het een bepaald beeld uitdroeg naar de stedelijke bevolking en naar de rest van de regio. Verschillende

steden gebruikten verschillende strategieën waarop ze omgingen met de Opstand ten opzichte van de eigen bevolking of de regionale elite. Of het nu draaide om het uitdragen van een bewuste keuze in het benadrukken van loyaliteit of succes, of om de Opstand te vergeten is niet altijd even duidelijk, maar stadsbesturen waren creatief in de manier waarop zij media inzetten in zelfrepresentatie. Stadsgeschiedenissen, schilderijen, glasramen, en zelfs klavecimbels werden gebruikt om een bepaald imago naar buiten te brengen. Vooral de coherentie in de boodschap tussen deze media valt op. In Haarlem, bijvoorbeeld, wist het stadsbestuur met behulp van een indrukwekkende hoeveelheid aan media het middeleeuwse verhaal van de gewonnen belegering van Damiate (1219) te propageren. Dit verhaal was bedoeld de aangeboren moed en dapperheid van de bevolking te tonen, in aanvulling op wat de stad had meegemaakt tijdens de verloren belegering van de stad tijdens de Opstand.

Hoewel verschillende verhalen naast elkaar konden bestaan binnen de stad, werden ze op regionaal niveau meestal teruggebracht naar een verhaal dat de Opstand ofwel benadrukte of probeerde te vergeten. Amsterdam, bijvoorbeeld, gebruikte middeleeuwse verhalen met als doel de bescheiden oorsprong van de stad te laten zien. Dit vormde een goede basis voor de nieuwe positie van handelsstad van de wereld. Door deze boodschap naar buiten te brengen kon Amsterdam bovendien niet alleen zichzelf promoten, maar ook steden zoals Haarlem bekritiseren vanwege hun associatie met de aristocratie. Het verhaal over de Opstand in Amsterdam werd zorgvuldig vermeden of alleen genoemd in relatie met het grotere verhaal over de Republiek. Amsterdam had een omstreden verleden, omdat de stad zich pas laat bij de Opstand voegde. Desalniettemin had dit conflict wel geleid tot de nieuwe positie van Amsterdam. Ook daarom paste het verhaal van de oorsprongsmythe goed bij wat de stad wilde uitstralen. Het stadsbestuur wilde zich onderscheiden van andere steden, niet alleen in rijkdom maar ook in geschiedenis. Het had daarom veel geld over voor het uitdragen van deze boodschap via verschillende media.

Natuurlijk had niet iedere stad een omstreden verleden tijdens de Opstand. Andere steden konden terugvallen op verhalen over loyaliteit en succes. In deze gevallen werden verhalen over heldhaftige belegeringen onderdeel van de stedelijke rivaliteit. In sommige steden, zoals Alkmaar, kwam de belegeringen zelfs rechtstreeks terug in argumenten waarom ze bepaalde rechten moesten krijgen. Of deze argumenten succesvol waren, hing af van de roem van de gebeurtenis in de regio of in de Republiek. Hoe belangrijker en bekender de belegering, hoe meer de stad hier rechten aan kon ontlenen. Andere steden, zoals Leuven in de Habsburgse Nederlanden en Enkhuizen in de Republiek, benadrukten hun loyaliteit aan respectievelijk de koning en de stadhouder. Dit deden zij met name om zichzelf te onderscheiden van nabijgelegen steden die deze loyaliteit niet konden aantonen. Het hoefden echter niet alleen lokale gebeurtenissen te zijn waarop steden zich beriepen.

Delft en Antwerpen, bijvoorbeeld, claimden hun aandeel in respectievelijk het ontzet van Leiden en de slag bij Kallo. Deze interactie tussen het lokale en het regionale, het lokale en het nationale verhaal bepaalde dat de Opstand niet vergeten zou worden. Het bleef een rol spelen in de stedelijke rivaliteit, of de oorlog in de gebruikte media nu werd benoemd of juist niet.

De manier waarop steden omgingen met hun verleden veranderde naarmate het conflict vorderde, maar ook nadat de Opstand eindelijk was afgelopen in 1648. Een nieuwe generatie groeide op in vrede, en oudere generaties waren bang dat het verleden vergeten zou worden. Met name in de jaren 1660 is daarom een grote activiteit aan herinneringspraktijken te zien. Toneelstukken werden (opnieuw) opgevoerd en gepubliceerd, preken refereerden aan het (lokale) verleden, boeken met ooggetuigenverslagen werden uitgegeven en kunstenaars kregen opdracht tot het verbeelden van bepaalde gebeurtenissen. De Opstand was 'big business' door de publieke roep om media waarin herinneringen geconserveerd konden worden. De herinnering aan de Opstand had zijn culturele fase bereikt. Als gevolg daarvan werden de herdenkingen abstracter en werden verhalen over tegenstellingen in de stedelijke gemeenschap steeds minder aangehaald.

De verandering in de herinnering aan de Opstand is duidelijk te zijn in de organisatie van verschillende eeuwfeesten die plaatsvonden vanaf 1666. In de Republiek liet de politieke situatie in de jaren 1670 grote vieringen niet altijd toe, maar mensen memoreerden wel graag hun eigen relatie tot het verleden. In Leiden, bijvoorbeeld, werd de Opstand in 1674 geïnterpreteerd tegen de achtergrond van de eigentijdse politieke en economische situatie die volgde op het Rampjaar in 1672. Twintig jaar later, in 1694, keek de predikant in Groningen echter terug op het glorieuze verleden van de stad zonder de eigentijdse situatie direct te benoemen. Wat bovendien opvalt, is dat in beide steden veel tegenstellingen bestonden tijdens de belegeringen in respectievelijk 1574 en 1594 maar dat daar in beide steden niet meer over werd gepraat. De tijd had de tegenstellingen doen vervagen in de stedelijke herinneringscultuur. In de Habsburgse Nederlanden vond in 1685 een groot eeuwfeest plaats om de overwinning van Alexander Farnese op Antwerpen te vieren. Volgens toeschouwers was de herdenking spectaculair, met veel triomfbogen en een grote tempel op de Meir. Iedereen moest weten dat Antwerpen het herstel van het katholicisme in 1585 vierde. Ook hier werd niet meer gepraat over de moeilijkheden en tegenstellingen die zich van de stad meester hadden gemaakt tijdens het calvinistisch regime en de belegering van 1584-1585.

Naast de eeuwfeesten was er nog een belangrijke ontwikkeling in de herinnering. De materiële herinneringen die waren bewaard en gemaakt naar aanleiding van de Opstand ondergingen een betekenisverandering. Door het verstrijken van de tijd werd de relatie tussen de eigenaar en het voorwerp losser. De originele bezitter was overleden en had het

voorwerp doorgegeven aan een familielid of vriend. Dit kon leiden tot twee scenario's. Mensen behielden en onderhielden de memorabilia die zij ontvingen of individuele voorwerpen en / of kleine collecties werden verkocht of geschonken aan verzamelaars. In het eerste geval werd de relatie tussen de oorspronkelijke eigenaar en het voorwerp behouden. In het tweede geval werd het voorwerp onderdeel van een grotere collectie van bijvoorbeeld penningen of zilver en verzameld vanwege de vorm, het materiaal of het type voorwerp. Op die manier kwam een proces van musealisering op gang waarbij de context regelmatig werd gescheiden van het voorwerp. Dit veranderde ook de relatie tussen het voorwerp en het herinneringslandschap waar het deel van uitmaakte. Tenzij het voorwerp letterlijk aan een plaats was gebonden, zoals een gevelsteen of een straatnaam, kon het gemakkelijk van de locatie worden gescheiden. De vier zilveren schalen die Vlaming Guillaume Courten aan zijn kinderen schonk, bijvoorbeeld, kwamen in verschillende particuliere of museumcollecties terecht vanwege hun decoratieve waarde.

Een markt voor materiële herinneringen aan de Opstand is altijd blijven bestaan. De aanzienlijke museale collecties van Opstandsmemorabilia en de bestaande herinneringslandschappen in Nederlandse, Belgische en Franse steden laten dit duidelijk zien. Toch vertelden deze voorwerpen in eerste instantie verhalen, waren het opslagplaatsen voor herinneringen en verbonden zij vertellers aan hun publiek. Zonder deze materiële herinneringen hadden belanghebbenden zoals de magistraat, de kerk of individuele burgers hun boodschap minder makkelijk kunnen verspreiden. Het voorwerp was een fysieke plaats waarin het verhaal was opgenomen, en dit verhaal bleef zo nog eeuwenlang bruikbaar. Elk voorwerp levert zo zijn eigen bijdrage aan de geschiedenis en herinnering aan de Opstand. Gezamenlijk representeren de voorwerpen echter een diversiteit aan herinneringen en belanghebbenden binnen een stedelijke gemeenschap die zich allemaal bezighielden met hun eigen belangen en / of de status en identiteit van de stad. Of dit nu een document, schilderij, gevelsteen, waterkan, prent of kanonskogel was, elke materiële herinnering is een getuige van de manier waarop het Opstandsverleden werd geïntegreerd in de stedelijke herinneringscultuur.

Curriculum Vitae

Marianne Eekhout (Alkmaar, 1984) received her BA degree in history at the University of Groningen in 2006. In the same year she finished her MA degree in the history of political culture at the same university. From 2006 until 2008 she specialized in art history at the University of Groningen (BA) and cultural heritage at Utrecht University (MA). In September 2008 she became a PhD candidate in the NWO-VICI project *Tales of the Revolt. Memory, oblivion and identity in the Low Countries, 1566-1700* supervised by Judith Pollmann. During this time she was involved in organizing several conferences such as *Voorwerpen maken geschiedenis* (Objects make history) at the Huygens ING, was part of the advisory board of the exhibition *Vrijheid. Leidens Ontzet* at Museum De Lakenhal in Leiden, taught classes in Dutch history, gave public lectures, and co-organized the exhibition *Strijd om de herinnering. Verhalen over de Opstand, 1566-1700* at Leiden's university library. Currently she is teaching early modern history at the university of Leiden and dr. Ernst Crone fellow at Het Scheepvaartmuseum (National Maritime Museum) in Amsterdam.