Material Memories of the Dutch Revolt

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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, 'Internalisering 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.

Oblivion and memory

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.

Urban memory cultures of the Dutch Revolt

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).
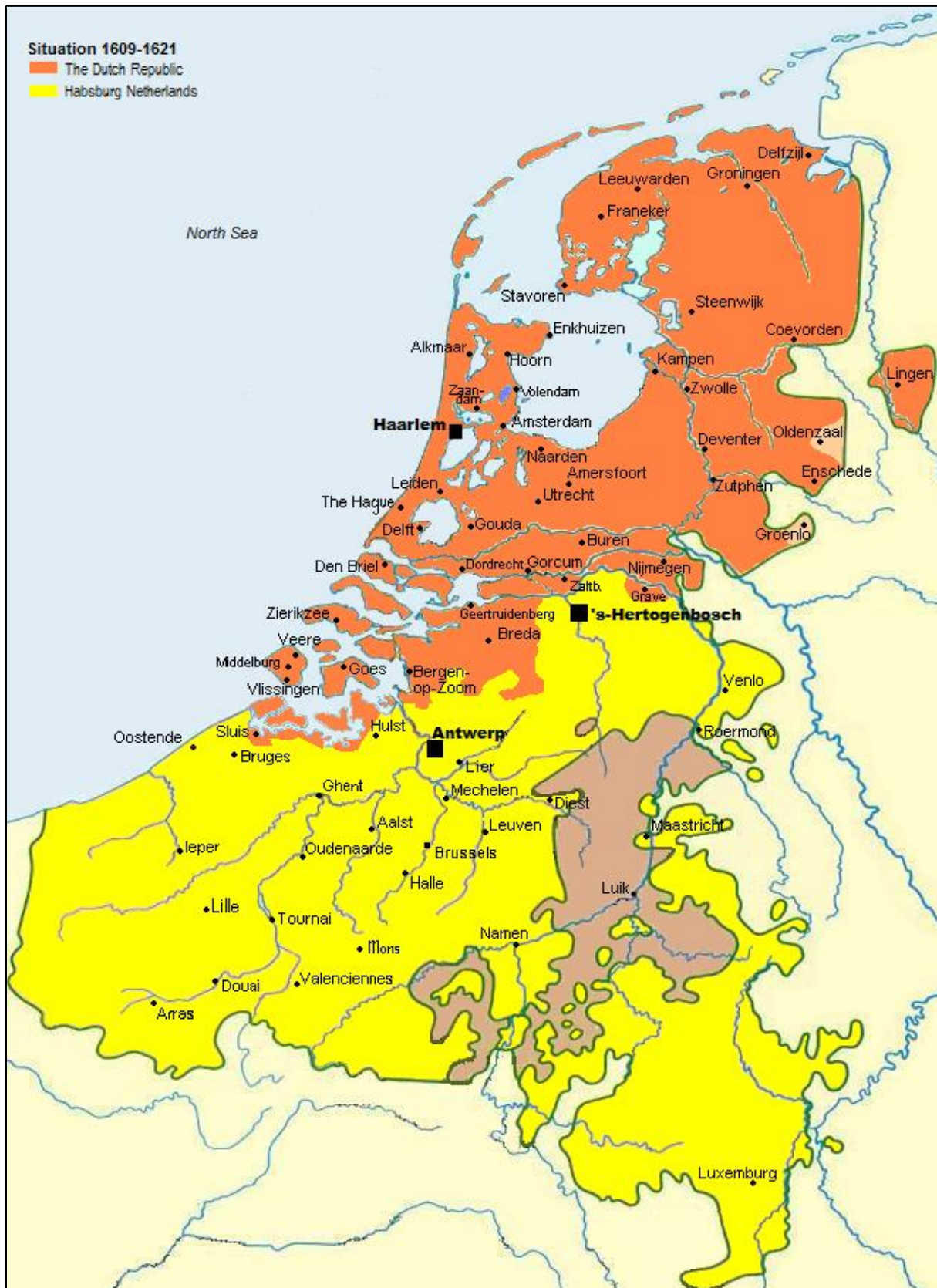
Map 1 Map of the Low Countries.

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.