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## Material Memories of the Dutch Revolt

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**Title:** Material memories of the Dutch Revolt : the urban memory landscape in the Low Countries, 1566 – 1700

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## 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.<sup>93</sup>

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.<sup>94</sup> 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.<sup>95</sup>

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.<sup>96</sup> 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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<sup>93</sup> '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 stad 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.

<sup>94</sup> 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.

<sup>95</sup> 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.

<sup>96</sup> 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.<sup>97</sup> An annual procession in the Southern city of Leuven still commemorated the defeat of the Vikings in Leuven in 891.<sup>98</sup> 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.<sup>99</sup> 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.<sup>100</sup> 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.<sup>101</sup> The Protestant reinterpretation of sacred space, however, did have a lasting impact on the existing landscape. Whereas Catholics considered the church space itself

<sup>97</sup> Remy Janssens, *Halle 700 jaar Mariastad* (Halle 1964) 125–126.

<sup>98</sup> 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.

<sup>99</sup> 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.

<sup>100</sup> 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.

<sup>101</sup> 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](http://www.lib.ugent.be).

sacred, processions and pilgrimages also included the secular space outside the building.<sup>102</sup> 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.<sup>103</sup>

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.<sup>104</sup> 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.<sup>105</sup> 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

<sup>102</sup> Hamilton and Spicer, 'Defining the holy', 11–13.

<sup>103</sup> 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).

<sup>104</sup> 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.

<sup>105</sup> 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.<sup>106</sup> 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.<sup>107</sup> Even so, the magistrates of Ghent let the decorations stay in place for more than a year.<sup>108</sup> 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.<sup>109</sup> 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.<sup>110</sup> 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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<sup>106</sup> 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.

<sup>107</sup> Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 94–95, 99.

<sup>108</sup> Johan Decavele (ed.), *Het eind van een rebelse droom* (Ghent 1984) 124.

<sup>109</sup> F.A. van Lieburg and H.A. Duinen, *Calvijn en Dordrecht. Plaatsen van herinnering* (Dordrecht 2009) 8.

<sup>110</sup> 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.<sup>111</sup> 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.<sup>112</sup> For instance, the magistrate of Leiden saved several valued religious paintings by transferring them to the town hall.<sup>113</sup>

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<sup>111</sup> 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.

<sup>112</sup> 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.

<sup>113</sup> 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](http://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.<sup>114</sup> The earliest interpretations appeared in newsprints made by Frans Hogenberg who worked from Cologne (fig.3).<sup>115</sup> 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.<sup>116</sup> 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).<sup>117</sup>

<sup>114</sup> 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.

<sup>115</sup> See for example, Frans Hogenberg, *de Beeldenstorm, 1566, 1566-1570*, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-77.720.

<sup>116</sup> Anonymous, *De Beeldenstorm door de geuzen, 1566, 1566*, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-76.780.

<sup>117</sup> 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 Steenwijck II. It shows statues being taken down from their plinths in an orderly fashion under supervision of a man in the left foreground.<sup>118</sup> 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.<sup>119</sup> 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.

<sup>118</sup> 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.

<sup>119</sup> 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.<sup>120</sup> The rapid changes to the landscape also inspired individuals to commission paintings of religious buildings that had been demolished after 1580.<sup>121</sup> 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.<sup>122</sup> Buchelius' work had therefore achieved what he had hoped

<sup>120</sup> 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.

<sup>121</sup> Renger de Bruin et al. (eds.), *Een paradijs vol weelde. geschiedenis van de stad Utrecht* (Utrecht 2000) 228.

<sup>122</sup> 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.<sup>123</sup> 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.<sup>124</sup>

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.<sup>125</sup> 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.<sup>126</sup> 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.<sup>127</sup>

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.

<sup>123</sup> Charles Parker, *Faith on the margins. Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge 2008) 177–178.

<sup>124</sup> 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.

<sup>125</sup> Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle', 116.

<sup>126</sup> 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.

<sup>127</sup> Wingens, *Over de grens*, 26.



at the site of ruined chapels and churches.<sup>128</sup> 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.<sup>129</sup> In Schiedam in Holland Protestants made the grave of the holy Lidwina, a local saint, unrecognizable because it attracted so many Catholic visitors.<sup>130</sup>

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.<sup>131</sup> 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.<sup>132</sup> 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).<sup>133</sup>

<sup>128</sup> 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.

<sup>129</sup> Margry and Caspers, *101 bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, 218; Frijhoff, 'The function of a miracle', 115.

<sup>130</sup> Margry and Caspers, *101 bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, 412–413.

<sup>131</sup> Ibidem, 170–171.

<sup>132</sup> 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.

<sup>133</sup> 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.<sup>134</sup> 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).<sup>135</sup> This portrait contains the oldest known depiction of the chapel after its destruction in 1573 and a rather unusual background for a family portrait.<sup>136</sup> 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.<sup>137</sup> The chapel itself holds a vague apparition of the Virgin, referring to the fact that it was a Marian shrine.

<sup>134</sup> 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.

<sup>135</sup> 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.

<sup>136</sup> Thiers, *'t Putje van Heiloo*, 16.

<sup>137</sup> 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.<sup>138</sup> 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.<sup>139</sup> 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.

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

<sup>139</sup> 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.<sup>140</sup>

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.<sup>141</sup> For instance, the statues of Charles V and his brother Ferdinand in Ghent were destroyed in 1566.<sup>142</sup> 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.<sup>143</sup> 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

<sup>140</sup> 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).

<sup>141</sup> Arnade, *Beggars*, 119–120.

<sup>142</sup> *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.

<sup>143</sup> 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.<sup>144</sup> 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.<sup>145</sup> 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.<sup>146</sup> 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.<sup>147</sup> 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.<sup>148</sup>

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*.<sup>149</sup> 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

<sup>144</sup> Arnade, *Beggars*, 265.

<sup>145</sup> Bruin et al., *Een paradijs vol weelde*, 194–197.

<sup>146</sup> Arnade, *Beggars*, 265.

<sup>147</sup> 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.

<sup>148</sup> Hulzen, 'Het kasteel Vredenburg', 91–92; Arnade, *Beggars*, 265–266; Hulzen, 'Het verzet in Utrecht', 30–36.

<sup>149</sup> 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.<sup>150</sup> 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.<sup>151</sup>

Here, Van Lamsweerde commemorated the castle's past which became a recurring theme in engravings in national histories of the Revolt.<sup>152</sup> Van Lamsweerde's engraving was inspired by a painting from the second half of the sixteenth century.<sup>153</sup> 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.<sup>154</sup>

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.<sup>155</sup> By then, the

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

<sup>151</sup> 'Vertooninge 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.

<sup>152</sup> For example Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, *P.C. Hooft's vervolghe zyner Nederlandsche historien* (3rd edition; Amsterdam 1677).

<sup>153</sup> Anonymous, *Het kasteel Vredenburg te Utrecht in vogelvucht*, 1550-1599, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-1728.

<sup>154</sup> 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).

<sup>155</sup> Centraal Museum Utrecht, [www.centraalmuseum.nl](http://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.<sup>156</sup> The most important painting of the siege, and subsequently of its demolition, was made by Joost Cornelisz. Droochsloot in 1646 (fig.8).<sup>157</sup>



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.<sup>158</sup> 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

<sup>156</sup> 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.

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

<sup>158</sup> 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.<sup>159</sup> 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.<sup>160</sup> 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.<sup>161</sup>

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.<sup>162</sup> 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

<sup>159</sup> Getty Provenance Index, Archival Inventories, N-1749 (Johan Schade), 31 August 1658.

<sup>160</sup> 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.

<sup>161</sup> 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.

<sup>162</sup> 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.<sup>163</sup>

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.<sup>164</sup> 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).<sup>165</sup>



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

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

<sup>164</sup> 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.

<sup>165</sup> 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 from the citadel in 1574.<sup>166</sup> The removal of the statue, however, did not decrease attention to the image of the duke.<sup>167</sup> 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.<sup>168</sup> 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.<sup>169</sup> 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).<sup>170</sup>



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

<sup>166</sup> Smolderen, 'La statue du duc d'Albe', 52.

<sup>167</sup> Ibidem, 55–62.

<sup>168</sup> 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.

<sup>169</sup> 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.

<sup>170</sup> 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.<sup>171</sup> 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.<sup>172</sup> 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.<sup>173</sup>

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.<sup>174</sup> As early as 1577 a first print of the subject was published by Frans Hogenberg (fig. 11).<sup>175</sup>



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

<sup>171</sup> 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.

<sup>172</sup> Haverkamp Begemann, 'Flemish School', 187.

<sup>173</sup> 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.

<sup>174</sup> Felixarchief Antwerp (FAA), Collegiale akteboeken, PK 551, 1577, f.26v.

<sup>175</sup> 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.<sup>176</sup> 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.<sup>177</sup> 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.<sup>178</sup> 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.<sup>179</sup> This message also shone through in a series of five bronze roundels made by sculptor Jacob Jonghelinck, who took the prints as inspiration.<sup>180</sup>

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.<sup>181</sup> 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).<sup>182</sup>

<sup>176</sup> 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.

<sup>177</sup> Arnade, *Beggars*, 269.

<sup>178</sup> 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.

<sup>179</sup> Arnade, *Beggars*, 268–270.

<sup>180</sup> At least four of these roundels survive in the collection of the city of Antwerp, [www.collectieantwerpen.be](http://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.

<sup>181</sup> Pieter Christiaensz. Bor, *Nederlantsche oorloghen, beroerten, ende borgerlijke oneenicheyden* (Leiden 1621) 272–274.

<sup>182</sup> 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.<sup>183</sup> 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).<sup>184</sup> 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.<sup>185</sup>

<sup>183</sup> Pieter Cornelis Hooft, *Pieter Corneliszoon Hooft, alle de gedrukte werken 1611-1738* IV and V (Amsterdam 1972) 531.

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

<sup>185</sup> 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).<sup>186</sup> 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

<sup>186</sup> 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.<sup>187</sup> 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.<sup>188</sup> 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.<sup>189</sup> 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.<sup>190</sup> 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.<sup>191</sup> 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

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

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

<sup>189</sup> 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.

<sup>190</sup> 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.

<sup>191</sup> 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.<sup>192</sup> 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.<sup>193</sup> 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.<sup>194</sup> 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.<sup>195</sup> 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.<sup>196</sup> 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.<sup>197</sup> Yet, Brabo's statue reappeared on the

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

<sup>193</sup> 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.

<sup>194</sup> 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.

<sup>195</sup> 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](http://www.lib.ugent.be).

<sup>196</sup> Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 54.

<sup>197</sup> Arnade, *Beggars*, 326–327.

Werfgate, the entrance to Antwerp's wharf.<sup>198</sup> 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.<sup>199</sup> 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.<sup>200</sup> 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.<sup>201</sup> Fifty years later, as another act of symbolic repression, an Augustinian monastery would be founded on the site of one of these churches.<sup>202</sup> 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).<sup>203</sup> 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)

<sup>198</sup> 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.

<sup>199</sup> Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 104.

<sup>200</sup> Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 54.

<sup>201</sup> 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.

<sup>202</sup> 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.

<sup>203</sup> 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.<sup>204</sup>

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.<sup>205</sup> In Brabant, a mansion that had belonged to the abbey of Tongerlo in Antwerp was assigned to the new mayor, Philips of Marnix, Lord of St Aldegonde in 1583.<sup>206</sup> 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.<sup>207</sup> 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.<sup>208</sup>

### 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.

<sup>204</sup> 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](https://inventaris.onroerenderfgo(ed.)be/dibe/relict/70599), consulted 4 July 2013.

<sup>205</sup> 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

<sup>206</sup> 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/>

<sup>207</sup> 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/indexanden.0.htm>, consulted 21 November 2012.

<sup>208</sup> 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.<sup>209</sup> 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.<sup>210</sup>

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.<sup>211</sup> 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.<sup>212</sup> 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.<sup>213</sup> The image of the town hall with the Spanish soldiers was accompanied by two stones that explained the scene.

<sup>209</sup> Johannes Gysius, *Oorsprong en voortgang der Neder-landtscher beroerten ende ellendicheden* (Leiden 1616) 472.

<sup>210</sup> '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.

<sup>211</sup> 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.

<sup>212</sup> 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](http://www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl).

<sup>213</sup> Gertrudis A.M. Offenbergh, *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.<sup>214</sup>

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).

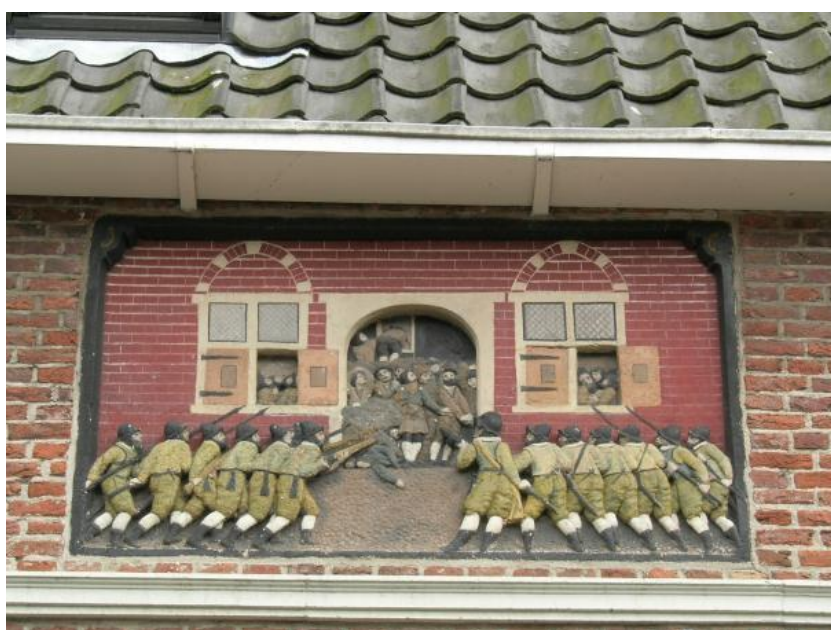


Fig.15 Spanish House in Naarden.

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.<sup>215</sup> 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

<sup>214</sup> <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'.

<sup>215</sup> 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.<sup>216</sup> A similar inscription was situated at the Vlietbrug, the bridge where the Beggar army entered after the Spanish army had left the city.<sup>217</sup> 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.<sup>218</sup> 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<sup>219</sup>

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

<sup>217</sup> Hoogduin-Berkhout, 'Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden', 81.

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

<sup>219</sup> '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.





Fig.16 One of the so-called Bossuizen<sup>1</sup> on the Grote Oost and Slapershaven in Hoorn.

The elaborately carved and colored gable stones were placed around 1650 and display and explain the battle and its meaning for Hoorn.<sup>220</sup> The first stone refers to the battle itself and Hoorn's fight for the fatherland; 'there one fights without pay for the dear fatherland'.<sup>221</sup> 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'.<sup>222</sup> And the third 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'.<sup>223</sup>

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

<sup>220</sup> Overbeek, *Hoornse gevelstenen*, 148–150; Offenbergh, *Gevelstenen in Nederland*, 123.

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

<sup>222</sup> '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.

<sup>223</sup> '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’.<sup>224</sup>

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’.<sup>225</sup>

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

<sup>224</sup> ‘tot dat men overwint gelijk 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](http://www.gevelstenen.net), consulted 7 August 2012.

<sup>225</sup> Inventaris van het Bouwkundig Erfgoed, Stadswoning Dits in den grooten mortier (ID:29954), [https://inventaris.onroerenderfgo\(ed.\)be/dibe/relict/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.<sup>226</sup> 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*.<sup>227</sup>

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.<sup>228</sup> In Alkmaar in Holland a street named *Spanjaardstraat* surfaced on a map in 1649, a reminder of the siege of the city in 1573.<sup>229</sup> In Heusden in Brabant the *Spanjaardsbrug*, or Spanish bridge, recalled the siege of the city in 1598.<sup>230</sup> 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

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

<sup>227</sup> 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.

<sup>228</sup> 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.

<sup>229</sup> Ruijsendaal, *Alkmaar binnen de veste*, 166.

<sup>230</sup> Abraham Jakob van der Aa, *Aardrijkskundig Woordenboek der Nederlanden* X (Gorinchem 1847) 612.



the city in 1568.<sup>231</sup> Another *Spanjaardsdijk* near Opheusden in Gelre was renamed after the position the States army took to defend the town.<sup>232</sup> 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.<sup>233</sup> 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 *Harinckvlietbrugge*, a bridge built in 1597, was renamed the *Spanjaardsbrug* and part of the *Oude Hoofd* became *Spaansekade*.<sup>234</sup>

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.<sup>235</sup> 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.<sup>236</sup> 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.<sup>237</sup> 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.<sup>238</sup> Similar references

<sup>231</sup> Ibidem, 612; W. Eekhof, *Geschiedkundige Beschrijving van Leeuwarden I* (Leeuwarden 1846) 263–264.

<sup>232</sup> 'Spanjaardsdijk' or 'Dwarsdijk', Meertens Instituut, Databank 'Namen en Naamkunde in Nederland en elders', consulted via [www.meertens.knaw.nl](http://www.meertens.knaw.nl) on 3 December 2012.

<sup>233</sup> Aa, *Aardrijkskundig woordenboek* X, 613.

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

<sup>235</sup> 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.

<sup>236</sup> See for example Dominicus de Jong, *Grenskapellen voor de katholieke inwoners der Generaliteitslanden* (Tilburg 1963) 70–106.

<sup>237</sup> 'Geuzendijk', Meertens Instituut, Databank 'Namen en Naamkunde' via [www.meertens.knaw.nl](http://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.

<sup>238</sup> 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*.<sup>239</sup> 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.<sup>240</sup> 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.<sup>241</sup>

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.<sup>242</sup> 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.<sup>243</sup> 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.<sup>244</sup>

<sup>239</sup> A. H. Meijer, *Straatnamenboek van Hilversum* (Hilversum 1995) 93.

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

<sup>241</sup> J. Arnold de Jonge, *De Geuzenhoek te Horebeke. Van geslacht tot geslacht* (Horebeke 2000) 10–13.

<sup>242</sup> 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](http://www.gevelstenen.net).

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

<sup>244</sup> 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.<sup>245</sup>

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.<sup>246</sup> Another early example was the house *Ontset van Leyden*, or relief of Leiden, in the Hoochstraat in Rotterdam which was owned by Jan Dircxs 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.<sup>247</sup> 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.<sup>248</sup> A third example could be found in Utrecht where an inn in the Brandsteeg was called *Ontset van Leyden*.<sup>249</sup>

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

<sup>245</sup> 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.

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

<sup>247</sup> 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.

<sup>248</sup> 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](http://www.hanleune.nl), consulted 20 February 2014.

<sup>249</sup> 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.<sup>250</sup> 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.<sup>251</sup> 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.<sup>252</sup> 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

<sup>250</sup> See for this canonization Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries', 32-98.

<sup>251</sup> 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](http://www.dbnl.org).

<sup>252</sup> 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](http://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.



