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Material Memories of the Dutch Revolt

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

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



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

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

¹ Samuel Vercoigne, Beker met panorama van de Rijn van Keulen tot Rees, 1628, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, NG-NM-589. Aa, A.J. van der, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland vermaard gemaakt*, continued by K.J.R. van Harderwijk en G.D.J. Schotel (Haarlem 1852-1878), via <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken>, XVII, 321–322.

² See for a discussion of how expectations and frames determine the form and meaning of art, for example, Daniel Miller, *Stuff* (Cambridge 2010) 49–50.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Public and Private

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

⁷ Paul Moyaert, *Iconen en beeldverering. Godsdienst als symbolische praktijk* (Amsterdam 2007) 151.

⁸ C. Willemijn Fock, (ed.), *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600-1900* (Zwolle 2001) 9.

⁹ This siege, which took place in 1219 in the Egyptian city of Damietta, was important in the urban memory culture of Haarlem. As we shall see in chapter three and four, the victory in Damietta was used in Haarlem as a demonstration of bravery. Haarlem, which had suffered its own siege in 1573, as we have already seen, integrated this story into its regional politics. Jan van der Waals, (ed.), *Prenten in de gouden eeuw. Van kunst tot kastpapier* (Rotterdam 2006) 129.

¹⁰ C. Willemijn Fock, '1650-1700', in: Fock, C. Willemijn (ed.), *Het Nederlandse interieur in beeld 1600-1900* (Zwolle 2001) 81–179, there 19, 84; See also Rengenier C. Rittersma, (ed.), *Luxury in the Low Countries. Miscellaneous reflections on Netherlandish material culture, 1500 to the present* (Brussels 2010).

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Paintings featuring scenes of the Revolt were less common because paintings depicting historical events made up only a small percentage of the total painting production in the Low Countries. Portraits or religious and mythological scenes were more popular.¹⁸ During the Revolt genre painting and landscapes replaced religious scenes in the Dutch Republic, but paintings of historical events still continued to be a marginal subject, even during their peak between 1600 and 1660.¹⁹ However, given the large number of paintings produced in the Low Countries, the output was significant. In the Habsburg Netherlands, and Antwerp in particular, religious scenes also lost popularity in favor of portraits and landscapes, and paintings of historical events made up only a small percentage of the total artistic production.²⁰ Nevertheless, due to the Revolt the number of paintings based on recent events did increase in the seventeenth century. Most painters who included this type of painting in their portfolio were active in the Low Countries between 1620 and 1660.²¹ This growth coincides with the renewal of the war in 1621 and the Peace of Westphalia in 1648.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Although the popularity of the subject of Lekkerbeetje was exceptional, other subjects found success as well. For example, the disbanding of the *waardgelders*, or mercenaries paid by the magistrate, in Utrecht by Stadholder Maurits in July 1618 was commissioned at least eighteen times between 1618 and 1629.²⁷ As the *waardgelders* were disbanded, Maurits also replaced Utrecht's magistrate. The episode should therefore be considered as a display of political power by Maurits during the conflict which would become known as the dispute between the Remonstrants and the Counterremonstrants. Maurits, who finally sided with the Counterremonstrants, removed all the *waardgelders* from the Remonstrant cities and renewed their regimes.²⁸ This episode was so important that it was painted often, and it

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

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

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

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

²⁶ Ibidem, 131–132.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

owner, a rather bold statement in favor of the rebels which can be compared to the Beggar medals that appeared in this period as well.³⁵ In Leiden several seventeenth-century clay pipes are known that depicted the relief of the city in 1574.³⁶ Joseph Rickets van Wilarsi commissioned a large powder horn decorated with scenes of the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629.³⁷ In the first half of the seventeenth century a cast-iron hearth plate with a depiction of naval hero, Admiral Maarten Tromp, was made.³⁸ The very variety of the evidence reveals that memories of the war were never far away. Horns, medals, clay pipes and hearth plates were relatively simple items that were meant to be used.

Receiving rewards: silver and medals

In 1629 Stadholder Frederik Hendrik commissioned a gift in silver for tailor's assistant Pieter Janssen from Vlissingen as a reward for a heroic deed. When 's-Hertogenbosch finally capitulated to the Dutch army, Janssen had entered the city, taken the banner of the prince of Orange and hung it from

the tower of the city's main church, the St Jan. The act itself was so extraordinary that an inscription was placed on the silver gift to commemorate the event (fig.26)

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



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

³⁵ See for Beggar memorabilia chapter six; Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen, 1559-1609', 72.

³⁶ Don Duco, *De Nederlandse kleipijp. Handboek voor dateren en determineren* (Leiden 1987) 98, 103.

³⁷ Anonymous, grote kruithoorn, after 1629, horn, Collection Museum Sypdesteyn, Loosdrecht, inv nr 7432.

³⁸ Anonymous, haardplaat met de triomf van Maarten Harpertsz. Tromp, 1600-1650, cast iron, Centraal Museum Utrecht, inv nr 4852.

³⁹ 'Een Vlissinghs borger cloeck nam een vrent stuc by dhant Pieter Janssen genaemt heeft een vaendel gedragen op de toren gestelt daert die vyanden sagen Oraingie streeft en sweef opt kruys boven den haen twelck men twee maenden lanck daer naer noch heeft sien staen.' This is only part of this inscription, which also celebrates the prince of Orange. Anonymous, *Specerijenbus in de vorm*

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

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

the tower from 's-Hertogenbosch that I have placed here in honor of Nassau to the regret of his opponents⁴²

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁵⁹ Ibidem, 142–143.

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

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



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

This was the first medal commissioned by the States General and also the last presented to so many men who were actually involved in the attack. Only in individual cases such as those of Pieter Janssen from Vlissingen or skipper Dirk Scheij did the States General reward such ordinary men. Usually recipients of awards ranked much higher in the military or social hierarchy. For example, merchant Johan ten Buer from Groningen received a medal depicting the Reduction of Groningen in 1594 for his services during this episode.⁶⁴ Lieutenant-admiral Willem de Soete de Lake and Captain Anthony Slingsby were both rewarded for their respective extraordinary services and display of bravery at Ostend, during and after the siege that ended in 1604.⁶⁵

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

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

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

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

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

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 356–357.

General for one of their citizens. The magistrate of Groningen recommended the above mentioned Johan ten Buer to the States General.⁶⁶ Usually, however, local governments were inspired by local events for their medals and gifts. Antwerp's magistrate, for example, commissioned a medal for the militiamen who helped to save the neighboring city of Lier from the States' army in 1595.⁶⁷ Haarlem awarded medals to the citizens who went to defend the city of Hasselt during the siege of Bergen op Zoom in Brabant in 1622.⁶⁸ Bergen op Zoom presented copper, silver and gold medals to everyone involved in the defense of the city in 1622.⁶⁹ These medals differed in size and metal according to the recipient's rank, and the officers also received a silver tazza.⁷⁰

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

Feeling a sense of pride: Revolt memorabilia

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

⁶⁶ Ibidem, 346, 454–455.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Families also employed other media to display their family history. Charles de Croÿ, Duke of Aarschot and one of the most powerful men in the Habsburg Netherlands, also took an interest in his family history. He employed his own artist to paint 2500 pictures of his estates which were produced between 1598 and 1614.⁷⁶ Diderik Wouterszoon van Catwijk drew forty-five family portraits around 1572 in a book about his family. Van Catwijk, a descendent of the Van Wassenaer and Van der Marck families, focused on the great men of the family, ending with Willem van der Marck, lord of Lumey and one of the captains of the Beggar army. Van der Marck was related to the Van Wassenaers through his mother. This portrait was accompanied by a Latin verse celebrating the capture of Den Briel in 1572. The city itself is featured in the background of the portrait.⁷⁷ Van der Marck, however, was a rather controversial hero, and the book does not continue beyond him.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Feelings of pride and accomplishment seem to have been the most important reason for individuals and their families to cherish and commission objects linked to the Revolt. A distinction, however, should be made between individuals who celebrated their own achievements and those who chose to identify with the actions of a parent or another ancestor. A Southern nobleman who emphasized his own achievements during the Revolt was Claude Lamoral, third prince of Ligne, prince of Espinoy, who served King Philip IV. Claude commissioned at least two paintings of events he participated in for the gallery of his residence, Castle Beloeil in Hainaut. The first glorified his own past and presented the 1646 siege of Venlo during which he was sent to provide aid for the besieged city. Without having been engaged in any fighting Claude was proud of his achievement during this siege. In the painting he commissioned he compared his performance to that of Perseus who saved Andromeda. In the lower left corner this mythological scene accompanied the military depiction of Claude's presence at the siege of Venlo. The glorious role he ascribed himself, however, does not seem to match his actual involvement.⁸¹ The second painting was commissioned in 1650 from Pieter Snaeyers and represented the 1648 siege of Kortrijk. Four days after the Peace of Westphalia had been ratified Habsburg troops entered the newly built castle of Kortrijk to reclaim it from the French troops that had occupied the city since 1646.⁸² For Claude these paintings seem to have been representations of what he had accomplished

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

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

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

during his lifetime since he also commissioned other subjects such as his entry into London as ambassador of Charles II of Spain and his inauguration as viceroy of Sicily in 1670.⁸³

One person who seems to have been very active in celebrating his triumphs was nobleman Charles de Héraugières from Cambrai, the captain of the soldiers who conquered Breda in 1590. As a reward for his success he received the Breda medal and the post of governor of the city. De Héraugières was proud of his role during the attack, especially since it had been his chance to rehabilitate himself.⁸⁴ Due to his involvement in the plans of the earl of Leicester in 1587-88 who had tried to make peace with Alexander Farnese his reputation had been severely compromised, which meant that De Héraugières needed this triumph to help him in his career.⁸⁵ De Héraugières' new public image was therefore based on this attack, which became known as the new Trojan horse.⁸⁶ In the years following the attack the new governor of Breda commissioned at least two objects that recalled his connection to the attack: a portrait and a small silver ship. His portrait was around the time of his death 1604. Although it is not entirely clear who commissioned it, the captain's relation to the attack is featured very prominently. He is wearing the Breda medal, and a Latin inscription beside his head explains the events of 1590.⁸⁷ As we shall see below, medals featured often on portraits, but De Héraugières did not stop there. His pride and status inspired him to commission a small silver peat barge, a replica of the ship that was used to conquer Breda.

Records in the archives of the States General confirm that after 1590 Charles de Héraugières had wanted to create a 'memory of the capture of the castle and city of Breda by way of a peat barge' on which he was willing to spend 900 guilders.⁸⁸ After the governor's death in 1601, however, his widow offered the ship to the States General, and since it represented such an important event, the High and Mighty Lords decided to buy the object from her in 1611.⁸⁹ What had once started as a personal memory of the attack captured in a silver object, now left De Héraugières' home for the stock rooms of the States General. At the same time the States General appropriated a personal object and made it part of the national memory culture of the event. The records state that the ship was bought primarily to prevent it from being melted or sold to someone who did not appreciate its commemorative value. Therefore, when Charles de Héraugières' son Maurits petitioned the States General to

⁸³ Bronne, *Beloel et la maison de Ligne*, 120–124.

⁸⁴ See for De Héraugières' part in the memory practices in Breda Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse'.

⁸⁵ John Lothrop Motley, *History of the United Netherlands. From the death of William the Silent to the Twelve Years' Truce, 1609–1609* (1590-1600) (Reproduction of original 1867 edition; Cambridge 2011) 7.

⁸⁶ Eekhout, 'Celebrating a Trojan horse', 134–139.

⁸⁷ Anonymous, *Charles de Héraugières (1556-1601)*, after 1590, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-575.

⁸⁸ "memorie van de veroveringe van het casteel ende stadt van Breda doer het middel van een turfschip" S. Muller, 'Een zilveren turfschip van Breda', *Oud Holland* 32 (1914) 72, there 72.

⁸⁹ Ibidem.

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

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

Medal portraits

As we have seen, medals often were preserved as family heirlooms but this medium did not always include the person's name or achievement. Therefore people inserted references to a person's accomplishments during the Revolt into portraits. In the simplest versions a caption explaining how the person in question was involved in the Revolt accompanied the portrait in question. The caption told the beholder about specific details that depiction alone could not reveal and could therefore also invoke a memory.⁹² For example, a portrait of Johan de Ligne, count of Arenberg, stadholder of Friesland, Groningen, Drenthe and Overijssel for King Philip II, contained a reference to his performance at the battle of Heiligerlee in Groningen, where he died.⁹³ The portrait of Captain Antonio Servaes, who served in the Habsburg army, referred to his service from the siege of Ostend through the siege of Bergen op Zoom in 1622.⁹⁴ Portraits of heroes were also not uncommon. In the Southern Netherlands, for example, Balthasar Gerards, the murderer of William of Orange in 1584, was celebrated. A portrait depicts Gerards triumphing over Orange with a halo around his

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

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

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

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

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

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

In addition to descriptions that connected the person to the Revolt, there was another type of painting that was quite common in the Dutch Republic: medal portraits. On these portraits the person wore a medal which he or she had received. The medal was worn on a ribbon or a chain, for which purpose the medal usually had an eye attached to it.⁹⁷ The Revolt remained a subject in medal portraits throughout the seventeenth century. Magistrate Gerard van Egmond van de Nijenburg from Alkmaar, for example, had his portrait painted while he wore a medal of the 1573 siege of Alkmaar.⁹⁸ Van Egmond had received this medal as a member of the town council in 1693 when the magistrate decided to issue a medal to commemorate the siege of 1573.⁹⁹ Out of the many medals that appeared on portraits, however, the Revolt was only one subject. Other subjects included marriage and christening medals, medals given as rewards during the Anglo-Dutch wars, awards by the Dutch East India company and other professional awards.¹⁰⁰

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

fatherland, and has honored its town council with this medal'.¹⁰² Through his portrait, Pancras' family showed a sense of pride in the gift he had received due to his position on the town council. Having this gift at home and depicting it on the portrait demonstrated the connection the family had to the Peace of Westphalia, an important event in Amsterdam's history. While the city celebrated its involvement in the peace negotiations, Pancras and his family commemorated their personal connection to it.¹⁰³ The portrait is therefore a display of family status within the urban community.

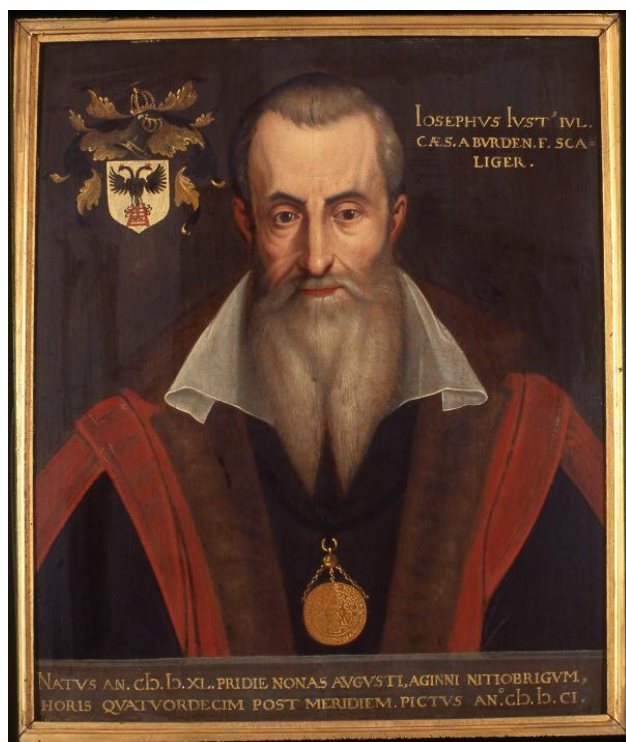


Fig.28 Portrait of Joseph Scaliger wearing the medal of the reduction of Groningen and the victory at Coevorden in 1594 (University Library Leiden).

While many people were depicted wearing medals of the Revolt, some episodes seem to have been more popular than others. Professor Josephus Scaliger from Leiden University, for instance, was depicted wearing a medal of the 1594 victory of Coevorden and Groningen on his portrait in 1600 (fig.28). This medal was a reward for the presentation of one of his books to the States of Holland. What is interesting, though, is that we know he had been given a choice: he could receive a medal of either the siege of Leiden or the siege of Geertruidenberg. The image seems to suggest that he chose a third option: the more recent siege of Coevorden and Groningen.¹⁰⁴ Whether the medal itself or the event was so enticing is hard to say, but it was rather

popular at the end of the sixteenth century. Politician Wytze van Cammingha, who was injured at Coevorden in 1593 is also wearing this medal in his 1596 portrait.¹⁰⁵ And Johannes Huyssen I, delegate for Goes in the States General, is proudly wearing this object in a 1598 portrait that also featured his son Johan.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰² 'Near 80 Jaren Strijt Ende meenich Batalij Heeft Godt t' Vaderlant bevrijd En Stat Raet vereert met dese medalij'. Anonymous, *Gerbrand Claesz. Pancras (1591-1649)*, 1649 – 1658, oil on panel, Amsterdam Museum Amsterdam, inv nr SA 3000.

¹⁰³ The peace negotiations and their role in Amsterdam's history of the Revolt will be discussed in chapter 5.

¹⁰⁴ Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 34–36.

¹⁰⁵ Anonymous, *Portret van Wytze van Cammingha (1547/1548-1606)*, 1596, oil on panel, private collection, <http://explore.rkd.nl/explore/images/148633>, consulted 6 December 2013.

¹⁰⁶ Daniël van den Queborn, *Portret van Jan van Huyssen (1566-1634) met zijn zoon Johan*, 1598, oil on canvas, private collection, via Rijkdienst voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD) IB nr 116256.

As these portraits demonstrate, medals proved to be important attributes of status for men, women and children, with a noted popularity for Revolt medals amongst children's portraits. These children, both boys and girls, often wear the medals that were presented to their parents. Girls are a particularly interesting category because on family portraits, christening medals were usually worn by boys while girls were depicted with other attributes.¹⁰⁷ For example, a young girl was depicted wearing a medal of the siege of Bergen op Zoom in 1622. This painting seems to celebrate the tenth anniversary of the relief of Bergen op Zoom since it was created in 1632.¹⁰⁸ On another portrait a young girl is painted with a medal that displays Stadholder Maurits in 1623.¹⁰⁹ The Maurits medal seen in the *Vrolijke Drinker* also seems to have been popular. A young boy, who could possibly be a bastard son of Stadholder Maurits, wears a medal depicting Maurits, but this one was issued in his honor in 1602 to commemorate the siege of Grave.¹¹⁰ Since these medals are quite similar they may all have been commissioned for this occasion.

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



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

Kees Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw. Kaptiaal, macht, familie en levensstijl* (Amsterdam 2006) 61.

¹⁰⁷ Stighelen, *Kinderen op hun mooist*, 232.

¹⁰⁸ David Finson, *Portret van een meisje met mandje en kersjes*, 1632, oil on canvas, Noordbrabants Museum 's-Hertogenbosch, inv nr 15529.

¹⁰⁹ Paulus Moreelse, *Portrait of a child*, 1623, oil on canvas, National Gallery of Ireland, Dublin, inv nr NGI.263; Stighelen, *Kinderen op hun mooist*, 135–136.

¹¹⁰ Anonymous, *Portret van een jongetje, misschien Lodewijk van Nassau (1602-1665)*, 1604, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-956.

¹¹¹ Anonymous, *Portret van mogelijk Maurits de Héraugieres*, 1595, oil on panel, private collection, via Rijksdienst voor Kunsthistorische Documentatie (RKD), ibnr 74772.

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

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

Keeping up appearances: family memories in a broader context

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

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

¹¹² Anonymous, *Kinderportret van Rochus Rees*, 1622, oil on panel, Dordrechts Museum, inv nr 1401.

¹¹³ Pollmann and Kuijpers, 'Why remember terror?', 180–181; Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Introduction. On the early modernity of modern memory', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 1–23, there 18–20.

¹¹⁴ Michel Baelde, "Jan Scheyfve", Dutch Revolt website, Leiden University, <http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/personen/S/Pages/scheyfve.aspx>, consulted 10 June 2013;

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



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

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

On 2 March in Menen 1567 the Duke of Alva thought to rob Guillaume Courten of his life, but God has given victory through his wife Margherite on 29 March 1567.¹¹⁵

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

Jan van Oudheusden, 'De kanselier en zijn penning. 's-Hertogenbosch als symbool van rebellie?', *Bosche Bladen* 8 (2006) 140–144, there 143–144.

¹¹⁵ 'Den 2 Marcy in Meenen 1567 Dacht Duc Dalve Ghuilliaume Coerten te Berooven zijn leven Maer Godt heft Den 29 Marcy 1567 Door zijn huijsvrouw Marghuerieta fictorie gegeven' Katie Heyning, 'Tazza voor de familie Courten', *Bulletin Vereniging Rembrandt* 20 (2010) 20–22, there 20.

dated to 1597, another one has been dated to 1567 and a third before 1582.¹¹⁶ The 1567 date seems especially dubious because the tazza has an anonymous maker and the year mark is missing. This tazza therefore seems to have been dated only by the inscription that reads 1567.¹¹⁷ Nevertheless, the dishes were definitely produced in different cities, and therefore have a few variations in the use of capitals and decoration.¹¹⁸ Because the overall scene is the same, it seems that Courten had these dishes produced for his children, who lived in different cities in the Dutch Republic. He did, however, not commission the tazzas together or even in the same year or city.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wigbolt's portrait not only displays the siege of Haarlem in the background, but he also wears a large medal around his neck, which represents a female figure holding a torch. This prominent addition, however, could not have been owned by Wigbolt himself since he was decapitated by the Habsburg army on 16 July 1573. Before this date medals as large as this one, depicting this type of scene, were not yet common in the Low Countries as rewards or gifts.¹²¹ Maybe this medal was a fictive addition by the artist, but its prominence and detail suggests that it may also have been added at the request of Johan Willem or another descendant. Was it a medal from his own collection? What is certain is that Johan Willem's political prospects looked bright in 1705. Through his marriage he acquired land and fortune, and became a representative in the States General in 1713.¹²² It seems that Johan Willem relied not only on his present status but also on that of his ancestor Wigbolt to provide him with a connection between the Revolt and his own time. Such behavior may be a reflection on Johan Willem's rather opportunistic nature. After he became ambassador in Madrid, he defected to the Spanish king in 1724 and became first minister of Spain. In 1726 he fell into disgrace, was imprisoned and escaped to England before settling in Morocco.¹²³ Wigbolt's reputation could do Johan Willem proud in the States General, so what harm would it do to present Wigbolt with the necessary honors around his neck?

¹²⁰ Freerk J. Veldman, *Hermannus Collenius 1650-1723* (Zwolle 1997) 166–168.

¹²¹ Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I, 1–163.

¹²² Veldman, *Hermannus Collenius*, 166.

¹²³ Henk Boels and Albert Buursma, 'Groninger Boegbeeld (15) Johan Willem Ripperda, jonker, diplomaat, hertog en grande van Spanje', via www.hetverhaalvangroningen.nl, consulted 28 June 2013.

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

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

Only a few years later this woman named Amalia would be revealed as Magdalena Moons by one of her descendants, Jan Moons.

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



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

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

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

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

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

nor the afore mentioned lady nor those of her family never tried before now to circulate this case or to make the most of it, since they have not sought any credit or gratitude¹²⁹

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

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

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

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

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

¹³⁰ Ibidem, 187.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

years later he visited a notary to testify and record before witnesses that he had been brave during the siege.¹³⁴ Garbrant Jansz. Pauw from Monnickendam visited a notary to state that he was the grandson of the famous admiral Cornelis Dircksz who fought and won the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573, and that his father had also served the fatherland.¹³⁵ Claes Dircksz van Montfoort possessed an affidavit of his bravery and his meritorious behavior during the siege of Leiden in 1574. The affidavit had been signed by a notary in 1575, and a later copy had been provided in 1593.¹³⁶ A similar document can be found in 's-Hertogenbosch where two brothers testified in 1609 that their father, Jan van der Steghen, had defended the city against the reformed enemy in 1578.¹³⁷ In the majority of these cases it is not entirely clear why the men requested affidavits because they were made a considerable time after the events had taken place. In Van der Steghen's case, however, the family history does shed some light on the situation. The Van der Steghen's had been a prominent family in 's-Hertogenbosch, but one of their family members, Nicolaes van der Steghen, had been a supporter of the reformed religion and the prince of Orange in 1566. After Catholicism had been reinstated in 1567 Nicolaes went to prison until he was released due to his old age in 1569. In 1609, when 's-Hertogenbosch was still a Catholic city, the Van der Steghen's therefore might have thought it wise to highlight the bravery of their father Jan in order to avoid accusations of sympathy for the Protestant cause.¹³⁸

Countertermemories: family memories beyond the urban memory culture

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

For instance, the portrait of Catholic burgomaster Joost Buyck of Amsterdam commemorates the way he was forced to leave the city in 1578 when the city joined the Revolt.¹⁴¹ Buyck subsequently moved to Leiden with his family although he was buried in the New Church in Amsterdam in 1588.¹⁴² The family remained Catholic and had a portrait painted of their ancestor, a seventeenth-century copy of a late sixteenth-century original still exists, indicating that the family thought the portrait and what it represented was important enough to reproduce in the seventeenth century. Moreover, the accompanying text in Latin was also copied. In 1650 poet Joost van den Vondel, who by then had converted to Catholicism, translated the Latin verses into Dutch. After stating who was depicted on the portrait he continued that Buyck was

The most useful member of the council, who without an equal was true to God and Justice, and stood by his citizens: still the rebellious rabble, dishonorably incited, finally drove away this loyal hero of the land and father away, so that his virtue, elevated to heaven by disaster, from God received the reward, that had been denied to him on earth.¹⁴³

The Latin text, probably written by one of Buyck's family members, does not directly refer to the Protestants who took over the magistrate of Amsterdam: they are called 'the rabble'. Yet, what is clear is that he did not agree with the way Buyck and his fellow Catholics had been treated in 1578. Due to Vondel's translation, and the reproduction of the portrait in his work in 1650, the memories of the Buyck family became public. Their dissatisfaction with the way they had been treated reveals a set of memories about the Revolt that existed below the surface. In the subculture of the Catholic community, counter-memories of the Revolt thus

Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and religious toleration in the Dutch Golden Age Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge 2002) 87–101.

¹⁴¹ Anonymous, *Joost Sybrandtsz. Buyck (1505-1588)*, ca. 1600-1649, oil on canvas, Amsterdam Museum Amsterdam, inv nr SA 3005.

¹⁴² Vondel, Joost van den, *De werken van J. van den Vondel 1648-1651*: Salomon – Horatius Lierzangen, J.H.W. Unger (ed.) (Leiden 1890) 181, via www.dbnl.org; Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, 244.

¹⁴³ 'Het nutste lidt des Raets, dat zonder Wedergade, Getrouw aen Godt en 't Recht, zijn' burgren quam te stade: Noch dreef 't oproerigh graeuw, al 't eerloos opgeruit, Dien trouwen helt des lants en vader entlijck uit; Op dat zijn deught, door ramp ten hemel toe gesteigert, By Godt ontfing het loon, het welck heur d'aerde weigert' As explained in the accompanying exhibition text for inv nr SA 3005, on Amsterdam Museum, Collectie Online Research, via <http://collectie.amsterdammuseum.nl>, consulted 11 June 2013.

also survived. Indeed, as we have seen in chapter two, relics of saints still circulated in the Catholic community, even when a Calvinist regime ruled the city. In the Dutch Republic this situation eventually proved to be permanent. Yet, this did not mean that Catholic elements disappeared completely; they survived but in smaller circles. Moreover, as we have seen in chapter one, the Catholic community found ample ways to continue to venerate saints at their places of memory. These memories also countered the (urban) memory cultures emphasized by the Reformed church and the magistrate.

Another group that suffered in the Dutch Republic during the Revolt was the Remonstrant community. During the Twelve Years' Truce between 1609 and 1621 the political and religious conflict between the Counterremonstrant and Remonstrant sides of the Reformed church was decided in favor of the Counterremonstrants with support of Stadholder Maurits. This meant that Remonstrants were purged from town councils and other offices.¹⁴⁴ The consequences of the removal of Remonstrant magistrates could be felt especially in Utrecht and Holland. In response these former Remonstrant cities tried to prove themselves as loyal to Maurits. These utterances of loyalty, which will be discussed in further detail in chapter four, became visible in the number of commissions to commemorate the events of 1618. As we have already seen above, the disbanding of the *waardgelders* became a popular episode for paintings. In addition, numerous forms of Remonstrant memorabilia were commissioned, including prints, paintings, pamphlets, and relics.¹⁴⁵ All these objects demonstrated (renewed) loyalty to Maurits by referring to the necessity of the removal of Remonstrant elements from the community but also the need for the Remonstrant community to keep their heritage and heroes alive.

In private circles, for example, Remonstrant families remembered the Revolt outside the urban memory culture. In Leiden former council member Ysbrant Visscher kept an old banner from 1573 at home. He asked that after his death the flagstaff be broken and the banner be torn during his funeral to remember that the old freedom was no longer there after the Remonstrants had been removed from the council. Yet, the story continued. The magistrate in 1620 prevented Ysbrant's wish from being executed and delivered the banner to his family.¹⁴⁶ In the local memory there was simply no room for this counter memory of the Revolt. Other families did their best to preserve their reputation. For instance, the prominent Van der Werf and Van Assendelft families lost their positions in the town council in 1618 because they were Remonstrants. Yet, while the Van der Werf family never made it onto the

¹⁴⁴ Cossee, 'Rekkelijk of precies', 12–28.

¹⁴⁵ Zandvliet, *Maurits*, 383–402.

¹⁴⁶ Judith Pollmann, *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten. Het beleg en ontzet van Leiden in de Gouden Eeuw* (Leiden 2008) 17–18.

council again; the Van Assendelft family returned to the highest level of civic politics in 1655.¹⁴⁷

Until 1618 the Van der Werf family had relied on one particular ancestor for their reputation in the city: former burgomaster Pieter van der Werf. Before and during the siege Pieter van der Werf had been burgomaster of Leiden, but he had been forced to resign from this post shortly after the relief. We know from correspondence that Van der Werf had been thinking about surrendering to the Habsburg army, something that other members of the elite had complained about to William of Orange. In November 1576, however, Van der Werf was reinstated and spent the rest of his life assembling documents and affidavits about his role during the siege. It may have been on his instigation that Jan Fruytiers included a heroic story about him in his second edition of the account of the siege in 1577, and he compiled a dossier with testimonies of his patriotic nature.¹⁴⁸ By the time of Van der Werf's death in 1604 the image he had created seems to have paid off; his family belonged among the five most prominent families in Leiden.¹⁴⁹ After 1618 the situation changed. When Pieter van der Werf's daughter Clara married Bartholomeus van Assendelft in 1620, both Remonstrant families had already been removed from the town council.

¹⁴⁷ Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld', 36–38.

¹⁴⁸ J. Fruytiers, *Corte beschrijvinghe vande strenghe belegeringhe ende wonderbaerlicke verlossinghe der stadt Leyden in Hollandt* (2nd edition; Delft 1577) 24v; RAL, 501 Archief der secretarie van de stad Leiden, (1253) 1290-1575, inv nr 1380, Collectie stukken betreffende Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werff, afkomstig van de Heer F. de Wildt; see for the image of Van der Werf in Leiden's history Jori Zijlmans, 'Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werf; held van Leiden', in: Joris van Eijnatten, Fred van Lieburg and Hans de Waardt (eds.), *Heiligen of helden. Opstellen voor Willem Frijhoff* (Amsterdam 2007) 130–143; Pollmann, *Herdenken, herinneren, vergeten*, 14.

¹⁴⁹ Dirk Jaap Noordam, *Geringde buffels en heren van stand. Het patriciaat van Leiden, 1574-1700* (Hilversum 1994) 29, 37; J.W. Water, *Levensbijzonderheden van Pieter Adriaansz. van de Werff, burgemeester der stad Leijden, ten tijde van hare beide belegeringen door de Spanjaarden in de jaren 1573 en 1574. Meest uit ongedrukte stukken verzameld* (Leiden 1814) 170.

Still, Clara apparently did not forget her father's memory. In 1643 she commissioned a painting from Joris van Schooten portraying the burgomaster's sacrifice during the siege.¹⁵⁰ The measurements of the painting suggest that it hung in one of the reception rooms in Clara's home, as would also be the case in the future residence of the family on the Rapenburg after 1711.¹⁵¹ This prominent place suggests that Clara passed on to her three sons pride in the heroism of their grandfather. When Clara's son Pieter van Assendelft returned to the town council in 1655, he was certainly aware of both his own fragile position and his descent from Pieter van der Werf. Together with his brothers he decided to commission the famous sculptor Rombout Verhulst to create a monument to their heroic grandfather in the Hooglandse Church. The unveiling of the monument was such an important event for the family that they commissioned a copy of Verhulst's bust of Pieter van der Werf and a medal in celebration (fig.32).¹⁵²

At some point the Van Assendelfts had also started a domestic collection of Revolt memorabilia referring to the siege of Leiden in general. By the end of the eighteenth century at least eleven objects that commemorated the siege were in their possession, including a glass, paintings, medals, and the kettle they had bought from the Schaeck family.¹⁵³ The importance of this collection for the family can be established from the fact that in 1728 the settlement of Johan van Assendelft's estate specifically mentioned this collection. His son Adriaan was supposed to keep the collection of memorabilia, but only if he compensated his two sisters with five hundred guilders each.¹⁵⁴ This practice, which we have seen amongst the Sijloo family in Delfshaven as well, emphasizes the importance of the

Fig.32 Rombout Verhulst, monument for Pieter van der Werf in the Hooglandse Kerk in Leiden commissioned by his three grandsons in 1663 (Hooglandse Kerk Leiden).



¹⁵⁰ Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel', 139–140.

¹⁵¹ Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld', 38–39.

¹⁵² RAL, Oud Notarieel Archief, inv nr 2518 (Hermanus van Waalswijk) nr 26 (17 March 1785); RAL, Stadsarchief 1816-1929 (SA III) inv nr 4397; Rombout Verhulst, monument for Pieter van der Werf, 1663, Hooglandse Kerk, Leiden.

¹⁵³ Three medals, two paintings, a glass, a piece of turf, a portrait, a ring, the kettle of the Schaeck family and a bust. RAL, ONA, inv nr 2528 (Hermanus van Waalswijk), nr 81 (8 December 1795). In 1838 a descendant of the Van Assendelft family donated the whole collection to Museum De Lakenhal in Leiden where it was joined with the civic collection of the city; see introduction for the kettle.

¹⁵⁴ Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. Willemijn Fock and A.J. van Dissel, (eds.), *Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht* (Leiden 1986) IV, 642.

memorabilia. Although whether the Van Assendelfts started assembling their collection solely for the purpose of returning to the town council will never be clear, it is revealing to know the value they put on the objects. Had Pieter van der Werff inspired his daughter by starting his own collection of documents to which she and her descendants added all sorts of memorabilia? And if so, could this collection have been actively shown to other members of the elite who visited their home? Finally, if this was the case, did the Van Assendelft collection contribute in any way to the return of the family to the town council, or had the time simply been ripe to admit members of former Remonstrant families to public office again? Even though we may never know for certain the answers to these questions, the importance that was attributed to this collection by so many members of the Van Assendelft family reveals that these objects captured an intrinsic part of their family identity.

Material memories of the Revolt slowly became part of domestic interiors in the seventeenth century. Gifts, rewards and memorabilia were presented in reception rooms, demonstrated a person's connection to the war and revealed a sense of pride. Medals were minted in great numbers throughout the Low Countries, often depicted episodes from the Revolt, and were presented as awards to a variety of people from diplomats to writers to ordinary citizens who had performed extraordinary deeds. Another reason why medals are important is because they were cherished in different ways. Sometimes they were not only physically passed down through generations as symbols of what an ancestor had achieved during the Revolt but also featured as props in paintings and prints. Medal paintings featuring children wearing the medals stand out here because they particularly express a message of pride in an ancestor's achievement.

Commemorative objects were part of urban memory cultures and especially urban memory landscapes. Yet, they also circulated between the public and the private realms, which can make them difficult to interpret. The objects gave shape to an individual achievement or memory and did not necessarily feature in the public urban memory culture. Nevertheless, individual objects and collections could add to a family's status and ensure their place in the urban community. What distinguished commemorative objects from relics was not only that they were made after the event but also that they often contained visual references to the Revolt. A medal depicted a scene from the Revolt, a silver gift was shaped like a tower and adorned with an inscription, and a print showed the episode it referred to. Moreover, while artists used traditional media such as medals and paintings, the imagery both remediated scenes from the past and reflected new inventions. For instance, medals had usually depicted only portrait busts, but now battle scenes and biblical scenes were captured on metal as well.

What the first part of this study has also shown is how material memories of the Revolt were present on all levels of the urban community and that stakeholders could exert their influence on personal and urban levels. Material memories existed in the fabric of the city, such as places, buildings and houses, but also in their interiors in public and private settings. In this context memories influenced the urban appearance and urban identity. Yet, while material memories were present, they relied on stakeholders for their interpretation and dissemination, which is why these will take center stage in the second part of this study.

