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Material Memories of the Dutch Revolt

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Chapter 4 – Stakeholders in urban memory cultures

In 1585 the new magistrate of Antwerp commissioned Hans Vredeman de Vries to paint for the town hall an allegory depicting the reconciliation between the city and the Habsburg regime. In the painting Governor Alexander Farnese, who had captured Antwerp after a period of Calvinist rule, presents the city's coat of arms to King Philip II. In the background we can read political message that Antwerp would enjoy good government, wealth and prosperity now that the city had returned under Habsburg rule.¹ Vredeman de Vries had been employed by the city magistrate for several decades. He depicted Antwerp's future and the city's new relationship to the Habsburg regime after 1585 and to the Catholic religion.²

In its representation of the reconciliation the magistrate of Antwerp made an important decision. Instead of referring to the city's rebellious past it emphasized what the prosperous future would hold. This approach to the recent past fitted in with the reconciliation treaty the city had signed upon its capitulation to Farnese in August 1585. The treaty included an oblivion clause, which was the second article of the treaty and declared that all 'causes of mistrust and dissidence' would be dispelled, a general pardon would be issued, and everything would be 'forgotten'.³ By offering oblivion the magistrate could look towards the future. Yet, while it focused on the recovery of the Catholic religion, it did not forget the Protestant community, which had been given four years to decide whether to stay or to leave the city. The magistrate wanted rich Protestant merchants to stay rather than to leave Antwerp, as almost half of the population did following the reconciliation. Therefore it also tried its best to settle existing differences within the urban community.⁴

The magistrate of Antwerp thus focused on the future, but this did not mean the past could not be remembered. Indeed, the period of the Calvinist regime was adapted to suit Antwerp's new urban identity of a loyal, Catholic city. For instance, around 1585 songs were sung in the city, which tried to connect the Calvinist regime to the reconciliation with the

¹ Hans Vredeman de Vries, *Allegorie van de heropbloei van Antwerpen na de overwinning van Alexander Farnese*, 1586, oil on canvas, Museum aan de Stroom Antwerp, inv nr AV.2009.009.001; Jean-Marie Duvoisquel and Ignace Vandevivere (eds.), *Luister van Spanje en de Belgische steden, 1500-1700 II* (Brussels 1985) 416–417.

² Carl van de Velde, 'Hans Vredeman de Vries en de blijde intreden te Antwerpen', in: Heinder Borggreve, Thomas Fusenig and Brabara Uppenkamp (eds.), *Tussen stadspaleizen en luchtkastelen. Hans Vredeman de Vries en de Renaissance* (Amsterdam 2002) 81-88, there passim.

³ 'alle oorsaken van mistrouwicheyt en dissidentie', 'eewich en generael Pardon en vergetingen van aller en eene ygelicken vande voors. borgere', *Articulen ende conditien vanden tractate, aenghegaen ende ghesloten tusschen den Prince van Parma ter eenre, ende de Stadt van Antwerpen ter andere syden* (Antwerp 1585).

⁴ Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen* (Amsterdam 2008) 41, 79, 103; Marie Juliette Marinus, *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676). Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad* (Brussels 1995) 159–160.

Habsburgs as well.⁵ Moreover, Jesuit Carolus Scribani included and referred to the recent past in his history of Antwerp in 1610.⁶ While Antwerp will be considered in more detail below, two elements are important to observe here. First, the city did not choose oblivion despite the fact that its memories of the Revolt were complex. Antwerp had been besieged for more than a year, but the city had finally lost, had reconciled with the Habsburg regime, and had reconverted to Catholicism. Second, many stakeholders who did not necessarily share the same ideas about the past were involved in an urban memory culture. The magistrate considered both economic and religious interests of Protestants and Catholics. The church, Catholic families that had returned from exile in Cologne and other cities, and corporations such as religious brotherhoods advocated the Counterreformation. Protestants still cherished memories of the Calvinist regime but were forced to express their feelings privately.

The Antwerp example thus reveals not only the complexity of an urban memory culture but also the variety of stakeholders. All these individuals and corporations could have political or religious motivations to propagate a certain story, to want to forget, emphasize or reinterpret the recent past, or to ignore discord amongst the population. Whatever their motivation, however, they interacted and communicated in the same urban community. This communication of memories took place on several levels, starting with the oral tradition of telling each other stories to putting these stories into writing, performing them in plays and urban ceremonial and capturing memories in objects. The audiences for these media differed, from private family circles to large crowds which came to see urban ceremonies such as processions and entries. It was the combination of memories, stakeholders, media, and audiences which created the urban memory culture the population could identify with.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss how stakeholders employed material memories of the Revolt within the urban community. Before turning to these material media, however, it is important to understand them within the wider context of an urban memory culture. Memory practices availed themselves of a variety of media through which memories could be communicated, including written, visual, ritual and performative media. In this context it is useful to make the distinction between ‘archive’ and ‘repertoire’ as described by performance scholar Diana Taylor.⁷ Material memories including written and visual sources belong to the first category while verbal and non-verbal performances belong to the second. The ‘archive’ will be discussed in more detail below, but this type of memory functioned within the broader

⁵ See for example A. Erens, ‘Literarische archivalia voor Antwerpen, 1580-1585’, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 11 (1933) 241–316.

⁶ Raingard Esser, *The politics of memory. The writing of partition in the seventeenth-century Low Countries* (Leiden 2012) 170.

⁷ Diana Taylor, *The archive and the repertoire. Performing cultural memory in the Americas* (Durham 2003) 18-23.

context of the 'repertoire'. As part of this research, the 'repertoire' will be touched upon only briefly, before returning to the 'archive'. Of course ceremonies such as entries and processions could reach large audiences, sermons and plays sometimes specifically referred to the Revolt, and the material side of performances should also not be underestimated. Yet, since this research focuses on material memories, performative media that have been studied often in other (art historical and literary) contexts will be considered as a framework in which material memories circulated within urban communities. People were informed through these media and were offered an interpretation for what had happened to the city during the Revolt. Both the 'repertoire' and the 'archive' are therefore instrumental in the formation of urban memory cultures and landscapes that emerged in the Low Countries after the Dutch Revolt.

This chapter will discuss performative media and material media while texts, particularly published and unpublished chorographies, will be explored in the next chapter. Of course these accounts are important 'tools' of memory, but they could also easily transcend a single urban community. Texts were more flexible than media such as gable stones that were set in one specific location and, more importantly, usually existed in a single copy. They could thus spread a certain message beyond the city walls, which is why they will be discussed in chapter five, which deals with memories of the Revolt in the regional network, issues of urban rivalry, and media of civic self-representation. This chapter is thus a first step towards understanding how stakeholders worked within their own community, while chapters five and six will ask the question how stakeholders functioned on the regional level and what happened to them (and material memories) after 1648. Two issues will be explored: which stakeholders were involved in advocating memories of the Revolt? and how did these stakeholders interact within the community? The first part will examine three corporate stakeholders: the magistrate, the church and the militia companies. The second part will discuss two urban memory cultures, those of Haarlem and Antwerp, and study the activities of various stakeholders simultaneously.

Corporate identity, urban commemoration and the Revolt

How urban memory cultures that emerged during and after the Revolt turned out in many ways depended on the civic culture that was already in place. This traditional civic culture included rituals and spectacles such as processions and entries, preaching, songs and plays but also history writing, paintings and architecture. Each of these media circulated within an urban community and could be used by different stakeholders to promote a certain message. In order to interpret what happened during the Revolt stakeholders often fell back on both existing media and existing stories from the Bible and mythology to provide context to what happened to the urban community. For instance, as we have seen in Leiden, episodes from

the Bible were connected to stories about starvation and miracles, and therefore captured in paintings and medals. Mythological stories such as the saga of Andromeda and Perseus were performed in urban rituals. Antwerp, for example, represented itself as Andromeda who was saved by William of Orange (before 1585) or by the archdukes (in 1599) during the entries the city organized.⁸ This remediation of old stories to (re)interpret what had happened during the Revolt was common practice.

The stories that were propagated by stakeholders depended not only on what people knew but also on their position and sense of identity within an urban community. On an individual level this was determined by a stakeholder's family, neighborhood or religious background as well as his membership in the middle classes or the elite and in certain corporations such as craft guilds, chambers of rhetoric, militia companies and religious brotherhoods. On a corporate level as well decisions were made regarding whether or not to propagate a certain memory. The magistrate, the church, the chambers of rhetoric or the militia companies represented their group and acted on their behalf. Moreover, the political, religious, economic, social, cultural and educational settings in which corporations gathered encouraged a sense of group identity within and beyond the city. In contact with other cities or the sovereign corporations propagated an urban identity on top of their corporate identity. This created a civic culture built on the interaction between groups, or corporations, within the city walls as well as civic representation vis-à-vis other cities and the central government.⁹

During the Revolt internal relations between groups could be strained by political, religious and social differences, which made the post-Revolt efforts to settle on the right interpretation of what had happened even more important so as to maintain a sense of cohesion in the urban community. In this context urban and corporate identity could be put to the test but also help to solve tensions between individuals and groups. Yet, there were still multiple ways to approach the recent past. Stakeholders could choose to remember but also to forget the war or reinterpret it in a different context. As we have seen, oblivion could be an option especially when a reconciliation treaty had been signed. The past would be forgiven and forgotten, amnesty provided, and property disagreements solved.¹⁰ Yet, even when the history of the Revolt was successfully downplayed, such as in Valenciennes in Hainaut,

⁸ Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer. Bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerst helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerp 1933) 9-10, via www.dbnl.org.

⁹ Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies (eds.), *1650 bevochten eendracht* (The Hague 1990) 177, 210; Gerhard Dilcher et al., 'The urban belt and the emerging modern state', in: Peter Blickle (ed.), *Resistance, representation, and community* (Oxford 1997) 217-323, there 264-265; Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam 2008) 254; Arjan van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten. Rederijkers in de Noordelijke Nederlanden (1480-1650)* (Amsterdam 2009) 57-58.

¹⁰ Judith Pollmann, 'Acts of oblivion. The virtues of forgetting in early modern Europe', Lecture Dahlem Humanities Center, Berlin 7 November 2013.

some references to its siege of 1567 and the preceding period of Calvinist rule still survived.¹¹ Both in the Southern and Northern Netherlands a more common phenomenon, however, was to reinterpret the past as we have already seen in Leiden and Antwerp.

Whether or not stakeholders decided to incorporate and / or reinterpret the Revolt, the message about the city's identity and past still needed to be spread. Traditionally stakeholders such as the magistrate, the church and the corporations such as guilds, brotherhoods and rhetoricians relied on urban ceremonial, processions, plays and sermons. In addition, songs were a popular means to spread news and propaganda amongst the population. These performative media interacted with material memories in the urban memory landscape. For instance, in 's-Hertogenbosch the annual procession to celebrate the expulsion of the Calvinists in 1579 was decorated more elaborately each year until in 1600 the magistrate commissioned a painting depicting the episode for one of the altars.¹² This interaction between the performative and material media makes it necessary and worthwhile to look at the way the Revolt influenced urban ceremonies, plays and sermons.

Urban ceremonial such as entries, processions, shooting festivals and rhetorician's contests were public rituals in which many members of the urban community joined as part of corporations, the church and / or the magistrate. In 1984 historian Hugo Soly argued that the Revolt had undermined the tradition of what had become the celebration of the sovereign during entries in the sixteenth century. The Revolt began a new tradition in which the festivities were propaganda instruments that represented the 'social classes, political factions, and religious communities'. In the Habsburg Netherlands, according to Soly, this dialogue between civic groups and the prince ended after 1585 when entries started to represent only festive spectacles orchestrated by the governor and, more importantly, the church.¹³ While recognizing the importance of Soly's work, researchers now believe that urban ceremonial continued to be politically important. Historian Anne-Laure van Bruaene, for instance, has shown that the dialogue Soly describes was still very much alive during the reign of the archdukes after 1599. Indeed, the Archdukes demonstrated the will to interact with an urban community during entries, shooting festivals, and processions as they became members of many religious brotherhoods and militias which respectively represented religious uniformity and military prestige.¹⁴

¹¹ Henri d' Outreman, *Histoire de la Ville et Comté de Valenciennes* (Douai 1639) 201–225.

¹² See introduction.

¹³ Hugo Soly, 'Plechtige intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Nieuwe Tijd: communicatie, propaganda, spektakel' *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 97 (1984) 341–361, there 360–361.

¹⁴ Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 12, 85, 178; Anne-Laure van Bruaene, 'The Habsburg theatre state', in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (eds.), *Networks, regions and nations. Shaping identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650* (Leiden 2010) 131–149, there 135–137.

Urban ceremonial offered a framework for different stakeholders to commemorate, reframe, or forget the Revolt. During entries, processions, shooting festivals and rhetoricians' contests different corporations could manifest themselves. The magistrate, the church, and corporations used these occasions to show themselves to the population and to display their status within the urban community. Ceremonies such as processions and entries were orchestrated from beginning to end and followed a strict order of officials. Processions were known as religious celebrations but were also meant as 'manifestations of civic unity' which involved the magistrate, the church, and the guilds.¹⁵ The position of the corporation in the parade marked its status, and to promote a sense of corporate identity men dressed alike and wore a banner as marks of recognition.¹⁶ Moreover, when corporations left the city, they took both their corporate and urban status with them. Rhetoricians and shooting guilds, for example, respectively joined other chambers of rhetoric or guilds in contests across the Low Countries during which they not only represented themselves but also their city's status and honor.¹⁷ In the Habsburg Netherlands this sense of order and status remained important during the Revolt, and ever more processions were organized due to the war.¹⁸

Within an urban community the chambers of rhetoric performed during many public festivities. Traditionally rhetoricians organized entries, public contests with other chambers, performed plays and wrote and published poetry. During the Revolt the position of rhetoricians changed. Although processions were abolished in rebel areas, rhetoricians in the Dutch Republic joined in the propaganda of William of Orange and performed during the annual commemorations of sieges or attacks.¹⁹ Despite the resistance of ministers and the Reformed Church they also continued to publicly perform in plays which were popular amongst the population.²⁰ In these performances the Revolt became a subject, such as in plays about the capture of Breda and the sieges of Haarlem and Leiden. Moreover, violence

¹⁵ Margit Thøfner, *A common art. Urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle 2007) 46–47.

¹⁶ Catharina Lis and Hugo Soly, 'Craft guilds in comparative perspective. The Northern and Southern Netherlands, a survey', in: Maarten Prak et al. (eds.), *Craft guilds in the Early Modern Low Countries. Work, Power, and Representation* (Aldershot 2006) 1–31, there 25.

¹⁷ Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 251; Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*, 302.

¹⁸ For example in Bruges on 25 November to commemorate an attack by Stadholder Maurits in 1593 Jens Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II. De rol van het stadsbestuur in de constructie van de katholieke stadsgemeenschap (1584-1598)' (Thesis Ghent University) 131; In Leuven on 1 July the annual celebration of the relief in 1635 Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer*, 271, via www.dbnl.org; In Antwerp the second Sunday after the Assumption of Mary the reconciliation in 1585 was celebrated Marinus, *De contrareformatie*, 273.

¹⁹ Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*, 54-55; Th.C.J. van der Heijden and F.C. van Boheemen, *Met minnen versaemt. De Hollandse rederijkers vanaf de Middeleeuwen tot het begin van de achttiende eeuw. Bronnen en bronnenstudies* (Delft 1999) 74-75.

²⁰ Natascha Veldhorst, *De perfecte verleiding. Muzikale scènes op het Amsterdams toneel in de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2004) 34-35; Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten*, 109-117.

was not avoided when horrific scenes which involved Spanish cruelties or the decapitation of the counts of Egmond and Horne were seen on stage.²¹

In the Habsburg Netherlands the chambers of rhetoric were mistrusted and repressed by the central government due to their earlier criticism of political and religious practices in rhetorician's contests.²² Some chambers, however, managed to retain their public activities as long as the magistrate showed support. In Brussels, for instance, rhetoricians performed during the entry of the new governor Archduke Ernest in 1594. In general, however, rhetoricians were allowed to perform publicly only during the Calvinist regimes in the 1570s and 1580s in cities in Brabant and Flanders and during the Twelve Years' Truce between 1609 and 1621. In this latter period the Archdukes saw an opportunity to use the chambers much as their Burgundian predecessors had as advocates of harmony, religious unity and the Habsburg dynasty. After 1621, however, these activities were not continued, and only religious plays in Latin were performed publicly by the Jesuits and their students. Rhetoricians were also no longer allowed to participate in processions and entries.²³

Apart from in urban ceremonial the Revolt was also commented on in songs and sermons. During the Reformation and Counterreformation both secular and religious songs were sung everywhere and were set to familiar melodies as well as sung in the vernacular. The most famous examples are the Beggar songs, which commented on current events and were collected in song books. Through frequent reprints these books came to function as popular histories of the Revolt.²⁴ Songs communicated to people via the melody and the words, but this oral transmission of memories of the Revolt also happened through sermons. For the audience sermons were considered both entertainment and instruction.²⁵ A distinction should be made between those delivered on ordinary prayer days and those for special occasions. The first category usually referred to everyday life. During extraordinary sermons, however, the Revolt was an important topic, and both the Catholic and Reformed

²¹ See for example Jacob Duym, *De cloeck-moedighe ende stoute daet, van het innemen des Casteels van Breda en verlossinghe der stad* (Leiden 1606); Govert van der Eem, *Haerlemse belegeringhs trevr-bly-eynde-spel. Gespeelt by de Wijn-gaerd -ranken onder Liefd' boven al* (The Hague 1619); Jacob van Zevecote, *Jac. Zevecotii Beleghe van Leyden. Trevr-spel* (Leiden 1626); Anna de Haas, 'Gruwelen op het achttiende-eeuwse toneel. 'Wy openen de gordijn van ons bebloet Toneel'' *Literatuur* 12 (1995) 198-204, there 200-201, via www.dbnl.org; the Revolt also occurred in contests of rhetoricians, see Arjan van Dixhoorn, 'Liefhebbers van de redekunst. De Vlaardingse rederijkerswedstrijd van 1616 en de principes van het Hollandse rederijkersleven', in: Bart Ramakers et al., *Op de Hollandse parnas. De Vlaardingse rederijkerswedstrijd van 1616* (Zwolle 2006) 11-29.

²² Elsa Strietman and Peter Happé, 'Introduction', in: idem (eds.) *Urban theatre in the Low Countries 1400-1625* (Turnhout 2006) 1-33, there 16-17, 25-26.

²³ Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 173-188; Goran Proot, 'Het schooltoneel van de jezuïeten in de Provincia Flandro-Belgica tijdens het ancien régime (1575-1773)' (Dissertation University of Antwerp 2008).

²⁴ Natascha Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven. Het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam 2009) 11-17, 21, 139.

²⁵ Joris van Eijnatten, 'Getting the message. Towards a cultural history of the sermon', in: Joris van Eijnatten (ed.), *Preaching, sermons and cultural change in the long eighteenth century* (Leiden 2009) 343-388, there 366-367.

Churches offered their believers an interpretation of what happened as well.²⁶ In the Habsburg Netherlands general processions were often accompanied by a sermon to pray for victory over the heretical enemy and to avert the wrath of God. The population was asked to pray for peace and to fight heresy. During the Twelve Years' Truce, for instance, Jesuits even held special sermons to warn people about the heretical visitors from the Dutch Republic.²⁷

In the Dutch Republic sermons for extraordinary occasions such as centenaries, national prayer days and celebrations of episodes during the Revolt were initiated by local governments, the provincial States or the States General. These sermons delivered a message that was religious, political and social. The rhetoric often referred to issues such as freedom and religion, and stressed divine providence and how the destiny of the Republic lay in the hands of God. In this context the Revolt was often used as an example of what a city or the nation had gone through. Importantly, the preacher had to accommodate both the wishes of the political elite and his own religious beliefs in a sermon that reached a large audience since everyone was allowed to hear him in the main church. The content therefore often tried to convey what everyone had in common, and the message has been considered as political propaganda.²⁸ The Revolt was referred to in sermons most often during annual commemorations of sieges and attacks.²⁹ In 1618, for instance, Remonstrant minister Jan Geisteranus from Alkmaar delivered a sermon to celebrate the victory over the Habsburg army in the siege of 1573. In this sermon he thanked God for saving the city and sparing Alkmaar from more bloodshed.³⁰

Performative media such as entries, processions, plays and sermons had in common that they had traditionally been important instruments to display status within the urban community. Stakeholders thus also used these instruments in presenting their interpretation of the Revolt to a wider audience on the streets, in the church and on stage. The Revolt, however, did make significant changes regarding who was involved in public ceremonies. In

²⁶ Pasi Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined. Changing perceptions of national identity in the rhetoric of the English, Dutch and Swedish public churches, 1685-1772* (Leiden 2005) 51-53.

²⁷ Judith Pollmann, *Catholic identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford 2011) 91-93, 187.

²⁸ Ihalainen, *Protestant nations redefined*, 53-57; O.C. Edwards, 'Varieties of sermon. A survey of preaching in the long eighteenth century', in: Joris van Eijnatten (ed.), *Preaching, sermons and cultural change in the long eighteenth century* (Leiden 2009) 3-53, there 50-51; Donald Haks, 'Propaganda from the pulpit?', in: Jan A.F. de Jongste and Augustus J. Veenendaal jr (eds.), *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688-1720. Politics, war, and finance* (The Hague 2002) 89-114, there 106-108.

²⁹ See for example, Bernard Dwinglo, *Aenspraecke van Bernardus Dwinglo aen de Remonstrants-gesinde ghemeynte ende burgherye der stadt Leyden, over het ontzet derzelfder stede, gedaen op den 3 Oct. 1620* (1620); Johannes Martinus, *'t Licht in de duysternisse der Stadt Groningen uyt loutere genade Godes voor vijftich jaren ende nu wederom der Christelijcken gemeynte aldaer te gemoete gevoert in openbare jubel-jaers-praedicatie* (Groningen 1644).

³⁰ Johannes Evertsz Geisteranus, *Predicatie over 't ontset van Alckmaar, gedaen anno 1618. den 8 Octobris, in de Groote Kerk, over Actor, capit. IX vers 31* (1665) 5.

the Habsburg Netherlands the rhetoricians were usually banned from processions and public activities after 1585, although they could continue their activities for a short time during the Twelve Years' Truce. In the Dutch Republic the Reformed Church put its mark on urban ceremonial by having processions abolished. The urban ceremonial that took over this public role was often connected to the Revolt in parades by the urban militia and days of thanksgiving. In general, however, three groups were most involved in interpreting the recent past: the magistrate, the church and the militia companies. Each of these stakeholders will be discussed below.

Harmony and a sense of communal identity: the magistrate

The most important stakeholder on an urban level was the magistrate. Especially in the seventeenth century the local government increasingly commissioned all sorts of Revolt memorabilia. In general, the beginning of the seventeenth century, and the Twelve Years' Truce in particular, served as a catalyst for the commemoration of the first phase of the conflict.³¹ During this period the Revolt was reinterpreted both in the Habsburg Netherlands and the Dutch Republic. The civil war character of the conflict disappeared completely. In the Southern provinces the Archdukes interpreted the conflict as caused by heresy, the ambition and deceit of the prince of Orange, and the aggression of the Beggar armies. In the Northern provinces the Revolt was now presented as a struggle against 'Spain', an interpretation that featured the Black Legend, anti-Spanish propaganda emphasizing the cruelties of the Habsburg army.³²

These national stories emerged from existing memory cultures, but they did provide local governments with an opportunity to place their own memories in a larger framework and an incentive to look at the existing memory culture. In general magistrates did not wait to see which memories would take root amongst the population but were actively involved in the emerging memory culture of the Revolt in their city. The themes magistrates exploited in dealing with their own population were also often similar. Local governments wanted to propagate harmony and a joint fight against the enemy in order to (re)create a shared sense of communal identity. The differences that had occurred between members and groups

³¹ Judith Pollmann, 'Brabanders do fairly resemble Spaniards after all'. Memory, propaganda and identity in the Twelve Years' Truce', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands. Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden 2007) 211–228, there 220.

³² Judith Pollmann, 'No Man's Land. Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585-1621', in: Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (eds.), *The dynamics of identity in the Low Countries, 1300-1600. Towards a comparative perspective* (Leiden 2010) 241-262. See for 'canon' formation and how these narratives became part of national politics in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands Jasper van der Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014). For the Black Legend K.W. Swart, 'the Black Legend during the eighty years war', in: John Bromley and Ernst Kossmann (eds.), *Some political mythologies. Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch historical conference Britain and the Netherlands V* (The Hague 1975) 36-57.

within the civic community needed to be smoothed over in order to prevent a return of the unrest or of political and religious tensions amongst the population.

To propagate a certain message, the magistrate not only used performative media, but they commissioned all sorts of objects such as gable stones, inscriptions, tapestries, medals and silverware. In the previous chapter we have already seen that some of these items, such as medals and silver, were presented as gifts. Others were attached to places of memory in order to evoke what happened at that particular site. Yet the most obvious space they had at their disposal was the town hall, and it is to this public building we will now turn. For this location in the city paintings and tapestries seem to have been the primary media to commemorate the Revolt. The number of paintings still hanging in town halls or civic collections across the Low Countries reveals the ability and presence of the magistrate as stakeholders during and after the Revolt. For the magistrate to commission paintings of disasters, victories, and sieges was not new.³³ For instance, in the Great Church in Dordrecht a painting commemorated a siege in 1418.³⁴ This practice occurred in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands. Moreover, new paintings depicting episodes from the Revolt continued to be commissioned well into the seventeenth century (fig.34).³⁵



Fig.34 Nicolaes I van Eyck, the capture of Mechelen (or English fury) in 1580, after 1648 (Stedelijke Musea Mechelen).

³³ We can see this phenomenon in other parts of Europe as well Klaus Bussmann and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *1648. War and peace in Europe* (Munich 1998) 92–96.

³⁴ John Loughman, 'Een stad en haar kunstproductie. Openbare en privé-verzamelingen in Dordrecht, 1620-1719', in: Peter Marijnissen et al. (eds.), *De Zichtbaere werelt. Schilderkunst uit de Gouden Eeuw in Hollands oudste stad* (Zwolle 1992) 34–64, there 37.

³⁵ Dirk Stoop, *De Oudewaterse Moord*, 1650, oil on panel, Oudewater town hall; Nicolaes I van Eyck, *De innname van Mechelen door de Geuzen onder bevel van Olivier van den Tympele en John Norrits op 9 april 1580*, after 1648, oil on canvas, Stedelijke Musea Mechelen, inv nrs S0223 and S0225. Museum Schepenhuis in Mechelen dates the paintings between 1650-1670.

Paintings were the most common object through which the Revolt was commemorated in the town hall. In Goes the magistrate commissioned a painting to commemorate the failed attempt of the rebel army to capture the city in 1572. The exact date of the painting is unknown, but since the city changed sides in 1577 it must have been made before Goes joined the side of William of Orange. Although only an eighteenth-century copy survives, the original is reported to have hung in the *Landrecht* room in the town hall. Despite the subject the painting had thus not been removed after the city changed hands.³⁶ Leiden's magistrate commissioned Claes Isaacs van Swanenburgh in 1612 to paint the people of Israel on their passage through the Red Sea and how they were miraculously fed during their stay in the desert.³⁷ In 1615 this biblical scene was supplemented by a work from Pieter van Veen which represented the Beggar fleet entering Leiden to bring herring and white bread to the starving people (fig.35).³⁸ Both themes fitted in with the memory of starvation and suffering that was propagated in Leiden. In the Habsburg Netherlands the magistrate of Antwerp commissioned a painting of the defeat of the States army during the battle of the Blokkersdijk in 1605, and as we have seen, the magistrate of 's-Hertogenbosch commissioned a painting in 1600 to commemorate the 1579 expulsion of the Calvinists.³⁹ These paintings had in common that they promoted a communal sense of identity, whether under the theme of starvation or as part of a (renewed) Catholic identity.

³⁶ Marloes Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog en de Vrede van Munster in de decoratie van zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse stadhuisen. Een verkenning', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 335–346, there 337; Frank de Klerk and Leen Moerland, *Van gesloten bolwerk tot open stad: vier eeuwen veranderingen in en rond Goes* (Goes 1993), 12–13.

³⁷ J.J. Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden* (Leiden 1641) 163; Marike Hoogduin-Berkhout, "'Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden" geschilderde voorstellingen in het Leidse stadhuis 1575-1700', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 22 (Hilversum 2006) 59–105, there 78; Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 335.

³⁸ Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden*, 164.

³⁹ Bonaventura Peeters, *De Slag bij de Blokkersdijk 1605*, ca 1605, oil on panel, Rubenshuis Antwerp, inv nr RH.S.212; Anonymous, *De mislukte aanslag op Antwerpen door prins Maurits, 17 mei 1605*, 1605-1699, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-4848; Jan van Diepenbeek, *Het Schermersoproer te 's-Hertogenbosch in 1579*, 1600, oil on canvas, Noordbrabants Museum 's-Hertogenbosch, inv nr 00852.



Fig.35 Pieter van Veen, feeding the population after the relief of Leiden, before 1615 (Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden).

Another Catholic city that celebrated the way it had defended itself several times against the rebel army was Venlo in Limburg. From 1610 onwards the city annually celebrated on 2 October how it had foiled the States' plans to capture the city in 1606. To mark the occasion the procession for St Willibrord was moved to this date by the bishop.⁴⁰ In 1613 the magistrate of Venlo went even further when it commissioned three depictions of important events from the city's history from local painter Frans Everts. The first featured a siege in 1511, but the second and third represented the failed sieges of 1597 and 1606 by the States army.⁴¹ Each painting is divided into two parts: on the right the siege of Venlo and on the left a scene from the Old Testament.⁴² Not only in Protestant cities such as Leiden was the Old Testament thus used to commemorate the Revolt. In Venlo Catholics also remediated these episodes from the Bible.⁴³

The painting of the siege of 1597 is complemented by the story of Esther who prevented the murder of the Jewish people (fig.36). On the frame both stories are connected

⁴⁰ Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 338–339.

⁴¹ Frans Everts, *Schilderijen beleg van Venlo in 1511, 1597 en 1606*, 1613, oil on canvas, town hall Venlo, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, inv nrs 16.321, 16.322, 16.323.

⁴² Marloes Huiskamp, 'Een gemeenschappelijk verleden verbeeld. Drie schilderijen in het stadhuis van Venlo', *Spiegel historiael* (1994) 56–60, there 56.

⁴³ See for example, Pollmann, *Catholic identity*, 170–171.

the year ninety and seven Venlo was sold and saved by God, liberated like the Jewish seed from Haman's trick and false treason⁴⁴

Haman deceived King Ahasuerus to allow him to kill all the Jews in Persia, but the Jewish queen Esther persuaded her husband not to permit it. As Leiden had made use of the sieges of Jerusalem and Samaria, Venlo referred to the story of Esther to give meaning to what happened to the city in 1597. The States army tried to enter the city by cunning, but Venlo managed to avert the attack.⁴⁵

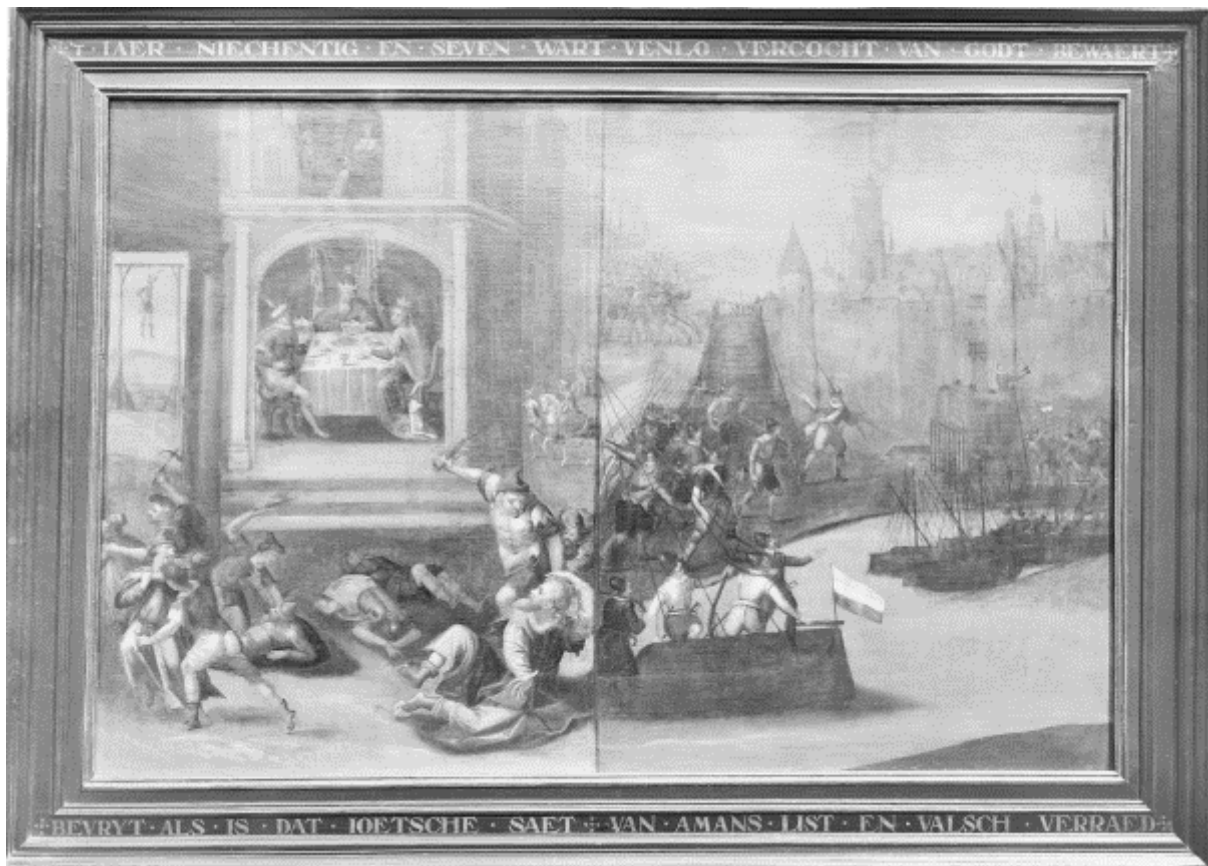


Fig.36 Frans Everts, the siege of Venlo in 1597 paired with the biblical story of Esther, 1613 (Rijksdienst Cultureel Erfgoed).

The siege of 1606 is paired with the story of Judith and Holofernes. The Jewish widow Judith saved her city Bethulia from an ongoing siege by entering the enemy camp and decapitating General Holofernes. She took his head to Bethulia, and when the enemy discovered that their leader was dead, they left the city. The heroic act by Judith, and more

⁴⁴ 't iaer niechentig en seven wart venlo vercocht van godt bewaert, bevryt als is dat ioetsche saet van amans list en valsch verraed' Frans Everts, *Schilderij beleg van Venlo in 1597*, 1613, oil on canvas, town hall Venlo, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed, inv nr 16.322, via <http://beeldbank.cultureelerfgoed.nl>, consulted 5 July 2013.

⁴⁵ Huiskamp, 'Een gemeenschappelijk verleden', 57–58.

importantly, the way the troops of Holofernes left the city was compared to the brave people from Venlo who managed to keep the enemy troops out of the city.⁴⁶ Like 's-Hertogenbosch, Venlo also chose to depict an episode which reminded its population of what had happened during the Revolt and put it in a setting of the Catholic struggle against the heretical enemy. Again it was a joint effort between the magistrate and the Catholic clergy to get across the message that the heretical enemy had been beaten.

In addition to celebrating victories, however, magistrates sometimes decided to commemorate a massacre. The first city to commission a painting of the cruelties that had been inflicted on the population was Naarden in Holland in 1604. For the town hall the magistrate commissioned an anonymous painter to depict the massacre which had occurred after the city had surrendered to the Habsburg army in 1572. All the men had been gathered inside the church and murdered, and the city was plundered. The painting presented a cityscape of Naarden, and the cruelties during the sack were visible in the details such as burning houses and Spanish soldiers on the horizon. A Latin verse remarked upon what happened in 1572. The first part of the text referred to the 'Spanish fury' the city had endured in which defenseless citizens had been slaughtered, and girls had been raped. The second part expressed gratitude to Prince Maurits of Nassau who had allowed the city walls to be rebuilt. A chronogram at the bottom of the text referred to how the Habsburg army had set Naarden on fire after the city had signed a peace treaty, which showed the indignation of the magistrate that the city had been sacked anyway.⁴⁷

The focus on cruelties stands out here. While other magistrates focused on harmony and communal identity by encouraging the population to remember a positive episode, Naarden chose to incorporate the national story about the Revolt and to remember the 'martyrdom' of the city in a period during which emphasis was put on the Spanish cruelties in the Low Countries.⁴⁸ Of course, this approach still provided the city with a sense of communal identity because the population had suffered together. In the urban memory culture the magistrate also continued to emphasize this fact. For instance, in 1615, eleven years after the painting had been made, the magistrate commissioned three gable stones which included a depiction of the murder of all the town's men.⁴⁹ By then the memories of what happened to Naarden

⁴⁶ Frans Everts, *Schilderij beleg van Venlo in 1597*; Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 58–59.

⁴⁷ *Nerda Batavorum consisto limite in imo, Hesperidum tristem tristis sum passa furorem, Namque ruunt flamma passim exuberante penates, Instar oves cives mactantur vulnere reinermes, In festo, dicam violantur forte puellae, Sed comes a Nassau casum miseratus acerbum, Me refici portis iubet et circumdare vallo, Excelso, hunc igitur seri celebrate nepotes, Sic Iber InCendit Nerdinas tVrptler aedes. Et CIVes faLso MaCtat sVb foedere paCIs kaL decem'*. Anonymous, *Spaanse Furie in Naarden*, 1604, oil on panel, Naarden town hall.

⁴⁸ See for example, *Tweede deel van de Spieghel der Spaensche tyrannye, Gheschiet in Nederlandt* (Amsterdam 1620) 75; Anonymous, *Bestraffing van Haarlem, 1573*, ca 1618-1624, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-78.993.

⁴⁹ Gertrudis Offenbergh, *Gevelstenen in Nederland* (Zwolle 1986) 123.

had been embedded in the urban memory landscape and the city's identity. Naarden was not the only city which took pride in martyrdom, but it was the first to do so in multiple media by naming houses and commissioning gable stones and a painting to perpetuate the memory of these events. And it was the first to commemorate the massacre so early in the seventeenth century. Other magistrates, such as those of Oudewater in Holland and of Antwerp and Mechelen in the Habsburg Netherlands did the same, but it took until after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 before paintings started to refer to the massacres their cities had endured between 1575 and 1580 (fig.37).⁵⁰



Fig.37 Dirk Stoop, massacre at Oudewater in 1575, 1650 (raadhuis Oudewater)

As stakeholders within the urban community magistrates seem to have presented themselves as bringing peace and harmony after recent suffering. Whether or not they integrated their stories into the larger national narratives which emerged at the beginning of the seventeenth century, local governments seem to have been aware of their position within and beyond the city, and they used a variety of media such as urban ceremonies, plays and objects to persuade the population to accept the magistrate's views about the incorporation of the Revolt in the city's history. Material memories were positioned in visible places of memory, presented to members of the community or placed strategically in public buildings such as the town hall.

⁵⁰ The massacre in Oudewater in 1575, the 'Spanish Fury' in Antwerp in 1576 and the 'English Fury' in Mechelen have been depicted in Dirk Stoop, *De Oudewaterse Moord*, 1650, oil on panel, town hall Oudewater; Daniel van Heil, *Spanische Söldner setzen am 4. November 1576 das Antwerpener Rathaus in Brand*, ca 1650, oil on panel, Deutsches Historisches Museum Berlin, inv nr Gm 94/17; Anonymous, *De Spaanse Furie*, after 1576, oil on panel, Museum Vleeshuis Antwerpen, inv nr AV.1150; Nicolaes I van Eyck, *De inname van Mechelen door de Geuzen onder bevel van Olivier van den Tymppele en John Norrits op 9 april 1580*, after 1648, oil on canvas, Stedelijke Musea Mechelen, inv nrs S0223 and S0225.

Church buildings and saints

Besides local authorities the churches also actively participated in an urban memory culture. Of course, there were great differences in the way churches did so in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. In the Dutch Republic the presence of several religions prevented a 'coherent religious reading' of the past.⁵¹ The Reformed Church had abolished processions, and while public celebrations of the Revolt started with a religious ceremony, they also had a more secular appearance, which could include an annual fair and fireworks.⁵² In the Habsburg Netherlands the commemoration of the Revolt was very much connected to practicing the Catholic religion. In public processions the church took a leading role, especially since ecclesiastical feast days often coincided with the celebration of victories that were attributed to the intervention of local (patron) saints.⁵³

Another difference which affected the status of the church as stakeholder in an urban memory culture was the acquisition of funds to decorate and maintain church buildings. In the Habsburg Netherlands both the parish churches and those of the clerical orders were subsidized by local authorities, and church wardens were appointed by the magistrate. The decoration of the church buildings themselves, such as altars and chapels, was usually left to corporations and families. These altars were connected to their identity and provided an opportunity to display piety.⁵⁴ In the Dutch Republic the church wardens, who were public officials employed by the magistrate, were responsible for the church buildings which were owned by the city. Any decorations or objects with the Revolt as subject were thus approved by them and indirectly by the magistrate. In both cases, however, church buildings were public buildings which were used for sermons or mass and burials, but also for leisure activities such as strolls or listening to concerts and as meeting places. Moreover, proclamations from the local government, public days of prayer or commemoration, and elections of the new magistrate could take place within the church.⁵⁵

The role of the church as stakeholder was thus more complex than that of the magistrate because on an urban level the magistrate and even corporations influenced what happened in church buildings and, in the Habsburg Netherlands, in processions. Nevertheless, the church is worth studying as an institution because of the impact the Reformation, Counterreformation, and Revolt had on the traditional role of the church in an urban memory

⁵¹ Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 70-71.

⁵² Ingrid W.L. Moerman and R.C.J. van Maanen (eds.), *Leiden. Eeuwig feest* (Leiden 1986) 19; W.A. Fasel, 'De ontzetviering te Alkmaar in de loop der eeuwen', in: E.H.P. Cordfunke (ed.), *Alkmaar ontzet 1573-1973* (Alkmaar 1973) 85-196, there 104-106.

⁵³ Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 129; Geoffrey Carpentier, "'Vrije" tijd? Vermaak en openbare orde te Gent tussen 1545 en 1616' (Dissertation Ghent University 2008) 51.

⁵⁴ Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 188-194.

⁵⁵ C.A. van Swigchem, T. Brouwer and W. van Os, *Een huis voor het Woord. Het protestantse kerkinterieur in Nederland tot 1900* (The Hague 1984) 69.

culture. Some of the effects we have already seen in previous chapters, such as the impact of iconoclasm, the destruction, rebuilding and re-use of sacred space. In this context material memories of the Revolt, such as traditional and new relics, were also gathered and displayed in church buildings in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands. Church buildings were therefore immediately marked as places of memory. Finally, as we have seen in the beginning of this chapter, processions and sermons were influenced by the Revolt.

The Revolt also entered the church in other ways. In the Habsburg Netherlands new altars and altarpieces were commissioned, and in the Dutch Republic text panels with Biblical verses and poems, but also coats of arms, were hung in churches.⁵⁶ In both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands heroes were buried in local churches. William of Orange, for instance, was buried in the New Church in Delft in Holland in 1584 although it took until the 1610s before a large monument was built to mark his grave.⁵⁷ In 's-Hertogenbosch the body of Lekkerbeetje was buried in the church of the Dominicans who commissioned a painting of the battle as well. Through this act of commemoration the religious order appropriated the battle of Lekkerbeetje, a popular subject during the Revolt as we have already seen in chapter three.⁵⁸ After the city capitulated to Frederik Hendrik in 1629 the Dominicans even took the painting with them, which suggests that they still wanted to claim their role as stakeholder in the commemoration of the battle.

While material memories in the Dutch Republic took a more secular direction, the Archdukes in the Habsburg Netherlands ensured that the Habsburg dynasty was promoted through religious practices, piety and devotion.⁵⁹ The Archdukes undertook many pilgrimages, venerated saints and relics, and commissioned religious art.⁶⁰ As a result all sorts of media ranging from paintings to cheap prints and from jetons to booklets circulated through the Habsburg Netherlands to support the Archdukes' religious politics.⁶¹ In urban memory cultures this influence was also visible. In religious art an increasing interest in martyrdom and suffering saints was visible. Priests started to study and re-popularize old saints after 1600.⁶² And when chambers of rhetoric were allowed, they sometimes decided to

⁵⁶ Ibidem, 131-139; Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish image after iconoclasm, 1566-1672. Material religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot 2008).

⁵⁷ Jasper van der Steen, 'Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014) 123-124.

⁵⁸ Marion de Koning, 'The battle of Lekkerbeetje. Imagery and ideology during the Eighty Years War (1568-1648)' (Dissertation University of Southern California 2003) 156-158.

⁵⁹ Bruaene, 'The Habsburg theatre state', 137.

⁶⁰ Marcel de Maeyer, *Albrecht en Isabella en de schilderkunst. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de XVIIe eeuwse schilderkunst in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden* (Brussels 1955) 94-96; Jaap van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger. Schilderijencollecties in de Nederlanden', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen 1993) 145-164, there 145-147.

⁶¹ Bruaene, 'The Habsburg theatre state', 137.

⁶² Esser, *The politics of memory*, 177-178; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 157, 175.

change their old patron saint to one that better suited the policy of the Archdukes.⁶³ As a result, during the regime of the Archdukes between 1599 and 1633 the Counterreformation and the commemoration of the Revolt joined together. The church thus became an important advocate in the way the Revolt would be remembered.

One significant aspect of this interpretation of the Revolt was the way the church promoted defenders of the Catholic faith. The most public defender of true believers proved to be the Virgin. The Marian devotion, as far as the Archdukes were concerned, had a good reputation for ending civil war in the Low Countries. In the late fifteenth century the Seven Sorrows of the Virgin Mary had provided solace for people who were tired of endless civil war. In the seventeenth century this particular devotion was revived by the Archdukes not only for its reputation of ending civil war but also because it had already been encouraged before in plays, prints, preaching, music, and sculptures.⁶⁴ Locally, the Marian devotion continued as part of the commemoration of the Revolt as well. As we have already seen, the Virgin became known for her interventions during the war, such as catching cannonballs in her lap.

In addition to the Virgin, local patron saints could also be admired for their fierceness in fighting heretics. St Clare of Assisi, for example, had a reputation for fighting heretics and was painted by Peter Paul Rubens for the Jesuit church in Antwerp before 1621.⁶⁵ Another example from Antwerp is St Norbert, a saint who became renowned for his contribution to the destruction of the heretic Tanchelm in the twelfth century. When the abbey of St Michael burned down in 1620, the Norbertines of Antwerp started a campaign to rebuild their home in which their order's founding father St Norbert took center stage. The Norbertines and their order had been in decline for decades, but after Norbert's canonization in 1582 and gaining the support of the Archdukes for a (failed) attempt to transport his body to Antwerp in 1610, the time was right to exploit the saint's principal achievement. Norbert was an excellent Counterreformation saint because he defended piety, used his powers as an exorcist and opposed heresy.⁶⁶

In 1623 the future abbot of the Norbertines, Chrysostomus van der Sterre, published a book about St Norbert. In this book he not only connected the Norbertines to Antwerp's patron saint, the Virgin, but he also recounted the story of how Norbert had rescued the city from the heretical ideas of the preacher Tanchelm. This was the beginning of Van der Sterre's campaign to demonstrate the essential position of his order and abbey in Antwerp,

⁶³ Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 180.

⁶⁴ Bruaene, 'The Habsburg theatre state', 137–142.

⁶⁵ Peter Paul Rubens, *De heilige Clara van Assisi*, before 1621, modello, Rubenshuis Antwerp; Object description Clara van Assisi, [www.rubenshuis.be / collectie / schilderkunst / Rubens' eigen werk / heilige Clara van Assisi](http://www.rubenshuis.be/collectie/schilderkunst/Rubens%27%20eigen%20werk/heilige%20Clara%20van%20Assisi), consulted 27 August 2013.

⁶⁶ Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 175–176; Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 134, 190.

an attempt that caught on quickly.⁶⁷ In the years following Van der Sterre's account several commissions demonstrate Norbert's popularity amongst patrons who wanted to connect his achievements to Antwerp in the seventeenth century. Two different iconographies of this connection are still known. The first is the 'the triumph of St Norbert' in which the personification of Antwerp is depicted kneeling in the foreground.⁶⁸ The second shows Norbert entering the port of Antwerp with his entourage where he is received by the local magistrate. At least four paintings have been recognized as this scene.⁶⁹

Yet, not only Norbert's connection to Antwerp is of interest here. The iconography of the saint himself also changed in the seventeenth century. St Norbert started to be depicted holding a monstrance, which was a historically incorrect attribute. During the Counterreformation, however, early saints received new attributes more often if they were appropriated for a new purpose.⁷⁰ The popularity of St Norbert inspired individuals from Antwerp to commission paintings which included the saint (fig.38).⁷¹



Fig.38
Bonaventura Peeters, the dock of Antwerp with St Norbert arriving in 1121, 1614-1652 (Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen).

⁶⁷ Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 176–177.

⁶⁸ Ch. van Gerwen et al. (eds.), *Kunst uit Norbertijner abdijen in Brabant* (Valkenswaard 1995) 44.

⁶⁹ With thanks to Jasper Hilligers of Salomon Lilian for this information. Anonymous, *De aankomst van St Norbertus van Xanten in Antwerpen in 1121*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, Amsterdam, Salomon Lilian Dutch Old Master Paintings; Bonaventura Peeters, *H. Norbertus en Witheren op de werf te Antwerpen ontvangen in 1121 door de magistratuur*, 1614-1652, oil on canvas, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerp, inv nr 756; Anonymous, *De aankomst van St Norbertus in Antwerpen*, seventeenth century, oil on canvas, Walraff-Richartz-Museum Cologne, inv nr 633 (destroyed during an air raid on 29 June 1943); Bonaventura Peeters, *Ontvangst van St. Norbertus op het Kranenhoofd te Antwerpen*, 1600-1649, oil on canvas, Museum aan de Stroom Antwerp, inv nr AS.1952.045.002.

⁷⁰ Gerwen, *Kunst uit Norbertijner abdijen*, 33.

⁷¹ Cornelis de Vos, *Sint Norbertus en de teruggave van de monstrans en de gewijde vaten*, 1630, oil on canvas, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerp, inv nr 107; Hildegard van de Velde, *Godsgeschenk. Privémecenaat in de Antwerpse kerken in de 16e en 17e eeuw* (Antwerp 2009) 8–9; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 177.

Finally, the Norbertines profited from St Norbert's popularity. Their prosperity, for example, was reflected in a commission for forty-one windows to adorn the cloisters of their Abbey 't Park in Heverlee in 1635 which depicted St Norbert's life.⁷²

Some saints, however, went through a more coincidental revival due to an event during the Revolt. In Bruges, for example, St Catherine was venerated from 1593 onwards because an assault on the city took place on her name day. From that year onwards an annual procession on 25 November commemorated the attack and started to include the veneration of the saint. She even became so important that the important relics of St Donaas were integrated into this procession through Bruges.⁷³ After the end of the Calvinist regime in Brussels, St Gudula received a prominent place as patroness of the city along with St Michael. While Gudula had been venerated during the Middle Ages, her revival came during the Revolt since her church was raided by rebels, and her relics were scattered. In the history of the church of St Gudula written in 1605 she was referred to as patroness of the city. An engraving in the same book depicted Gudula in Brussels with the town hall and the statue of St Michael in the background. The church dedicated to both saints was depicted in the margins of a map of Brussels which was sent to King Philip IV.⁷⁴ The Revolt had inspired renewed veneration.

Civic heroism: the militia companies

Besides the magistrate and the church there was one corporation in particular which claimed its role during the Revolt: the militia. The militia companies were an important stakeholder in urban communities because they were proud of their contribution to the city's defense in the absence of a garrison and presented themselves as local heroes. In the Middle Ages the militia guilds had functioned like the other urban corporations and joined in processions and other displays of civic ceremony. Militiamen were meant to protect the urban community, fulfil religious duties, and participate in communal life, for example, by taking part in shooting contests. Much like religious brotherhoods and craft guilds the militia guilds unified members with the same social status from different professions.⁷⁵ During the Revolt the position of the

⁷² See for example, S.F. Maes 'De oude glasramen van de abdij van 't Park te Heverlee', *Mededelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige Kring voor Leuven en omgeving* 12 (1972) 3-34, there 10-19.

⁷³ Ranson, 'Brugge na de reconciliatie met Filips II', 131.

⁷⁴ Véronique van de Kerckhof, H. Bussers and David Buisseret, *Met passer en penseel. Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels 2000) 137.

⁷⁵ Paul Knevel, 'Armed Citizens. The Representation of the Civic Militias in the Seventeenth Century', in: Arthur K. Wheelock and Adele F. Seeff (eds.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 85-99, there 88; Anne Woollet, 'The altarpiece in Antwerp, 1554-1615. Painting and the militia guilds' (Dissertation Columbia University 2004) 3; Paul Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer. De schutterijen in Holland, 1550-1700* (Hilversum 1994) 36-61, 86-91, 370-371; Aart Vos, *Burgers, broeders en bazen. Het maatschappelijk middenveld van 's-Hertogenbosch in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum 2007) 94-96.

militia became more important within the urban community. Militiamen sometimes refused to serve the magistrate when matters of peace or privileges were at stake. The position of the militia and its relationship to the magistrate therefore had an impact on whether or not a city joined the Revolt. Moreover, during the 1570s William of Orange reorganized the militia companies in the rebel provinces. Instead of the old, exclusive militia guilds he created militia companies which incorporated every able-bodied citizen who could afford his own equipment.⁷⁶

Militia companies and their individual members were proud of their share in military campaigns. For this purpose they kept lists of men who had been active during the Revolt which were archived to commemorate those who had participated in specific events. For instance, the men of the St Sebastian's guild from Mechelen were carefully listed for their role in the liberation of the neighboring city of Lier in 1595.⁷⁷ In addition, specific militia companies or militiamen were honored for their collective and individual achievements on behalf of their city. As we have seen, the militiamen in 's-Hertogenbosch were honored annually for their contribution in the uprising of the Calvinists.⁷⁸ The men were celebrated for their heroic conduct during the Revolt and reminded the population of the fact that the city had been able to defend itself instead of taking in a garrison. In the Dutch Republic as well as the Habsburg Netherlands militia companies were considered important symbols of civic, military prestige. The Archdukes even deliberately stimulated militia pride by participating in shooting festivals such as those in Brussels in 1615 and in Ghent in 1618.⁷⁹

The militiamen themselves also became civic heroes, which may have been a trigger for the increase in stories about (other) civic heroes in the seventeenth century.⁸⁰ A sense of pride in their status was also reflected in the many portraits they had painted of their companies in the seventeenth century. Especially in Holland militiamen commissioned artists to paint their companies, for which they paid themselves.⁸¹ Nevertheless, individual portraits occurred elsewhere as well. A good example of a militia hero was the standard-bearer of the Kolveniersgild in Mechelen, Rombout Heyns, alias Smets. In 1580 when the English attacked and conquered Mechelen, Heyns had risked his life to save the standard of his guild from the enemy. Yet, his story did not end there. After 1580 Heyns found a good way to hide

⁷⁶ Knevel, *Burgers*, 74-84, 96-111.

⁷⁷ W. van Nespen, *Schatten van de vlaamse schuttersgilden. Catalogus* (Antwerp 1967) 25.

⁷⁸ Rogier A. van Zuijlen, *Inventaris der archieven van de stad 's Hertogenbosch, chronologisch opgemaakt en de voornaamste gebeurtenissen bevattende stadsrekeningen van het jaar 1399-1800* ('s Hertogenbosch 1861) 996, 1044.

⁷⁹ Bruaene, *Om beters wille*, 178.

⁸⁰ Erika Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling and patriotic scripture. The memory brokers of the Dutch Revolt', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 183-202, there 185-186.

⁸¹ Knevel, 'Armed Citizens', 85; Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, 311-322.

the standard from the rebels who occupied the city. His wife Elisabeth hid the flagstaff in an old hearth, and the flag itself she sewed into the lining of her own clothes

Until the year 1585, when she, after the beggars had left, showed herself on the main square with the flag in her hand, to the great astonishment and joy of the guild and the city.⁸²

Rombout Heyns and his wife thus became famous citizens of Mechelen. He had saved the flag, and she had successfully hidden it for five years by carrying it on her person and parading it around the main square after 1585 when Mechelen returned to the Habsburg regime. Their glory in the civic spotlight, however, seems to have ended there. After Heyns' death in 1630, he was buried in St Rombout's cathedral, but his gravestone commemorated only the fact that he had been standard-bearer of the

Kolveniersgild for fifty years.⁸³ His heroic act may therefore have been expected of a standard-bearer of the guild. In this occupation he was also celebrated by his guild since his portrait was painted in the seventeenth century (fig.39).⁸⁴ In 1729 it hung over the mantelpiece in the guild chamber which they had acquired in the Schepenhuis in 1617.⁸⁵ While this portrait may have been intended as the depiction of a hero, it was not unusual to



Fig.39 Jan Verhoeven, portrait of Rombout Heyns, alias Smets, as standard bearer of the Kolveniersgild carrying the banner he saved from the English troops in 1580, 1642-1669 (Stedelijke Musea Mechelen).

⁸² 'tot den jaere 1585: wanneer sij naer dat de geúsen vertrocken waeren haer heeft verthoont op de groote merckt met het vendel in haer handt, tot eene groote verwonderinge ende blijchap van de gúlde ende Stadt' With thanks to Jan Severeijns, captain Kolveniersgilde Mechelen, Stadsarchief Mechelen (SAM), Oud Archief, inventarisdeel 8, E Kolveniersgilde, IV, Reglementen ende costuymen voor de Caloveniers gulde binne de stadt Mechelen, 1729.

⁸³ Jozef Cuypers van Alsinghen, *Provincie, stad, ende district van Mechelen. Opgeheldert in haere kercken, kloosters, kapellen, gods-huysen, gelden, publieke plaetsen II* (Brussels 1770) 133.

⁸⁴ Jan Verhoeven, *Portret van Rombout Heyns, alias Smets, vaandrig van het Kolveniersgilde in 1580*, ca. 1625-1680, oil on canvas, Hof van Busleyden, Mechelen, inv nr S0065. The museum dates the painting ca. 1625. Yet, the portrait was probably painted between 1642 and 1669 since the artist worked in Mechelen during that time. RKD, RKD Artists database, Jan Verhoeven, record nr 80365.

⁸⁵ SAM, Oud Archief, inventarisdeel 8, E Kolveniersgilde, IV, Reglementen ende costuymen voor de Caloveniers gulde binne de stadt Mechelen, 1729.

have the standard-bearer painted. For example, in Bruges a portrait of the standard bearer for the St Sebastian's guild was painted in 1641.⁸⁶ In the same year the standard-bearer of one of Enkhuizen's militias was also painted.⁸⁷ Heyns therefore seems to have been honored by his own guild, more than by the city.

A civic heroine who was celebrated continually was Kenau Simonsdochter Hasselaer from Haarlem. Her heroic performance during the siege of Haarlem in 1572-1573 brought her immediate fame. People commissioned paintings of her and referred to her in books, prints and plays.⁸⁸ Despite the fact that Kenau was a woman, and she was not part of the civic militia, she soon became incorporated into the stories of the siege which Haarlem's militia propagated. In 1646 when an inventory of their building in the Gasthuisstraat was made, it included a room named after Kenau which held her portrait.⁸⁹ Kenau, however, was not the only reminder Haarlem's militia kept of the siege.

From 1628 onwards a painting of the capture of Damietta hung in the old militia building, the *Cloveniersdoelen*. The painting made by Cornelisz Claesz van Wieringen represented an ancient victory of Haarlem during the Fifth Crusade in 1219, which was recalled to celebrate the innate bravery of Haarlem's citizens.⁹⁰ Finally, in the eighteenth century an inscription was added to the façade of the building which referred to the bravery of the militia during the Revolt.⁹¹

The militia companies in Alkmaar were also very active in celebrating their role during the Revolt. In 1629, for example, they went to Nijmegen to defend the city against enemy troops while Nijmegen's garrison was used for the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch. Upon their return the *Oude Schutterij*, or old militia company, commissioned a large portrait which referred to this episode in their history.⁹² The main achievement which the militia companies celebrated, however, was their contribution to the relief of the city in 1573. In 1580 the St Sebastian or new militia company commissioned two paintings to demonstrate and emphasize their role in Alkmaar's victory over the Spanish army. The first showed the siege from the north and represented an assault on Alkmaar by the Spanish army. The second depicted the siege from the south with a focus on the enemy's army camp. Both paintings depicted the enemy, and not the militia itself, and emphasized its military strength. This made the achievement of Alkmaar's militia in fending off the enemy even bigger, as the

⁸⁶ Van Nespen, *Schatten*, 109–110.

⁸⁷ Ed Dekker et al. (eds.), *Ach lieve tijd. West-Friesland 10. Twintig eeuwen Westfriezen en hun oorlogen en opstanden* (Zwolle 1998) 236 via www.westfriesgenootschap.nl.

⁸⁸ Els Kloek, *Kenau. De heldhaftige zakenvrouw uit Haarlem (1526-1588)* (Hilversum 2001) passim.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, 81.

⁹⁰ Knevel, 'Armed Citizens', 88.

⁹¹ Haarlem, Gasthuisstraat, via www.gevelstenen.net.

⁹² Willem Bartsius, *Officieren en vaandeldragers van de Oude Schutterij*, 1634, oil on canvas, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nr 020726.

accompanying text confirms.⁹³ Of course, the old militia company could not lag behind. In 1598 it commissioned a painting that depicted the enemy camp in the foreground and the city in the background. The accompanying text emphasized the military achievements during the city's defense such as the number of regiments and citizens (fig.40).⁹⁴



Fig.40 Anonymous, the siege of Alkmaar depicting the enemy camp commissioned by the old militia company, 1603, (Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar).

The memories of the siege of Alkmaar were thus carefully kept alive. The paintings even suggest that there may have been a sense of competition between the militia companies in claiming their role in the siege. Not only were militia companies proud of their achievements, however, local governments also offered a helping hand in propagating their militia's role in the Revolt. As in Alkmaar, Dutch militia companies were frequently sent away on military expeditions to defend other cities in frontier areas whose garrisons fought on the frontline. Afterwards, the magistrate demonstrated a sense of pride after the safe return of their militia.⁹⁵ As we have seen, the magistrate of Haarlem, for example, commissioned a medal to commemorate the role which its militia had played in the defense of Hasselt during the siege of Bergen op Zoom in 1622.⁹⁶ In the same year a militia company from Amsterdam went to

⁹³ Pieter Adriaensz Cluyt, *De belegering van Alkmaar door de Spanjaarden, gezien vanuit het noorden en het zuiden*, 1580, oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nrs 020856 and 020857.

⁹⁴ Anonymous, *Het beleg van Alkmaar in 1573 door de Spanjaarden*, 1603, oil on panel, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv nr 020600; Object description, Beeldbank Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, <http://stedelijkmuseumalkmaar.nl/beeldbank>, consulted 27 August 2013.

⁹⁵ In the Dutch Republic the militias from cities in Holland were used to defend other regions many times, especially between 1599 and 1604 and 1622 and 1637. Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, 254–255.

⁹⁶ Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen II* (The Hague 1726) 147.

defend Zwolle. After their return two prints, a painting, and a poem represented the militiamen as saviors of the Republic and its freedom.⁹⁷

In the Habsburg Netherlands, militia companies also participated in expeditions to other cities. In 1595 the city of Lier was liberated by militia companies from Antwerp and Mechelen. Lier's magistrate was grateful for this release from the Dutch troops and probably commissioned a painting to commemorate the event. The painting, which hung in the town hall in 1740, depicted a cityscape of Lier with the militia approaching the city. Earlier provenance of the painting is unknown, but it is generally accepted that this painting was commissioned by Lier's magistrate since the accompanying text referred to the assistance of Mechelen and Antwerp in freeing the city from 'Calvin's rabble'. The painting became an eternal reminder of the 'fury' of 1595.⁹⁸ The prominence of the militia is important here because not every scene of the events in Lier focused on this topic. A second, anonymous painting dated in the first half of the seventeenth century, for instance, depicted the enemy troops fleeing the city.⁹⁹

Lier, however, was not the only city to commemorate this episode. The magistrate from Mechelen commissioned a painting from Jan Ghuens which prominently depicted Lier in the background, but the foreground was reserved for Mechelen's militia. The magistrate was so proud of their men that they hung the paintings in one of the reception rooms of the town hall (fig.41).¹⁰⁰ The location of the painting was not coincidental because the captains of the militia who participated in the liberation of Lier were also part of the magistrate of Mechelen.¹⁰¹ Antwerp's magistrate also demonstrated its pride in the local militia and their role in the relief of Lier. In celebration a medal was commissioned to reward the leaders and other deserving men of the militia who had participated. The medal stated 'Lira Recepta', or Lier recaptured, and depicted the castle of Antwerp.¹⁰² The connection between Lier's liberation and Antwerp was thus made clear on the object. The magistrate focused only on

⁹⁷ Jan Jansz Starter, *Tocht van de Amsterdamse schutterij naar Zwolle*, 1622, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-81.011; Kees Zandvliet (ed.), *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam 2000) 408–409; Knevel, 'Armed Citizens', 86; Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, 259–262.

⁹⁸ 'Calvinus gebroet', Anonymous, *De Lierse Furie (14 oktober 1595)*, ca. 1595, oil on canvas, Museum Wuyts van Campen Lier; Chr. Van Lom, *Beschryving der stad Lier in Brabant* (The Hague 1740) 96; J. Weyns, *Lierse furie* (Lier 1978) 82; Anton Bergmann, *Geschiedenis der stad Lier* (Antwerp 1873) 80; F. Verbiest, 'De Lierse furie, anno 1595, in beeld, boek en blad', *Noordgouw. Cultureel tijdschrift van de Provincie Antwerpen* 1 (1961) 117–143, there 141; Luc Coenen, 'Lier en lyrana in de verzameling oude schilderijen van het stedelijk museum Wuyts-van Campen en Baron Caroly', in: *Post Factum. Jaarboek voor geschiedenis en volkenkunde* 3 (Antwerp 2011) 53–93, there passim.

⁹⁹ Anonymous, *De Lierse Furie. De herovering van de stad Lier door de Antwerpenaars en de Mechelaars op 14 oktober 1595*, first half seventeenth century, oil on panel, Koninklijke Musea voor Schone Kunsten van België, inv nr 1311.

¹⁰⁰ Ibidem, 77; Jan Ghuens, *Het ontzet van Lier, 1595*, ca. 1595, oil on canvas, Hof van Busleyden Mechelen, inv nr S0054.

¹⁰¹ Bram Caers, 'In fide constans'? Politiek van herinnering in het Mechelse stadsbestuur', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29 (2013) 228–246, there 236–237, 242–243.

¹⁰² Weyns, *Lierse furie*, 82.

Antwerp's men and ignored that the militia from Mechelen had helped as well. While Antwerp and Mechelen each primarily focused on their own men, Lier celebrated both militias and thanked them for their intervention.

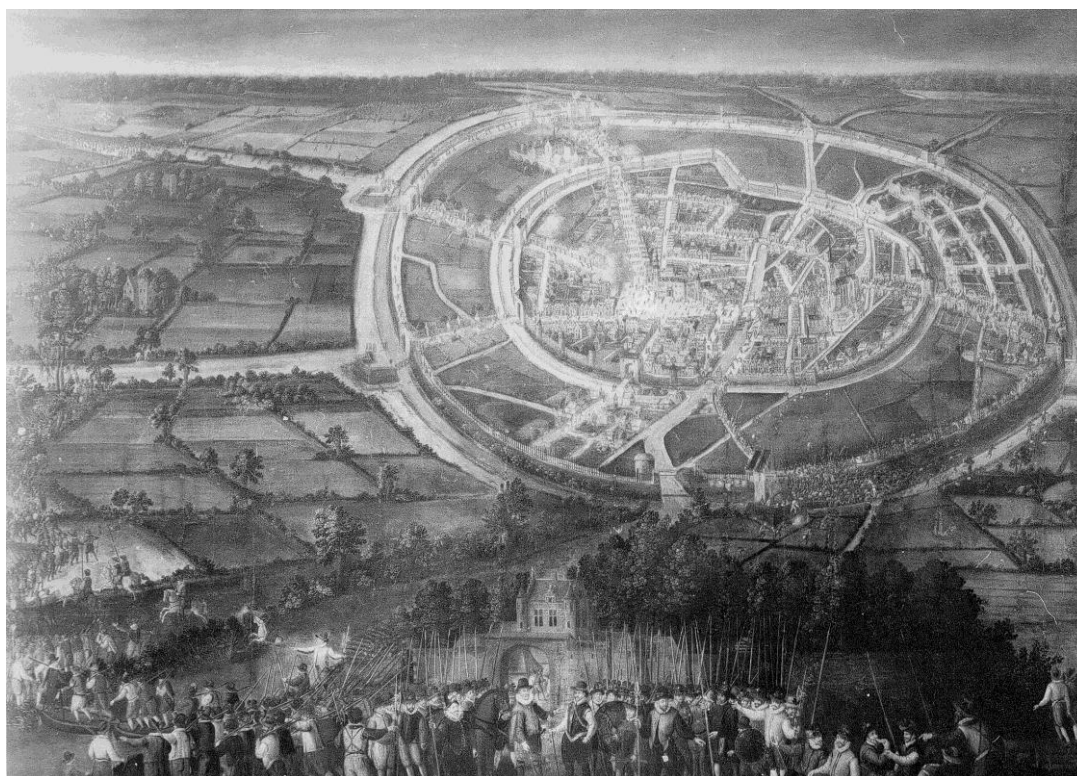


Fig.41 Jan Ghuens, the relief of Lier as depicted for the magistrate in Mechelen, ca. 1595 (Hof van Busleyden Mechelen).

The complex nature of memory cultures: losing a siege

The magistrate, the church and the militia companies all had their own motives to propagate certain stories about the Revolt. Within an urban memory culture, however, all these stories circulated and interacted with each other. As we have already seen, many of the memories were meant to instigate a sense of harmony and communal identity, but this was not always easy to achieve. The nature of the Revolt had been such that many civic groups opposed each other, and a victory for one faction could pose a threat to another. Moreover, while victories could be difficult to interpret at times, experiences such as lost sieges were even more complicated. A new regime, the loss of lives, and the embarrassment of the capitulation shaped the urban memory culture that emerged after the event. This makes cities which had experienced a siege that did not end well, such as Haarlem in 1572-1573 and Antwerp in 1584-1585, interesting cases for studying the interaction between stakeholders.

In 1573 after a seven-month siege by the Habsburg army the city had been forced to capitulate. For four years Haarlem was ruled by a Habsburg regime, until the city and William

of Orange signed a Satisfaction in 1577, which was meant to establish religious coexistence. In theory the treaty ensured that both the Catholic and Protestant religions would coexist, but in practice the peace did not last long. In 1578 armed soldiers entered and plundered St Bavochurch during mass and harmed several Catholics. Although peace was restored quickly, and the culprits were sent away for trial, fear caused the bishop to flee the city. The 'religious peace' would not officially end until 1581, but religious and civic tensions persisted within Haarlem.¹⁰³

Haarlem's urban memory culture has been studied by several scholars. Historian Joke Spaans argued in 1989 that because the siege had ended badly, it had been disregarded in the city's memory culture. Instead Haarlem propagated the more neutral siege of Damietta, which had taken place in 1219. During this siege the people from Haarlem had been brave and cunning enough to cut a chain which closed off Damietta's harbor.¹⁰⁴ Other scholars, however, disagreed. Henk van Nierop persuasively argued that the siege was not forgotten at all, as could be seen in the local history written by local historian Samuel Ampzing in 1628.¹⁰⁵ Art historians Carol Janson and Mia Mochizuki revealed that reminders of the siege were still visible and prominently on display inside St Bavochurch.¹⁰⁶ In 2006 Willem Frijhoff wrote an extensive article about the role the siege of Damietta played in Haarlem's memory culture. Without referring to Spaans he argued that the magistrate promoted the Damietta story because it did not want to remember the religious discord in the city and because the Damietta tale could be commemorated amongst the many immigrants in Haarlem as well.¹⁰⁷ His argument, however, does not do justice to the complexity of Haarlem's memory culture from 1577 onwards.

The complex nature of Haarlem's memory culture can best be explained from two perspectives. The first was the way the local magistrate and other stakeholders dealt with the past in both the short and the long term within the city walls. The second was the way the magistrate took its urban memory culture and represented it to the outside world, more specifically within its regional network. The notion, as emphasized by both Spaans and Frijhoff, that Haarlem commemorated only the siege of Damietta stems from this supralocal level. Indeed, if we look at the number of stained-glass windows the magistrate donated to churches across Holland, it is clear that Damietta was a popular theme. These windows,

¹⁰³ Joke Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie. Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven 1577-1620* (The Hague 1989) 49–71.

¹⁰⁴ Willem Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée. La mémoire de croisade, instrument de concorde civique (Haarlem, XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)', *Revue du Nord* 88 (2006) 7–42, there 11–12.

¹⁰⁵ Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city. Samuel Ampzing's vision of the history of Haarlem', *Theoretische geschiedenis* 20 (1993) 268–282.

¹⁰⁶ Carol Janson, 'Public places, private lives. The impact of the Dutch Revolt on the Reformed churches in Holland', in: Arthur K. Wheelock (ed.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 181–190; Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish image*, 188–192.

¹⁰⁷ Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée', 9–10.

which were donated to churches by different cities, were an opportunity for a city to present itself to the outside world. While other cities traditionally displayed their coat of arms or a biblical scene, Haarlem commissioned around fifty windows in Holland that depicted Damietta.¹⁰⁸ Yet, as will be demonstrated in more detail below, when we look at the first, local, perspective, Damietta was outclassed by memories of the Revolt.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, we have already seen, Haarlem's memory culture was extensive. The gable stones the militia commissioned for its headquarters, the many portraits of the local heroine Kenau, and the cannonball tales already suggest that the siege of 1572-1573 was far from forgotten in the seventeenth century.

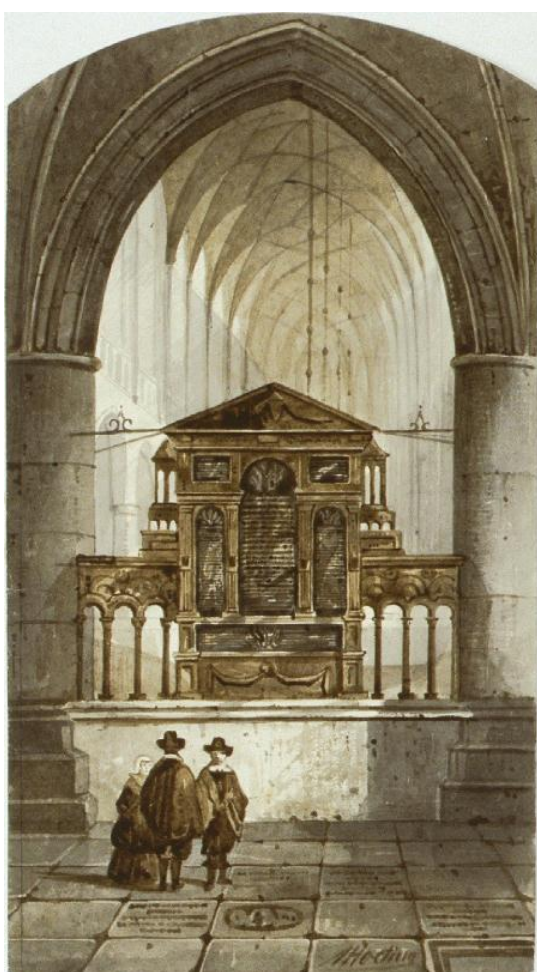


Fig.42 (p.138) Church panel 'the siege of Haarlem' as drawn in the nineteenth century (Noordhollands Archief Haarlem).

The commemoration of the siege of Haarlem seems to have been influenced by several events which took place in the city after 1577. First of all, when the city officially banned the Catholic religion in 1581, it was probably the church wardens of St Bavo who immediately commissioned a new painting entitled 'the siege of Haarlem'. This painting, or church panel, was fitted on the reverse of the most important panel in the church, the Lord's supper (fig.42). Its prominent location reflected the significance of the political message the painting carried. Instead of celebrating the victory of the Reformed religion it expressed a moderate view of shared suffering, harmony and a common enemy. Therefore the painting reflected what the population of Haarlem had in common rather than what had driven them apart in the previous years. The church wardens chose to emphasize that citizens of Haarlem had joined together in fighting the Spanish enemy but had unfortunately been forced to surrender because of hunger.¹¹⁰ This moderate message of courage

¹⁰⁸ Simon Groenveld, *Haarlemse glasraamscheningen. Stedelof tussen dominee, regent en koopman* (Gouda 1998) 29-32, 41-42; See also Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795 I: the North*, passim.

¹⁰⁹ An earlier version of this argument can be read in Marianne Eekhout, 'De kogel in de kerk. Herinneringen aan het beleg van Haarlem, 1573-1630' *Historisch tijdschrift Holland* 43 (2011) 108-119.

¹¹⁰ For the argument of the church wardens as the ones who commissioned this painting see also *Ibidem*, 116-117.

and harmony was meant to unite the population as had been done in Leiden after 1574, but it also had been inspired by the Pacification of Ghent and its emphasis on forgiving and forgetting.

Rather than taking the siege memories as decisive, the church panel demonstrates that the local magistrate (via its church wardens) already had another satisfactory explanation in place. The church wardens were not the first to offer this solution because Hadrianus Junius had already integrated a story of harmony and courage into the notes for his book *Batavia*, which he wrote in 1575. Junius, who had lived in Haarlem, emphasized that Haarlem broke the pride of the Habsburg army and deserved glory because it had delayed the progress of the army and gave the other cities time to prepare for their sieges.¹¹¹ Furthermore, in 1593 Haarlem's chambers of rhetoric performed a play about 'the miseries of the past and the prosperity in the present' on the day of St John, 24 June.¹¹² Although the sources do not tell what was performed exactly, it is evident that the present and the past were compared. In all likelihood the miseries referred to the hardship during the siege and the subsequent Habsburg regime.

The urban memory landscape, however, did change dramatically from 1595 onwards when the first print of Damietta was published.¹¹³ Although the imagery was familiar because it had been used in the sixteenth century as well, the simplicity and familiarity of the scene ensured that it caught on immediately amongst and beyond Haarlem's population.¹¹⁴ The depiction of the Damietta theme was always the same: a large ship (from Haarlem) sailing through a snapping chain connecting the two towers of the Egyptian city. Other cities tended to use different emblematic images for their civic representation, but because Haarlem always depicted this particular image of Damietta, it quickly became part of the city's memory culture. Moreover, the Damietta theme built on the already existing theme of bravery amongst Haarlem's population. Haarlem had been blessed with an innate talent for bravery since their victory in Damietta. And to ensure a proper connection between 1219 and 1573 historian Ampzing simply left out the intervening years from his local history in 1628.¹¹⁵

From the start of the seventeenth century Haarlem's urban memory culture was thus built on two memories: the siege of Damietta and the siege of 1572-1573. Yet, after the

¹¹¹ Hadrianus Junius, *Holland is een eiland. De Batavia van Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)*, translated and introduced by Nico de Glas (Hilversum 2011) 9, 12, 327–329.

¹¹² Bart Ramakers, 'Voor stad en stadgenoten. Rederijkers, kamers en toneel in Haarlem in de tweede helft van de zestiende eeuw', in: Bart Ramakers (ed.), *Conformisten en rebellen. Rederijkerscultuur in de Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam 2003) 109–124, there 120.

¹¹³ Nicolaes Jansz. Clock, *Inname van Damiate en het overzeilen van de ketting, 1219, 1595*, print, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, RP-P-OB-76.972.

¹¹⁴ Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée', passim; W. van Anrooij, 'Middeleeuwse sporen van de Haarlemse Damiate-legende', in: E.K. Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem vóór 1800* (Hilversum 1993) 11–25; Junius, *Holland is een eiland*, 326–327.

¹¹⁵ Samuel Ampzing, *Beschrijvinge ende lof der stad Haerlem in Holland* (Reprint 1628; Amsterdam 1974) 159.

installation of a new regime in 1618 there was a notable change of direction in memory practices in Haarlem. In this year Prince Maurits appointed a new magistrate after dismissing the old regime which had supported the Remonstrant faction. The religious and political conflict during the truce inspired Haarlem's magistrate to emphasize a 'confessionally neutral' civic culture as well as its loyalty to Prince Maurits.¹¹⁶ As we have seen, this neutrality was already present in the church panel in St Bavo, but the new magistrate now increasingly used Damietta to emphasize this message, for instance by commissioning Damietta memorabilia such as a window for St Bavo and the large tapestry for the council chamber in the town hall. This tapestry, designed by artist Cornelis Claes van Wieringen, was even hung from the balcony of the town hall during urban festivities (fig.43).¹¹⁷



Fig.43 Joseph Thienpont, tapestry representing the siege of Damietta in 1219 as designed by Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen, 1629 (town hall Haarlem).

Still, despite the emphasis on Damietta in both local and regional politics, the Haarlem siege was not forgotten. In 1619 rhetorician Govert van der Eemdb published his play about the siege of Haarlem.¹¹⁸ A year later, in 1620, a new songbook appeared in Haarlem which included two songs about the siege of 1572-73, strategically placed at the beginning of the publication.¹¹⁹ In addition, Kenau was still celebrated as a local heroine and a painting depicting the main characters of the siege in 1660 included her as well.¹²⁰ Memories of the siege thus continued to circulate in the urban memory culture. It was only after 1618, and especially in regional politics, that Damietta took off as a substitute for the siege of Haarlem in 1572-1573. Contrary to what cities such as Alkmaar and Leiden put forward, as we shall see in chapter five, Haarlem did not refer to its siege when recalling the urban past on a

¹¹⁶ Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie*, 220–225.

¹¹⁷ Frijhoff, 'Damiette appropriée', 24, 30; Joseph Thienpont, *Inname van Damiate*, 1629, tapestry, 10,75m x 2,4m, town hall Haarlem, designed by Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen.

¹¹⁸ Govert van der Eemdb, *Haerlemse belegeringhs trevr-bly-eynde-spel. Gespeelt by de Wijn-gaerdranken onder Liefd' boven al* (The Hague 1619).

¹¹⁹ Louis Peter Grijp, 'De Rotterdamse Faem-Bazuyn'. De lokale dimensie van liedboeken uit de Gouden Eeuw', *Volkskundig bulletin* 18 (1992) 23–78, there 44–45.

¹²⁰ Neeltje Köhler, *Painting in Haarlem, 1500-1850. The collection of the Frans Hals Museum* (Ghent 2006) 677.

regional level. All in all Haarlem's memory culture can be seen as an example of how the focus of local memory could change over time and through different regimes.

A second example of the complexity of a local memory culture is Antwerp after the city reconciled with the Habsburg regime in 1585. After a siege lasting more than a year the city capitulated to Governor Alexander Farnese on 17 August 1585. As we have already seen, the new Catholic magistrate found itself in a difficult position. The siege had weakened Antwerp economically, the river Scheldt remained closed, and many rich Protestant merchants took their business elsewhere. Antwerp, however, also welcomed the regular clergy and the orders that had been banned during the Calvinist regime as well as the return of Catholic families that had been in exile. On the one hand, the magistrate therefore tried to create an economic climate in which different denominations could do business while, on the other hand, it supported and propagated Catholicism. The magistrate thus actively participated in many forms of Catholic urban ceremonial such as processions and celebrations but also refused to punish every infraction of the new religious rules.¹²¹

The Catholic identity of the city was important, especially after the Calvinist regime had ruined so many Catholic symbols. Not only the magistrate, but also the religious brotherhoods, undertook initiatives to show their dedication in propagating this new identity. In 1587 the Marian sodality, and especially its founder Jesuit Franciscus Costerus, successfully petitioned the magistrate to replace the existing statue of Sylvius Brabo, the traditional founder of Antwerp whose statue stood on the façade of the town hall, with one of the city's patron saint, the Virgin. The magistrate approved the plan but did not finance the statue from public funds. A minority even feared the effect of such a symbolic statement on the remaining Protestants. Moreover, the magistrate was inclined to extend the period of four years that Protestants had been given to decide whether to stay and reconvert to Catholicism or to leave Antwerp. Only when Bishop Livinus Torrentius intervened did the magistrate decide against this idea.¹²² However, many of the aldermen did sign on privately to finance the new statue that was unveiled on 25 March 1587.¹²³

On the day of the Feast of Annunciation, 25 March, the new statue was crowned after a mass had been celebrated in the Jesuit church. Speeches connected the event to the Revolt and emphasized that Antwerp should never abandon its patron saint again. In fact this message was so important that it had been already performed in a play two days prior to the

¹²¹ Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 41, 79, 103–107; Pollmann, *Catholic Identity*, 138–139; Marinus, *De contrareformatie*, 51, 159–160.

¹²² Marie Juliette Marinus, 'Het verdwijnen van het protestantisme in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 261–271, there 263.

¹²³ Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 104–105; Peter Arnade, *Beggars, iconoclasts, and civic patriots. The political culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca 2008) 326–327; Jochen Becker, 'Review. Das Rathaus von Antwerpen', *Simiolus. Netherlands Quarterly for the History of Art* 17 (1987) 199–203, there 202.

coronation. Prints with the image of the new Madonna were distributed amongst the population in order for them to show their appreciation of the Virgin and the Catholic restoration.¹²⁴ Yet, the statue of Brabo was salvaged by the magistrate. The Roman founding father of the city was relocated to the top of the Werfpoort, the gate to the economic heart of the city.¹²⁵ Brabo, as a non-religious symbol of Antwerp, could thus remain part of public life due to the efforts of the magistrate. Apparently the magistrate also wanted to uphold the older, civil symbols of Antwerp to which Protestants could relate as well.

While the magistrate thus took a moderate view towards the Protestants still living in Antwerp, other stakeholders took it upon themselves to reflect upon the recent past and to understand how the city could have been subjected to a Calvinist regime for so long. The magistrate, as we have already seen in the painting by Hans Vredeman de Vries, tried to look forward, but others dared to look back. After 1585 some Antwerpers started to explain the Calvinist regime as the work of Reformed intruders for which the citizens were not to blame. These sentiments, according to several authors during the siege of Antwerp in 1585, had already begun to surface when the Calvinist regime was still in place. For example, in a pasquil found in a manuscript in the abbey of Tongerlo the merchants wanted peace in order for their trade to prosper and the poor workers wanted food, but the magistrates of Antwerp said ‘rather the city in ruins, than an agreement with Parma’.¹²⁶ In reality, however, the magistrate had decided to start negotiations with Parma after an attempt to relieve the city in May 1585 had failed. From that moment Catholics as well as Protestants had urged the magistrate to negotiate for peace while Calvinist ministers, the craft guilds, and the captains of the neighborhoods protested against these attempts.¹²⁷

¹²⁴ Judith Pollmann, ‘Een “blij-eindend” treurspel. Leiden, 1574’, in: Herman Amersfoort et al. (eds.), *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam 2011) 118–145, there 140–141.

¹²⁵ Daniel Papebrochius, *Annales Antverpienses ab urbe condita ad annum M.DCC.* IV (Antwerp 1845) 227; Becker, ‘Review’, 201.

¹²⁶ ‘liever de stad gheruineert, dan met Parma ghappointeert’ A. Erens, ‘Literarische archivalia voor Antwerpen, 1580-1585’, *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 11 (1933) 241–316, there 271, this pasquil is only one in a series of songs against the Calvinist regime in Antwerp in this collection.

¹²⁷ Guido Marnef, ‘Burgemeester in moeilijke tijden’, *Een intellectuele activist. Studies over leven en werk van Philips van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde* (2001) 28–36, there 32–33.

Other poems which circulated in 1585 referred to the city's 'rebellious' past but usually in combination with a reference to the heretical past.

I [Antwerp] have called myself Reformed, but those who spring from me have betrayed me, evil justice, all malice. Wars and conflict make for expensive times. Houses burn, the lands are oppressed. Murder, thievery, tyranny all come from heresy.¹²⁸

The Reformed religion was connected to all evil, and the Calvinists had caused a deviation from the true faith amongst the citizens of Antwerp. This argument remained important during the seventeenth century. In the manuscript histories of Antwerp it is often repeated. For example, chronicler Louis van Caukercken blamed William of Orange and his arrival in Antwerp for the ruin of the city.¹²⁹ By making Orange the scapegoat Antwerp's citizens shifted the blame for their decisions onto a small, political elite. The citizens could claim they had been gullible, deceived and 'ill advised', rather than having had a steadfast belief in the Calvinist regime

The elevated royal seed of Spain, Duke of Brabant our righteous lord, whom we, driven by evil council, had abandoned, comes in paternal manner, to accept us, and will not remember the misdemeanors anymore.¹³⁰

Poems like these were written for and displayed during the entry of Alexander Farnese ten days after the fall of Antwerp. The citizens showed their governor that they were relieved that he had liberated the city after its insurrection. Antwerpers also found other ways not to mention heresy. In 1606 when he wrote his history of Brabant Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven remembered Antwerp's citadel that had been built in 1567, but instead of emphasizing the heretical nature of the people who demolished it in 1577, he just mentioned that they had been 'revolting and raging'.¹³¹ In his argument Goidtsenhoven distances himself from those who demolished the citadel but in very general terms, without referring to whether or not they were heretics.

¹²⁸ 'ghereformeert heb ick my selven ghenaeempt, maer die uut my spruyten hebben my beschaempt, quade justitie, alle malicie. Oorloghen, strydt scherpen dieren tyt. Huysen verbranden, verdrucken de landen. Moorderye, dieverye, tyrannye compt al uut ketterye'. Erens, 'Literarische archivalia', 279.

¹²⁹ FAA, PK 116, Chronicle Louis van Caukercken, f. 191-193.

¹³⁰ 'T coninclyck saet van Hispanien verheven, Hertoch van Brabant, ons natuerlyck heere, Vanden welcken wy deur t'quaet raets ingheven, Gheweken waren, compt met vaderlycken keere Ons aennemen en d'misbruyck ghedencken niet meere'. Erens, 'Literarische archivalia', 280.

¹³¹ 'oproerich en rasende'. Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven, *Chroniicke van de Hertoghen van Brabant vvaer in hun leuen, oorloghen ende acten perfectelijck beschreuen zijn* (Antwerp 1606) 11.

References to the Revolt in Antwerp were thus still offered, in order to put the blame for the city's insurrection on heretics and William of Orange. Yet, already in 1606 Goidsenhoven's account shows a distance between what happened in the 1580s and the present. In the seventeenth century Antwerp seems to have moved beyond the Calvinist regime and advocated the idea, as we can see in Jesuit Carolus Scribani's work in 1610, that the Revolt was only a temporary deviation from the right path. He feels secure enough to mention it in his preface and moves on to describe the city's golden age in the sixteenth century.¹³² In addition, Scribani emphasized that the rulers of Brabant had faced such foes as the Turks, Saracens and Ottomans who could be compared to the heretics the Habsburg regime now fought in the Low Countries.¹³³ A return to the more distant past also occurred in other contexts. In 1643-1644 the members of one of the militia companies in Antwerp had themselves depicted in a portrait bringing honor to Charles V.¹³⁴

Much as in Haarlem, in Antwerp stakeholders such as the church and the militia companies looked back at the distant past. Yet, while Haarlem also commemorated its resistance to the siege, no such commemoration was possible in Antwerp. Haarlem had been captured and later rejoined the rebel provinces, but Antwerp had been captured and remained part of the Habsburg regime.

The complex interaction between stakeholders within the community largely determined how an urban memory culture in the Low Countries turned out. Each stakeholder, whether an individual, a family, the local magistrate, the church or one of the corporations, had its own interest in promoting or forgetting certain stories about the recent past. These stories were remediated and propagated through various media which together provided a larger framework of memory practices. Performative media such as urban ceremonial, processions, entries, plays, songs and sermons set part of the stage in which material memories function in the urban community. Since they were performed publicly and could thus reach a large part of the population, they offered an interpretation of the Revolt which cannot easily be ignored. After all, urban ceremonial had the potential to influence the way people thought about the recent past.

Since material memories thus depended on and interacted with oral, textual and performative media that existed in the urban community, stakeholders could use these media to their own advantage. The messages they spread also seem to have been relatively similar. Both in the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands magistrates emphasized a sense of communal identity and harmony in order to resolve discord which had arisen during

¹³² Esser, *The politics of memory*, 180–188.

¹³³ Esser, *The politics of memory*, 173.

¹³⁴ Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage*, 163, 246.

the war. In many cases the church, the corporations, and individual citizens joined in this story, as we have already seen in previous chapters. Nevertheless, these stakeholders did provide their own arguments. The militia companies in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands were proud of their achievements during the Revolt and started to profile themselves as having been played a role in the city's defense. This sense of pride contributed to their distinctive corporate identity within the city.

The church differed as stakeholder in the Northern and Southern Netherlands. The Catholic Church in the Habsburg Netherlands provided its audience with saints which were known for fighting heretics. The veneration of these saints (from the distant past) was directly related to the Dutch Revolt. In the Dutch Republic ministers often conformed to the public commemoration of the past by the magistrate. In both states, however, the church building was an important place of memory as was the town hall. The religious reading of the Revolt the church offered in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands does not seem to have overshadowed the memory politics of the magistrate. While different strands of memory practice are clearly visible, as we have seen in Haarlem with the siege of 1572-1573 and the Damietta story, the magistrate remained the main player in determining the urban memory landscape. Of course, there was much at stake because the magistrate dealt not only with its population but also with the city's position in the regional network. And, as we shall see in chapter five, on this supralocal level the Revolt could make or break a city's reputation.

