Material Memories of the Dutch Revolt

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Chapter 5 – Beyond the city. Propagating the Revolt in a regional network

In the 1620s the magistrates of two cities in Holland commissioned paintings to celebrate and remember their own past. The West Frisian city of Enkhuizen paid painter Abraham de Verwer in 1621 to depict the victorious 1573 battle of the Zuiderzee for the aldermen's room in the town hall (fig.44).[1] The magistrate of Haarlem commissioned a rendition of the lost 1573 battle on the Haarlemmermeer from Hendrik Vroom for the council chamber in the town hall in 1629.[2] The motivation behind the commissions of these paintings was similar. In 1621, when the war was resumed after the Twelve Years' Truce, both cities used these images not only to emphasize their role during the early phase of the Revolt, but more importantly, the magistrates of Enkhuizen and Haarlem wanted to highlight Amsterdam's long support of the Habsburg regime through a subtle hint in the paintings. Where the enemy fleet was depicted, the ships carried Amsterdam's flags, reminding beholders of Amsterdam's late decision to join the Revolt in 1578.[3]

Fig.44 Abraham de Verwer, battle at the Zuiderzee in 1573 which displays the enemy ships with banners from Amsterdam, 1621 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

Commissioning these paintings reflected a one-sided animosity of Enkhuizen and Haarlem towards Amsterdam. Both cities chose to depict a scene from the early Revolt to create an image of Amsterdam as the enemy of the States' armies. This animosity was

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[1] Abraham de Verwer, *Battle of the Zuiderzee*, 1621, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-603. See also J.P. Sigmond, W.Th Kloek and L.H Zuiderbaan, *Zeeslagen en zeehelden in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam 2007) 16–18.
[2] Hendrik Vroom, *Battle of the Haarlemmermeer*, 1629, oil on canvas, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, SK-A-602.
[3] Sigmond, Kloek and Zuiderbaan, *Zeeslagen en zeehelden*, 16–18.

based on contemporary economic, political and religious differences, in which cities did not hesitate to claim and guard their acquired rights. For example, during the religious troubles in the Twelve Years' Truce Haarlem and Amsterdam belonged to opposing factions. In the 1620s both Haarlem and Enkhuizen belonged to the war faction while Amsterdam had profited from the truce through an expansion of export markets. Like Haarlem, Enkhuizen belonged to the faction in the States of Holland that opposed Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Delft and Dordrecht when commercial interests and privileges were at stake.[4]

The behavior of cities during the Revolt became another argument in the many conflicts caused by civic rivalry in a regional network. Since the Middle Ages cities in the Low Countries had attempted to increase their own political or economic influence at the expense of their rivals.[5] As historian Marjolein 't Hart has stressed, frictions and rivalries between cities 'guided the coalitions, bargaining, and resolutions of the provincial government and the States General'.[6] Moreover, urban rivalry was visible not only in political, religious, and economic conflicts but also in the way cities used their past. In fact, rivalry between cities even inspired magistrates to sponsor a specific medium: the chorography.[7] These descriptions of cities usually included topics such as history, topography, industry and local government.

We have already seen that the media cities used to propagate urban identity were not limited to chorographies. Paintings, gable stones, and inscriptions are only some examples of how the city, or more specifically the local government, could emphasize certain stories about the past. Research on civic representation and urban rivalry, however, has usually focused on chorographies. In this genre, as historians E. Haitsma Mulier, Henk van Nierop, Eddy Verbaan and Raingard Esser have successfully demonstrated, stories about the Revolt

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[4] See for example James D. Tracy, *The founding of the Dutch Republic war, finance, and politics in Holland, 1572-1588* (Oxford 2008) 125; Leo Noordegraaf, 'Internal trade and Internal Trade Conflict in th Northern Netherlands. Autonomy, Centralism, and State Formation in the Pre-Industrial Era', in: Simon Groenveld and Michael Wintle (eds.), *State and trade. Government and the Economy in Britain and the Netherlands since the Middle Ages.* Britain and the Netherlands X (Zutphen 1992) 12–28, there 19–20; Jonathan Israel, *Empires and Entrepots. Dutch, the Spanish Monarchy and the Jews, 1585-1713* (London 2003) 66–68, 81–83; Marjolein 't Hart, 'Intercity rivalries and the making of the Dutch state', in: Charles Tilly and Wim Blockmans (eds.), *Cities and the rise of states in Europe, A.D. 1000 to 1800* (Oxford 1994) 196–217, there 205; see for several conflicts regarding trade routes in the Noorderkwartier Diederik Aten, *'Als het gewelt comt'. Politiek en economie in Holland benoorden het IJ, 1500-1800* (Hilversum 1995) 1–118; R. Willemsen, *Enkhuizen tijdens de Republiek. Een economisch-historisch onderzoek naar stad en samenleving van de 16e tot 19e eeuw* (Hilversum 1988) 92.

[5] J. van Herwaarden, 'Stedelijke rivaliteit in de Middeleeuwen. Toscane, Vlaanderen, Holland', in: P.B.M. Blaas and J. van Herwaarden (eds.), *Stedelijke naijver. De betekenis van interstedelijke conflicten in de geschiedenis. Enige beschouwingen en case-studies* (The Hague 1986) 38–81, there 58.

[6] Marjolein 't Hart, 'The Dutch Republic. The urban impact upon politics', in: Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen (eds.), *A miracle mirrored. The Dutch Republic in European perspective* (Cambridge 1995) 57–98, there 66.

[7] Henk van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city. Samuel Ampzing's vision of the history of Haarlem', *Theoretische geschiedenis* 20 (1993) 268–282, there 274.

were frequently employed.[8] Despite their valuable work on chorographies these historians have usually limited themselves to the Dutch Republic, and particularly (one city in) Holland. Only recently has a comparative approach between cities been undertaken. Verbaan has compared several chorographies on style while Esser has included both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands. As a result she has been able to provide a larger framework for the study of chorographies, their authors and their content.[9]

This chapter builds on Esser's new research and compares chorographies in different cities across the Low Countries but also expands her conclusions by analyzing them in the context of multiple media. Esser argued that chorographical writings should be 'seen as a conscientious effort by the urban and provincial elite to influence memories and, by extension, the creation of an identity of their own city or province'.[10] She also convincingly demonstrates that chorographies corresponded with and were influenced by other contemporary writings and elements in the urban landscape, which made them 'one form of commemorative media'.[11] Yet, unlike Esser, this chapter will go beyond published chorographies and consider manuscripts, stained-glass windows, rituals, and paintings as well. Research on civic representation has included prints, windows and paintings. These media were employed to express urban identity and to communicate a city's political and economic status to other cities in the region.[12] Furthermore, research on the antiquarian tradition has revealed that monuments, ruins, and material remains were already included in chorographies, as they were considered a part of the urban memory landscape.[13] How these media transferred memories of the Revolt as part of a city's identity and the role the recent past played in urban rivalry form the subject of this chapter.

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[8] See for example van Nierop, 'How to honour one's city'; Raingard Esser, 'Political change and urban memory. Amsterdam remembers her past', *Dutch Crossing* 25 (2001) 89–102; Raingard Esser, ''Concordia res parvae crescunt'. Regional histories and the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands. Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (2007) 229–248; E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'Descriptions of towns in the seventeenth-century province of Holland', in: Arthur K. Wheelock and Adele F. Seeff (eds.), *The public and private in Dutch culture of the Golden Age* (London 2000) 24-32; Eddy Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende-eeuwse Republiek* (Hilversum 2011).

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

[10] Ibidem, 21.

[11] Ibidem, 14.

[12] Juliette Roding, 'Beelden van Leiden. Inleiding', in: Juliette Roding, A. Agnes Sneller and Boukje Thijs (eds.), *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 22 (Hilversum 2006) 9-14, there 10–11; Leonore Stapel, 'Haarlems welvaart: "de konst van Bier te brouwen" of "excellente stucken lijnwaerts"? - De beeldvorming rond het economische leven van Hollands tweede stad (1600-1650)', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 18 (2002) 167–183, there 167–183; Andrew Spicer, '"So many painted jezebels". Stained glass windows and the formation of urban identity in the Dutch Republic', in: Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer (eds.), *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands. Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden 2007) 249-278.

[13] Graham Parry, *The trophies of time. English antiquarians of the seventeenth century* (Oxford 2007) 3.

Urban memory cultures and their accompanying landscapes were significant not only for the urban community but also for the reputation a city wished to build for itself in its regional network. In chapter four we have seen the role of the magistrate, church, and militia companies within an urban memory culture. This chapter will focus on the stakeholder in particular who acted both on the urban as well as the regional and national level: the government. As we have already seen in the case of Haarlem, the goals of local authorities in advocating or omitting certain stories about the Revolt differed between cities and also differed according to whether the stories were meant for the local or regional memory culture. Therefore this chapter will explore several communities and demonstrate how cities employed different strategies in dealing with their past in the regional network.

Before looking into the regional networks themselves and the strategies governments employed, it is worth considering the chorographies a little further. While Esser did not focus on the Dutch Revolt specifically, she did study the Revolt as one of the topics which her published chorographies dealt with. In general she concluded that in the Dutch Republic, and especially in Holland, pride and glory during the war were stressed and the changes the Revolt had brought about were celebrated. In the Habsburg Netherlands themes such as being part of the Habsburg Empire and the Counterreformation were propagated, with emphasis on the continuity between the past and the present.[14] Esser's conclusions are important but are also prompted by the fact that she studied chorographies. For instance, Southern authors all had religious or personal motives, or even (royal) instructions, to omit the Revolt in descriptions of cities such as Antwerp and Leuven.[15] As we shall see below, however, the inclusion of other media such as manuscripts and paintings provides a more nuanced view of the impact of oblivion.

As a genre chorographies were subject to the same restrictions as any medium which reflected the Revolt. Just like the people who commissioned other Revolt memorabilia, most authors were members of the urban and provincial elite such as clergymen, town clerks and academics who dedicated their texts to the political elite.[16] The eligibility for sponsoring depended on the book's content. In 1648 when a revised history of Hoorn by Theodorus Velius was published posthumously, for instance, the authorities refused to accept the dedication because they did not agree with the 'slander' about Prince Maurits, the States of Holland, and the former government of Hoorn. Velius, who had been banned from public office because he was a Remonstrant, had gone too far.[17] Considering the argument of Hoorn's magistrate against sponsoring, it may be argued that when the authorities did give their consent, this action implied approval of the way the author treated the city's history.

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[14] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 187–188, 218, 322–324.
[15] Ibidem, 4, 200, 210.
[16] Ibidem, 15.
[17] Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*, 31, 178.

Thus, if the Revolt was treated extensively in a chorography approved by the government, that version of history may be accepted as the government's vision of the war at that particular time. Chorographies could be used as a tool to convince rival cities of a city's influence and interests during the war in order to maintain and increase the city's reputation. Their audience was a regional and national network of intellectuals in the Habsburg Netherlands and a local, regional and national network of antiquarians, humanists and interested individuals in the Dutch Republic.[18]

The representative function of chorographies should thus not be underestimated. Unlike other media such as paintings, they were much more flexible in their audience. Even though the prices of books were considerable, and these publications were out of reach for ordinary people, someone could carry a book or manuscript with him. Simultaneously the level of literacy was high in the Low Countries which stimulated the circulation of all sorts of publications including chorographies but also manuscripts about the history of the city.[19] What medium a city selected, and what strategy it adopted, however, largely depended on what had happened during the Revolt. As a result, there were several cards cities played when they wanted to confirm their position. First, the loyalty card which could be played by cities that had been loyal throughout the Revolt such as Lille, Enkhuizen or Leuven as well as by cities that had been disloyal such as Antwerp. Second, the success card which put cities such as Alkmaar and Leiden in a position to try and enhance their status after they successfully fended off the enemy after a siege. Finally, several cities played the oblivion card. Cities with a difficult history such as Brussels, Valenciennes, and Amsterdam redesigned their past to fit in with their new status after the Revolt.

Regional networks in the Low Countries

Traditionally, with its commercial centers Ghent, Bruges and Ypres, Flanders had been the richest county in the Low Countries. In the 1540s Charles V suppressed a serious insurrection in Ghent.[20] As punishment Charles removed privileges from the cities of Flanders, allowing cities in Brabant to benefit by extending their trade and influence in the Low Countries. In the the sixteenth century Antwerp had become 'the first and foremost

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[18] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 14–15.
[19] See for literacy in the Low Countries for example Jeroen Blaak, translated by Beverly Jackson, *Literacy in everyday life. Reading and writing in early modern Dutch diaries* (Leiden 2009) 9-12, 342-344; Erika Kuijpers, 'Lezen en schrijven. Onderzoek naar het alfabetiseringsniveau in zeventiende-eeuws Amsterdam', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 23 (1997) 490-522.
[20] J.J. Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog. Over de Nederlandse Opstand 1555-1580* (Amsterdam 1994) 122.

merchant city of whole Europe' and Brussels the seat of the national government while Brabant had become the most important province.[21]

When the political, religious and social difficulties in the Low Countries erupted in the Dutch Revolt, it was the cities in Brabant that took the lead. By the sixteenth century they had lost power to the central government with the introduction of new bishoprics and to the Council of Brabant, which acted as an intermediary in disputes between towns, and between cities and the king when the duchy's privileges were concerned.[22] The centralization process and conflicts concerning their privileges, however, had inspired the three largest cities Leuven, Brussels and Antwerp to work together in political conflicts. [23] During the Revolt the States of Brabant had organized deliberations about the ongoing troubles without the governor's consent, and they appealed to the Joyous Entry of Brabant to abjure Philip II as their king in 1581.[24]

The collaboration between the cities in matters concerning the monarchy did not stop them from having differences on a regional level. For example, Brussels was the center of government while Antwerp was the center of trade, and Leuven the oldest city.[25] In the struggle for political power in Brabant these cities used this status to construct the internal hierarchy between the cities in the duchy.[26] In the beginning of the seventeenth century Antwerp was recognized as the most important city of Brabant and the Habsburg Netherlands.[27] Antwerp's position relied on its wealth while Leuven and Brussels were

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[21] 'de eerste ende principaelste coopstadt van geheel Europa' as cited in Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie. Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550-1577* (Antwerp 1996) 23; See for the status of Brabant as the first province in the Low Countries also Lodovico Guicciardini, *Descrittione di tvtti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore* (Antwerp 1567); Laurens van Haecht Goidtsenhoven, *Chroniicke van de Hertoghen van Brabant vvaer in hun leuen, oorloghen ende acten perfectelijck beschreuen zijn* (Antwerp 1606) 1r; Guy Edward Wells, 'Antwerp and the government of Philip II, 1555-1567' (Dissertation Cornell University 1982) 34–40.

[22] Wells, 'Antwerp and the government of Philip II', 34–36, 65–66; See for example Jeanne Mennes, 'De Staten van Brabant en de Blijde Inkomst van Kroonprins Filips in 1549', S*tanden en Landen* 18 (1959) 49–165; Raymond van Uytven, 'Imperialisme of zelfverdediging. De extra-stedelijke rechtsmacht van Leuven', *Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis* 58 (1975) 7–71, there 37–41; Karin van Honacker, *Lokaal verzet en oproer in de 17de en 18de eeuw. Collectieve acties tegen het centraal gezag in Brussel, Antwerpen en Leuven* (Kortrijk-Heule 1994) 87.

[23] See in Antwerp and Leuven for example Wells, 'Antwerp and the government of Philip II', 68–71, 158–159; P. Avonds, 'Lovene, die beste stat van Brabant. Stedelijk zelfbewustzijn in de late middeleeuwen', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 68 (1985) 5-23, there 13–16.

[24] Robert Fruin and H.T. Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen in Nederland tot den val der Republiek* (The Hague 1980) 165, 172–173; M.P. Christ, *De Brabantsche Saecke. Het vergeefse streven naar een gewestelijke status voor Staats-Brabant 1585-1675* (Tilburg 1984) 8–9.

[25] Marjolein 't Hart and Michael Limberger, 'Staatsmacht en stedelijke autonomie. Het geld van Antwerpen en Amsterdam (1500-1700)', *Tijdschrift voor sociale en economische geschiedenis* 3 (2006) 36–72, there 53.

[26] Avonds, 'Lovene, die beste stat van Brabant, 13–16.

[27] Claes Jansz. Visscher, Novissima, et accuratissima leonis belgici, seu septemdecim regionum description, 1609, Atlas van Stolk Rotterdam, inv nr. 15362; Guicciardini, *Descrittione*; Antwerp was still the most extensively covered city in later editions of Guicciardini H.P. Deys et al., *Guicciardini illustratus. De kaarten en prenten in Lodovico Guicciardini's Beschrijving van de Nederlanden* (Houten

situated in the 'old part' of the duchy and had been the most important cities of Brabant since the Middle Ages.[28] Leuven, the oldest and richest of the two cities, had always acted as the capital of Brabant until its economic decline and the rise of Brussels as the center of government reduced its power to the third city in Brabant at the end of the seventeenth century. Yet, Leuven could rely on its university for status.[29] As Justus Lipsius put it in 1605, the city's economic and political decline had been due to its pride, greed and selfishness, but the university had become a substitute for the material riches the city had lost.[30] Brussels had aspirations to become the 'best' city in Brabant, but Leuven's ancient privileges stood in the way. Leuven could still host the ceremony for the peace of Brussels in 1577 and the first Joyous Entry for the Archdukes in 1599.[31] Subsequently, however, Leuven complained that the Archdukes had left the city so soon after the Entry to return to Brussels that it feared a decrease of its status in Brabant because of the short stay.[32] As we shall see below, the history of the Revolt was integrated into this debate about political power within Brabant.

Whereas conflicts in Brabant tended to focus on the political position of three important cities in the duchy, clashes between cities in Holland were much more diverse. One reason for this difference lay in the way Brabant and Holland were organized politically. For example, the duchy was governed by the States of Brabant, and power was divided between the church, the nobility and the governments of Leuven, Brussels, Antwerp and 's-Hertogenbosch (until 1629).[33] This meant that other, smaller cities did not have much political power. In Holland, however, the *Ridderschap*, the college of nobles, and representatives of six cities: Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam and Gouda formed the States; the

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2001); Véronique van de Kerckhof, H. Bussers and David Buisseret, *Met passer en penseel. Brussel en het oude hertogdom Brabant in beeld* (Brussels 2000) 131.

[28] Avonds, 'Lovene, die beste stat van Brabant', 5–9.

[29] See for example, the reduced privileges of the guilds of Leuven and the reduced jurisdiction of Leuven's courts Van Uytven, 'Imperialisme of zelfverdediging. De extra-stedelijke rechtsmacht van Leuven', 37–41; Honacker, *Lokaal verzet*, 87; Raymond van Uytven, *De geschiedenis van het stadsgewest Leuven tot omstreeks 1600* (Leuven 1980) 31–37; Paul Janssens, (ed.), *België in de 17de eeuw. De Spaanse Nederlanden en het prinsbisdom Luik* I: Politiek (Ghent 2006) 225–227; Avonds, 'Lovene, die beste stat van Brabant', 5–9; Arlette Smolar-Meynart, 'Bruxelles. L'élaboration de son image de capitale en politique et en droit au moyen âge', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 68 (1985) 25–46, there 32–34, 44–45; Hilde de Ridder-Symoens, 'De universitaire vorming van de Brabantse Stadsmagistraat en Stadsfunktionarissen - Leuven en Antwerpen, 1430-1580', in: *Verslag vijfde colloquium de Brabantse Stad* ('s-Hertogenbosch 1978) 21–126, there 23.

[30] As cited in Esser, *The politics of memory*, 203; Justus Lipsius, *Leuven. Beschrijving van de stad en haar universiteit*, J. Papy (ed.) (Leuven 2000) 147.

[31] Willem Boonen and Edward van Even, *Geschiedenis van Leuven* (Leuven 1880) 121, 400; Luc Duerloo, *Dynasty and piety. Archduke Albert (1598-1621) and Habsburg political culture in an age of religious wars* (Farnham 2012) 108–109.

[32] M. Soenen, 'Fêtes et cérémonies publiques à Bruxelles aux Temps Modernes', *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 68 (1985) 47–102, there 62.

[33] Jacques Le Roy, *Groot werreldlyk tooneel des hertogdoms van Braband. Behelzende eene algemeene, doch korte beschryving van dat landschap; als mede een chronologische opvolging zyner hertogen; de beschryving der steden, haare regeerings-vorm, en voornaamste gevallen tot op heden* (The Hague 1730) 4.

church was excluded.[34] A substantial number of cities could thus exercise power in the States which meant that they could form factions in their conflicts. Moreover, when Holland and Zeeland rebelled against the central government in Brussels in 1572, the States of Holland and the stadholder began to share power, and smaller cities were admitted to the States of Holland due to their achievements during the Revolt so that the States of Holland included a total of eighteen cities.[35] This meant that establishing a provincial picking order was even more significant than before.

The order of cities in the States was determined by their seniority which could be observed in politics but also on regional maps and in histories of Holland.[36] The eighteen cities that were now ruling Holland were divided into two groups, each with a Delegated Council to act in daily matters, one in the northern part of Holland, or *Noorderkwartier*, and one in the southern part, or *Zuiderkwartier*. The most important reason for this decision was that in the Revolt years 1572 – 1577 Haarlem and Amsterdam, both situated in the middle of Holland and under Habsburg control, had formed a corridor that separated the northern from the southern cities.[37] A strict hierarchy between cities did exist but was flexible. Yet, when certain issues needed to be resolved prominent (and senior) cities often acted as the leaders of political factions.[38] Having rejoined the Revolt in 1577, Haarlem, for example, acted as a leader of factions throughout the seventeenth century due to its position as second city in the provincial hierarchy.[39] During times of political difficulty, such as the religious conflict between the Remonstrants and Counterremonstrants in 1617-1618, Haarlem acted as spokesman of the eight cities that formed the Remonstrant faction. The Counterremonstrants, however, broke with this tradition when they appointed Amsterdam instead of Dordrecht – the first city

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[34] Fruin and Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, 78–79; The *Ridderschap* was seen as representative of the countryside and had the first right to vote. Yet, after 1572 the cities had more power than the *Ridderschap* in the States of Holland Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog*, 125.

[35] Fruin and Colenbrander, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, 161–163.

[36] Hadrianus Junius, *Holland is een eiland. De Batavia van Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575),* translated and introduced by Nico de Glas (Hilversum 2011) 310–311; Hadrianus Junius, *Batavia* (Plantin 1588) 241–309; The hierarchy in Holland, however, did not always remain the same. Some cities, such as Rotterdam and Alkmaar, changed in position. See for example, Marcus Zuerius van Boxhorn, *Toneel ofte Beschryvinge der steden van Hollandt waer in haer beginselen, voortganck, privilegien, historie ende gelegentheyt vervat worden* (Amsterdam 1634); Jean Francois le Petit, *Nederlandtsche republycke, bestaende in de staten so generale als particuliere van 't Hertochdom Gelder, Graefschap van Hollant* (Arnhem 1615); Dirk Blonk and Joanna Blonk-van der Wijst, *Hollandia comitatus. Een kartobibliografie van Holland* (Houten 2000).

[37] Thimo de Nijs, Eelco Beukers and P.H.A.M. Abels (eds.), *Geschiedenis van Holland* II 1572-1795 (Hilversum 2002) 24.

[38] See on factions for example Daniel Jeen Roorda, *Partij en factie. De oproeren van 1672 in de steden van Holland en Zeeland, een krachtmeting tussen partijen en facties.* (Groningen 1961); Simon Groenveld, *Evidente factiën in den staet. Sociaal-politieke verhoudingen in de 17e-eeuwse Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Hilversum 1990); M. van der Bijl, 'Familie en factie in de Alkmaarse stedelijke politiek', in: E.H.P. Cordfunke et al., *Van Spaans beleg tot Bataafse tijd. Alkmaars stedelijk leven in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Zutphen 1980).

[39] Gineke Ree-Scholtens, *Deugd boven geweld. Een geschiedenis van Haarlem 1245-1995* (Hilversum 1995) 147.

of Holland – as their spokesman.[40] Other conflicts that arose were economic in nature, during which specific cities joined factions to uphold their privileges. Rotterdam, for example, came to pose a threat to Haarlem, Dordrecht and Gouda due to its wealth from the trade with Spain, England and France. Haarlem, Dordrecht and Gouda were concerned for their inland trade and their share in the economy of Holland.[41]

In all these conflicts, both in Brabant and in Holland, the Revolt had played its own part. Sometimes the war interfered in economic, religious or political conflicts by bringing a siege to the city's walls; at other times memories of the Revolt could be employed in arguments. In general, however, it was much harder for cities in the Habsburg Netherlands, and Brabant in particular, to find the right story to tell about their past. Brabant was part of the frontline during the eighty years of war, which made their position very vulnerable. Cities such as Breda and 's-Hertogenbosch had been besieged and conquered several times, and others feared the enemies' armies for decades. Moreover, the majority of cities which had reconciled with the crown had signed treaties to which oblivion clauses had been added. Although this did not mean that the preceding years were no longer discussed, it did create a situation in which people could not act upon their knowledge of the past in public.[42]

By contrast the war in Holland lasted until the Pacification of Ghent in 1576. After this treaty had been signed actual warfare no longer reached the province, and after the Dutch Republic was founded in 1588 the Revolt began to be represented as the beginning of a new period in history. This was reflected, for instance, in the publication of the first regional history of the province, entitled *Batavia* in 1588.[43] The author, physician Hadrianus Junius, was commissioned by the States of Holland to defend the county's glorious past which he did at the height of the war in Holland between 1567 and 1575.[44]

For king or country: the question of loyalty

One aspect that was important to stress when remembering the Revolt for cities in Holland and Brabant was loyalty. For Enkhuizen, as we have already seen above, the relationship with Amsterdam played an important part in the way the local government sought to profile itself. In the beginning of the 1570s Enkhuizen had benefited from the conflict and from Amsterdam's absence on the rebel side. Together with Hoorn it was granted the official Baltic Sea trade and took in many exiles from Amsterdam and their accompanying trade, while it

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[40] Groenveld, *Evidente factiën in den staet*, 11–13, 18.

[41] Arie van der Schoor and Nora Schadee, *Stad in aanwas. Geschiedenis van Rotterdam tot 1813* (Zwolle 1999) 160–167, 191–195, 230–231.

[42] Judith Pollmann and Erika Kuijpers, 'Introduction. On the early modernity of modern memory', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before Modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 1–23, there 9–10.

[43] Junius, *Batavia*.

[44] Junius, *Holland is een eiland*, 18–20.

also received Amsterdam's *paalgeld*, a tax paid by ships when they entered the Zuiderzee from the North Sea.[45] After 1578, when Amsterdam joined the Revolt, Enkhuizen kept its renowned herring fleet and became the second harbor of the province after Amsterdam.[46] Moreover, Enkhuizen promoted the fact that it had been the first city to support the prince of Orange.[47] In 1666, for example, when Geeraert Brandt published his history of Enkhuizen he devoted a substantial number of pages to how the city had become so loyal and was the first to choose the prince of Orange and had done so freely.[48] This loyalty remained important throughout the eighteenth century.

Subsequently Enkhuizen used its loyal status to color the animosity with Amsterdam. The city commissioned a painting depicting Amsterdam as the enemy during the Revolt in 1621, but a look at the city's history written in 1603 reveals that this sentiment had long been present. Its author Pieter Kock, for example, characterized the battle of the Zuiderzee as follows:

> A very large triumph took place within the city, to win such a glorious victory, it was glorious because Amsterdam had to give up afterwards, Alva went bankrupt and was beside himself.[49]

While Kock could have mentioned a Habsburg fleet, commanded by admiral Bossu, he decided to mention only Amsterdam, the city that had supplied the enemy with ships. By doing this, he stressed the civil war element of the Revolt, deliberately creating an opposition between Amsterdam, the disloyal and Spanish city, and Enkhuizen, the loyal and successful city. Moreover, Kock claimed the battle of the Zuiderzee, which took place on the open sea, as an urban victory for Enkhuizen. In 1666 the pride in the battle had not subsided although Brandt did take a more factual approach than Kock and based his story on the histories of Hoorn's town chronicler Theodorus Velius, and historians Pieter Bor and Pieter

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[45] Tracy, *The founding of the Dutch Republic*, 125, 196; Aten, *Als het gewelt comt*, 12, 19, 42.

[46] Richtje J. de Vries, 'Crisis en sociale politiek in Enkhuizen, 1650-1850', in: R.P. Zijp (ed.), *Barre tijden. Crisis en sociale politiek rondom de Zuiderzee, 1650-1850* (Enkhuizen 1989) 36–57, there 38.

[47] See for the celebration of the centenary in 1772 Thierry Allain, '"Zonder magt en adsistentie van buiten" De viering van de opstand van Enkhuizen tegen de Spanjaarden in 1772', *De Achttiende Eeuw* 36 (2004) 42–49. Other centenaries during the seventeenth century will be discussed in chapter 6.

[48] The topic is the most important of the history of the Revolt in this chorography that deals with the history of the city only up to the Twelve Years' Truce. Geeraert Brandt, *Historie der vermaerde zee- en koop-stadt Enkhuisen, vervaetende haere herkomste en voortgangh. Mitsgaders verscheide gedenkwaerdige geschiedenissen, aldaer voorgevallen* (Enkhuizen 1666) 106–142; about the period of the Revolt 96–207.

[49] 'Een triumphe seer groot wert in de stadt bedreven, om so een heerlijcke victorie te winnen, heerlijc wast want daer na most Amsterdam op geven, D''Alva speeld'' banckeroet door dit was buyten sinnen.' Pieter Pietersz Kock, *Historia, dat is een verhael in rym van den oorspronck ende fondeeringe der seer vermaerder zee- ende coopstadt Enchuysen, met syn ghelegehentheyt ende wat daer mede gepasseert is van den jare 1353, doen sy eerst ghepreviligeert wert door Hertoge Willem haren heere, tot desen tegenwoordigen jare 1603* (Enkhuizen 1603) 53.

Hooft. Brandt, having been born in Amsterdam, however did not support the hostility towards the latter city in his account.[50] The book, dedicated to Enkhuizen's magistrate, therefore no longer expressed the earlier one-sided animosity towards Amsterdam in the battle of the Zuiderzee, but it demonstrated that Enkhuizen had found its own niche in the memory market of seventeenth-century Holland. The city could present itself as the most loyal to the prince of Orange, which could be seen as a political statement during the first stadholderless period (1650 – 1672).

While memories of loyalty were important in the Dutch Republic, they were even more crucial in the Habsburg Netherlands. Many of the cities had rebelled at some point during the history of the Revolt, but they had eventually reconciled with the king. There were cities, however, that did not have to sign a reconciliation treaty because they did not rebel. Lille, for example, managed to stay loyal to the crown throughout the Revolt.[51] Another loyal city was Leuven. In 1730, according to chronicler Le Roy, the city of Leuven's biggest achievement during the Revolt had been not to have been conquered by arms.[52] Therefore the troubles featured prominently in the city's history. Indeed, Leuven was proud of its steadfast belief in the Catholic faith, its refusal to join the heretics and rebels, and its loyalty to the Habsburg regime.

The first history of the city that emphasized these characteristics was written by city clerk Willem Boonen in 1594.[53] Boonen wrote his history of the city in the traditional format of presenting the reigns of the dukes of Brabant in chronological order. While the book is presented on the title page as a history of Leuven, Boonen actually wrote a history of the Low Countries during the troubles without omitting any uncomfortable episodes such as sieges or battles the Habsburgs lost.[54] Nevertheless, Boonen praised Leuven and subsequently blamed other cities for their behavior during the Revolt. One of the most important remarks in this respect is his description of the beginning of the troubles in 1566. Here, he recounted that the Calvinists started preaching in West-Flanders, then moved on to Antwerp

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[50] Brandt, *Historie der vermaerde zee- en koop-stadt Enkhuisen*, 152–153.
[51] Robert S. DuPlessis, *Lille and the Dutch revolt. Urban stability in an era of revolution, 1500-1582* (Cambridge 1991) 13, 45.
[52] Le Roy, *Groot werreldlyk tooneel*, 15.
[53] Boonen and Van Even, *Geschiedenis van Leuven*, x; Van Uytven, *De geschiedenis van het stadsgewest Leuven*, 1.
[54] See for example the foundation of the university in Douai, Mechelen becoming an archbishopric, the lost battle of Heiligerlee in 1568, the siege of Middelburg in 1574 and the Pacification of Ghent in 1576 and also the lost battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573, the siege of Leiden in 1574 or the capture of Breda in 1590. Boonen and Van Even, *Geschiedenis van Leuven*, 96, 101, 110, 112, 114, 119, 168.

and afterwards almost every place in these Netherlands, except in the city of Leuven, which has steadfastly maintained the old Catholic religion, practicing great diligence in keeping watch and otherwise.[55]

The image Boonen created of Leuven's loyalty to the Catholic religion was an exaggerated view of what had happened in the city in 1566. The nineteenth-century publisher of his manuscript, for example, immediately remarked on the presence of heretics in Leuven throughout the sixteenth century.[56] In addition, Boonen was proud of the fact that Leuven escaped iconoclasm and argued that this city was an exception in a general trend of image breaking.[57] This remark was not true or at least not true for 1566 because in many other cities the iconoclasm had been prevented as well although some did not escape a second wave of image breaking.[58] To Boonen, however, 1566 was the beginning of the demonstration of Leuven's loyalty to Catholicism and the crown.

In fact, this issue was so important to Boonen that he dedicated a section to the subject in which he emphasized that

I do not believe that anyone surpasses those from Leuven in loyalty, as the dukes of Brabant themselves affirm.[59]

Not only did Boonen express his own opinion, he employed the authority of the dukes of Brabant to support his claim of loyalty. Of course even Leuven had known short periods of disagreement with the dukes – during the reigns of Jan I of Brabant and Wenceslas in the early Middle Ages, and that of Emperor Maximilian and Philip of Austria in the beginning of the sixteenth century – but there had never been anything to worry about regarding the city's loyalty

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[55] 'ende daernaer bijnaer in alle plaetsen binnen deze Nederlanden, behalve inde stadt van Loven, die hen stantafftich gehouden hebben aende oude catholijcke religie, doende groote diligentie in waecken' Ibidem, 97.

[56] Ibidem, 97–98.

[57] Ibidem, 98.

[58] See on iconoclasm and its impact and chronology for example J. Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm* (2nd edition; Haarlem 1978).

[59] 'Ick en geloove niet datter iemant in getrouwicheijt die van Loven te boven gaet, gelijck de hertoghen van Brabant dat selve betuighen' Boonen and Van Even, *Geschiedenis van Leuven*, 236.

And despite those, they have nevertheless always been loyal to the dukes, until the present day, and it is known to all, how fiercely they have protected their city since the year 1577 from the enemies of his royal Majesty, their duke, and this not without great poverty, sorrow and material losses.[60]

Leuven had been prepared to fight the enemy for its king and the duke of Brabant, Philip II, and had suffered because of it. Waging war against the Beggar armies therefore represented a token of faith and loyalty. These armies had been enemies from abroad which Boonen presented as 'our public mortal enemies'.[61] Moreover, he did not fail to mention that while Leuven had remained loyal, Antwerp had been a 'rebel against the Catholic religion and his royal Majesty'.[62]

The issue of loyalty remained important in Leuven's representation of its role during the troubles. In addition to local authors, others such as Catholic theologian Johannes Molanus and Norbertine abbot Franciscus Wichmans supported Boonen's claim that Leuven had been a loyal subject of the king and had followed the Catholic religion.[63] Moreover, chronicler Johannes Jacquinet from Tienen wrote in his history of the Low Countries at the end of the seventeenth century that Leuven had always been loyal to the duke of Brabant.[64] This, however, did not mean that every author on Leuven chose to incorporate the Revolt. Humanist and professor at the university of Leuven, Justus Lipsius wrote his history of Leuven and its university in 1605 without mentioning the conflict.[65] By writing history up until 1482, when the Habsburgs inherited the Low Countries, Lipsius took the opportunity to emphasize the city's medieval past, the period in which Leuven flourished, a decision which concurred with the revival of the Burgundian past during the reign of the Archdukes which started in 1599.[66]

A new phase in the history of the Revolt in Leuven was marked by the siege of 1635 by the Dutch and French armies. In a song to remember this siege, written in 1635, the author emphasized the struggle Leuven went through during the troubles.

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[60] 'Ende dijes nochtans niettegenstaande zijn zij den hertoghen altijts getrouw gebleven, tot opden dach van heden, eenen iegelijcken kennelijck, hoe vierich zij hunnen stadt, sedert den jaere xvclxxvij tegens de vijanden van de conicklijcke Majesteijt, hunnen hertoghe, hebben bewaert, ende dat niet sonder groote armoede, verdriet ende verlies van goet.' Ibidem.

[61] 'onse openbaere doot vijanden' Ibidem, 166.

[62] 'rebel tegens de catholijcke religie ende Coninclijkce Majesteijt.' Ibidem, 139–140.

[63] Ibidem, 143 footnote.

[64] Johannes Jacquinet, 'Historie der Nederlanden onder de Regering van Albertus en Isabella Philippus IV en Karel II 1612 tot 1683', KBB, Ms 15938, f. 348–349.

[65] Justus Lipsius, *Lovanium sive. Opidi et academiae eius descriptio* (Antwerp 1605).

[66] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 189–202.

> Still I [Leuven] have always been on my guard, this is what middle way has been the right one, because one has to choose the best from two evils: if one sees a virgin brought up in honor and virtue, she will never lose her chastity.[67]

The song demonstrated the sacrifices Leuven, personified as a virgin, had to make during the troubles to overcome the Beggars. Suffering could not be avoided, but the city stayed firm to defend her honor. The city's position before 1635 and the victory in 1635 became the ultimate proof of Leuven's status as loyal, Catholic subject of the king.

When Jean Nicolas de Parival presented his history of Leuven in 1667, for which he received 100 guilders from the magistrate, these sentiments were repeated. De Parival, a Catholic citizen from Leiden, praised the city and the University of Leuven as defenders of the Catholic faith.[68] In his dedication De Parival praised Leuven for 'its steadfast perseverance in the Catholic Religion, during the troubles'.[69] This had become a reputation Leuven could rely on for 'eternal glory' during the second half of the seventeenth century and the war against the French armies.[70]

While Leuven could thus focus on its continuously loyal support for the Catholic crown, a city that could not do this very easily was Antwerp. As we have seen in chapter four, an urban memory culture was rather complex, but the message Antwerp sent to the outside world seems to have been much clearer after 1585: the city had become a loyal supporter of Philip II once again. The first action the authorities took to support the city's claim was to commission Hans Vredeman de Vries to paint an allegory of Alexander Farnese handing over Antwerp's coat of arms to King Philip II (fig.45). This painting, which has also been discussed in chapter four, had a dual function. It was a message towards the population as well as an expression of loyalty towards the king.

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[67] 'nochtans heb' ick altyt gheweest op mijn hoede, dit heb' ick moeten middelen als die goede, want van twee quaey moetmen het beste kiesen: alsmen een maeght eerbaer in deughden ziet opvoede, die en zal nemmermeer haer eerbaerheyt verliesen.' *Rym-dicht ter eeren die maeght Loven daerinne verhaelt wordt alle het ghene datter ghepasseert is t'zedert het Jaer 1542. tot het Jaer 1635. aengaende die troubelen aldaer gheschiet* (Brussels 1635) 3.

[68] Van Uytven, *De geschiedenis van het stadsgewest Leuven*, 2; P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Bolk (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden 1911-1937) 939, via http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken.

[69] 'leur constance inebranlable dans la Religion Catolique, Durant les troubles' Jean Nicolas de Parival, *Louvain, très ancienne et capitale ville du Brabant* (George Lips 1667) dedication.

[70] 'gloire immortelle'. Ibidem, dedication.

Fig.45 Hans Vredeman de Vries, allegory on the recapitulation of Antwerp to the Habsburg regime in 1585 emphasizing the city's prosperous future, 1586 (Collectie Antwerpen).

Governor Farnese is accompanied by the personifications of Wisdom, Providence, Temperance, and Understanding while the king is celebrated by Reason, Clemency, and Humility. On the steps in front of them are Virtue, Fidelity and Obedience while Concord, Peace, Justice, Truth and Mercy are depicted in a painting behind the king and his governor. At either side of the painting stand Force and Perseverance, presented as statues. In the left foreground the enemies Tyranny, Heresy, Discord and Evil Council flee the scene. In the background the future is predicted; now that the city has returned to the Habsburg regime: Antwerp will enjoy good government, wealth and prosperity.[71] This prediction came true fairly quickly since Antwerp managed to restore its economic and financial position in Brabant and the Southern Netherlands from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards.[72] Once again, the city became the commercial center and art market of the Habsburg Empire.It

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[71] Jean-Marie Duvosquel and Ignace Vandevivere (eds.), *Luister van Spanje en de Belgische steden, 1500-1700* II (Brussels 1985) 416–417.
[72] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 161–162; Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie*, 24–34; Wells, 'Antwerp and the government of Philip II', 545; Janssens, *België in de 17de eeuw* I: Politiek, 28.

served as a warehouse for luxury goods and a producer of books and maintained a specialized workforce.[73]

Different media such as provincial and urban histories, but also paintings and prints, contributed to the new image of the city. In 1600 Abel Grimmer painted a cityscape of Antwerp which prominently featured both its economic wealth and its Catholic nature. The economic prosperity was represented by the many ships that sailed in Antwerp's waters, and the city's piety was literally depicted as Christ and the Virgin appealing to God in the heavens.[74] This dual image of Antwerp also featured in the two books on Antwerp Jesuit Carolus Scribani published in 1610, which presented the city as a model city for the Counterreformation. In the first, *Antverpia*, his readers received an overview of city life including literature, the arts, international commerce and wealth.[75] This presentation was designed to convince his audience that Antwerp's citizens served as a model to other cities because of their virtues, education and commercial skills, in the process allowing Scribani to gloss over the city's past mistakes.[76] To present Antwerp as a 'staunch' Catholic city, as Raingard Esser put it recently, made it seem as if the Calvinist regime had been forgotten.[77]

The generosity, loyalty, steadfastness, bravery and religious beliefs of the citizens of Antwerp were praised and explained in the light of their return to the Catholic Church after 1585 while what had come before was dismissed as a temporary weakness but certainly not a strong belief in Calvinism.[78] In Scribani's second book, *Origines Antverpiensium*, he referred to the troubles during the Revolt but blamed the Calvinists for having 'tricked the Low Countries out of their loyalty to Spain'.[79] In this book the Jesuit did refer to the Revolt, albeit very briefly in the preface

> I will show it [Antwerp] in war and recovered with blood, then resurfacing after adversity and threatening decline, and finally brought to safety by its patience and fortune.[80]

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[73] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 161–162; Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie*, 24–34; K. van Damme, 'Slecht nieuws, geen nieuws. Abraham Verhoeven (1575-1652) en de Nieuwe Tijdinghen. Periodieke pers en propaganda in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de vroege zeventiende eeuw', *BMGN* 113 (1998) 1–22, there 5.

[74] Erik Vandamme and Yolande Morel-Deckers, *Catalogus schilderkunst oude meesters* (Antwerp 1988) 169.

[75] Carolus Scribani, *Antverpia* (Antwerp 1610).

[76] L. Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani S.J., 1561-1629. Een groot man van de Contra-Reformatie in de Nederlanden* (Antwerp 1961) 188–198.

[77] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 169.

[78] Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani*, 198; Scribani, *Antverpia*, 127–128.

[79] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 170.

[80] 'dabo bellantem & reparatam sanguine adversis dein & extrema minitantibus superiorem; in tutum denique patientia & fortuna sua eductam' Carolus Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensivm* (Antwerp 1610) preface; cited and translated as 'ik zal het tonen […] in oorlog verwikkeld en bloedig hersteld, dan tegenspoed en dreigende ondergang te boven komend, en eindelijk door zijn geduld rn horf ksnd in veiligheid gebracht' in Brouwers, *Carolus Scribani*, 199.

He presented the seven Northern rebellious provinces as having been 'stolen from the part of lower Belgium by deception'.[81] Scribani therefore did not seem to blame the city for its insubordination but rather accused the rebels of indoctrination and misleading its citizens. Antwerp had been patient and fortunate enough to survive its adversity.

Scribani also referred to the position of Brabant as the province that had remained faithful to the king and placed Antwerp in this tradition.[82] From the Middle Ages, and especially the age of the crusades, Antwerp's religious past had fitted into a continuous fight against heresy.[83] Instead of the myth of Brabo, for example, Scribani emphasized the roles of St Willibrord, St Eligius and St Walburga in the foundation of Antwerp. All these saints had reputations for converting the peoples in the Netherlands or symbolized the continuity of the Catholic Church in the Southern Netherlands.[84] Scribani's work became a frame of reference for many of the other authors writing on Antwerp. This meant that in 1678, when the Revolt had been over for almost a century, the religious past was still the most important subject of Jacques le Roy's history.[85] Already on his frontispiece he connected Antwerp to both war and peace, by letting these allegories flank the city's coat of arms. Like Scribani he omitted the history of the Revolt, except for a brief and very general remark, and focused on the city's religious, medieval past.[86]

This focus on the religious past did not prevent Antwerp from commemorating its role during the Revolt after 1585 altogether. The preparations for the negotiations of the Twelve Years' Truce in the town hall, for example, reveal how the magistrate integrated the Revolt into its urban memory culture. In 1609, after it became clear that the final negotiations for the truce would take part in Antwerp, the magistrate decided to redecorate the States room in the town hall. Abraham Janssens and Peter Paul Rubens received orders to paint respectively the allegorical 'Scaldis et Antverpia' and biblical 'the Adoration of the Magi'. The first painting, which was hung over the mantelpiece, was meant to demonstrate Antwerp's connection to the river Scheldt, which had been closed for decades by a Dutch blockade. The second painting depicted the arrival of the Magi, which was supposed to remind the negotiators of their own arrival and an urge to bring peace. The gifts the Magi carry also referred to Antwerp's position as merchant city.[87] Moreover, in 1609 Antwerp's government integrated its message of peace into the annual *ommegang* as well by using a float of Peace and Justice

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[81] 'Belgica exuta, magnaq; insuper secundae Belgicae parte defraudata'. Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensivm* (Antwerp 1610) 16.

[82] Ibidem, 49.

[83] See chapter 2 of Scribani's book. Ibidem, 31–49; Esser, *The politics of memory*, 173.

[84] Scribani, *Origines Antverpiensivm*, 58–62, 69, 87–88; Esser, *The politics of memory*, 175–176.

[85] Jacques le Roy, *Notitia marchionatus sacri Romani Imperii, hoc est urbis et agri Antverpiensis, oppidorum, dominiorum, monasteriorum, castellorumque* (Amsterdam 1678).

[86] Le Roy remarks on the iconoclasm of 1566 and the peace of Westphalia in 1648 without expressing an opinion. Ibidem, 87.

[87] Hans Devisscher, 'Rubens', *Openbaar kunstbezit in Vlaanderen* 42 (2004) no 1, 1-43, there 11-12.

at the start of the procession.[88] Antwerp therefore had not only become a loyal city but used references to its own past to emphasize its position in Brabant and in the Habsburg Netherlands.

Where local meets national history

As the stories of Leuven, Enkhuizen and Antwerp confirm, questions of loyalty could determine a city's policy towards its history of the Revolt. Even more so, the loyalty to either the Habsburg king or the prince of Orange was so important that it influenced the way the Revolt was perceived and advocated by the city's government. In Ghent, for instance, a city that had been known for its Calvinist regime, one could visit the main reception room of the town hall to see 'twenty-four paintings of the history of Spain'.[89] Unfortunately the source does not reveal the content of these paintings, but the fact that they are there should be considered as an act of allegiance towards the king. Ghent's government went even further with the erection of a monument to the emperor on the *Vrijdagmarkt*, Ghent's main square, for the Joyous Entry of Albert and Isabella in 1600. In a city that had been punished by Charles V following an insurrection in the 1540s this seemed a surprising act of loyalty, as is underlined by the fact that the statue was guarded to protect it from vandalism. For the government and the elite, however, it was important to eradicate memories of Ghent's disloyalty during a more recent episode, the Calvinist regime from 1578 until 1584. The monument therefore represented the 'celebration' of Charles V's birth in Ghent one hundred years earlier, the lineage of Albert and Isabella as counts of Flanders, and the will to show the archdukes that Ghent cared for peace and prosperity.[90]

Besides Joyous Entries, national victories provided an opportunity to reflect on a city's reputation as well. In the Dutch Republic the two most celebrated victories before 1621 were the battle of Nieuwpoort on land in 1600 and the battle of Gibraltar at sea in 1607.[91] After the war resumed in 1621 stakeholders started to use the memory of these victories to remind Prince Maurits of their loyalty. For instance, the admiralty of Amsterdam commissioned a painting of the destruction of the Spanish flagship during the battle of Gibraltar. Subsequently the admiralty presented the image as a gift to Maurits, who was no doubt aware of its message. The admiralty wanted to emphasize not only its own contribution to the battle in

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[88] Margit Thøfner, *A common art. Urban ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle 2007) 231.

[89] 'vingt quatre tableaux de l'histoire d'Espagne'. Payen, *Les voyages de monsievr Payen, ov sont contenves les descriptions d'Angleterre, de Flandre, de Brabant, d'Holande, de Dennemarc, de Suede, de Pologne, d'Allemagne, & d'Italie où l'on voit* (Paris 1663) 23.

[90] Liesbeth de Frenne, 'Verzoening en herstel van het vorstelijk gezag. De aartshertogen Albrecht en Isabella en de stad Gent (1598-1621)', *Handelingen der Maatschappij voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde te Gent* 60 (2006) 247–284, there 253–254.

[91] Kees Zandvliet (ed.), *Maurits, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam 2000) 406.

the past but also its loyalty in the present. In the painting this intention becomes visible as the artist, Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen, included a fictitious yacht that displayed the coats of arms of both the admiralty and Maurits.[92] Moreover, since the admiralty and the city magistrate were closely related, the painting should also be seen as a display of renewed loyalty from the government after 1621.[93] The good relationship between Maurits and the city of Amsterdam had been underlined from the beginning of the seventeenth century. For instance, the magistrate paid silversmith Adam van Vianen in 1614 to depict the battles of Turnhout (1597), Nieuwpoort, and Gibraltar as well as the victories in Breda (1590), Geertruidenberg (1593), and Grave (1602) on a silver plate. Indeed, the battle of Nieuwpoort was the central scene around which the others were presented on the edge (fig.46).[94] Emphasis on the national episode thus reflected Amsterdam's loyalty to Maurits.

Fig.46 Adam van Vianen, Silver plate and water jug depicting important battles and sieges from the early stages of the Revolt until 1600, 1614 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

National victories were also celebrated in the Habsburg Netherlands. The battle of Kallo in 1638, for example, was celebrated on local and national levels. The battle was part of a larger offensive the States had planned in alliance with the French in order to conquer the Habsburg Netherlands and which failed on both fronts. Kallo, located close to Antwerp, had

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[92] Remmelt Daalder, 'Een zeeslag voor prins Maurits', *Amstelodamum* 95 (2008) 3–12.
[93] Zandvliet, *Maurits*, 406.
[94] Adam van Vianen, schaal met veld- en zeeslagen uit de Tachtigjarige Oorlog, 1614, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr BK-AM-17-A (this is a pendant of BK-AM-17B, a water jug with the sieges of Alkmaar and Leiden, and the battle of the Zuiderzee which will be discussed below); Ibidem, 271–273.

been a target of the Dutch army in order to secure the city for the Republic. When the Cardinal-infant Ferdinand won the battle, commemoration started immediately with a procession to celebrate the victory.[95] Antwerp was particularly active with processions, masses, songs and texts to celebrate the victory. In addition, the battlefield immediately became a place of pilgrimage for at least eight days following the battle while the conquered Dutch ships were exhibited in the port of Antwerp and visited by a large crowd. The celebration, and the active participation of the people as well as the government of Antwerp, was particularly enthusiastic for several reasons. First of all, Antwerp was no longer threatened by the Dutch army. Second, the victory caused renewed hope that the river Scheldt would finally reopen after a long blockade which had started in 1585. Third, the success of the cardinal-infant was attributed to the intercession of the Virgin.[96]

Although all these elements were important in the aftermath of the battle, one element of the celebration stands out as far as the government is concerned: the victory was represented as a military triumph of the Habsburg army. This theme is clearly visible in two commissions by the magistrate. The first was a painting for the States room in the town hall in Antwerp for which the magistrate paid Bonaventura and Gillis Peeters 480 guilders. This painting depicted the battlefield with Ferdinand in the foreground.[97] The second commission was to court painter Peter Paul Rubens to design a new float for the annual Antwerp *Ommegang*, the festive parade through the city. Instead of focusing on the religious aspect of the victory, Rubens' design was rather a political statement. More importantly, it can be considered as another example of Antwerp's effort to display its loyalty to the crown. The float represented a triumphal chariot shaped like a ship, but instead of a mast it carried an enormous trophy with plunder, banners and prisoners attached to it. The chariot is driven by Providence, and seated behind her are the allegorical female representations of Antwerp and Saint-Omer. At this city the Spanish army had scored another military success only a few days after the battle of Kallo. Other personifications represent Virtue and Fortune, Victory and Fame.[98] As we can see, religious elements were not covered in this chariot, but instead Rubens emphasized many references to the military triumph. The chariot can therefore be

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[95] Marie Juliette Marinus, *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585-1676). Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad* (Brussels 1995) 273.

[96] Maurits Sabbe, *Brabant in't verweer. Bijdrage tot de studie der Zuid-Nederlandsche strijdliteratuur in de eerst helft der 17e eeuw* (Antwerp 1933) 383–421; Henk Borst, 'Broer Jansz in Antwerpse ogen. De Amsterdamse courantier na de slag bij Kallo in 1638 neergezet als propagandist', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 25 (2009) 55–89, there 74–76; Ank Adriaans-van Schaik, 'Triumph in Antwerp Rubens's oil sketch The Triumphal Chariot of Kallo', *Rubens Bulletin van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten Antwerpen* 3 (2011) 41–65, there 46–47.

[97] Gillis and Bonaventura Peeters, *Kallo belegerd op 21 juni 1638*, 1639, oil on canvas, Museum Vleeshuis Antwerp, via http://balat.kikirpa.be object number 144797, information in database Belgian Art Links and Tools.

[98] Adriaans-van Schaik, 'Triumph in Antwerp', 41–42; Vandamme and Morel-Deckers, *Catalogus schilderkunst oude meesters*, 325.

considered as the city's celebration of Ferdinand, the army's commander. This was similar to Antwerp's celebration of the victories of Archduke Albert in a commission of seven tapestries.[99] While Antwerp could have focused on religion and the possibility of opening up the river, it thus chose to emphasize military success and to include the other victory at Saint-Omer.

The victory at Kallo was also celebrated nationally. On this level, however, the cardinal-infant's military success was represented in a religious setting. Ferdinand's preacher paid for a painting in Kallo's parish church to commemorate the victory. The painting depicted a kneeling Ferdinand accompanied by the Virgin, Christ as a child, and Peter and Paul in the heavens. The background featured the battleground of Kallo and a panoramic view of Antwerp. The image presented Ferdinand as the adversary of heresy who could save the Habsburg Netherlands from the Calvinists. The painting hung in a very local setting, but its imagery still spread across the country through prints.[100] This ubiquity indicated that the painting was part of a well-thought-out strategy to show the cardinal-infant fighting heresy like his predecessors before him.

The difference between the imagery in Antwerp and that for a more general audience stands out here. The same event could thus inspire various interpretations on local and national levels. Stakeholders chose the right interpretation for either political or religious settings. This dynamic relationship between memories on national and local levels is worth investigating a little further. For example, a national battle between two armies could be celebrated on a local level as well. The first bishop of Groningen, Friesland and Drenthe, Johan Knijff, commissioned a window depicting the battle at Jemmingen in 1568 for his new episcopal residence in Groningen in the same year.[101] Although this was a private initiative, the bishop did transfer the memory of the battle to the urban memory culture of the Revolt in Groningen. Similarly, a local episode could be celebrated on a national level. The peat barge attack on Breda in 1590, for instance, was initially celebrated as a national victory by Stadholder Maurits. The attack was considered a new Trojan horse and admired in songs, literature and memorabilia. Only after some time did the government of Breda appropriate the memory of this attack for its own urban memory culture.[102]

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[99] Marcel de Maeyer, 'Otto Venius en de tapijtreeks "de veldslagen van aartshertog Albrecht"', *Artes Textiles* 2 (1955) 105–111, there 105–106, 111.

[100] René Vermeir, *In staat van oorlog. Filips IV en de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1629-1648* (Maastricht 2001) 212.

[101] Arnoldus Buchelius, 'Monumenta quaedam sepulchralia et publica', ca. 1617, translated by Kees Smit, original at Tresoar Leeuwarden EVC 3373, via www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl, f. 21v The window remained in place until the 1610s.

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

This dynamic relationship between memories of certain events can also be seen on a regional level. An example is the aftermath of the siege of Leiden in 1574. Soon after the city had been relieved, the southern part of Holland and Zeeland claimed the siege as a joint effort to beat the enemy. Leiden recognized their role since the government commissioned a tapestry depicting the military situation during the siege from the workshop of Joost Jansz. Lanckaert in Delft. The design was based on a map of the siege and showed the contribution of the region surrounding Leiden to the relief of the city.[103] Moreover, different institutions claimed the memory of the siege of Leiden by commissioning medals in celebration, as did both the States of Holland and the States General.[104] In 1603 the States of Zeeland also purchased a painting of the relief of Leiden from Isaak Claesz van Swanenburg, an artist from Leiden. Whether or not the States commissioned this painting or merely bought it from Van Swanenburg's workshop is unclear, but they were eager to emphasize their role during the siege. Admiral Boisot, who was in charge of the Beggar fleet, had needed Zeeland's ships to sail to Leiden to relieve the city.[105]

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[103] Marloes Huiskamp, 'De Tachtigjarige Oorlog en de Vrede van Munster in de decoratie van zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwse stadhuizen. Een verkenning', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 335–346, there 335; Jori Zijlmans, *Leidens Ontzet. Vrijheidsstrijd & volksfeest. De 3-oktobercollectie in Museum De Lakenhal* (Leiden 2011) 61–65; Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel. Leiden, 1574', in: Herman Amersfoort et al. (eds.), *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam 2011) 118–145, there 123–124. A similar way of acknowledging the regional network during a siege can be seen in Zaltbommel after it successfully fended off a siege by the Habsburg army in 1574. Two copies of the same painting depict the countryside surrounding Zaltbommel. J.C.A.M. Bervaes, 'De Veldschans Bruchem', *Historisch Geografisch Tijdschrift* 21 (2003) 19-25, there 19-20; Anonymous, *De belegering van Zaltbommel in 1574,* 1574, oil on canvas, Stadskasteel Zaltbommel, inv nr 0244-0679.
[104] Zijlmans, *Leidens Ontzet*, 56–59; George Sanders, *Het present van staat. De gouden ketens, kettingen en medailles verleend door de Staten-Generaal, 1588-1795* (Hilversum 2013) 34, 330–331.
[105] Katie Heyning, ''Tot eere van den lande'', in: Jaenine Dekker (ed.), *De Abdij van Middelburg* (Utrecht 2006) 142–152, there 144.

The siege of Leiden had thus become an event that was celebrated on all levels: national, regional and local. Normally the claims on the events leading up to the relief of Leiden did not conflict, but they did on one occasion. When governments were asked to donate windows to the Janschurch in Gouda in 1601 both Leiden and Delft commissioned windows that referred to the siege of 1574. Delft's window represented Prince William of Orange before the inundated lands surrounding Leiden.[106] Leiden chose to depict the siege of Samaria by the Assyrians. This siege had caused much hunger within the city, but after the enemy troops fled Samaria the citizens feasted on the food the enemy had left behind. The similarity between Samaria and Leiden inspired the magistrate in this choice of subject (fig.47).[107] Yet, Delft did not stop at the window. The city presented the imperial envoy, the count of Schwarzenberg, with a tapestry depicting the relief of Leiden from Joost Jansz. Lanckaert Bascouter.[108] What these commissions demonstrate is that it was possible for local governments to emphasize different elements of the same event. Local, regional, and national governments thus seem to have succeeded in appropriating the elements of particular episodes during the Revolt to suit their own needs.
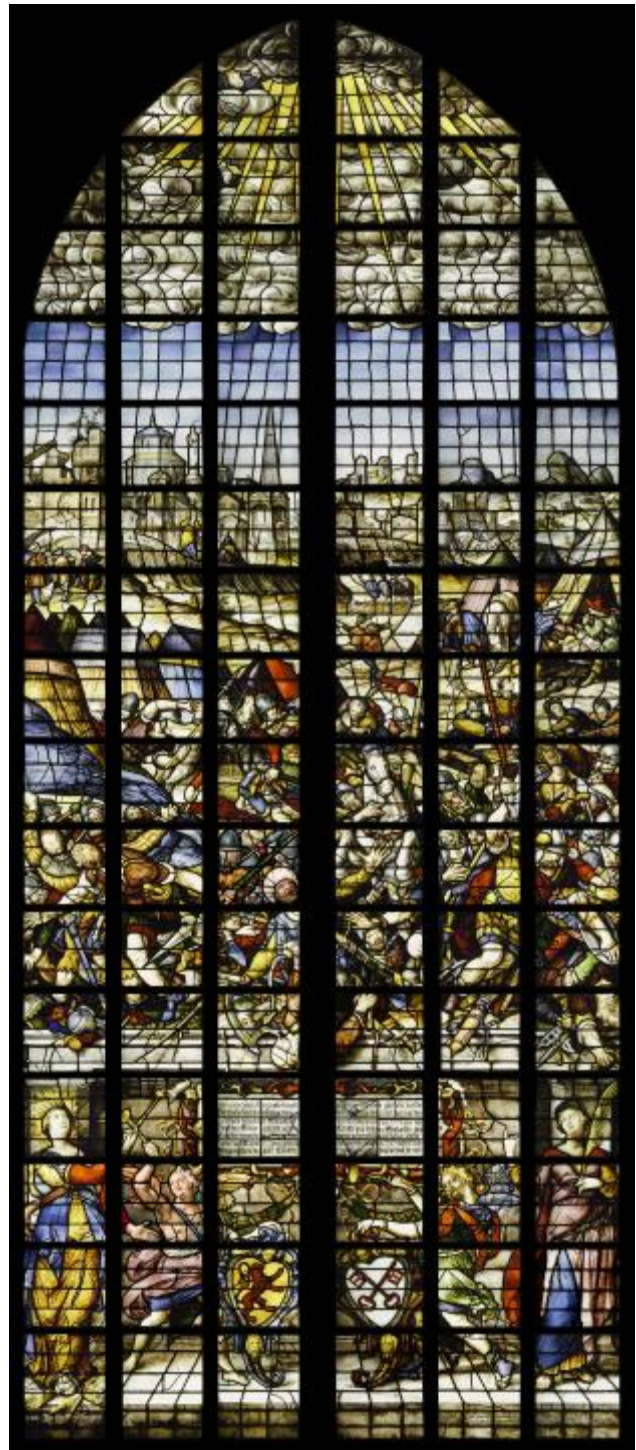

Fig.47 Stained glass window depicting the siege of Samaria as commissioned by the magistrate of Leiden for the Janskerk in Gouda, 1601 (Sint-Jan, Gouda).

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[106] Marike Hoogduin-Berkhout, '"Op de geluckige regeeringe van Leiden" geschilderde voorstellingen in het Leidse stadhuis 1575-1700', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 22 (Hilversum 2006) 59–105, there 78.
[107] Ibidem.
[108] G.T. van Ysselsteyn, *Geschiedenis der tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der kunstnijverheid* II (Leiden 1936) 32.

A quest for success: Alkmaar and Leiden

Whereas loyalty to either the crown or the stadholder often motivated local governments to remember certain episodes during the Revolt, there was another way to try and enhance status in the regional network: by emphasizing the city's success during the Revolt. In Leuven's case, for example, the success of fending off the enemy in 1635 further contributed to its status as loyal city to the crown. In the Dutch Republic these successes also counted when the city's reputation was at stake. In fact, when a city was so unlucky that it could not claim any success during the Revolt, it felt left out. Gouda, for instance, had not been able to benefit much from the Revolt. The city's relationship with the prince and the States of Holland was fraught since the city had joined the Revolt only as a result of 'accident, opportunism and cowardice' rather than conviction, and it had suffered economic decline during the 1570s.[109] This awkward position of Gouda often led to arguments with other cities in Holland.[110] In a letter written by Gouda's government to Roosendael the officials concluded that the city was one of the victims of the Revolt and that everyone in Holland seemed to profit from the war except Gouda. As the government claimed 'it has benefited everyone except us, who have only lost by it'.[111]

Gouda's complaints were not common in Holland. Nevertheless a city such as Alkmaar suffered from having another city beat it in the popularity of its siege. Alkmaar had been the first city to celebrate its relief in 1573, but this reputation was soon overshadowed by the glorious relief of Leiden in 1574. In the representation of the first phase of the Revolt in Holland both sieges featured prominently. In 1614, for example, silver smith Adam van Vianen forged a water jug depicting three important episodes: the siege of Alkmaar, the battle of the Zuiderzee and the siege of Leiden.[112] The iconic status of the siege was thus recognized, but it seems that Alkmaar was able to use their past only in its own region, whereas Leiden's fame reached national audiences.

Alkmaar's main competitors in the regional hierarchy were Hoorn and Enkhuizen. The relationship between Alkmaar and Hoorn had been particularly tense for many years due to the fact that both cities engaged in commercial activities in the same area. These economic conflicts often led to blockades of waterways and interventions of magistrates from both

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[109] 'toeval, opportunisme en angsthazerij'. P.H.A.M. Abels et al. (eds.), *Duizend jaar Gouda. Een stadsgeschiedenis* (Hilversum 2002) 308.

[110] For example, the Remonstrant faction was strongest in Gouda, Ibidem, 308–317; C.C. Hibben, *Gouda in Revolt. Particularism and pacifism in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1572-1588* (Utrecht 1983) 149–159.

[111] Gemeentearchief Gouda, Oud Archief, inv nr. 147, 9 May 1579. As cited in Hibben, *Gouda in Revolt*, 154.

[112] Adam van Vianen, Lampetkan met veld- en zeeslagen uit de Tachtigjarige Oorlog, 1614, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, BK-AM-17-B. This water jug belonged to the silver plate in note 94.

cities to prevent the other city from increasing its influence over their common hinterland.[113] In 1598, during a political conflict between Hoorn and Alkmaar about which city would become the next seat of the Delegated Council of the *Noorderkwartier*, Alkmaar played the card of having offered brave resistance against the Spanish army.[114] The magistrates of Hoorn, however, pointed to their city's convenient location and the custom that West Frisian affairs had always been settled in Hoorn.[115] Unfortunately for Alkmaar, the States were not convinced, although the Council did move to Alkmaar for a few months due to an outbreak of plague in Hoorn.[116] The use of an argument related to the Revolt thus did not always work for Alkmaar, and incidentally this conflict and the foundation of the Council were carefully omitted from its first chorography in 1645.[117] Only the more successful outcomes of the conflict with Hoorn, such as a blockade of the city's waterways, were reported.[118]

That Alkmaar failed in landing the Delegate Council meant that it lost face in Holland. That the argument of its siege did not work was a bad sign. Of course, it was not the only argument that had been used, but the fact that it did not tip the scales in Alkmaar's favor clearly showed that references to the siege alone could not convince the States. Maybe the city had not done enough to promote the importance of its siege. Leiden, on the other hand, very successfully built a reputation on its 1574 siege. In 1586, for example, the Earl of Leicester threatened to move its university to Utrecht. In response the city sent burgomaster Pieter van der Werf and town secretary Jan van Hout as representatives to Leicester, who successfully argued that the university

> was founded as a recompense for the piety and steadfastness shown by the citizens
> of the same city during two sieges and for the hunger, grief and misery suffered by
> the same without ever receiving any other recompense[119]

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[113] Aten, *Als het gewelt comt*, 42–48, 56–58.

[114] Paul Knevel, 'Hoofdstad van Holland boven het IJ', in: Jurjen Vis et al., *Geschiedenis van Alkmaar* (Zwolle 2007) 190–209, there 209.

[115] Feyken Rijp, *Chronijk van de vermaarde zee en koopstad Hoorn* (Hoorn 1706) 83; Theodorus Velius, *Chroniick van Hoorn, daer in particulierlijck verhaelt worden des selven Stadts eerste begin, opcomen en ghedenckweerdighe gheschiedenissen, tot op dit teghenwoordighe jaer 1617* (Hoorn 1617) 203.

[116] Rijp, *Chronijk van de vermaarde zee en koopstad Hoorn*, 117.

[117] Cornelis Woude, *Kronijcke van Alcmaer; met sijn dorpen, waer in op 't kortste verhandelt worden vande Kermers, ende West-Vriesse oorlogen. Ende de voornaemste gheschiedenissen des selfs, van 't beginsel der bouwinge der voorsz. stad Alckmaer, tot den jare Christi 1645* (Alkmaar 1645) 80, 95.

[118] Nijs, Beukers and Abels, *Geschiedenis van Holland* II 1572-1795, 25; Woude, *Kronijcke van Alcmaer*, 97; Aten, *Als het gewelt comt*, 42–48.

[119] 'es gefondeert als sij een recompensie van de vroomheyt ende volstandicheyt byde Burgeren der zelver stede in haer twee belegeringen getoont ende den honger commer ende elende byde zelve geleden oyt andere recompensie genoten te hebben' RAL, SA II (1574-1816), 0501A, inv nr 335, instructie voor burgemeester Van der Werf en secretaris Van Hout als afgevaardigden naar graaf van Leicester, 1586. English citation as cited by Christine Kooi in Christine Kooi, *Liberty and religion. Church and state in Leiden's Reformation, 1572-1620* (Leiden 2000) 110.

The two sieges that the city referred had both taken place in 1574, with only a few months in between. The first siege passed without much suffering at all but stressing both sieges put extra weight on top of Leiden's argument that it had suffered hunger, grief and misery.[120] Moreover, the claim extended beyond the fact that the university was a just reward to the city. The university had become an intrinsic part of the city's identity and removing it would cause much damage to Leiden's reputation. As the governments instructed their representatives, the university is 'the only and best pearl that we have'.[121]

Recent research on Leiden has emphasized that the city effectively used its siege in both internal and external propaganda. The siege was well-known in the Netherlands, considered to be the key to Holland's freedom from Spanish occupation and an example of the city's bravery and harmonious struggle against a common enemy.[122] Compared to Leiden, Alkmaar seems to have deployed a less active propaganda strategy to build an image of the victorious city in a struggle against the common enemy in Holland. Memories of the siege were included in annual celebrations and paintings commissioned by the civic militia, but most were efforts directed towards its own population.[123] The donation of windows for churches in other cities by the Alkmaar government, an instrument of civic propaganda actively employed by Haarlem, did not feature the siege of Alkmaar but rather heraldic views or references to economic activity. The only exception was the window it commissioned for its own St Laurenschurch in 1642 which became a very expensive depiction of the siege of Alkmaar.[124]

While Alkmaar thus emphasized its siege, this was usually for domestic consumption only, whereas Leiden also directed its attention to the outside world (and was helped to do so by its alumni). Of course, Alkmaar used the siege in conflicts with the States of Holland or Hoorn, but this happened away from the public eye. It probably did not help that Alkmaar was located on the periphery of Holland while Leiden was located in the heart of the province; Alkmaar seems to have had more difficulty in maintaining the reputation it acquired during the Revolt. This declining status became visible even before the end of the war with the Habsburgs when in 1645 Cornelis van der Woude wrote his history of Alkmaar. Even in the preface it became clear that Alkmaar had not been able to exploit its economic position in

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[120] R.C.J. van Maanen, (ed.), *Leiden. De geschiedenis van een Hollandse stad* I 1574-1816 (2002) 204–206.

[121] 'de eenige ende beste Paerel die wy hebben' RAL, SAII, 501A, inv nr 335.

[122] See for example Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel'; Jori Zijlmans, 'Pieter Adriaensz. van der Werf; held van Leiden', in: Joris van Eijnatten, Fred van Lieburg and Hans de Waardt (eds.), *Heiligen of helden. Opstellen voor Willem Frijhoff* (Amsterdam 2007) 130–143; Marianne Eekhout, 'Herinnering in beeld. Relieken van Leidens ontzet', *Leids jaarboekje* 103 (2011) 33–47.

[123] Knevel, 'Hoofdstad van Holland boven het IJ', 209 And see for the paintings Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar inv nr 020600, 020857 and 020856.

[124] Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* I: the North (Amsterdam 2011) 272, 292–301.

West Friesland nor its political position. Therefore Van der Woude felt the need to explain that Alkmaar had suffered no less than other cities in the past.[125] Between 1614 and 1645 something had happened to Alkmaar's visibility in the memory field of Holland. Fortunately, however, it was able to use the siege in its favor for some arguments. In 1650 the city claimed the right to appoint its own magistrates due to its involvement during the Revolt using the argument that

> the city of Alkmaar had helped to lay the foundations in the year 1573, sparing goods nor blood to stop the victorious and violent weapons of the king of Spain. As they had done so bravely with God's help.[126]

Alkmaar had spared no expense or lives in the struggle against the king of Spain and its efforts had laid the foundations for the Dutch Republic. This sacrifice had earned the city the right to elect and appoint its own magistrates. More than seventy-five years after the Revolt, this argument proved effective. Nevertheless, Alkmaar's 'victory' no longer had the clout it had enjoyed in the early phase of the Revolt. After 1667 it sometimes even disappeared from the lists of most important events during the Revolt while Haarlem, Naarden and Leiden were always mentioned.[127]

Omitting the Revolt

A successful siege may have worked in a city's favor, but if the past was not so glorious, there was another option for dealing with the Revolt: omitting it from local history altogether. Forgetting the past, however, was not easy. In some cases, such as in Valenciennes, its insurrection did not last very long. As early as 1567 the city reconciled with the king, and it subsequently stayed under Habsburg rule. Letting the recent past rest therefore seems to have been a favorable option. Yet, in Valenciennes' urban society elements of Protestantism and reminders of the Revolt continued to resurface throughout the seventeenth century. Protestants were arrested, their families were referred to as 'crypto-protestant', and authors still felt the need to interpret what happened to the city instead of letting the recent past fall

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[125] Cornelis van der Woude, *Kronijcke van Alcmaer,* preface.
[126] With thanks to Frank de Hoog. 'de Stadt Alckmaer inden Jare xv^c drijentseventich de fundamenten hadde helpen leggen, goet noch bloed sparende om te stutten de victorieuse ende geweldige wapenen vanden Coninck van Spangien. Gelijck zij door Gods hulpe soo vromelijck hadde gedaen.' RAA, Archief Gemeente Alkmaar, inv nr 268, Akte, waarbij de Staten van Holland toestaan dat de vroedschappen zelf de burgemeesters, schepenen en thesaurier kiezen, onder bepaling dat elke vroedschap een dubbeltal zal voordragen. 9 december 1650..
[127] Anonymous, *Conferentie tusschen een Brabander en Hollander waer by ten lesten komt een Fransman over de constitutie van den tegenwoordigen tijdt* (1667) Knuttel 9561, 5.

into oblivion.[128] Keeping this outcome in mind, the question of whether or not to forget the past gave rise to a further question: if a city chose to omit a certain piece of history, would it not be better to replace it with another story? This tactic at least seems to have been the solution adopted in two other cities: Brussels and Amsterdam.

Like Antwerp, Brussels had a difficult past during the Revolt; the Council of State had been unseated in 1576, and the city had been ruled by a Calvinist regime between 1577 and 1585. Yet, instead of publicizing its loyalty to the crown after 1585, it chose a different approach. In local histories the city successfully left out the details of the Revolt and emphasized its status as the first city of the duchy and the Habsburg Netherlands.[129] This was not very difficult because the city was still the seat of the central government and functioned as the main seat of the court of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella from 1598 until 1632. Moreover, the city had been claiming a Trojan heritage since the fifteen century. Allegedly Roman soldier Silvius Brabo and Julius Caesar had not only travelled through Brabant where they founded Antwerp but also built a fortress in Leuven.[130] And the Romans were connected to the Trojans.

Brussels was proud of its connection to Troy. Not only did this heritage provide the city with the necessary ancient history to gain status, Brussels could also use it represent the connection between the city and the court.[131] The city had been the seat of the dukes of Brabant and subsequently also of the Habsburg government in the Low Countries. Since the dukes had presented themselves as the descendants of Priam of Troy, this claim allowed the city to share in this ancient lineage. Furthermore, its citizens descended from Trojan heroes and could therefore claim their blood and virtues.[132] This ancestry could be used in the representation (or rather omitting) of the Revolt as well. In 1699, for example, when the government of Brussels commissioned a new history of Brabant, it began with Julius Caesar. But while this text treated the Middle Ages extensively, the period between 1549 and 1599 was carefully omitted. By focusing on the Joyous Entries of Philip II and the Archdukes Albert and Isabella, the author could conveniently leave out its own difficult past while it did include

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[128] See for example Yves Junot, 'L'impossible survie la clandestinité protestante à Valenciennes au début du XVIIe siècle', *Mémoires du cercle archéologique et historique de Valenciennes* 11 (2010) 175–183; Yves Junot, *Les bourgeois de Valenciennes . Anatomie d'une élite dans la ville (1500-1630)* (2009) 90–100; Henri d' Outreman, *Histoire de la Ville et Comté de Valentiennes* (Douai 1639) 201–225.

[129] Smolar-Meynart, 'Lovene', 37, 44–45; For the reign of Margaret of Austria the court had moved to Mechelen, but it returned to Brussels in 1531 when Mary of Hungary chose the old ducal court as her residence as governess of the Low Countries. Duvosquel and Vandevivere, *Luister van Spanje* II, 74.

[130] Wilma Keesman, 'Oorsprongsmythen als zelfuitlegging. Over achtergrond en betekenis van middeleeuwse verhalen rond Trojaanse stedenstichtingen', in: Herman Pleij (ed.), *Op belofte van profijt* (Amsterdam 1991) 262–279, there 275–276.

[131] Ibidem, 276.

[132] Van de Kerckhof, Bussers and Buisseret, *Met passer en penseel*, 146–147.

its ancient descent.[133] Yet, again this did not mean the Revolt was actually forgotten. In 1585, after the Calvinist regime had been ended by Alexander Farnese, the city also reinstated the procession of the Sacrament of Miracle, one of the most important relics in the Southern Netherlands. The sacrament was connected to threats to the Catholic religion since it had allegedly been stolen by Jews in 1370. For Brussels the sacrament could therefore be used in the restoration of Catholicism.[134]

A focus on lineage instead of the recent past contributed to Brussels' status as capital of Brabant. In 1730 Jacques le Roy published a history of Brabant which included the Revolt in Antwerp and Leuven but left out Brussels' past during the 1570s and 1580s.[135] Le Roy devoted his longest chapter to Brussels, the center of government and residence of the court, but without even mentioning the Revolt.[136] While this privilege had usually been reserved for Antwerp, Le Roy granted Brussels the title of the first city in the Habsburg Netherlands.[137] Although Brussels like Antwerp had known a Calvinist regime, the city had managed to become more famous for its court and government functions and had overcome its Revolt past by a different route than those chosen by Leuven and Antwerp. Le Roy's text thus confirms that the three cities successfully constructed a careful but separate program to rebuild their status in Brabant and the Habsburg Netherlands.

Another city that had to rebuild its reputation during and after the Revolt was Amsterdam. The city's past was something of an embarrassment in the Dutch Republic because it had voluntarily supported the Habsburg regime until 1578.[138] Yet, after it joined the rebel side, Amsterdam had developed into the most important city of Holland and the Dutch Republic. In the seventeenth century the city started to use its influence at the expense of other cities such as Dordrecht, traditionally the first city in Holland.[139] Nevertheless, in the seventeenth century its history in the Revolt was still a blemish on Amsterdam's reputation. While for neighboring cities the economic competition may have been a lost cause, the paintings in the city halls of Haarlem and Enkhuizen that depicted

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[133] *Den luyster ende glorie van het hertogdom van Brabant, herstelt door de genealogique beschryvinge van desselfs souvereyne princen, ende door het ontdecken van den schat der privilegien*, (Brussels 1699) passim.

[134] Jasper van der Steen, 'The politics of memory in the Low Countries, 1566-1700' (Dissertation Leiden University 2014) 76-78; Luc Dequeker, *Het Sacrament van Mirakel. Jodenhaat in de Middeleeuwen* (Leuven 2000) 51-60.

[135] Le Roy, *Groot werreldlyk tooneel des hertogdoms van Braband*.

[136] Ibidem, 27–33.

[137] Antwerp received the most pages of all the cities in the Low Countries in Guicciardini, *Descrittione*; In other editions of Guicciardini's work Antwerp remained the largest city in terms of pages awarded to the city. Deys et al., *Guicciardini illustratus*.

[138] Henk van Nierop, *Het foute Amsterdam*. inaugural lecture University of Amsterdam (Amsterdam 2000) 7, 20.

[139] Groenveld, *Evidente factiën in den staet*, 11–13, 18; Herwaarden, 'Stedelijke naijver', 78–80.

Amsterdam as the enemy during the 1570s prove that the Revolt could be employed to try to embarrass Amsterdam.

To improve its bad image, from 1578 onwards Amsterdam started to deploy two episodes from its medieval past: the reception of a new coat of arms in 1342 and its being granted the emperor's crown in 1488.[140] This strategy, however, did not suffice to compete with the civic propaganda produced in neighboring cities. Haarlem, for example, successfully employed the strategy of integrating an episode from the distant past, the siege of Damietta in 1219, in its civic self-representation for external-relations purposes. As we have seen in chapter four, the story of Damietta strengthened the theory that Haarlem's citizens had the innate quality of bravery. During the siege of 1573 the city used this bravery to withstand the enemy for seven months.

By contrast, Amsterdam took a very different approach to its civic representation. Its officials commissioned windows as well, but these were far less expensive and in smaller numbers than those commissioned by Haarlem. The government felt obliged to donate windows to other churches only when most of the other cities in Holland did the same.[141] The theme also differed considerably. For Amsterdam its most recent past, from 1578 onwards, and its medieval past were the most important aspects to emphasize. More importantly, the city wanted to find a story that could supplement its reputation as merchant capital of the world which it had acquired in the seventeenth century.

Amsterdam's wealth and power soon became the subject of civic representation. One of the first manifestations of the city's marketing strategy to promote its new position in the world was the commission of a harpsichord cover in 1606 (fig.48).[142] In collaboration with painter and author Karel van Mander, artist Pieter Isaacsz painted an allegory of Amsterdam which represented Amsterdam as the center of world trade. Amsterdam is portrayed as a woman holding a globe in her left hand, being offered a ship and a pearl necklace – the symbols of seamanship and wealth. In the background the world is represented by a map and several ships that refer to trade. This paean to Amsterdam was commissioned for the

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[140] For example, a medal was minted in 1578 depicting these themes. Anonymous print (after medal), *Graaf Willem IV schenkt het stadswapen aan Amsterdam zg 1342 en Maximiliaan schenkt de keizerskroon in 1488*, Nationaal gevangenismuseum, nr 126799180 and for later editions of the same theme Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen. Of beknopt verhaal van 't gene sedert de overdracht der heerschappye van keyzer Karel den Vyfden op koning Philips zynen zoon, tot het sluyten van den Uytrechtschen vreede, in de zeventien Nederlandsche gewesten is voorgevallen* I (The Hague 1723) 254 and on an anonymous medalbox commissioned by the city of Amsterdam after the Peace of Breda in 1669, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-78.387.

[141] Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* I: the North, 263–305; Simon Groenveld, *Haarlemse glasraamschenkingen. Stedelof tussen dominee, regent en koopman* (Gouda 1998).

[142] Pieter Isaacsz, Klavecimbeldeksel met allegorie op Amsterdam als centrum van de wereldhandel, 1606, oil on panel, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr SK-A-4947.

city hall, and its designers were generously rewarded by the government.[143] The theme of the harpsichord proved the beginning of a new trend in the representation of Amsterdam.

Fig.48 Pieter Isaacsz, Harpsicord cover depicting Amsterdam as the center of world trade, 1606 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

In 1611 both map and a chorography of Amsterdam were published with the same theme: Amsterdam as merchant capital of the world. The map, made by Claes Visscher, depicted a panoramic view of Amsterdam with the allegorical female figure representing the city and several figures on the foreground. The allegorical representation of Amsterdam, in the center, receives merchandise from local, regional, national and international tradesmen to underline the city's function as staple market.[144] A similar view of Amsterdam was offered on the title page of the first chorography of Amsterdam, written by Johannes Pontanus in 1611.[145] The frontispiece of both the 1611 Latin edition and the 1614 Dutch edition both featured symbolic references to ships, navigational instruments, items of trade and globes to refer to international trade and commerce.[146] This imagery was to change little throughout the seventeenth century, making the theme of world trade the primary aspect of Amsterdam's self-representation.[147]

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[143] Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, collection website inv nr SK-A-4947, via www.rijksmuseum.nl, consulted 13 August 2012.

[144] Boudewijn Bakker, 'Het imago van de stad. Zelfportret als propaganda', in: Boudewijn Bakker and Erik Schmitz (eds.), *Het aanzien van Amsterdam. Panorama's, plattegronden en profielen uit de Gouden Eeuw* (Bussum 2007) 56–80, there 56–60.

[145] Johannes Isacius Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia* (Amsterdam 1611); For the interpretation of Pontanus I have used the Dutch edition that was published in 1614. Johannes Isacius Pontanus and Petrus Montanus, *Historische beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coop-stadt Amsterdam waer inne benevens de eerste beginselen ende opcomsten der stadt, verscheyden privilegien, ordonnantien ende andere ghedenckweerdighe gheschiedenissen* (Amsterdam 1614).

[146] Pontanus, *Rerum et urbis Amstelodamensium historia*; The 1614 edition was published with two different frontispieces, one was the same as the 1611 edition, the other featured a dog with a globe, a reference to its publisher Hondius. Pontanus and Montanus, *Historische beschrijvinghe*.

[147] For example, the frontispieces of the chorographies of Amsterdam by Olfert Dapper, Tobias van Domselaer and Caspar Commelin. Esser, *The politics of memory*, 40.

Esser has shown, however, that Pontanus went beyond presenting Amsterdam as the commercial center of the world and therefore also included the city's ambition of becoming the political heart of the Dutch Republic.[148] He described the history of the city and in particular the history of the Dutch Revolt. As a solution for Amsterdam's difficult past of siding with the Habsburg regime, Pontanus integrated the history of the emerging Republic during the 1570s into his account of Amsterdam.[149] In contrast to histories of other cities such as Haarlem, which focused entirely on their own history, Pontanus integrated Amsterdam into the history of the Revolt in order to downplay its own role in the 1570s. The history of the Revolt was thus used to frame Amsterdam's current position within the Republic.[150] The Dutch Revolt, and especially the Alteration in 1578, had been only the catalyst in Amsterdam's success.

Another successful element to emphasize was the city's founding myth. Instead recounting a descent from aristocratic forefathers Pontanus wrote about how the city was founded by two poor fishermen. These rather humble origins showed that Amsterdam was built on the hard work of its citizens.[151] On Visscher's print the two fishermen also feature prominently along with the patroness of Amsterdam (fig.49). Here they are represented as the contrast between the initial start of trade in Amsterdam and the city's contemporary status as a leader in international trade depicted by various international merchants.[152]

Fig.49 Claes Visscher, profile of Amsterdam with a focus on the city's patroness and two fishermen, 1611 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

One of the reasons why these origins were so important was that they distinguished Amsterdam from other, neighboring cities such as Haarlem. As demonstrated earlier, Haarlem relied on its reputation as senior city in Holland and chose the ancient siege of Damietta to represent the city. The success of its forefathers was important for Haarlem, but

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[148] Ibidem, 39.
[149] See for example the explanation of the word 'geus', the battles on the Zuiderzee, Enkhuizen's change of regime, the massacres in Naarden and Zutphen and the sieges of Haarlem and Leiden. Pontanus and Montanus, *Historische beschrijvinghe*, 63, 82, 86–87, 92–100.
[150] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 67.
[151] Ibidem, 49–57.
[152] Claes Jansz Visscher, *Profiel van Amsterdam vanuit het IJ genomen*, 1611, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-103.723; Bakker, 'Het imago van de stad. Zelfportret als propaganda', 60–62.

Amsterdam could not claim such an ancient lineage. It received its new coat of arms, the three crosses of Saint Andrew, as late as 1342 and had never been very important in Holland until the sixteenth century. Instead, the city opted for the other end of the spectrum and focused on its humble origins.[153] Moreover, this image corresponded with the idea that developed in the so-called Batavian myth, in which the Dutch Republic was founded by the Batavians rather than claiming a Roman ancestry.[154]

The medieval episodes, however, did have their place in the civic representation. For example, the episodes of 1342 and 1488 were depicted on medals, medal boxes and prints that depicted these medals.[155] In addition, Amsterdam commissioned church windows with the same theme for its New Church in 1648.[156] Even episodes from the Revolt itself appeared in Amsterdam's church windows. The magistrate commissioned windows representing the Peace of Westphalia. The first, made for the New Church in 1648, was the presentation of the treaty to King Philip IV and the second for the Old Church in 1654 was an imaginary meeting between Dutch delegates and the Spanish king.[157] This emphasis on the Peace of Westphalia concurred with the pride Amsterdam felt in its role in the realization of the treaty, as became clear in the most prestigious project undertaken by the magistrate: the new town hall. The building was meant to become a symbol of peace, and Amsterdam's efforts in the negotiations and its position in the world were to be commemorated extensively in its decorations.[158] Despite its difficult past Amsterdam thus succeeded in finding a narrative for itself that after 1648 could even include the Revolt. Unlike other cities, however, it never chose a local episode that could be connected immediately to the Revolt.

Different cities employed different strategies in dealing with the Revolt and when aiming for a local audience or for the regional elites in the Low Countries. Whether it was a conscious decision to emphasize loyalty or success, or to omit the Revolt from various media, is unclear, but the strategies do provide an insight into how media could be employed in civic

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[153] Esser, *The politics of memory*, 49–57.
[154] Ibidem, 53–55; S. Groenveld, *Het Twaalfjarig Bestand, 1609-1621. De jongelingsjaren van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (the Hague 2009) 74–78; E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, 'De Bataafse mythe opnieuw bekeken', *BMGN* (1996) 344–367.
[155] For example, a medal was minted in 1578 depicting these themes. Anonymous print (after medal), *Graaf Willem IV schenkt het stadswapen aan Amsterdam zg 1342 en Maximiliaan schenkt de keizerskroon in 1488*, Nationaal gevangenismuseum and for later editions of the same theme Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen*, 254 and the same theme on a medal box commissioned by the city of Amsterdam after the Peace of Breda in 1669, Rijksmuseum RP-P-OB-78.387
[156] Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795* I: the North, 308–311.
[157] Ibidem, 271, 315.
[158] Eymert-Jan Goossens, 'De Vredestempel. Het Amsterdamse stadspaleis uit 1648', in: Jacques Dane (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle 1998) 205–223; Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam* (Zwolle 2011).

self-representation. Chorographies, paintings, windows, and even harpsichords were used to portray a certain image in print and in public spaces such as town halls. The coherence between the message this media propagated stands out. Although several stories could exist alongside each other, they were usually still embedded in a single, overall story which either in- or excluded the Revolt. In Amsterdam, for example, medieval stories were meant to show the humble origins of the city implying that this history provided a good basis for a merchant capital of the world. By emphasizing this message, Amsterdam not only promoted itself but also dismissed the aristocratic associations of other rival cities such as Haarlem. Despite the fact that the Revolt was not mentioned, that conflict had enabled this story to thrive as Amsterdam's founding myth.

Of course, not every city had a troubled past. Others could rely upon their loyalty or their success during the Revolt. In these cases the local history of the Revolt became an instrument in the ongoing urban rivalry. Sometimes cities, such as Alkmaar, even literally used their successful siege in arguments to reclaim certain rights. The success of these arguments, however, seems to have depended on the episodes' fame. The more famous the siege, the more eligible the city became for claiming subsequent status. Some cities used their loyalty to emphasize that other neighboring cities had not supported the Revolt for a long time (in the Dutch Republic) or had reconciled late with the crown (in the Habsburg Netherlands). While individual cities, however, claimed their own achievements, they could also claim 'national' episodes. Delft, for example, proved that it could claim part in the siege of Leiden by focusing on its role in the inundations. And Antwerp was able to claim the battle of Kallo because it had taken place near the city. This interaction between the local and the regional, and the national and the local, therefore determined that the Revolt would not be forgotten. Urban rivalry in all its facets ensured that cities could not wait to either use or omit the war in their self-representation, sometimes with the purpose of demonstrating the difficult past of their neighbors.