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Material Memories of the Dutch Revolt

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Chapter 6 – Reshaping the legacy of the Revolt

In 1648 the peace treaty of Westphalia was cause for celebration in prayers, performances, songs, poems, prints, medals and paintings across the Low Countries.¹ In Antwerp, for instance, the burgomasters had a stage built on the main square on which they performed the proclamation accompanied by four mythological figures.² A three-day feast adorned with illuminations was organized in Brussels to celebrate the peace.³ Haarlem's government exhibited the tapestry of Damietta on the balcony to adorn the proclamation while *tableaux vivants* displayed peace allegorically (fig.50).⁴ In Amsterdam the magistrates commissioned a window for the Old Church, which highlighted the presentation of the treaty to King Philip IV of Spain.⁵ Moreover, across the city *tableaux vivants* celebrated freedom against the background of contemporary politics.⁶ In addition to local and national governments, civic institutions also celebrated the peace enthusiastically. One of the militia companies in Antwerp commissioned a silver cup alluding to the peace.⁷ And several militia companies from Amsterdam had portraits painted which displayed their men during the celebratory dinner for the Peace of Westphalia.⁸

¹ Simon Groenveld, 'De Vrede van Munster. Einde en nieuw begin', in: Jacques Dane (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle 1998) 11–43, there 41; Emilie M.L. van der Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld. Zeventiende-eeuwse vredes in de prentkunst', in: Jacques Dane (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle 1998) 173–203, there 192–194; Mieke B. Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam. De dichters Geeraardt Brandt en Jan Vos bevestigen hun maatschappelijke positie', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* (1997) 193–200; Louis Peter Grijp, 'Muziek voor Munster; muziek en liederen gemaakt ter gelegenheid van de Vrede van Munster', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 209–221; Alison McNeil Kettering, *Gerard ter Borch en de Vrede van Munster* (Zwolle 1998); Maarseveen, Michel P. and Jos W.L. Hilkhuijsen, 'Van Breda tot Hulst, van schilderij tot tegel. Voorstellingen van het krijgsbedrijf op schilderijen, prenten, penningen en tegels in 1625 en 1645', in: Jacques Dane (ed.), *1648. Vrede van Munster, feit en verbeelding* (Zwolle 1998) 135–171, there 166.

² Bert Timmermans, *Patronen van patronage in het zeventiende-eeuwse Antwerpen* (Amsterdam 2008) 151.

³ Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld', 193.

⁴ Groenveld, 'De Vrede van Munster', 41; Cornelis Beelt, *De Grote Markt van Haarlem tijdens een feestelijke gebeurtenis*, ca 1670-1690, oil on canvas, Amsterdam Museum Amsterdam, inv nr SA 7449.

⁵ Zsuzsanna Ruyven-Zeman, *Stained glass in the Netherlands before 1795 I: the North* (Amsterdam 2011) 315.

⁶ For example, Pieter Nolpe, *Zinnebeeldige vertoningen die op de Dam zijn opgevoerd ter ere van de Vrede van Munster*, 1648, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-76.489; Maas, 'De Vrede verbeeld'; Smits-Veldt, 'De viering van de Vrede'.

⁷ W. van Nespen, *Schatten van de vlaamse schuttersgilden. Catalogus* (Antwerp 1967) 1–2.

⁸ Kees Zandvliet, *De 250 rijksten van de Gouden Eeuw. Kaptiaal, macht, familie en levensstijl* (Amsterdam 2006) xvi, 39.



Fig.50 Cornelis Beelt, the tapestry of Damietta on the balcony of the town hall in Haarlem during the celebration of the peace of Munster in 1648, ca 1670-1690 (Amsterdam Museum)

Now that the peace had been signed, the Revolt was an episode in the past. The warfare had stopped, the Dutch Republic had been recognized, and the political and religious boundaries had been set. By that time the Revolt had already become firmly embedded in the history of local communities. In Hoorn, for example, a group of rhetoricians organized a competition in 1646 in which they asked the participants to answer the following question: 'what, among others, are the three principal matters, done for her honor by our forefathers, that may make Hoorn's glory famous and great?'⁹ In addition to the invention of a net to catch herring and organizing the first journey to Cape Horn the competitors answered that the third principal accomplishment was the capture of the count of Bossu, admiral of the Spanish fleet that fought in the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573. The Revolt had become one of the subjects in Hoorn's history that was memorable for future generations.

Yet, not everyone could share the same sentiments about the peace. Research has shown that for Catholics in the Dutch Republic, for example, the Peace of Westphalia started a new phase in the acceptance of a loss of identity and influence. Historian Willem Frijhoff has retraced this process back to the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618, after which Catholics

⁹ 'Wat onder ander zijn de drie voornaemste saken, waer door men Hoorns Lof beroemt en groot mach maken, by ons Voor-ouders gedaen tot haerder eer?' Karel Bostoën, 'Held in een bloedstollend drama', in: Remmelt Daalder et al. (eds.), *De schipper, het journaal, de scheepsjongens* (Amsterdam 1996) 41–52, there 47.

realized that they had become a minority. Fifty years after the start of the Revolt new generations knew little more than that Catholicism was one of the many religions in the Republic. This realization started a 'process of adaptation' during which the Catholic community formed a strong confessional identity.¹⁰ The period between the resumption of the war in 1621 and the 1660s has subsequently been characterized by historian Christine Kooi as a period of 'increased confessionalism', which sharpened the religious identity of both Catholics and Protestants.¹¹ In practice, Catholics did not forget their social position from before the war but adapted by visiting and furnishing clandestine churches, making pilgrimages to the Habsburg Netherlands, and practicing their religion in private. Moreover, Catholic hopes for a better future were kept alive by prophecies and the worship of saints. These activities provided the Catholic community with a long-term perspective despite the outcome of the Revolt.¹² They could usually continue to visit their places of worship, as we have seen in chapter one, as well as to practice their religion in 'private' gatherings in clandestine churches although the amount of interference from local authorities and institutions such as the Reformed Church could vary.¹³

On the other side of the border, however, Protestants did not have as many possibilities as their Catholic counterparts in the North. Since the Calvinist regimes in the Southern cities had capitulated to Governor Alexander Farnese in the 1580s the Catholic religion had been firmly reestablished. Reconciliation treaties did allow Protestants time either to convert or to leave the city, although in that period they were treated as 'second-class citizens'.¹⁴ Yet, death sentences for heretics became rare, and no one was executed after 1597. This meant that converting Protestants to Catholicism became the only option, and a matter of both church and state. Despite the fact that many Protestants left the Habsburg Netherlands, especially after the fall of Antwerp in 1585, there were still signs of a Protestant presence. In Antwerp non-Catholics could wed according to their own rites, Protestants went to Lillo to attend services, and placards continued to be issued against Protestants. In general,

¹⁰ Willem Frijhoff, 'Catholic expectation for the future at the time of the Dutch Republic', in: *Embodied belief. Ten essays on religious culture in Dutch history* (Hilversum 2002) 153–179, there 160–164.

¹¹ Christine Kooi, *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's golden age. Heretics and idolaters* (Cambridge 2012) 13.

¹² Frijhoff, 'Catholic expectation', 157–165.

¹³ See for opportunities for Catholics in the Dutch Republic Christine Kooi, 'Paying off the Sheriff. Strategies of Catholic Toleration in Golden Age Holland', in: R. Po-Chia Hsia and Henk van Nierop (eds.), *Calvinism and religious toleration in the Dutch Golden Age Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age* (Cambridge 2002) 87–101, there 88; Dominicus de Jong, *Grenskapellen voor de katholieke inwoners der Generaliteitslanden* (Tilburg 1963) 71–105; Frijhoff, 'Catholic expectation', 171–172; Judith Pollmann, 'Amsterdam. Ons' Lieve Heer op Solder. Paapse stoutigheden op de Wallen', in: Maarten Prak (ed.), *Plaatsen van herinnering Nederland in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (2006) 296–307, there 297.

¹⁴ Marie Juliette Marinus, 'Het verdwijnen van het protestantisme in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 13 (1997) 261–271, there 262.

however, Protestants were left alone as long as they did not draw attention to themselves.¹⁵ After 1648 this situation in the Habsburg Netherlands continued. For instance, in 1651 the Catholic government of Weert banished a local smith because he had sung heretical songs and refused to denounce his faith when he was brought to trial.¹⁶

In addition to the difficulties that arose for religious minorities, however, the end of the war also instigated a new phase in urban memory practices. After the celebrations for the end of the war in June 1648 subsided, moves to commemorate the Revolt quickly followed. Especially on a local level, authors, playwrights and ministers were keen to supply the growing demand for (re)interpretations of the past. After all, the Revolt had started more than eighty years ago, which meant that the last people who had experienced the iconoclasm of 1566 had been dead for quite some time. From 1648 onwards memory practices therefore slowly changed in nature while they became embedded in national and local history. From the communicative phase of memory, described by Jan Assmann, the memories of the Revolt now entered the phase of cultural memory. The memories exceeded 'everyday interaction and communication' and became institutionalized, preserved and reinterpreted for new generations.¹⁷ The war had become a part of history.



Fig.51 Hendrik Cornelisz Pot, the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573 as depicted in the second half of the seventeenth century, 1647-1676 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

¹⁵ Ibidem, 262–268.

¹⁶ Vos, *Burgers*, 355.

¹⁷ Assmann, 'Communicative and cultural memory', 111.

Within local communities the renewed attention to the Revolt was noticeable on various fronts in the 1650s and 1660s. First of all, new prints and paintings of episodes such as the battle of the Zuiderzee in 1573 were commissioned (fig.51).¹⁸ In the Dutch Republic there seems to have been a market for scenes of the Revolt since artist Hendrick de Meijer produced at least twelve paintings that depicted how the Spanish garrison left Breda in 1637 and the siege of Hulst in 1645.¹⁹ In both the Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands, however, not only victories, but also attacks and massacres on cities were captured in paintings in Oudewater, Mechelen, and Antwerp during this period. In addition to visual reminders of the Revolt, a variety of books, sermons and plays were (re)published.²⁰ Eyewitness accounts, for instance, were gathered and written down so they would not be forgotten.²¹ Descriptions of cities and regions in Holland also blossomed after 1648, especially between 1660 and 1670.²² Plays and *tableaux vivants* had been performed and published since the beginning of the war, but their popularity seems to have increased after 1648.²³ The most famous play in the Dutch Republic was 'the siege and relief of Leiden' by

¹⁸ Hendrik Cornelisz. Pot, *Slag op Zuiderzee tegen de graaf van Bossu*, 1573, 1647-1676, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.536; Jan Theunisz Blanckerhoff, *De slag op de Zuiderzee voor de rede van Hoorn tegen Bossu*, 1663-1666, oil on canvas, Statenlogement Hoorn; Abraham Jansz Storck, *Schlacht in der Zuidersee am 11. Oktober 1573*, 1663, oil on canvas, Deutsches Historisches Museum, inv nr GOS-Nr. K1000773.

¹⁹ Maarseveen and Hilkhuijsen, 'Van Breda tot Hulst, van schilderij tot tegel. Voorstellingen van het krijgsbedrijf op schilderijen, prenten, penningen en tegels in 1625 en 1645', 153–154.

²⁰ See, for example, Johannes Evertsz Geisteranus, *Predicatie over 't ontset van Alckmaar, gedaan anno 1618. den 8 Octobris, in de Groote Kerk, over Actor, capit. IX vers 31* (1665).

²¹ Erika Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling and patriotic scripture. The memory brokers of the Dutch Revolt', in: Erika Kuijpers et al. (eds.), *Memory before modernity. The practices of memory in early modern Europe* (Leiden 2013) 183–202; Arnoldus Duin, *Oudewaters moord of waerachtig verhael van d'oudheid, belegering, in-nemen en verwoesten der geseide stad* (1669); Fery de Guyon, *Les mémoires non encor veues du sieur Fery de Guyon contenant les batailles, sièges de villes, rencontres, escarmouces, où il s'est trouvé, tant en Afrique, qu'en Europe pour l'empereur Charles V & Philippe II roy d'espagne, son fils de glorieuse mémoire* (Tournai 1664).

²² Eddy Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende-eeuwse republiek* (Hilversum 2011) 20–22; Hendrik Jacobsz Soeteboom, *De historie van Waterland. Behelsende de oude, besondere en ghedenckwaerdige geschiedenisse van Waterlandt en de Waterlanders mitgaders de steden van Edam, Munckendam, en de alle dorpen van Waterlandt als mede een breede en generale beschrijvinge van 't begin, opgangh en voortgangh der stad en heerlijkheyt van Purmer-endt* (Amsterdam 1660); Hendrik Soeteboom, *Vroonens begin, midden en eynde, met het opkomen der steden van West-Vrieslant, waer in nevens andere dingen te vinden is de alder oudtste en voornaemste geschiedenissen van West-Vrieslant tot aen de val van hare oude hoofdstadt Vroonen, met het opkomen der steden Hoorn, Enckhuysen, Alckmaer en Medenblick, en de bloedige oorlogen, tusschen de Hollanders en kleyne Vriesen, tot het jaer 1303, alles in 4. boecken (met vlijt) by een vergadert en met kopere platen verciert* (Amsterdam 1661).

²³ See for example Jacob Duym, *De cloeck-moedighe ende stoute daet, van het innemen des Casteels van Breda en verlossinghe der stad* (Leiden 1606); Jacob Duym, *Belegheringhe der stad Antwerpen, by den prince van Parma [...] in den jaere 1584*. (Leiden 1606); Govert van der Eemdb, *Haerlemse belegeringhs trevr-bly-eynde-spel. Gespeelt by de Wijn-gaerd -ranken onder Liefde' boven al* (the Hague 1619); Jacob van Zevecote, *Jac. Zevecotii Beleghe van Leyden. Trevr-spel*. (Leiden 1626); See also the celebration of the reduction of Groningen in Leiden and Haarlem in 1590 Th.C.J.

Reynerius Bontius which was printed and performed across the Republic many times after 1645.²⁴ Yet, also new plays about the siege of Haarlem and the murder of William of Orange in 1584 were published in the 1660s.²⁵ Finally, at least in the Dutch Republic the Revolt was frequently referred to in sermons on prayer days in the late seventeenth century and in the eighteenth century.²⁶

Not only did the number of publications and commissions of objects rise after 1648, but the themes also changed. In the stories about the war more personal, emotional and dramatic elements were introduced. For instance, in books personal stories about bravery and (local) heroes were now celebrated, and these heroes were no longer motivated only by suffering, religion or freedom.²⁷ This focus on heroes, and thus an interest in personal stories of the war, can also be found in plays. The villains were portrayed as human beings instead of as stereotypical liars and cheats while love affairs were also included.²⁸ Moreover, the heroes who were presented on stage were patriotic, but their patriotism that had originally been connected to the city was extrapolated to Holland and even to the Republic after 1648.²⁹ We can see this trend confirmed in prints as well. Jan Luyken, who made the prints for the new edition of Pieter Bor's history of the Revolt, focused on the personal element of well-known episodes during the Revolt. For example, his print of the attack on Breda in 1590 did not feature the traditional approach of the peat barge to the castle but rather the scene where the soldiers, who had been hiding in the barge, came out and surprised the castle garrison in Breda.³⁰

van der Heijden and J.C. van Boheemen, 'Accommodation and possessions of chambers of rhetoric in the province of Holland', in: Elsa Strietman en Peter Happé (eds.), *Urban theatre in the Low Countries, 1400-1625* (Turnhout 2006) 253–281, there 270–273; J.C. van Boheemen and Th. C. J. van der Heijden, 'De rederijders en Haarlem', in: E.K. Grootes (ed.), *Haarlems Helicon. Literatuur en toneel te Haarlem vóór 1800* (Hilversum 1993) 49–60, there 54; See for the performances of rhetoricians in Ghent, Brussels and Antwerp in the late 1570s Anne-Laure van Bruaene, *Om beters wille. Rederijderskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden (1400-1650)* (Amsterdam 2008) 168.

²⁴ Reynerius Bontius, *Belegering ende het ontset der stadt Leyden geschiedt inden jare 1574 beginnende den 17 may ende eyndigde den derden octobris* (Leiden 1645); Cobi Bordewijk, 'Lof zij den helden!' *Vier eeuwen Leidse stedentrots op het toneel* (The Hague 2005) 15, 20; see for other editions also <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/Bontius/>, consulted 15 October 2013.

²⁵ H. Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse Opstand. Studies over de relatie tussen politiek en toneel in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 1990) 13; See also Steven Theunisz. van der Lust, *Herstelde hongers-dwangh, of Haarlems langh en strenghe belegeringhe, ende overgaen der selver stadt, door het scherpe swaerd der ellenden. Treurspel* (Haarlem 1660).

²⁶ Donald Haks, 'Propaganda from the pulpit?', in: Jan A.F. de Jongste and Augustus J. Veenendaal jr (eds.), *Anthonie Heinsius and the Dutch Republic 1688-1720. Politics, war, and finance* (The Hague 2002) 89-114, there 106-108.

²⁷ Kuijpers, 'Between storytelling', 200.

²⁸ Marijke Meijer-Drees, 'Burgemeester van der Werf als vaderlandse toneelheld', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992) 167–176, there 171–172.

²⁹ Marijke Meijer-Drees, 'Vaderlandse heldinnen in belegeringstoneelstukken', *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 85 (1993) 71–82, there 78.

³⁰ Jan Luyken, *Het turfschip van Breda, 1590, 1679-1681*, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-80.102; compare Frans Hogenberg (workshop of), *Het turfschip van Breda, 1590-1592*,

Despite these thematic changes, however, the Revolt was still very much alive in the 1650s and 1660s. Now that the frames of memory were set and the eyewitness accounts had been drawn up, other stakeholders also attempted to propagate their stories (again). As this chapter will show, the memories of the Revolt both continued and changed as time progressed. On the one hand, the upcoming centenaries of events in the early phase of the Revolt kept memories of the Revolt alive and active within the civic community. On the other hand, the passing of time changed the way people perceived the existing memorabilia of the Revolt. The thematic changes in publications and commissions with the Revolt as subject were the start of this process. Yet, as this chapter will demonstrate, the existing memorabilia were subject to change as well. Memories that had been captured in objects such as manuscripts, relics, and art were still kept as heirlooms but were also increasingly sold to become part of personal and local collections not necessarily focused on the Revolt. This early form of musealization of memorabilia separated at least some of the objects from their original context as they were organized according to type or material.

Celebrating centenaries

The celebration of the one hundredth anniversary, jubilee or centenary, of important events was rather common in the seventeenth century. In 1617, for instance, the Dutch Republic had celebrated the centenary of the birth of the Reformed religion.³¹ When the centenary of the iconoclasm came up in 1666, it was the first episode of the Revolt to reach the hundred-year mark. For Protestants, as we have seen in chapter one, iconoclasm could be difficult to interpret and was not depicted often. Catholics, however, had less trouble in commemorating these events. On 19 August a 'jubilee' was held in the cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp, and probably at least two prints were issued which depicted a contemporary view on iconoclasm.³² A few years later, when the centenaries of the victorious sieges in Holland approached, the Dutch Republic was in no condition to organize great feasts. In 1672 both the Southern Netherlands and the Republic were attacked by English, French and German armies. The 'prosperity, independence, and very existence of the Republic' were seriously

etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-78.784-275 and Bartholomeus Dolendo, *Inname van Breda 1590*, 1600-1601, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-80.092.

³¹ G. van Halsema, 'Van 1594 naar 1994. Over de "Jubeljaarspredikatiën"', in: G. van Halsema, Jos Hermans and F.R.J. Knetsch (eds.), *Geloven in Groningen. Capita selecta uit de geloofsgeschiedenis van een stad* (Kampen 1990) 185-195, there 187.

³² Johannes Jacquinet, 'Historie der Nederlanden onder de Regering van Albertus en Isabella Philippus IV en Karel II 1612 tot 1683', KBB, Ms 15938, f. 346; two prints depicting Iconoclasm in Antwerp survive at museum Plantijn-Moretus Gaspar Bouttats, *De Beeldenstorm in de kathedraal van Antwerpen*, dated around 1668, inv nr K.OP.11647, cataloguenr. III/B.242 and anonymus, *De Beeldenstorm in de kathedraal van Antwerpen*, dated between 1650 and 1750, inv nr AV.2007.003.045, cataloguenr. II/ON.275.

threatened during this traumatic year, but finally the Republic managed to avert the danger.³³ Still the centenary of the relief of Alkmaar on 8 October 1673 could not be celebrated elaborately during this political crisis although there was the annual celebration with church bells and recounting the story of the siege in 1573 in the morning service in the Great Church.³⁴ In addition, Cornelis Schoon published a book about the siege which would be reprinted five times before the next centenary in 1773.³⁵

Despite the difficulties due to the political climate the Revolt once again took center stage during the celebrations of several centenaries over the course of at least twenty years. The hundredth anniversary of the relief of Leiden in 1574, the reconciliation of Antwerp in 1585, and the reduction of Groningen in 1594 were all celebrated. Furthermore, the festivities were grander than they had previously been. Yet, all of these centenaries should be considered not only in their capacity of memories of the Revolt but also in their new context. The celebration can be considered as an indication of how memories could be used in the present.

In 1674 the city of Leiden prepared itself for the celebration of the relief of the city on 3 October 1574. Over the past century an annual commemoration with a service, plays and a fair had become common practice, but for the centenary a larger commitment than usual can be detected. Unfortunately, the city lacked the necessary funds due to the troubles of the previous years, but this circumstance did not prevent lawyer and counsel Karel Crucius from making a speech at Leiden University's auditorium, book seller Adrianus Severinus from publishing a commemorative book and Reinier Bontius' popular play from being reprinted.³⁶ Severinus' book sold very well and remained in high demand for decades; by 1777 it had sold out at least five times. Furthermore, in 1676 it was decided to add Crucius' speech to the publication, making it available for everyone.³⁷ Finally, Bontius' play, which had already been popular for decades, ensured that Leiden's population was well aware of their past as they paid to buy and see this play. The play was performed often and reprints continued to be published throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the first edition with

³³ Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall 1477-1806* (Reprinted paperback edition; Oxford 1998) 796–806.

³⁴ W.A. Fasel, 'De ontzetviering te Alkmaar in de loop der eeuwen', in: E.H.P. Cordfunke (ed.), *Alkmaar ontzet 1573-1973* (Alkmaar 1973) 85–196, there 104–105.

³⁵ Cornelis Schoon, *Alkmaers Bitter en Zoet, ofte een beknopt vertoog van de bange belegeringe, en heuglikke uytredinge der stede Alkmaar, voorgevallen in den iare 1573* (Alkmaar 1673).

³⁶ Adrianus Severinus, *Het gelukkig herdenken aen de vermaerde belegering der stad Leiden, kort en klaer voorgesteld voorgevallen in de vijftiende en sestiende eeuw*. (Leiden 1674); Reinier Bontius, *Belegering ende ontsetting der stad Leyden. Geschied in den jare 1574. beginnende den 27 May, ende eyndighde den derden Oct.* (Leiden 1674) See for Bontius also <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/LijstCeneton.html#01047>.

³⁷ Severinus, Adrianus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving van de belegering en 't ontzet der stad Leiden* (5th edition; Leiden 1777). This is fifth edition, other editions are 1757, 1738, 1737 and the original in 1674; Passchier Fijne, *De oude Leidsche patroon, of Derden Octobers banket. Een verhaal van Leidens beleg en ontzet in 1574* (Leiden 1867) iii.

illustrations appeared in 1693, one hundred and twenty years after the event had taken place.³⁸

While the book and the play highlighted the glorious past of Leiden during the Revolt, Crucius' speech connected the contemporary struggles during and after 1672 to the events of 1574. Crucius not only held his speech at the university of Leiden³⁹, the institution founded by William of Orange in 1575 as a reward for withstanding the Spanish army, but he also portrayed the events of 1672 as a warning to remember the past. The wealth and power the Dutch Republic had known for a long time had been tried and tested during the recent troubles because the Dutch had come to taking their position for granted.

So it happened that our beloved Fatherland, after an Eighty Years' War, had caught its breath [...] that is to say, this was our fate, for twenty years and more, to see the brave manliness of this combative nation weaken and be numbed so, that even the skirmishes of the bishop of Munster, sufficient omens of a more violent war, could not revive or sharpen it⁴⁰

Even the danger in 1672 had not brought forth the courage and piety the Dutch had shown in the early stages of the Revolt. Whereas their ancestors had been brave, Crucius reviled his contemporaries by referring to them as 'effeminate'.⁴¹

Unlike Crucius, the city of Leiden did see bravery in contemporary society. The city awarded a golden medal to magistrate Gerard de Munt for the courage he displayed in 1673. He had taken charge of clearing the trees from the immediate surroundings of the city when the government feared an attack. The medal specifically reflected on the courage of citizens in both 1673 and 1574. And to make this reference even clearer it was also shaped like a sixteenth-century emergency coin. On the front it said 'in memory of the ancestral courage, 1673' and on the reverse 'this one is for liberty, 1574'.⁴²

Crucius' statement should therefore be seen as a general complaint about the change in mentality in the Dutch Republic after 1648. His message was that Leiden should be grateful it

³⁸ Ceneton, Leiden University, Department of Dutch Language and Culture, Reynerius Bontius, <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton>, consulted 5 January 2012, also for the list of reprints.

³⁹ Aa, A.J. van der, *Biographisch woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van zoodanige personen, die zich op eenigerlei wijze in ons vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt*, continued by K.J.R. van Harderwijk en G.D.J. Schotel (Haarlem 1852-1878), via <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken>, III, 893.

⁴⁰ 'Nu was het dat ons lieve Vaderlandt, na een tagtig-jarigen Oorlog, een sijn adem soude geschept hebben [...] te weten, dit was ons beschoren, twintig en meer Jaren lang, de vrome manhaftigheit van dese strijtbare natie soo te sien verswacken en stompden, dat self de schermutselen van den Munsterschen Bisschop, genoegsame voorboden van een heviger oorlog, die niet weder opwecken of scherpen of kosten.' Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving*, 197.

⁴¹ In Dutch 'verwijfd', Ibidem, 137–138.

⁴² In Latin: 'avitae virtutis memor, 1673' and 'haec libertatis ergo, 1574' Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen I* (The Hague 1723) 113–114.

had survived 1672, despite its weakness, because God had rescued the Republic much as he had brought wealth and power in the past. With God's help William of Orange had led the Revolt against the Habsburg regime, and an alliance with England after Orange's death in 1584 had been formed. And once again it had been God who helped the Republic in 1672.

God alone watched over this State; he restrained the enemy for long and kept him under control [...] and while we had our hands so full at home, did nothing less, than work towards an attack on England, and only promote that.⁴³

In Crucius' text this reference to the Armada in 1588 was followed by remarks on the contemporary situation. The renewed war between France and Spain, Crucius continued, helped to distract the international attention from Dutch politics as had been the case in 1588. Yet, even during the years of prosperity small calamities as well as God's favors had always come to keep the Dutch on their toes.⁴⁴ In his argument, the troubles of 1672 were a punishment the Republic had to suffer before the country could be rebuilt. Only with God's help could the Republic be restored to its former health.⁴⁵ For this reason, the Republic's narrow escape, Crucius concluded, required an expression of gratitude to God and the princes of Orange who restored order and peace in the Republic.⁴⁶

Although his speech was directed towards an audience in Leiden, Crucius mentioned the city and its past only at the very end of his narrative. While the Republic was to blame for its shameful behavior during the past twenty years, Leiden could learn from the siege of 1574. The city should continue to remember and recognize the way God had relieved Leiden from the Habsburg army.

That has formerly been that day, on which our Leiden was covered with unspeakable joy, has rejoiced and has been lifted up, in which our Fatherland has seen the deliverance of such a faithful citizenry, and the Prince has recognized and considered God's finger in this deliverance, which was brought about by the water.⁴⁷

⁴³ 'God alleen waecte voor desen Staat; die beteugelde den vijandt dus lange en hield hem in toom [...] en deed hem soo lange wy onse handen te huis soo vol hadden, niet anders, als op een toeleg op Engelandt uit sijn, en die alleen behertigen'. Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving*, 192.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, 196.

⁴⁵ "Hij [God] heeft, onse sorgeloosheit, ondanckbaerheit en overtredingen te huis gesogt, om het Landt te behouden: want hij soude dese sieckte hebben laten ongeneeslik werden, soo hij voorgenomen hadde ons uit te roeijen" Ibidem, 200.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, 204–205.

⁴⁷ 'Dat is eertijts dien dagh geweest, in welk ons Leiden met een onuitspreeckelicke vreugde overstort sijnde, gejuicht heeft en opgesprongen, in welke ons Vaderlandt de reddinge van soo trouwen borgerije gesien, en den Prince Godts vinger in dese verlossinge, door het water te weeg gebragt, erkent heeft en aengemerckt'. Ibidem, 205.

Crucius emphasized that the city should hold on to the example of courage and steadfastness that had been taught during the 1570s. Along with passing it on to the next generation, the relief should be celebrated at least for another hundred years.

Then this city taught by her example, that only brave men did attain this glory, that steadfastness attained this price, and to such a peak of honor our virtue could ascend, that no antiquity shall reduce it, no time digest it, or a sequence of years destroy it, for so long as [...] to celebrate this deliverance annually with a day of thanksgiving, and pass this on to the next generation as a pledge of divine favor (such as we have received), so that our late descendants, after the passing of another century, will have celebrated this anniversary of the city another hundred times.⁴⁸

According to Crucius, Leiden had to fulfill the important task of keeping the example of 1574 alive and to pass it on. The day God had relieved Leiden had marked the beginning of a new period in the city's history, and the population should continue to remember this fact as current political events had made very clear in 1672.

In 1694 another local celebration of a centenary took place in a different part of the Dutch Republic, in Groningen. In this year the local government organized a service of thanksgiving for the removal of the Spanish and Catholic yoke during the reduction of the city one hundred years before.⁴⁹ In 1644 when Groningen celebrated the fiftieth anniversary of the reduction, minister Johannes Martinus had raised the subject of 1594 in a sermon he dedicated to the city magistrates.⁵⁰ During the Habsburg regime in Groningen between 1580 and 1594 the city had lived in darkness, which had been lifted when Stadholder Maurits came accompanied by a light that made all darkness disappear.⁵¹ Subsequently, the city had become a glorious example of loyalty and determination after 1594. Even though the city had known several difficult moments, according to Martinus, the ministers (himself included) had proven to be men of solid beliefs during the many troubles the city faced

⁴⁸ 'Doen heeft dese Stadt met haer voorbeeld geleert, dat dese glorie alleen kloecke Mannen over "t hooft hing, dat tot dese prijs stantvastigheit geraken kost, en tot desen top van eere onse edelmoedigheit had konnen opsteigeren, welcke geen outhet verminderen, geen tijt verteren, of een reex van Jaren vernietigen sal, soo lang [...] dese verlossinge jaerlix met een danckdag te vieren, en deselve tot een onderpant van de Godlicke gunste (gelijck wij die gekregen hebben) aen het volgende geslagte over te geven, op dat onse late nakomelingen, na het verlopen van nog een eeuw, en nog hondertmael dese geboorte-dagh der Stadt geviert te hebben.' Ibidem, 207–208.

⁴⁹ Henricus Hofsnider, *Kronyk van Groningen ene Ommelanden* (Groningen 1743) 268.

⁵⁰ Halsema, 'Van 1594 naar 1994', 187.

⁵¹ Johannes Martinus, ' 't Licht in de duysternisse der stadt Groningen', in: S.D. van Veen (ed.), *Uit drie eeuwen. Zes jubeljaars-predicatiën* (Groningen 1894) 1-42, there 13–15.

furthermore that He has, with no exceptions, let them all present this light steadfast and harmoniously without the least shadow or darkening: even when through the power of darkness heavy dark clouds raised themselves in neighboring Provinces.⁵²

Fifty years later minister Abraham Trommius followed in the footsteps of his father-in-law, Johannes Martinus.⁵³ During the centenary of the reduction in 1694 he delivered his sermon in the New Church.⁵⁴ Trommius, however, chose a different approach. He did not include the analogy of a light that lifted the darkness but preached about the dissemination of the Reformed religion throughout Europe.⁵⁵ As far as the actual reduction was concerned, Trommius did not mention the house of Orange in the same way Crucius had. He brought up Stadholder Maurits as the man who received the golden key to the city after the reduction, but he did not idolize him.⁵⁶

According to the city magistrate, the celebration of the reduction of Groningen could not take place without a representative of the House of Orange. They invited the Frisian stadholder Hendrik Casimir of Nassau and his family to enjoy and behold the festivities on 24 July 1694. After the services in the city, the civic militia and students joined at the Grote Markt and walked to the Wijnhuis where the magistrates hosted a dinner. During this parade through the city, guns were fired, cannons roared and fireworks lit up the sky after sunset.⁵⁷

To celebrate this day and commemorate the reduction, the magistrates also commissioned two medals, which were minted in silver and gold. Again, these medals showed the importance of Maurits in the celebration of the reduction. The first medal depicted a breastplated stadholder with a sword in his right hand and a shield with Groningen's coat of arms in his left (fig.52a) while the second depicted Maurits in Roman dress, a less military sight. The reverse of the medals, however, carried the same phrase

Groningen. The prince's sword with Gods arm / brought alarm to papist and Spaniard
/ who disappeared as a lie in the light / whose pure glow shone in temples / a true joy

⁵² 'Daer beneven dat hyse alle, geen uyt gesondert, heeft laten dit licht stantvastelick ende eendrachtelick sonder de minste schaduwe of verdonckeringe voordragen: Self als door de macht der duysternisse in de nabuyrige Provincien [...] sware duystere wolcken sich verhieven.' Ibidem, 19.

⁵³ Trommius also wrote several religious books, see P.C. Molhuysen and P.J. Bolk (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek* (Leiden 1911-1937), via <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken>, consulted 8 December 2011.

⁵⁴ Joséphine Weegink-Schijve, 'Kerkinterieur voor en na de Reformatie, geïllustreerd aan de hand van drie Groninger stadskerken', in: G. van Halsema, Jos Hermans and F.R.J. Knetsch (eds.), *Geloven in Groningen. Capita selecta uit de geloofsgeschiedenis van een stad* (Kampen 1990) 57-72, there 67.

⁵⁵ Abrahamus Trommius, 'Jubel-jaers predikatie', in: S.D. van Veen (ed.), *Uit drie eeuwen. Zes jubeljaars-predicatiën* (Groningen 1894) 43-108, there passim.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, 46.

⁵⁷ *Europische Mercurius* (1694), part 4, July 1694, 66. The celebration of 1694 seems to have coincided with that of the university, which was founded in 1614.

for great and small / which Groningen took into her lap / this is what the Lord's hand has done / and had these medals minted (fig.52b).⁵⁸



Fig.52a/b Johan von Reckingen, medal on the centenary of the reduction of Groningen in 1694 which displays stadholder Maurits with sword and shield (Teylers Museum Haarlem).

The medal referred to both Catholics and Spaniards, and reflected on divine providence in familiar ways. It also mentioned the prince's sword being moved with God's help, a direct reference to Maurits and divine intervention. The magistrates thus seemed to follow Martinus' reasoning of the light that defeated the city's darkness, but they did not seem to agree completely with Trommius' lack of attention for Maurits.

The question whether this division between the magistrates and the ministers was really meaningful can be solved by reading the published version of Trommius' sermon. In 1694 Trommius wrote an introduction and an additional historical work to accompany the sermon he delivered the same year. In this introduction Trommius clearly separated two essential assets of the Dutch Republic: religion and freedom.⁵⁹ The sermon belonged to the religious part of the celebration while the book also considered the political implications of the siege, including the role of Maurits. Still, the stadholder was mentioned only as commander of the States army together with Willem Lodewijk, the Frisian stadholder, an acknowledgment of the importance of the Frisian branch of the house of Orange.

⁵⁸ 'Groninga/ des prinsen sweerd met godes arm,/ bragt paap en spanjaert in alarm/ als leugen voor het ligt verdween/ wiens suyvre glans in temp'len scheen/ een rechte vreugd voor klein en groot / die Groningen sluit in haer schoot / dit heeft des heeren hand gedaan / en dese penningen doen slaen' Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I, 117 See also Johann von Reckingen, *Eeuwfeest van de bevrijding van Groningen*, silver, Teylers Museum Haarlem, inv nr TMNK 01262.

⁵⁹ Abrahamus Trommius, *Reductie der stad Groningen aen den staet der Vereenigde Nederlanden, gestelt by forme van extract uyt de Nederlantsche Historien van Emanuel van Meteren* (Groningen 1694).

To explain the dichotomy between religion and freedom Trommius quoted the motto on the States guilder, *hac nitimur, hanc tuemur* (this we defend, by this we are protected): people should rely on religion and protect freedom because religion is important for the soul while freedom is necessary for the body.⁶⁰ During the Habsburg regime both the body and the soul had thus suffered.

Even so our Loss (so to speak) has been our Happiness; because while this City sat and sighed under the Spanish Government, the pure *Religion* was suppressed, and *Freedom* violated, but the only means to get out of that slavery, was the fortunate *Reduction*.⁶¹

Another aspect missing from his sermon which Trommius had included in his history of seventeenth-century Groningen were the troubles of 1672. Whereas Crucius organized his whole speech around these events in Leiden, Trommius did not mention them once in his sermon. He decided that current and political events belonged in the 'freedom' section of his work on the celebration of centenary of the reduction. This was a remarkable choice since Groningen had suffered deeply and much more seriously during the siege by the bishop of Munster in 1672 than had Leiden. While he could have interpreted the siege as a test and confirmation of faith, he chose to devote only a few pages to 1672 in his history of the reduction.⁶² His decision might have been to leave 1672 in the margins since its annual celebration on 28 August took place only a month after the celebrations of 27 July. Maybe 28 August was sufficient to deal with the events of 1672, and therefore 27 July 1694 could be dedicated to the restoration of Calvinism alone.

Centenaries were not only a Northern phenomenon; the Habsburg Netherlands were also active in celebrating the anniversaries of victories during the Revolt. In 1671 the centenary of the battle of Lepanto was commemorated with the installation of four paintings in the Pauluschurch in Antwerp. The battle had ended in a great victory over the Turks by the Habsburg army and was celebrated accordingly.⁶³ In Bruges a special edition of the Holy Blood procession went out in 1686 to celebrate the jubilee, or centenary, of the reinstallment of this procession after the reconciliation with Bruges' Catholic overlord in 1584. From 1585 onwards the Holy Blood procession once again took place annually. Besides spectacular displays in the city, the students of the Jesuit college performed a play focused on the hiding

⁶⁰ Trommius, 'Jubel-jaers predikatie', 45.

⁶¹ 'Even soo is ons' Verlies (om soo te spreken) ons' Geluk geweest: want soo lang als dese Stadt onder de Spansse Regeringe sat en suchte, wierd de suyvere Religie onderdruckt, ende de Vryheyd verkracht; maer het eenichste middel om uyt die slavernye te geraken, was die geluckige Reductie.' Ibidem, 45–46.

⁶² Trommius, *Reductie der stad Groningen*, 114–117.

⁶³ Raymond Sirjacobs, *Antwerpen Sint-Pauluskerk. Historische gids* (Antwerp 2001) 80–84.

and restoring of the relic of the Holy Blood during the Calvinist regime between 1578 and 1584. This play was so successful that it was performed for seven days in a row. Yet, despite the lavish displays by the magistrate, the church and the corporations and the presence of the new governor Francisco de Agurto the centenary seems to have been celebrated one year to late.⁶⁴ Why would the city not have celebrated the jubilee in 1685? The most important reason was the French threat in 1683 and 1684, followed by the arrival of the new governor in 1685.

Another reason may have been the example of the celebration of the restoration of Catholicism in Antwerp in 1585, which was held in 1685. In this year the city went all out in the festivities for what was regarded as the start of a new period in civic history. In the preparations for the feast Antwerp left nothing to chance. The streets, squares, churches, houses and town hall were decorated with the most expensive wall hangings, displays, arches and columns.⁶⁵ To make sure that as many people as possible joined in the celebrations, placards were spread in nearby cities and villages to gather a large crowd.⁶⁶ Halberdier Antoine Creel from Amsterdam was one of the spectators during his visit to Antwerp in August 1685. For three days he witnessed the events, and remarked on the great turnout.

the surge of the people was very great to see this hundred year jubilee feast, because it was very nice weather all the three days, that is to say on 25 August when the lord governor was welcomed and on 26 August when the procession for the octave of our lady assumption left and on 27 August when the hundred year jubilee was held.⁶⁷

Besides remarking on the weather and the sights, Creel included a short history of why the events of 1685 took place.

⁶⁴ Jan Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters, heidenen en rebellen. De stadsvieringen van 1685 ter gelegenheid van de honderdjarige herdenking van de herovering van Antwerpen', in: Stefaan Grieten et al. (eds.), *Vreemd gebouwd. Westerse en niet-westerse elementen in onze architectuur* (Turnhout 2002) 153–169, there 154; Charles Custis, *Jaerboecken der stadt Brugge III* (Bruges 1765) 285–293.

⁶⁵ Petrus Franciscus de Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught bewesen in dese stadt Antwerpen ter oorsaecke vande herstellinge des geloofs in't jaar 1585. door de glorieuse waepen van sijne catholijcke majesteyt* (Antwerp 1685); Antoine Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', 1685, KBB, Ms. 18991-92.

⁶⁶ Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', 155.

⁶⁷ 'den toeloop van het volck was seer groot om dit hondert jarighe jubile feest te sien want het was alle de drye daghen seer schoon weer te weten op den 25 augusty doen den heer goeverneur is ingehaelt ende op den 26 augusty doen de procesy gegaen is van het octaef van onse lieve vrouwe hemelvaert en op den 27 augusty doen het hondert jarich jubile is gehouden'. Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 39v.

the hundred year jubilee feast being then a reconciliation of hundred years ago that the duke of Parma Alexander Farnese has captured the city of Antwerp under the government of his royal highness of Spain Philip the second.⁶⁸

Creel read the displays in a very political manner and left out the religious implications of the reconciliation with the king in 1585. Based on what he saw during the festivities this seems a logical interpretation. The arches and displays confirm Creel's observation that Antwerp celebrated Farnese's contribution to the fall of the city since his portrait hung in almost every arch.⁶⁹ Moreover, being a halberdier may have colored Creel's interpretation of Farnese's military achievement, although his enthusiasm for Catholic rituals also suggests that he was a Catholic.⁷⁰

Antoine Creel's account offers the description of a curious beholder but one without any religious or political agenda. He simply included his observations in his journal. Two other authors who remarked on the celebrations, however, did function deliberately as agents of memory: lawyer Hermannus van den Brandt and priest Petrus Franciscus de Smidt.⁷¹ Each man wrote a description of the festivities, and offered an interpretation of what had happened in 1585. Van den Brandt emphasized that the religious struggles between the citizens of Antwerp had been the origin of the troubles in the city. Subsequently, Antwerp had learned the hard way that it should be loyal to its patron saint, the Virgin Mary.

To her intercession alone he [Alexander Farnese] had attributed his victory, and taught us through our ancestors from that time onwards to honor her, as the most loyal sentinel [...] to hold this centenary in her honor, and give our descendants an example through continuing joy and signs of triumph.⁷²

The reconciliation of Antwerp for Van den Brandt meant the return of the city's patron saint and was a reminder that she should never be abandoned.

This rather moderate view of the Revolt offered by Van den Brandt could not compare to the way Petrus de Smidt interpreted the events before and after 1585. In general De Smidt

⁶⁸ 'het hondert jarighe jubile feest synde doen een versioningh van hondert jaeren geleeden dat den hartoch van parma alexander fernese de stadt van antwerpen heeft ingenomen onder de reegeringhe van syne konicklycke majesteyt van hispanyen philippus den tweede'. Ibidem, f. 52r.

⁶⁹ Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*, without page numbers.

⁷⁰ Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 41r.

⁷¹ Hermannus van den Brandt, *Korte beschryvinge van de triumph-arken en alle andere vreugde teekenen die te zien zyn binnen de stadt Antwerpen, op-gericht ende verthoont ten opzichte van de hondert jaerige gedachtenisse* (Antwerp 1685); Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

⁷² 'Haere voorspraeke alleen heeft hy syne overwinninge toe-geschreven, en ons van dien tydt af in onse Voor Ouders geleert haer voortaan, als onse getrouwste Schildwacht te houden, en te eeren [...] deze hondert-jaarighe Feest tot haere Eere te houden, en onse naerkomelingen door de naer-gebleven Vreugdt, en Triumph teekenen een voorbeeldt te geven'. Brandt, *Korte beschryvinge*, 6.

emphasized the restoration of Catholicism and the new beginning Antwerp faced after 1585. As a loyal ally of the Habsburg regime and the Catholic Church 'unity, stability and prosperity' had come to the city once again.⁷³ As a member of the clergy he did not try to hide the fact that the religious component of the fall of Calvinist Antwerp was the most important. In his introduction De Smidt focused on the expulsion of heretics.

[they] assaulted all the Holy Relics and Sanctuaries and have thrown [them] scandalously under their feet; except God had mercy and no longer wanted to tolerate that his elect people would bow under the tyranny of the godless heresy, has at last employed the blessed Austrian arms, to make this very sinful people disappear and flee as sand and dust in the wind.⁷⁴

The Austrian arms were the Habsburg troops led by Alexander Farnese sent to relieve the city of its burden. Similar to Crucius' remarks about the princes of Orange, De Smidt's words thus honored Farnese for his military intervention against 'heretical furies and madness'.⁷⁵ This emphasis on heresy also became his explanation for why Antwerp had sided with the Protestants for so many years. The population had suffered from 'the dark night of the heretical deviations', but they had been inspired 'to bravely and persistently withstand the enemies of the Christian religion' and 'to make the scoffing and slandering tongues of heretics speechless'.⁷⁶

In addition to offering an explanation of why the festivities took place, the books also served as guides for what was on display during the three-day feast. Van den Brandt's work was relatively small and could have served as a guide book during the celebration.⁷⁷ De Smidt's work, however, was made to commemorate the centenary and decorated with engravings.⁷⁸ The combination of the guide books and the richly decorated arches, altars and other displays demonstrated that the magistrate and church had spared no expense in organizing the jubilee of the restoration of Catholicism.⁷⁹ Moreover, the celebration was

⁷³ Guido Marnef, 'Petrus Franciscus de Smidt, Hondert-jaerigh jubilé-vreught (1685)', in: Paul Begheyn et al. (eds.), *Jesuit books in the Low Countries, 1540-1773. A selection from the Maurits Sabbe Library* (Leuven 2009) 202–205, there 204.

⁷⁴ 'alle Heylighe Reliquien ende Heyligdom mishandelt ende schandelijck onder de voeten gesmeten hebben. Doch Godt ontfermende ende niet langer willende ghedooghen dat sijn uyt-ghelesen volck soo soude ducken onder de Tyrannie der Goddeloose Ketterije, heeft ten langhen lesten de ghebenedijde Oostenrijksche waepen doen aen-wenden, om dit soo heyloos volck als sandt ende stof voor den wint te doen verdwijnen ende vlieden'. Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

⁷⁵ 'Ketersche furien ende rasernijne'. Ibidem.

⁷⁶ 'den donckeren nacht der Ketersche dwaelinghen, waer in sy nu al eenighe jaeren versucht hadde' and 'om de vyanden vande Christelijcke religie cloeckelijck ende volherdighlijck te wederstaen [...]om de schimpende ende lasterende tonghen der keters spraeckeloos te maecken' Ibidem.

⁷⁷ Brandt, *Korte beschryvinge*.

⁷⁸ Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

⁷⁹ Marnef, 'Petrus Franciscus de Smidt', 202–203.

clearly a cooperative effort by these two corporations since the craft guilds and the neighborhoods made only small contributions. This discrepancy can be explained by the fact that all the participating corporations paid for their own displays, and the religious orders and the local authorities had more funds available to spend on their decorations.⁸⁰ The arches they made, however, also differed in focus. The neighborhoods depicted the end of the war and Farnese's victory rather than the restoration of Catholicism.

Even so the religious and political themes of the occasion were featured in almost every display. At the start of the procession route the canons of Our Lady's cathedral had erected an altar which depicted the Virgin and Alexander Farnese. The Virgin's intercession as Antwerp's patron saint had not only helped during the siege, but Farnese had defeated the heretics and restored Catholicism in her honor.⁸¹ Whereas the canons focused on the events of 1585, the Jesuits took a different approach. First, their arch was an expensive solid structure instead of a wooden frame covered with linen.⁸² Second, the decorations focused on the reinstallation of their order in Antwerp, instead of their patron saint, unlike the other religious orders. The paintings on the arch did show Farnese's entry, but he was followed by true faith, Catholic religion, the religious orders and the Habsburg soldiers, an immediate reference to the importance of everyone involved in the fall of Antwerp.⁸³ The Jesuits therefore not only underlined their own importance and wealth in the city but placed themselves just behind true faith and Farnese and above the rest of the community.

The magistrates were in charge of two displays, one on the Grote Markt and one on the Meir, the two main squares of Antwerp. The first featured the town hall which was decorated with bay trees and the portraits of the dukes of Brabant, which had been cleaned especially for the occasion.⁸⁴ This political statement from the government was a reference to Antwerp's position within the province of Brabant.⁸⁵ The display on the Meir was the most spectacular of the centenary. An impressive temple was raised around the crucifix that had stood on the square since 1635. The octagonal construction surrounding the crucifix referred to the churches at Scherpenheuvel and Hanswijk, both important and politically charged places of pilgrimage in the seventeenth century.⁸⁶ In addition, the most marvelous scene in this display was the water spouting from the wounds of the Christ hanging on the crucifix during the celebration.

⁸⁰ FAA, Stadsrekeningen, R119 f. 509r - f511v and R120 f.501r – f.504r.

⁸¹ Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

⁸² Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', 156–157.

⁸³ Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

⁸⁴ FAA, Ancien Régime archief van de stad Antwerpen, Stadsrekeningen, R119, f.510v and PK 2996 Het honderdjarig jubilee van het overgaan der stad onder het beleid van Alexander Farnese gevierd op 27 augustus 1685 (Verachter), no page numbers; Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*.

⁸⁵ Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', 155.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, 160; Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubile-vreught*; Brandt, *Korte beschryvinge*; Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 50r.

and after the singing the lord bishop has given the benediction to all people who had been thereabouts with the Eucharist and when the lord bishop came down the stairs then large spouts of water came flowing from the five wounds of the Christ hanging on the large cross [...] which was a wonder and a delight to behold.⁸⁷

The scene represented the Eucharist, an element of the mass central to the renewed attention for this sacrament during the Counterreformation. This element was also emphasized in the depictions of this display by a priest carrying a monstrance.⁸⁸

The magistrates' display on the Meir was depicted in prints and paintings several times in and after 1685. Besides the two prints in De Smidt's guide, no fewer than four paintings were made of the festivities (fig.53).⁸⁹



Fig.53 Hendrik van Minderhout, The magistrate's temple on the Meir in Antwerp during the festivities in 1685 (Museo Nacional del Prado, Madrid).

⁸⁷ 'ende na het singen heeft den heer bysschop de benedicty gegeven aen alle mensghen die daer omtrent hebben geweest met het alderheylichste ende doen is den heer bysschop de trappen afgegaen na beneden doen is uyt de vyf wonden vande chrystus die aen het groote kruys was hanghende met groote stralen water komen vloedden [...] dat het te verwonderen is geweest ende een lust om te aenschouwen'. Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 51r.

⁸⁸ Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', 161.

⁸⁹ These paintings are at Vleeshuis in Antwerp (AV.1965.025); Cathedral in Antwerp; Prado in Madrid (inv nr PO3339) and Hermitage in St Petersburg (inv nr 4711). The Prado and Hermitage paintings have been attributed to Hendrik van Minderhout, the Vleeshuis version to Alexander van Bredael and the Cathedral version is anonymous.

All these paintings portray the same scene of the procession ascending the stairs into the temple, then towards the altar, and the subsequent descent of another set of stairs towards the Jesuit display. Although very little is known about these paintings they do suggest that the magistrates' display was considered the most important. Since two paintings are found in St Petersburg and Madrid, this may mean that they were presented to foreign diplomats as gifts, especially because they all display exactly the same scene.

The three-day celebration was closed by the reading of panegyrics about Antwerp and its centenary and another procession celebrating the triumph of Farnese and the Catholic faith. The enormous costs, however, contrasted with the bad economic and political situation facing the Habsburg regime at the end of the seventeenth century. Yet, with the magistrates, religious orders and population paying for their own decorations the jubilee relied less on the city's coffers than earlier entries had. A lucky coincidence presented itself on 28 August when the news reached Antwerp that the Turks had been defeated by the Austrian army near the Hungarian city of Gran. This news meant that the decorations for the jubilee remained standing for another week. A new victory against the heretics, similar to the one in 1585, needed to be celebrated.⁹⁰

Collecting Revolt memorabilia

As the centenaries show, the interest in the Revolt remained strong throughout the seventeenth century. Indeed, the peace in 1648 proved to be an extra stimulus for cities and citizens either to hold on to Revolt memorabilia, or to sell or give them to collectors.⁹¹ Cities sometimes also kept a small group of objects related to their own past, of which the Revolt was one topic among other famous episodes or individuals in their history. Furthermore, as we have already seen in chapter three, some of these collectors were families who tried to enhance their civic status through a collection of memorabilia. These families collected specific objects that were related to either their family or the city. Regent Cornelis Ascanius van Sypesteyn from Haarlem, for example, possessed a broad collection of Revolt memorabilia with a particular focus on his home town. In his numismatic collection he had at least seven pieces of emergency money from the siege of Haarlem.⁹² Other collectors, however, were not so much interested in specific events but tried to build up collections of anything related to the Revolt. The majority of these collectors specialized in numismatic collections and acquired a large selection of emergency coins and medals. On the one hand,

⁹⁰ Grieten, 'Façades tegen ketters', passim.

⁹¹ Roelof van Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen in de zeventiende eeuw', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen 1993) 123–144, there 127–129.

⁹² See below for emergency money in general.

this development meant a loss of meaning, since the original owners and their stories were no longer connected to the object. On the other hand, the specialization and broad interest in the Revolt meant that the objects finally ended up in museums and are still available today.

Collectors in the Low Countries had been interested in naturalia, antiquities, curiosities and art since the sixteenth century.⁹³ Assembling collections took time, money, knowledge and a steady supply of collectables. Therefore, seventeenth- and eighteenth-century collectors were usually people with a good education and enough financial means.⁹⁴ Most collectors did not limit themselves to one type of object; in addition to an interest in coins, statues, prints, paintings, nature and science many collectors acquired historical artifacts.⁹⁵ Of course, the range of the collection depended on the collector's taste, but it was not unusual to assemble large collections which contained both art and curiosities.⁹⁶ Curiosities were especially of interest to historians and humanists such as minister Johannes Smetius, who used his coins to prove that Tacitus had written about Nijmegen in his book *Oppidum Batavorum* in 1644.⁹⁷

Johannes Smetius is a good example of a humanist who collected antiquities in the Low Countries. Moreover, he belonged to the group of people who concerned themselves with antiquarianism and who used their collections to write history books. Smetius was renowned for his collection of Roman antiquities both in and beyond the Low Countries and employed his collection for his history of Nijmegen.⁹⁸ Besides objects, however, antiquarians also collected history books, archival material, and any other historic sources they could find. The antiquarian devoted himself to studying and writing about his material. In 1615, for instance, Franciscus Sweertius from Antwerp published a collection of genealogical and heraldic inscriptions on funeral monuments in the Habsburg Netherlands.⁹⁹ The interest of another scholar, Arnoldus Buchelius, resulted in two manuscripts which were meant to describe the churches in and around Utrecht and all sorts of inscriptions he found on his travels through the Low Countries, as we have already seen in chapter one.¹⁰⁰

Besides antiquarians and collectors of art and curiosities, obvious candidates to collect memorabilia of the Revolt were the archdukes in the Habsburg Netherlands and the

⁹³ Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen', 132–133.

⁹⁴ Paul Beliën, 'Waarom verzamelde Pieter Teyler penningen en munten?', in: Bert Sliggers (ed.), *De idealen van Pieter Teyler. Een erfenis uit de Verlichting* (Haarlem 2006) 97.

⁹⁵ Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen', 129–134.

⁹⁶ Ibidem, 133–134.

⁹⁷ Ibidem, 129–130.

⁹⁸ Sandra Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht. Oudheidkunde in de Gouden eeuw. Arnoldus Buchelius en Petrus Scriverius* (Hilversum 2001) 194–195; Esser, *The politics of memory*, 140–141.

⁹⁹ Langereis, *Geschiedenis als ambacht*, 26–27.

¹⁰⁰ Arnoldus Buchelius, 'Monumenta quaedam sepulchralia et publica', ca. 1617, translated by Kees Smit, original at Tresoor Leeuwarden EVC 3373 and Arnoldus Buchelius, 'Inscriptiones monumentaque in templis et monasteriis Belgicis inventa', translated by Kees Smit, original at Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, manuscriptnumber 1648, via www.hetutrechtsarchief.nl.

stadholders in the Dutch Republic. Indeed the archdukes kept a collection of arms, banners and paintings which were connected to the Revolt in the Koudenberg palace in Brussels. This collection was open to the public and must have been relatively well known since halberdier Antoine Creel visited the palace after his visit to Antwerp in 1685.¹⁰¹ In the Dutch Republic the Frisian stadholders possessed a small collection of relics that reminded them of how their ancestors Ernst Casimir and Hendrik Casimir had died during the Revolt.¹⁰² Yet, these collections were comparable to the private collections that individuals kept to remember the deeds of family members as we have seen in chapter three. Of course, the archdukes did employ Peter Paul Rubens as court painter, and he did paint several allegorical paintings about defending Catholicism. By contrast the stadholders were not very interested in collecting and commissioning paintings about subjects broader than their own successes. More general collections of Revolt memorabilia were therefore more often found on civic and private levels.¹⁰³

Although the museum had yet to be invented, the first civic collections did share some of its characteristics. Objects of all sizes, shapes and contexts were gathered in one room where they were exhibited to the public. These chambers of curiosities in the local town hall or another civic building were accessible to all citizens and became an attraction for tourists.¹⁰⁴ The one in 's-Hertogenbosch, for instance, supplied its visitors with a short guide to explain what was on display. According to the introduction, 'gentlemen and ladies, young and old' were welcome to see the curiosities, although they were not allowed to touch them. In addition, the objects were not ordered in any way and were displayed in drawers and chests or hung from the ceiling. Their numbers, however, did correspond with the captions in the visitor's guide. Since this guide was published at least seven times, the chamber probably had ample visitors for its collection of natural and historic curiosities. Indeed, the city displayed cannon, portraits and curiosities such as the shoes of the queen of Morocco side by side with a large collection of naturalia. Several pieces of memorabilia on display also recalled the Dutch Revolt or the Reformation. For example, the collection held the coat of mail and pistols of the famous Lekkerbeetje and a portrait of Erasmus.¹⁰⁵

The focus of civic collections might not have been the Revolt, but the history of the city was a relevant theme. Any memorabilia related to the Revolt could therefore find their place in the local chamber of curiosities in the town hall. In Nijmegen, for instance, the sword which

¹⁰¹ Creel, 'Recit jubilé Anvers', f. 55v–58r.

¹⁰² Harm Stevens, *Shades of Orange. A history of the Royal House of the Netherlands* (Amsterdam 2001) 11–13.

¹⁰³ See for example Jaap van der Veen, 'Galerij en kabinet, vorst en burger. Schilderijencollecties in de Nederlanden', in: Ellinoor Bergvelt, Debora Meijers and Mieke Rijnders (eds.), *Verzamelen. Van rariteitenkabinet tot kunstmuseum* (Heerlen 1993) 145–164.

¹⁰⁴ Gelder, 'Noordnederlandse verzamelingen', 123.

¹⁰⁵ *Catalogus van alle de voornaemste rariteyten die op de rariteyt, ende konst-kamer, binnen de Stadt s' Hertogen-bosch verthoont worden* (7th edition; 's Hertogenbosch 1718), passim.

had decapitated Egmond and Horne in 1568 was on display in the town hall.¹⁰⁶ Why the sword was transferred to Nijmegen remained unclear, but the fact that it was on display revealed an interest in the Revolt nonetheless. In Hoorn the city kept a large silver cup that had belonged to the table service of the count of Bossu, the Spanish admiral, which was captured during the battle of the Zuiderzee.¹⁰⁷ Yet, other cities were able to gather and present larger collections of the Revolt to their public. As we have seen, Leiden possessed and displayed in its town hall several pieces that reminded the city of the siege and relief in 1574.

Besides the magistrate's interest in its own history, however, the popular interest in the Revolt should also not be underestimated. People loved to marvel at anything out of the ordinary. In Amsterdam, for example, two privately owned gardens with statues, so-called *doolhoven* or labyrinths were established in the early seventeenth century. These gardens offered a range of statues linked to subjects such as the Bible, mythology, morality, and sometimes contemporary history. One of the two gardens, the *Oude Doolhof*, displayed statues of William of Orange and his adversary the duke of Alva before 1648. This labyrinth was so popular that the guide book was printed multiple times throughout the seventeenth century, prints appeared which showed the garden, and it stayed open until 1862.¹⁰⁸

When an object ended up in a civic collection, it could often still be connected to the event it commemorated, but this was a lot harder when the object was sold or given to a private collector. The most common collectable was the medal, which usually ended up in large numismatic collections. In fact, medals were so popular in the seventeenth century that they were sold to collectors by jewelers, merchants and medalists.¹⁰⁹ These medals therefore no longer represented a gift or reward but were sold as collectors' items. The serious demand for this type of memento probably convinced many families to sell their items. After all, when the person who had received the medal was deceased not everyone saw the necessity of keeping the objects of memory.

¹⁰⁶ Johannes Smetius, *Chronyck van de oude stadt der Batavieren waer in (nevens de beschryvinge van Nymegen) de eerste oorspronck van dese landen, de achtbaere oudtheydt van dese stadt, de voortreflickheyt van haere privilegien, en de voornaemste geschiedenissen van de voorige eeuwen kortelick vertoont worden* (Nijmegen 1678) 34; Esser, *The politics of memory*, 156.

¹⁰⁷ Theodorus Velius, *Chroniick van Hoorn, daer in verhaelt werden des selven Stadts eerste begin, opcomen, en gedenckweerdige geschiedenissen, tot op den jare 1630 ...* (1648) 225; Cornelis A. Abbing, *Beknopte geschiedenis der stad Hoorn, en verhaal van de stichting ... van de groote kerk met platen* (Vermande 1839) 72, *De Nederlandsche Spectator* (1873) 337–344, there 343.

¹⁰⁸ Marijke Spies, 'De Amsterdamse doolhoven. Populair cultureel vermaak in de zeventiende eeuw', *Literatuur* 18 (2001) 70–78, there passim; Hessel Gerritsz, Prinsengracht 338 Het Oude Doolhof, seventeenth century, engraving, SA, record 010097011866; *Verklaringe van verscheyden kunst-rijcke wercken en hare beweginghe, door oorlogie-werck ghedreven [...] Alles te sien in 't Oude Doolhof tot Amsterdam, op de hoeck van de Loyers-gracht*, (Amsterdam 1648).

¹⁰⁹ Jan Pelsdonk, 'De geschiedenis op orde. Collectioneers, netwerken en verzamelingen in de Gouden Eeuw', in: Jan Pelsdonk et al. (eds.), *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle 2012) 51–78, there 52, 61; Sanders, *Het present van staat*, 324; Maarseveen, 'Penningen uit de tweede helft van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog', 62.

The demand for medals is reflected in the publication of two fully illustrated monographs on Dutch medals. The French canon Pierre Bizot published his work in 1687 in Paris and included a short history of the Dutch Republic and Calvinism as well.¹¹⁰ In 1690 a Dutch translation and extended version of Bizot's work was published by Pieter Mortier in Amsterdam. Apparently a Dutch monograph on medals and their history was in high demand in the Republic because Mortier obtained a patent on the Dutch edition, making him the only bookseller who could print and sell this book.¹¹¹ Mortier dedicated his book to seven medal collectors who helped him put together an extensive version of Bizot's book out of 'the love to study medals'.¹¹² The second Dutch monograph on medals was written by historian Gerard van Loon in 1723.¹¹³ Van Loon expressed irritation about the lack of interest and study collectors put into their medals because he feared that the history behind the medals was mostly forgotten. In his opinion there was no limit to the amount of research that could be done on medals. To Van Loon's annoyance medals had become status symbols, something rich numismatians could afford and put on display in their homes. The number of medals was more important than the meaning of their imagery.¹¹⁴

Numismatic collections made medals into museum pieces which disconnected them from their original stories. The collections often changed hands after their owner passed away, and the medals were assembled as an object type rather than as an object with its own individual context.¹¹⁵ Nevertheless, on the basis of my research on auction catalogues it becomes clear that collectors were eager to have certain subjects in their collection, which also revealed an interest in the Revolt. The top ten subjects of the Revolt in medal collections were: the peace of Westphalia (1648), the siege of Leiden (1574), the peat barge of Breda (1590), the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch (1629), the siege of Ostend and Sluis (1604), the siege of Haarlem (1573), the battle of Turnhout (1597), the battle of Nieuwpoort (1600), the siege of Bergen op Zoom (1622), and the militia of Haarlem defending Hasselt (1622).¹¹⁶ Most of these episodes were famous already during the Revolt in the Low Countries and

¹¹⁰ Bizot, *Histoire metallique de la Republique de Hollande* (Paris 1687).

¹¹¹ Pierre Bizot, *Medalische historie der republyk van Holland*. (1690) privilege.

¹¹² 'liefde tot de studie der Medalien' Ibidem, dedication.

¹¹³ Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I.

¹¹⁴ Ibidem, preface.

¹¹⁵ The most extensive collection of auction catalogues concerning numismatic collections in the Netherlands belongs to the Geldmuseum in Utrecht and holds 20 auction catalogues for the period 1704-1759. These collections were auctioned in Amsterdam, The Hague, Leiden and Delft. For more on numismatic collections see Pelsdonk, 'De geschiedenis op orde. Collectioneers, netwerken en verzamelingen in de Gouden Eeuw'.

¹¹⁶ These episodes are arranged according to popularity. For a list of the auction catalogues see the bibliography. Other subjects include the petition of nobles, the beheading of Egmont and Hoorne, the statue of Alva in Antwerp, Iconoclasm, the siege of Antwerp, the relief of Lier, the Twelve Years' Truce, Synod of Dordrecht, the Silverfleet, the siege of Breda 1625 and the siege of Maastricht in 1632. Yet, it is difficult to date these medals exactly due to the fact that they have often been dated based on the episode they depict.

reflect the victorious sieges, battles and attacks celebrated in the Northern provinces. Yet, the Peace of Westphalia was the most popular episode, which featured in over ninety percent of the sold collections in the first half of the eighteenth century. This ubiquity can be explained both by the large number of medals produced for this occasion and by the availability of many different depictions of the peace.¹¹⁷

The availability of medals can be seen as a decisive factor in numismatic collections. The peat barge of Breda was a popular episode since 76 golden medals, a remarkably high number, were minted for the occasion.¹¹⁸ A large number of medals depicted the turnout of Haarlem's militia to defend Hasselt in 1622. As a reward for their service the three hundred soldiers each received a medal from the magistrate in Haarlem upon their return.¹¹⁹ Outside Haarlem this episode never received much attention at all, but the medal ensured its place in numismatic collections for centuries. Other examples of important events in the Dutch Republic were the sieges of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629 and Leiden in 1574. The siege of 's-Hertogenbosch was Frederik Hendrik's most important victory during the Revolt in 1629. The medals usually depict the stadholder on the front and the siege of 's-Hertogenbosch on the reverse.¹²⁰ The siege of Leiden was represented in more than eighty percent of the numismatic collections in the eighteenth century by two different medals. One of these we have already encountered; it portrayed the biblical scene of the siege of Sanherib on the front and the siege of Leiden on the reverse. The other, produced between 1680 and 1690, depicted the famous burgomaster Pieter van der Werf and an inscription of his deeds during the siege.¹²¹

¹¹⁷ See for example *Catalogus van een partye goude, silvere en kopere medailles, antique en moderne ... door Abraham de Hondt, op Vrydag den 2 October 1722*, (The Hague 1722) 3; *Catalogus van een uitmuntend cabinet met antique en moderne goude, zilvere, kopere &c. medailles, nagelaeten by ... Abraham Zelkaert van Wouw ... welke alle by openbaeree veylinge zullen worden verkogt in 's Gravenhage door Cornelis Boucquet ..., op dinsdag den 29. Juny 1734* (The Hague 1734) 14; *Catalogus van medailles ... verkogt zullen werden door Pieter de Hondt op Vrydag den 29. October 1728* (The Hague 1728) 7; *Catalogus van een seer uytmuntend*, 60; *Catalogus van veele curieuse rariteiten*, 44.

¹¹⁸ See for example *Catalogus van veele curieuse rariteiten*, 39, 43; *Catalogus van een weërgaloos cabinet*, 64; *Catalogus van medailles*, 10; *Catalogus van een uitmuntend cabinet*, 154; See for the commission by the States General Japikse, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal* 7 (1590-1592), 22.

¹¹⁹ See also chapter three about the propaganda value of this medal for Haarlem; shortly after 1618 it could prove the city's loyalty to Maurice during the siege of Bergen op Zoom.

¹²⁰ See for example *Catalogus van een uitmuntend cabinet*, 172; *Catalogus van een curieus cabinet medailles, bestaande in zeer rare, zo zilvere, tinne, koopere, en andere moderne medailles ... dewelke verkogt zullen werden door Abrah. de Hondt, ... op Woonsdag den 18. April 1714*, (The Hague 1714) 7; *Catalogus van een zeer uytmuntend en wel bewaard cabinet*, 62; *Catalogus van een weërgaloos cabinet*, 78.

¹²¹ See for example *Catalogus van een vorstelyk cabinet*, 18; *Catalogus van een uytmuntent cabinet, bestaande uyt veele welbewaarde en alle origineele zilvere medailles ... alle dese penningen zullen by openbare veylinge verkogt werden binnen Leyden ten huysse van Joh. Arnold. Langerak, op maandag den 8. Maart 1723* (Leiden 1723) 11–12; *Catalogus van een zeer uytmuntend en wel bewaard cabinet*, 19–20.

The latter medal by Johannes Smeltzing was aimed, in particular, at an audience of collectors at the end of the seventeenth century.¹²² Its size and its appearance in many collections suggests that new producers responded to the fact that the siege of Leiden and Van der Werf had by then become popular subjects that could not be absent from a numismatic collection. In addition, the actual design of new medals meant that the Revolt itself was still important enough to ensure a market for an object that was related to a specific episode. New imagery of the Revolt continued to appear even though it had been over a generation since the Peace of Westphalia had been signed. Moreover, this practice of producing new medals aimed at a market of collectors was not new at the end of the seventeenth century. In fact there are several examples of medals specifically made for numismatic collections. In Amsterdam the magistrates commissioned a gold medal of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 for themselves, but at the same time silver versions were produced for a larger audience of collectors.¹²³ One of the medals made to commemorate the siege at Bergen op Zoom in 1622 is dated between 1654 and 1658. This silver medal was made for collectors to complete their collections of Revolt medals (fig.54).¹²⁴



Fig.54 Pieter van Abeele sr., the relief of Bergen op Zoom in 1622, minted between 1654-1658 (Teylers Museum Haarlem).

¹²² Johannes Smeltzing, Zilveren penning ter ere van P.Az. van der Werf, 1680-1690, silver, Museum De Lakenhal Leiden, inv nr 3370.

¹²³ Johannes Lutma (sr), Vrede van Münster, medal, 1650, silver, Teylers Museum Haarlem, inv nr 00526; Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* II, 311–312; Dirk Jan Biemond, 'Johannes Lutma en de penningkunst. Handzame kunstwerken van een beeldhouwer in zilver', in: J.E.L Pelsdonk et al. (eds.), *Hulde! penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle: Wbooks 2012) 11–23, there 16–22.

¹²⁴ Pieter van Abeele sr, Ontzet van Bergen op Zoom door Maurits (1622), medal, 1654-1658, silver, Teylers Museum Haarlem, inv nr 00406 as displayed in the exhibition *Hulde! Penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*, Teylers Museum Haarlem, 2012.

In addition another version of the Bergen op Zoom medal appeared frequently in gold because the magistrate continued to reward people with this medal throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The imagery and circumscriptions remained identical.¹²⁵ This explains how this medal occurred so frequently in seventeenth-century collections.

In the Habsburg Netherlands medals were also popular. One of the largest numismatic collections in the Dutch Republic, assembled by merchant Balthasar Scott, reveals a substantial number of 'Southern victories'. Scott was a wealthy merchant, director of the Dutch East India Company and town councilor in Amsterdam. He became burgomaster of that city in 1735, where he died in 1741 leaving a widow and no children.¹²⁶ His collection of over a thousand medals demonstrated an urge to collect every medal relating to the history of the Low Countries including those from the Habsburg Netherlands. For example, Scott owned eight medals depicting Alexander Farnese and the siege and fall of Antwerp. The most spectacular is a medal representing Alexander Farnese on the front, while the reverse showed a column with Farnese on top surrounded by two conquered enemies in chains.¹²⁷

A subcategory of numismatic collections was the emergency money that had circulated in cities during sieges. When regular currency was no longer available, and the garrison and soldiers needed payment, the local government collected gold and silver from churches, guilds and individuals to melt into coins.¹²⁸ If the city did not employ a minter, a silversmith would produce primitive shapes that could be exchanged for regular money after the siege. If there was no gold or silver available, emergency money was made from tin, lead, copper or paper, but this was accepted only with a guarantee that it would be exchangeable by the city or sometimes even by the States General.¹²⁹ The designs for this money were often reminders of the cause of the Revolt. For example, in the Dutch Republic phrases such as 'pugno pro patria' (I fight for the fatherland), 'haec libertatis ergo' (this one if for freedom) and 'God behoede Leyden' (God save Leiden) circulated on emergency money.¹³⁰ This type of money had therefore become part of the national propaganda during the Revolt and was collectable as well.

¹²⁵ George Sanders, 'Penningen ter beloning', in: Jan Pelsdonk et al. (eds.), *Hulde! penningkunst in de Gouden Eeuw* (Zwolle 2012) 79–95, there 93.

¹²⁶ Elias, Johan E., *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795* (Amsterdam 1963) 701, via <http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/retroboeken>.

¹²⁷ *Catalogus van een cabinet van goude en silvere medailles*, 45.

¹²⁸ For example the emergency coins in Amsterdam in 1578 were made of the silver of the Old Church *Catalogus van een vorstelyk cabinet*, 22.

¹²⁹ Hendrik Enno van Gelder, *De Nederlandse noodmunten van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Den Haag 1955) 6–7; C. Streefkerk, 'Geen geld? Geen nood. Noodgeld! Het noodgeld te Alkmaar tijdens het beleg van 1573', in: M.L. Pop-Jansen (ed.), *Geld in Alkmaar. Opstellen over geld en penningen in relatie tot Alkmaar* (Alkmaar 1993) 47–53, there 50.

¹³⁰ Arent Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden. Waarheid en verbeelding* (the Hague 2007) 5–9; E.J.A. Beek, 'De munten van Leiden, geslagen tijdens de belegeringen van 1573 en 1574', *Leids jaarboekje* 66 (1974) 51–61, there *passim*.

Historian Hendrik Enno van Gelder already assumed in 1955 that people who had lived through sieges kept emergency money as tangible memories of the Revolt. In some cases, such as in Bergen op Zoom in 1622, emergency money had not even been made during the siege but was specifically made afterwards to hand out as commemorative objects. Moreover, Van Gelder observed that some of the coins carried commemorative inscriptions that had then been personalized and altered after the siege.¹³¹ For example, in Haarlem the date and the number of cannonballs that had been fired during the siege of Haarlem were added to a coin after 1573.¹³² Other people all over the Low Countries engraved their names and professions into the money.¹³³ In Brussels the siege of 1584 even inspired someone to put the name of his son on his emergency coin although the boy was born after the siege ended on 10 March 1585.¹³⁴ This practice continued for a long time, as late as 1662 when Hindrick van t Laer from Groningen put his name on an emergency coin to commemorate the siege of 1577.¹³⁵ Moreover, as we have seen already with the medals, emergency money was also altered to fit an eye and a chain in order to wear it. In combination with the personalization of emergency money this adaptation clearly demonstrates its commemorative value, especially when the birth of a child was engraved on a coin, which made it an heirloom within families.

The Revolt thus continued to be connected to family life. In 1674, during the centenary of the relief of Leiden, Adrianus Severinus also reflected on this function within families.

As one presently still sees these pieces of money by the eldest families in town, by whom they were kept as valuable reminders and tokens of memory of the fierce siege.¹³⁶

According to Severinus, the old families of Leiden thus kept emergency money and passed it on within family circles for at least a century. In addition, medals shaped like emergency money were awarded to local heroes.¹³⁷ In Leiden pigeon owner Willem Cornelisz Speelman was given a silver medal shaped like an emergency coin which remained a family heirloom

¹³¹ Enno van Gelder, *De Nederlandse noodmunten*, 6.

¹³² 'Den 11 Decembris an 1572 ist leger voor Haerlem ghecome en den 13 iuly an 73 is die stat in hande van don Fredericko geleverd – op Haerlem syn gheschoten 10402 schoten'. Ibidem, 14.

¹³³ For example, Haarlem (1572): Maria van Pelt, Willem Verwer and Jan Pieter Deijma, Middelburg (1572): Cornelis Tas, Leiden (1574): Willem Berkhey, Woerden (1575): Jan Cornelis van Roe, Brussels (1584): Adriaen Janssens Rosenburch. Ibidem, passim.

¹³⁴ 'Adriaen Ianssens Rosenburch / natus anno 1585 tertio augusti'. Ibidem, 51.

¹³⁵ Ibidem, 34.

¹³⁶ 'Gelijk men dese stucken gelts by de oudste Geslagten der Stad heden nog siet, by wien ze als weerdige overblijfselen en gedenk-tekenen der felle belegeringe, bewaert werden'. Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving*, 74–75; Severinus, *Het gelukkig herdenken*, 44–45.

¹³⁷ Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden*, 27.

until the middle of the eighteenth century.¹³⁸ Yet, the popularity also had another side. As we have seen, medals were sold by jewelers, but this happened with emergency money as well. In fact, emergency coins were executed in a heavier and more luxurious metal solely for commemorative purposes, which eliminated the relic status of the money.¹³⁹ People could simply buy the objects, or Revolt memorabilia, that appealed to them. Moreover, this practice also inspired people to produce forgeries or replicas of the emergency money, created from all sorts of metal and paper.¹⁴⁰

Clearly there was a market for a variety of memorabilia from the beginning of the Revolt in 1566 until the eighteenth century. This included medals and emergency money but also the symbols the 'Beggars' and their opponents wore during the Revolt. Not only did the term become fashionable for a short time, but accompanying symbols were designed as well. These were inspired by the marks that were traditionally worn for identification by Beggars across the Low Countries. Moreover, rebels carried the symbols in their possession and wore them as political statements. Gradually these items also became collectables.¹⁴¹ The first symbol was a small bowl, known as '*geuzennap*'.¹⁴² The second item was an oval-shaped medal, the so-called *geuzenpenning* or Beggar medal. The medal displayed Philip II on the front and two joined hands and a beggar satchel around them on the reverse.¹⁴³ It was made by several artists, including Jacques Jonghlinck, and it was in high demand amongst nobles who wore the Beggar medals in public.¹⁴⁴ Some of these medals were executed in gold, others in silver, copper, tin and lead which meant that they could be purchased by many.¹⁴⁵ At the end of the seventeenth century this Beggar medal was a true collectable, and it appeared in many numismatic collections.¹⁴⁶

¹³⁸ Severinus, *Oorspronkelijke beschrijving*, 112–114.

¹³⁹ See for a discussion about silver coins Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden*, 13–14; This also happened in Middelburg, Zierikzee and Bergen op Zoom, while in the last city emergency money had not even been issued. Enno van Gelder, *De Nederlandse noodmunten*, 6.

¹⁴⁰ Pol, *Het noodgeld van Leiden*, 15–21.

¹⁴¹ Henk van Nierop, 'Edelman, bedelman. De verkeerde wereld van het Compromis der Edelen', *BMGN* 107 (1992) 1–27, there 4.

¹⁴² See for example Anonymous, *Geuzennap met kalebas*, 1550-1600, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-NM-878-A; *Geuzen-nap, Bedel-nap. Behorende aan de Graaf van Horne (1524-1568), Admiraal van de Nederlanden*; Nederlands Instituut voor Militaire Historie, inv nr 052172

¹⁴³ See for example, Anonymous, *Geuzenpenning*, 1575-1600, gold, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-NM-878-C; Jacques Jonghelinck, *Geuzenpenning*, 1566, silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-VG-1-359

¹⁴⁴ Simon Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen, 1559-1609', in: Simon Groenveld et al. (eds.), *De Kogel door de kerk? De opstand in de Nederlanden en de rol van de Unie van Utrecht, 1559-1609* (Zutphen 1979) 68–141, there 72.

¹⁴⁵ G. van der Meer, 'Geuzenpenningen, napjes en kalebasjes', *De Beeldenaar* 4 (1980) 91–95, there 91–93; Groenveld, 'De loop der gebeurtenissen, 1559-1609', 72.

¹⁴⁶ *Catalogus van een seer uytmuntend*, 6; *Catalogus van een zeer uytmuntend en wel bewaard cabinet*, 7; *Catalogus van een sindelyk en wel bewaart cabinet moderne zilvere medailles, meest gehorende tot de historie der Nederlanden, Vrankrijk, Engeland, Duytsland, Sweeden, Deenemarken, mitsgaders die der pausen, en eenige geleerde en beroemde mannen . Nagelaten door wylen Jacob Bart*, (The Hague 1725) 2; There was also another version of this medal: on the front it showed the

Other Beggar medals were shaped like a crescent with the circumscription 'liver turcx dan paus', or 'rather Turkish than Pope', and worn by the rebels under Admiral Boisot.¹⁴⁷ This phrase had been introduced by minister Herman Moded whose adherents started to wear these particular crescents for the first time in 1566 when attending his field preaching near Antwerp. In addition, the object referred to the preferability of allying with the Turks over submitting to the Catholic Spanish king.¹⁴⁸ Catholics in the Habsburg Netherlands also designed a symbol of their own. They minted oval medals that depicted Our Lady of Halle, after the duke of Aarschot had started wearing this medal on his hat.¹⁴⁹ Yet, despite the effort not many Catholics decided to wear them except in the provinces of Artois, Hainaut and Namur.¹⁵⁰ Eventually, however, these medals still made it to the Northern Netherlands in numismatic collections at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁵¹ While the Catholics had not succeeded in introducing this symbol in the sixteenth century, the medals found their way into collections a century later where they featured besides the Beggar memorabilia.

Beggar symbols were integrated quickly into the imagery of the Revolt. For instance, the Beggar song books that appeared always displayed the same Beggar medals on their frontispiece.¹⁵² Even when the imagery had become much more refined, as we can see in Valerius *Neder-landtsche gedenck-clanck*, the song books continued to display the old woodcut with Beggar symbols.¹⁵³ Similarly the actual symbols became collectables and were integrated into numismatic collections. And like the medals and emergency money, new seventeenth-century Beggar memorabilia were made for collectors in order to complete their collection. Van Loon, for instance, depicted several versions of the original Beggar medal and small calabashes and bowls that were attached to them. As far as the medals were concerned, research has shown that they were probably seventeenth-century copies or interpretations of the original medal executed for collectors. For the calabashes and bowls, however, Van Loon could produce their provenance. Out of the seven objects he displayed

Beggar satchel but on the reverse it depicted the nobles instead of Philip II *Catalogus van het cabinet goude en zilvere moderne medailjes*, 4.

¹⁴⁷ See for example Anonymous, halve maan door de 300 bootsgezellen van admiraal de Boisot gedragen, 1574 silver, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr NG-VG-1-407-A.

¹⁴⁸ K.F. Kerrebijn, 'Zilveren halve manen', *De Beeldenaar* 25 (2001) 173–175, there 173–174.

¹⁴⁹ Justus Lipsius, *Historie van Onse Lieve Vrouwe van Halle* (Brussels 1714) 92.

¹⁵⁰ Judith Pollmann, *Catholic identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520-1635* (Oxford 2011) 72.

¹⁵¹ *Catalogus van een vorstelyk cabinet*, 12; *Catalogus van een cabinet van goude en zilvere medailles*, 17.

¹⁵² See for example *Eerste deel van 't Nieu Geusen Liet Boeck waerinne begrepen is den gantschen handel der Nederlanden beginnende Anno 1564, uyt alle oude Geusen Liet boecken by een versamelt. Verciert met schoone Oude Refereynen ende liedekens te voren noyt in eenige Liedt-boecken gedrukt* (Amsterdam 1624); *Geuse lietboek waer in begrepen is den oorsprongh vande troublen der nederlantsche oorlogen mitsgaders sommige refereynen ende liedekens in desen druck hier by gevoeght als mede ook het tweede deel, dit jaar eerst in druck uytgegeven* (Amsterdam 1645); *Een Nieu Geusen lieden boecxken. Geuse lietboek, waer in begrepen is den oorspronck van de troublen der Nederlantsche oorlogen en het gene daer op ghevolght is* (Amsterdam 1671).

¹⁵³ Adrianus Valerius, *Neder-landtsche gedenck-clanck. Kortelick openbarende de voornaemste geschiedenissen van de seventhien Nederlandsche Provintien* (Haarlem 1626) 13.

and described in his book, at least four could be traced to their original owners according to Van Loon. Moreover, two out of these four were still in the possession of the original owner's family and had thus been part of his inheritance.¹⁵⁴ Again, as we have seen before, some of the Revolt memorabilia was cherished in families, while other items entered into collections.

By the end of the seventeenth century collecting Beggar memorabilia had become so fashionable that people also started depicting their (small) collections of bowls, medals and other memorabilia.¹⁵⁵ In some cases Beggar symbols were combined with other memorabilia, such as the print by Abraham Delfos that displayed the cooking pot from Leiden as well as two Beggar medals (fig.55).¹⁵⁶

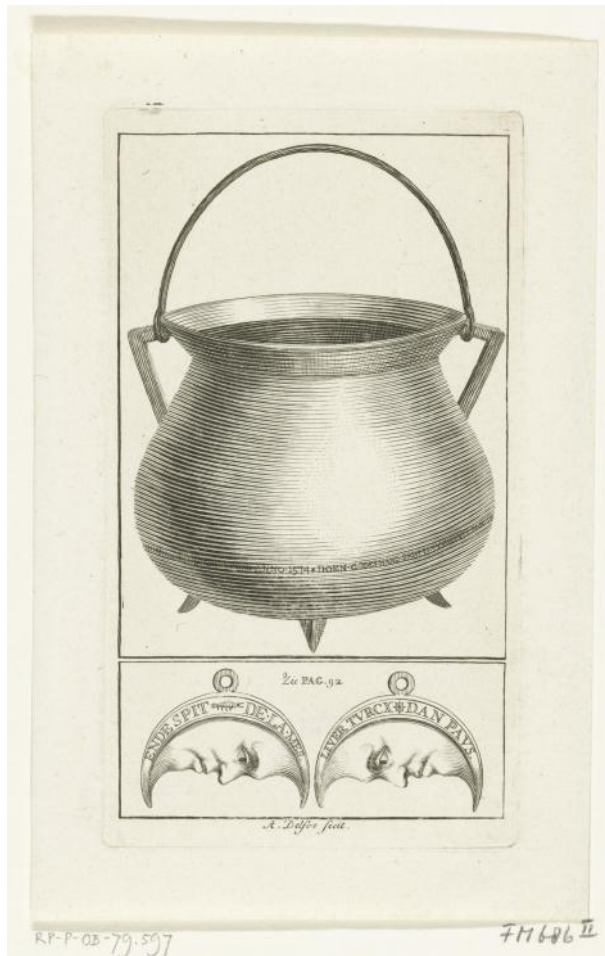


Fig.55 Abraham Delfos, The cooking pot from Leiden combined with two beggar medals, 1741-1820 (Rijksmuseum Amsterdam).

¹⁵⁴ Meer, 'Geuzenpenningen, napjes en kalebasjes', 93–95; Bizot, *Medalische historie der republyk van Holland.*; Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historipenningen* I, 83–85.

¹⁵⁵ Anonymous, 't *Geuze Napje*, painting in the collections of Johan de Milan and Alexandrina Criex (1701), Getty Provenance Index Database, Archival Inventory N-1736; Justus van Attevelt, *Geuzennap*, 1680-1690, drawing, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-T-00-3576; J. van Attevelt, *Afbeelding van twee zijden van een geuzenpenning, een geuzennap en twee andere, kleine voorwerpen*, drawing, HUA, inv nr 38682; Francois van Bleyswyck, *Het Geuze-napje*, 1730-1735, etching, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.250.

¹⁵⁶ Abraham Delfos, *De Spaanse kookpot van Leiden*, 1574, 1741-1820, engraving, Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, inv nr RP-P-OB-79.597.

This print was probably made for a Leiden context since it also appeared in the new edition of Severinus' book about the siege of Leiden in 1777.¹⁵⁷ The connection to the Beggars either in spirit or in reality was also made through prints that displayed both a portrait and Beggar symbols. A print depicting Count Floris I of Culemborg, for instance, featured not only his portrait but several items of Beggar memorabilia at the end of the eighteenth century.¹⁵⁸ In addition, new Beggar memorabilia were also made in the eighteenth century, possibly to create a connection between the owner and his Beggar ancestors.¹⁵⁹ Beggar symbols therefore remained visible in public from the end of the sixteenth century onwards.

After the conflict had finally ended with the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, the commemoration of the Revolt continued and changed again after eighty years of warfare. A new generation grew up in peace, and the older generations feared that the past would not be remembered. As a result the 1660s, in particular, were marked by increasing attention to memories of the Revolt. Plays were performed and published, sermons referred to the local past, books with eyewitness accounts appeared, and artists were employed to depict certain episodes. All of these efforts were pointed towards remembering the past and keeping the past alive for future generations. Moreover, for playwrights, authors, and artists the Revolt proved to be big business since the audience was willing to pay for hearing, reading and experiencing their history. The commemoration of the Revolt had entered its 'cultural memory' phase.

As part of the cultural memory, the Revolt was still remembered, but the commemoration had become more abstract and memories of difficulties and opposing groups within society had successfully been blended out of urban memory cultures. These changes were visible in the organization of several centenaries of the Revolt that took place from 1666 onwards. The political climate of the 1670s did not always allow for large celebrations, but people did consider their relationship to the past. In Leiden in 1674 the Revolt was interpreted against the backdrop of the contemporary political and economic situation. In Groningen the local minister looked back upon the city's glorious past. While in both cities civic unrest had occurred during the sieges they so vigorously celebrated each year, the long time span between the past and the present meant that these difficulties could be forgotten. Instead contemporary politics was included in the commemorative process. In the Habsburg Netherlands the same tendency was visible. The spectacular celebration of the restoration of

¹⁵⁷ Severinus, *Oorspronkelijke beschrijving*, 128–129.

¹⁵⁸ J. Buys, Gravure getiteld '*Floris (I) Graave van Cuylenborch*', 1750-1780, engraving, Museum Elisabeth Weeshuis Culemborg, inv nr 0570-0248.

¹⁵⁹ Anonymous, *Zilveren geuzenpenning met beeltenis van koning Filips II*, 1700-1799, silver, Belasting en Douane Museum Rotterdam, inv nr 00108.

Catholicism in 1685 reminded everyone of Antwerp's Catholic identity, rather than looking back on what local Calvinists had done there during their regime.

Besides the fact that these celebrations were a reinterpretation of the past to suit current needs, the memorabilia of the Revolt also underwent significant changes in meaning. As we have seen in previous chapters, individuals and families cherished objects, but as time progressed, the relationship between the object and its owner loosened. First of all, the original owner had died and passed his reminder of the Revolt on to his descendants. Subsequently, two scenarios applied. In the first people and cities held on to the memorabilia that had been received, bought or commissioned by their ancestors. In the second scenario these individual objects or sometimes small collections were sold or given to collectors. In the former case, the connection between the object and its original context during the Revolt was maintained. In the latter, the object was collected not for its commemorative value but for its shape, material or genre. Slowly, a process of musealization took hold, and the majority of the objects transformed from being connected to the Revolt by a private or local story to being one of many similar objects collected for their shape or artistic value. Especially for relics and gifts this process meant a loss of meaning they would never regain. Nevertheless, interest in memorabilia of the Revolt never waned, and the market for objects such as medals even inspired people to reproduce, sell and copy original pieces. This practice, in combination with all the still existing memorabilia in an urban memory landscape, ensured that the Revolt lived on for centuries.

