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Memory wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700

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CHAPTER 7

REMEDIATING THE WAR

In 1664, the Tournai priest Pierre de Cambry published the memoirs of his maternal grandfather Ferry de Guyon.¹ De Guyon had been a lieutenant in the service of Charles V, but in his family he seems to have been known principally for his opposition to the first rebels in the Low Countries in 1566. In his memoirs, the lieutenant wrote that

in the month of August in the year 1566, when the lands were in great division due to the sects and heresies, there was an assembly of people, who went around the country, ruining and destroying the churches and going up to Marchiennes to do the same on Sunday 25 August, about four to five hundred men ruined the entire church.²

De Guyon refused to accept such behaviour, mounted his horse and ‘went up to Montigny and Maisnol, where I told the villagers of the grand insolences that the assembled Beggars did in these lands, without having been sent there and without any order’.³ With seven hundred men he set about chasing the raging iconoclasts to the bridge in Marchiennes, The rebels tried to get away to neighbouring Bouvigny where Guyon’s troops dispersed them, killing many in the process.⁴

In the 1660s, almost a hundred years after the Iconoclastic Furies of 1566, three readers of De Cambry’s edition of the De Guyon manuscript (two canons from Ronse and a local Jesuit) praised the author’s naïveté and honesty. The provost and canon of the Collegial Church of St Hermes in Ronse, André Catulle, addressed his recommendation of

¹ Ferry de Guyon, *Les memoires non encor veues du sieur Fery de Guyon, escuyer bailly general d'Anchin, Pesquencour, &c: Contenant les batailles, sieges de villes, rencontres, escarmouces, où il s'est trouvé, tant en Affrique, qu'en l'Europe, pour l'empereur Charles V. & Philippe II. roy d'Espagne son fils de glorieuse memoire. Par P. de Cambry prestre, licentié és droicts, chanoine de Renay, son petit fils*, edited by Pierre de Cambry (Tournai: Adrien Quinqué, 1664). I would like to thank Erika Kuijpers for this reference.

² *Ibid.*, p. 133: ‘Au moi d’Aoust dudit an 1566. comme les Pays estoient en grande division à cause des Sectes & Heresies, il fut faite quelque assemblée de gens populaires, qui alloient par le Pays, ruynans & destruisans les Eglises, & vindrent iusques à Marchiennes faire le semblable par un Dimanche 25. d’Aoust, environ de quatre à cinq cens hommes, lesquels ruinerent toute l’Eglise’.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136: ‘peu apres je [...] allay iusques à Montigny & Maisnil, où je fis remonstrance aux paysans d’illec, des grandes insolences que ses Geux r’assemblez faisoient par le Pays, sans y estre envoyez, & sans aucun ordre’.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 134-135.

the publication on 1 September 1663 to editor Pierre de Cambry. He wrote that he ‘found great sincerity without any vice of flattery: which is something principally recommendable of those who write histories, according to the doctrine of Quintilian, and also his style has not so much elegance and refinement, as it has candour and truthfulness’.⁵ Catulle ended his recommendation with a more spiritual evaluation of De Guyon’s heroic conduct. ‘It pleased our sire Philip II’, he wrote, ‘to recompense said De Guyon for his acknowledged services with the government of Bouchain’.⁶ But De Guyon had died before he could take up his position. Catulle remarked that, nevertheless, ‘it seems that this recompense, purely temporal, was replaced by spiritual benedictions, reserved for some of his descendants and particularly for Lady Jeanne de Cambry, your sister, also issue of Louise de Guyon, [who was] allied by marriage to the late Seigneur Michel de Cambry’.⁷ This Jeanne de Cambry had been an Augustinian nun and later in her life a recluse, and she ‘has composed a number of books and treatises about theological mysteries, and profound and divine science’.⁸ And it was not only Lady Jeanne who had received some of her grandfather’s benedictions. Pierre de Cambry, himself, was a lucky recipient. André Catulle wrote that although De Cambry disliked praise and attention,

our good Lord has also included you in the benedictions merited by said De Guyon your grandfather, when after such tempests and persecutions suffered continuously, He has taken you from the troubles of the world, to serve Him in the ecclesiastic and priestly estate, and has placed you in the solitary residence of Ronse, where He has inspired you, and given you leisure, health and strength to

⁵ Ibid., f. a6v: ‘I’ay [...] treuvé de la grande sincerité sans aucun vice de flaterie: ce qui est principalement recommandable à ceux qui escrivent les Histoires, selon la doctrine de Quintilian, encor que son style n’ait pas tant d’elegance & de politesse, que de candeur & de verité’.

⁶ Ibid., ff. a7r-v: ‘il a pleu à nostre Sire Philippe second de recompenser ledit de Guyon de ses services signalez, parmy le gouvernement de Bouchain’.

⁷ Ibid., f. a7v: ‘il semble que cette recompense, purement temporelle, ait esté changée en benedictions sprituelles, reservé à quelques uns de ses descendans, & particulièrement à Demoiselle Ienne de Cambry vostre germaine, issué aussi de Louyse de Guyon, alliée par mariage à feu le Sieur Michel de Cambry’; Minim friar Hilarion de Coste listed Jeanne de Cambry in his *Les eloges et les vies des reynes, des princesses, et des dames illvstres en pieté, en Courage & en Doctrine, qui ont fleury de nostre temps, & du temps de nos Peres. Avec l’explication de leurs Devises, Emblèmes, Hieroglyphes, & Symboles. Tome Second* (Paris: Sebastien Cramoisy et Gabriel Cramoisy, 1647), p. 733.

⁸ Ibid., f. a7v: ‘a composé nombre de Livres & Traitez plains de mysteres Theologiques, & de science profonde, & toute divine’; Pierre de Cambry himself wrote about his sister in his *Abbrégé de la vie de dame Ienne de Cambry, premierement religieuse de l’ordre de S. Augustin à Tournay, & depuis sœur Ienne Marie de la Presentation recluse lez Lille* (Antwerp: Jacob II Mesens, 1659); one of Jeanne de Cambry’s most important publications was: Ienne de Cambry, *Traicte de la Rvine de l’amovr propre et dv bâtiment de l’amovr divin divide en quatre livres* (Tournai: Adrien Quinqué, 1627).

make a compilation, and place in the limelight, the life, and all the pious and heavenly works of your said sister.⁹

Grandson Pierre also wrote an epilogue in which he eulogised his ancestor and which betrayed less of the naiveté that was supposed to characterise Guyon's account: 'Some months after having finished these memoirs and not thinking of anything but spending the rest of his life in peace and tranquility, he was made governor and captain of the castle of Bouchain'. De Guyon attributed this gift to

the promise of her highness Margaret of Austria [...] to inform the king (then that was Philip II) of the service that he [De Guyon] rendered to him by the defeat of the first image-breakers, in which he was driven only by the zeal for the glory of God, service to the king and the commonwealth.¹⁰

When he was about to take possession, however, 'washing his hands, he died of apoplexy'.¹¹

The example of Ferry de Guyon demonstrates both the elasticity of the past and the importance Pierre de Cambry and his protectors attached to the story. Whereas his family probably had always commemorated De Guyon's forceful and loyal conduct, it was not the kind of story that could easily be used for public purposes in a society divided by civil war. Only after the restoration of order from 1585 onwards, could these stories begin serving a variety of public purposes, although in this case it took almost a century for a family member to pick up the story and do something with it. The value of De Guyon's narrative was, of course, that it proved his loyalty to the Habsburg overlord at a time when such loyalty was hard to find. By invoking a past that many others dared not touch, De Guyon's grandson could share in his ancestor's glory while local authorities gladly

⁹ De Guyon, *Les memoires*, ff. a7v-a8r: 'nostre bon Dieu vous a fait aussi part des benedictions meritées par ledit de Guyon vostre grand pere, lors qu'apres tant de bourrasques & persecutions constamment souffertes, il vous a retiré du tracas du monde, pour le server dans l'Etat Ecclesiastique & Sacerdotal, & vous a placé en la residence solitaire de Renay, où il vous a inspiré, & donné le loisir, la santé & la force de faire un recueil, & mettre en lumiere, la Vie, & toutes les oeuvres pieuses & celestes de vostre dite Soeur'.

¹⁰ Ibid., p. 149: 'Quelques mois apres avoir achevé lesdites Memoires, & ne pensant plus qu'à passer le reste de sa vie en paix & repos, il fut fait Gouverneur & Capitaine du Chasteau de Bouchain, mercede qu'il attribua, & recent pour effet de la promesse de Son Alteze Marguerite d'Austriche, mentionnée cy dessus, d'avertir le Roy (qui estoit lors Philippe deuxiesme) du service qu'il luy avoit rendu, par la deffaitte premiere desdits Brise-Images, à quoy il s'estoit porté du seul zele de la gloire de Dieu, service du Roy & bien publique du Pays.'

¹¹ Ibid.: 'il tomba, lavant ses mains, en Apoplexie'.

supported the moral that loyalty to church and dynasty ultimately paid off. This also explains why De Guyon himself, in his memoirs, comes across as a kind of thug, while his descendant and sponsors portrayed him as a very religious person.

Throughout this study, we have seen how time has constantly been an important explanatory factor, but I have not yet addressed the question of how the way in which contemporary people perceived the passage of time influenced memory practices regarding the Revolt. This final chapter will, therefore, analyse evidence of a public awareness that the Revolt was becoming an ever more distant past and what this meant for the commemoration of the conflict. How we can explain its continued relevance? Furthermore, I will examine how new political developments influenced memory practices in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands.

Celebrating the passing of time

This study has shown that political motivations can explain many memory practices and that remembrance of the past often served clear secondary purposes. Yet, the passing of time itself could also be a reason for commemoration, now as well as in the seventeenth century. To illustrate this phenomenon for the present day we can note the practice of government authorities and interest groups to celebrate centenaries. In 2009, organisations throughout Protestant Europe celebrated the fifth centenary of the birth of John Calvin, in 1509. In the Netherlands, specifically, 2013 is celebrated as the second centenary of the foundation of the kingdom of the Netherlands – even though strictly speaking the kingdom came into being only in 1815. Academics find the celebration of a centenary a good reason, or perhaps rather a good excuse, to organise conferences, produce book projects, write articles, and publish monographs.¹² Historians tend to trace back the secular interest for centennial celebrations to the nineteenth century when, indeed, authorities organised large-

¹² Pieter Dhondt and Christophe Verbruggen, 'Academic Culture of Remembrance. The Combination of University History, Jubilees and Academic Heritage', *Studium. Tijdschrift voor Wetenschaps- en Universiteitsgeschiedenis* 5:3 (2012), pp. 137-141; Jos Perry, *Wij herdenken dus wij bestaan. Over jubilea, monumenten en de collectieve herinnering* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1999), pp. 12-13; see for example also the revived interest for the Glorious Revolution of 1688-89, in 1988 and 1989: W.A. Speck, *Reluctant revolutionaries: Englishmen and the revolution of 1688* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988); René W. Chr. Dessing, *Koningstadhouder Willem III, triomfator: de triomfale intocht in Den Haag in 1691* (The Hague: Haags Historisch Museum, 1988); R. Bastiaanse and Hans Bots, *Glorieuze revolutie: de wereld van Willem & Mary: een korte biografische schets en een beeld van de tijd / Glorious revolution: the world of William & Mary: a biographical sketch and a picture of their age* (The Hague: SDU, 1988); A.G.H. Bachrach, *De wereld van Willem III & Mary* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1989).

scale national commemorations in the form of centenaries.¹³ The national celebration in 1872 of the Beggars capturing Brill in 1572 was a major commemoration that set the tone for Brill's next 1 April-centenary in 1972.¹⁴ Leiden's modern-day anniversary of its liberation on 3 October 1574 also intensified after the centenary in 1874.¹⁵

Locally and throughout the Low Countries, however, early modern Netherlanders shared this enthusiasm for centennial anniversaries. In chapter 3, we encountered an awareness among clergymen that 1617 was the first centenary of Luther's Reformation. And in the case of Brill, for example, earlier centenaries preceded the 1872 celebration. In 1672, the city magistrate organised a celebration with flags, gunshots and bell ringing. In 1772, inhabitants of Brill prepared a likeness of the duke of Alba made of lard which was served at a commemorative dinner in the town hall.¹⁶ Brill is only one example of many local centennial celebrations.¹⁷

In their celebrations of the passing of time, early modern people in both the Northern and Southern Netherlands found inspiration in the Old Testament, notably Leviticus 25 in which God instructed Moses to celebrate jubilees¹⁸:

ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof: it shall be a jubile unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.¹⁹

This celebration of the fiftieth year invoked the memory of the redemption from Egypt of the people of Israel. In 1630, schoolmaster Johannes de Swaef considered this Jewish

¹³ See for instance: Joep Leerssen, 'Inleiding. Jubilea in historisch perspectief', *De Negentiende Eeuw* 26:1 (2002), p. 4.

¹⁴ Frans Groot, 'De strijd rond Alva's bril. Papen en geuzen bij de herdenking van de inname van Den Briel, 1572-1872', *BMGN* 110 (1995).

¹⁵ Judith Pollmann, 'Een 'blij-eindend' treurspel. Leiden, 1574', in: Herman Amersfoort et al., eds., *Belaagd en belegerd* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2011), p. 143.

¹⁶ Marlite Halbertsma, 'De Brielsche Feesten van 1872: 'Grooter feest is er nooit geweest'', *De Negentiende Eeuw* 26:1 (2002), p. 62.

¹⁷ Marianne Eekhout has found that centenaries came to be celebrated in Leiden, Groningen, Alkmaar, and Antwerp: Eekhout, 'Material Memories'.

¹⁸ See for instance Franciscus Costerus, *Een cort tractaet vanden af-laet ter oorsaecken des overghesonden iubilaei. Anno 1603* (Brussels: Ian Mommaert, 1603), pp. 20-21; Johannes Cuperus, *Christelijk jubel-jaar of verhandeling van het oude jubel-jaar, soo als dat we leer, naar de Goddelijke Wet Lev. 25 moest worden geviert: en met de volheyd des tijds sijn tegenbeeld, en vervulling aanvankelijk bekomen heeft in de Kerk-staat, en Gods-dienst van Christus Koning-rijk, en nog eens volstrektelijk daar in erlanden sal op het eynde der Eeuwen* (Dordrecht: Corenlis Willegaerts, 1700), p. 1.

¹⁹ *The Holy Bible*, Leviticus 25:10.

custom worthy of emulation.²⁰ He cited passages from the Bible to prove his point, for instance Deuteronomy 4:9 containing God's command to the Jews:

Onely take heed to thy selfe, and keepe thy soule diligently, lest thou forget the things which thine eyes haue seene, and lest they depart from thy heart all the dayes of thy life: but teach them thy sonnes, and thy sonnes sonnes.²¹

De Swaef lamented that the Republic did not have a commemorative festival like Jewish Passover, and he suggested that Netherlanders should 'every year hold an *anniversarium solemnele monumentum*, a solemn annual commemoration of the miraculous deeds of God done to our Republic.'²² He added that this should not be left to chambers of rhetoric, 'which do not have the impact worthy of such an excellent memory', but that the church should organise this national day of celebration.²³ Incidentally, no such day ever came into being.

To understand the seventeenth-century practice of religious and secular jubilees it may be helpful to have a look at a contemporary's understanding of them. In 1640, Jesuits in the Southern Netherlands celebrated the fact that a hundred years earlier Pope Paul III had officially confirmed the Society of Jesus. The celebration drew attention to the Society's valiant efforts to exterminate heresy and proudly juxtaposed the 1540s, when Catholicism was under severe threat, to the 1640s, when the Habsburg Netherlands had become a European beacon of Catholicism. A Netherlandish Jesuit wrote a commemorative book in which he gave a particularly lucid explanation for why people celebrated centenaries:

It is neither without reason, nor without the example of those who came before us, that the Society of Jesus is celebrating with such happiness the feast of her jubilee

²⁰ Johannes de Swaef, *Mardachai, ofte Christelijcken patriot; allen vryen Vereenighden Neder-landers aenwijsende hoe sy des weerden vader-lants beste, volghens Godts woort, recht moeten soecken* (Middelburg: Iacob vande Vivere, 1630), p. 121.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 120: 'Wacht u slechts, ende bewaert uwe siele wel, dat ghy niet en vergeet de gheschiedenissen die uwe ooghen ghesien hebben, ende datse niet uyt uwe herten en komen u leefdage; ende sult uwen kinderen ende kints kinderen kondt doen, den dagh doe ghy voor de Heeren stond'; the English translation is taken from *The Holy Bible*, Deuteronomy 4:9.

²² De Swaef, *Mardachai*, p. 122: 'alle Jare een anniversarium solemnele monumentum, een laerlijckx statelijck gheheughen hielden, van de wonderdaden Godes / die hy onse Republijcke bewesen heeft.'

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 122: 'die gheen effecten en wercken als sulck een treffelijcken gheheughenisse behoore te gheven'.

or one hundredth year, because of old times this has been a praiseworthy custom in the illustrious republics and also in the holy church. The true origin of celebrating the hundredth year [...] comes from the Romans. They used to be in the habit of holding great feasts about the first beginning and happy progress of her widely praised city, every time a hundred years had passed. Then, the entire city of Rome was full of joy and happiness.²⁴

The anonymous Jesuit added that because the city of Rome organised these *ludi saeculares* only once every hundred years, heralds also spread the news in neighbouring towns. According to the author they exhorted the local population to ‘come and see the games, which none of the living people have seen and which none will see again because’, he added, ‘in general people’s lives do not reach a hundred years’.²⁵ The celebration of a first centenary, then, marked the extinction of those who had witnessed the remembered event or had participated in the festivities of the previous centenary.

Emperor Constantine forbade the celebrations as idolatry, and allegedly ‘from then on in Rome the hundredth birthday of Christ was celebrated with great festivities’.²⁶ The Jesuit author explained that in 1300, Pope Boniface VIII issued a bull (‘*Antiquorum habet fida relatio*’) that instituted this ‘centennial feast, called Jubilee (that is the Golden year), deriving this name from an old custom among the Jews’.²⁷ Ultimately, Paul II and Sixtus IV decided to hold a jubilee every twenty-five years, reducing the rarity of the event ‘so that everyone could witness such an occasion more than once in his life, or at least once.’²⁸ So far so good, but the problem was that the centenary of the Jesuits in 1640 was not an official Catholic jubilee mandated by the Holy See. For that reason, the author felt it was necessary to justify this celebration and in doing so referred to the custom of celebrating

²⁴ Anonymous, *Af-beeldinghe van d'eerste eevwe der societeyt Iesv* (Antwerp: Plantiinsche drvckeriie, 1640), pp. 1-2: ‘T’en is noch sonder reden, noch sonder exempel van de ghene die voor ghegaen zijn, dat de Societeyt Iesu met sulck eene blijdschap is houdende de feeste van haer Iubilee oft hondertste iaer; aengesien van oude tijden dese loffelijcke gewoonte, soo by de vermaerste Republicken, als oock in de H. Kercke gheweest is. Den oprechten oorsprongh van ’t hondertste iaer te vieren [...] comt van de Romeynen. Dese ploeghten eertijts groote feeste te houden over d’eerste beginselen ende geluckighen voort-gangh van haere wijdt-beroemde stadt, soo dickwils alster wederom hondert iaeren om-gheloopen waeren. Alsdan was heel Roomen vol vreught ende blijdschap’.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 2: ‘Komt siet de spelen, die niemant van de nu-levende menschen gesien en heeft, die oock niemant noch eens sien en sal om dat gemeynelijck ‘smenschen leven tot hondert iaer niet en komt.’

²⁶ *Ibid.*: ‘voortaen te Roomen ‘thondertste iaer van de gheboorte Christi met overgroote feeste te vieren’.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 3: ‘hondert-iaerighe feeste, Iubileum (dat is het Gulden-iaer) genoemt, treckende desen naem uyt een oude instellinghe by de Ioden.’

²⁸ *Ibid.*: ‘op dat het een ieghelijck meer dan eens in sijn leven soude moghen verdienen, oft immers ten minsten eens.’

centenaries in various communities. Communities, both religious and worldly, did so ‘to publicly express gratitude to the divine majesty, through whose blessing and benefaction they enjoyed such good prosperity for a hundred years’ but also ‘to use the general happiness and joy to muster up courage, to begin a new century, which both in honour and virtue may not be inferior to the previous one.’²⁹ To prove his point, the author named a few examples such as the University of Leuven, which in 1625 had celebrated its second centenary. And, ‘has the chapter of Ghent not honoured with great joy the thousandth year of the heavenly passing of Saint Bavo, their patron saint?’³⁰ The author wanted to show that nothing was wrong in showing to the world the religious constancy of oneself and others. Indeed, the celebration of centenaries of religious or secular events was an established historical practice in the Southern Netherlands. This practice continued until far into the eighteenth century. In 1779, the inhabitants of the Flemish town of Poperinge celebrated the third centenary of the miracle of a miscarried local child who, after being buried, on the fourth day rose from the grave.³¹ The celebration of millennia also served to prove the population’s constant profession of the Catholic faith. In Bruges, for instance, Abbot Nicolaus Troeffenbergh of the Eekhout Abbey organised a celebration of the millennium of the local Saint Trudo’s establishment of the convent.³² Centenaries could commemorate secular events as well. On 19 June 1650, the inhabitants of Brussels organised festive games because a hundred years before, the city had begun digging a new canal.³³ In 1688,

²⁹ Ibid.: ‘om openbaerlijck haere danckbaerheyt tot de Godtlijcke Maiesteyt te betoonen, door wiens segen ende weldaet sy die hondert iaeren soo goeden voorspoet gehadt hadden; ‘tzy, om met die al-ghemeyne vreught ende blijdschap eenen nieuwen moedt te scheppen, om eene nieuwe eeuwte te beginnen, de welcke in eere ende deught aen de voorgaende niet en soude moeten wijcken.’

³⁰ Ibid.: ‘En heeft over eenighe iaeren ‘tCapitel van Gendt niet met groote vreucht vereert het duysentste iaer van ‘t saligh verscheyden van den H. Bavo hunnen patroon?’; it is worth remarking that there is no consensus about the year of death of Saint Bavo, but most scholars agree on a date in the 650s, which means that the millennium ought to have been celebrated in the 1650s.

³¹ Anonymous, *Dry-honderste over-lanck-gewenschte vreugde-jaer van ‘t minnelyck wonder werck uitgeschenen door de alverwinnende voorspraecke van Gods milde moeder in de roemruchtige levens-verweckinge van een misdregen kind, het welke dry dagen begraven zynde, en op den vierden dag herlevende, den 14 van Maerte 1479, ‘t H. Doopzel ontfing in S. Jans-Kerke binnen Poperinge* (Ypres: Jacobus Franciscus Moerman, [1779]).

³² Philippus Jennyn, *Gheestelycken waeckenden staf der Jodsche Schaep-Herders* (Bruges: Lucas vanden Kerckhove, 1651), pp. 180-190; Van Geluwe, *Kort verhael*, ff. *3v-*4r; the commemoration of local saints was popular in the seventeenth century. In 1680, for instance, Mechelen celebrated the ninth centenary of the death of St Rumbold: anonymous, *Den jubile van Mechelen ofte S. Rombout wonderlyck in het leven glorieus in de doot [...] sal speel-wys vertoont worden door de jonckheydt van de publicke schole, onder de bestieringe van de pp. van het oratorie op den 10. en 11. julii 1680* (Mechelen: Jan Jaye, 1680).

³³ Jacques Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen [...] met de vvaerachtighe beschrijvinge [...] van het dry hondert jarigh jubilé van het [...] H. sacrament van mirakelen* (Brussels: Peeter de Dobbelaer, 1670), p. 71.

pupils of the Jesuit College in Brussels organised a commemoration of the victory at the Battle of Woringen in 1288.³⁴

From 1666 onwards, the tradition of celebrating religious and secular centenaries in the Habsburg Netherlands was also deployed to commemorate the Revolt. In the period from 1666, one hundred years after the Iconoclastic Furies, to 1685, a century after the reconciliation of Antwerp to Alexander Farnese, multiple commemorations were organised. The celebrations reflected the dominant historical narratives that had emerged in the South. In his manuscript history of the history of the Habsburg Netherlands from 1612 to 1683, Joannes Jacquinet wrote that

on the 19th of August [1666] it was one hundred years ago, that the iconoclastic furies began in the city of Antwerp, about which in the same city they [the inhabitants] held an excellent centennial jubilee in the church of Our Lady, in memory of the event, so that God in future would save them from such harm.³⁵

There is not much evidence of commemorations of the iconoclastic furies elsewhere, but probably there were other instances.³⁶ A Catholic pamphleteer, most likely from the Southern Netherlands, thought that the centenary in 1666 was a good reason to look back on a hundred years (and more) of Protestantism in the Northern Netherlands.³⁷ In his pamphlet, allegedly printed in Geneva in the ‘wrong road-street, opposite the erring spirit, next to the misconception, in the newly forged Bible’, the author explained that God’s

³⁴ Anonymous, *Vier-hondert-jarighen zeghen-prael naer den gheluckighen slagh van Woeringhen door Joannes, van dien naem eersten Hertogh van Brabandt, met bynaem den overwinner, den 30. mey in 't jaer ons Heeren MDDLXXXVIII wordt verthoont door de Schole-jongheydt van de P. der Societeyt Iesu...* (Brussels: Pierre Cleyn, 1688).

³⁵ Joannes Jakenet, ‘Historie der Nederlanden onder de Regering van Albertus en Isabella, Philippus IV en Karel II, 1612 tot 1683, met bygevoegde portretten’, KBR, MS 15938, f. 346r: ‘Op den 19 augustus wast geleden hondert iær, dat de beldt stormerye begonst binnen de stadt van Antwerpen, waerover sy inde selve stadt eene treffelycke hondert iaerighe iubilé gehauden hebben inde kercke van Onse Lieve Vrouwe, ter gedachtenisse der selve, omdat Godt haer voorder saude bewaren van sulcken ongerief.’

³⁶ In Amsterdam, Catholic Herman Verbeeck in 1665 interpreted a thunderstorm as divine punishment for the Iconoclastic Furies that had occurred one hundred years earlier: Judith Pollmann, ‘Being a Catholic in Early Modern Europe’, in: Alexandra Bamji, Geert H. Janssen and Mary Laven, eds., *The Ashgate Research Companion to the Counter-Reformation* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), p. 179; in Groningen in the Dutch Republic, clergyman Jacob Alting held a jubilee sermon to celebrate the centenary of the public profession of the Reformed faith. See: B.J. van der Vlies, *De hagepreek en de Beeldenstorm* (Amsterdam: Witkamp, 1866), p. 1.

³⁷ Anonymous, *Den onvervalschten Hollandtschen waer-segger, dat is een oprechte almanach ofte voor segginghe voor 't jaer Ons Heeren 1666, eertijts ghepractiseert door den Hoog-Gheleerden D. Joannes Calvinis* (Geneva, 1566).

mercy was one hundred times stronger than his justice.³⁸ Hence, when God spoke to Noah and urged him to build an Ark, He gave him one hundred years to finish the task and hoped that in the meantime mankind would have learned from its mistakes. Since it had not, He flooded the earth.³⁹ ‘Now’, in 1666, a comparable situation was at hand because ‘similarly [...] the great God has seen those great iconoclastic furies of the Calvinists, whom people called Beggars in the year 1566, about which he was incensed and wrathful to the highest degree, so that he could have destroyed at once those devilish heretics with all their attacks were it not for his usual practice of one hundred years of mercy’.⁴⁰ For a hundred years, however, the heretics had adhered to their misconceptions, and now their end was nigh.

This Catholic pamphleteer’s prediction of the downfall of Calvinism did not remain unanswered. A ‘Hollander’ published a text in which he surveyed each of the Southern author’s allegations and refuted them point by point.⁴¹ The text was supposedly published in Antwerp at the ‘Oppress(or) of the righteous faith, at the heirs of Pope Juth, living in the bricked off street in Rome, next to where people sell for money the superfluous Acts of Mercy by Roman Saints, in the pissed-out purgatory’.⁴² The author rejected the hypocrisy of his Catholic adversary: ‘while they like to speak much about the hundred years in which our state has flourished, they do not commemorate that the popes of Rome in the year 666 were confirmed in their See by acting against the first Christian patriarch [...] of Constantinople so ungodly with treachery and unheard-of blood thirst.’⁴³ The author cited the Book of Revelation, in which St John of Patmos, declared: ‘Let him that hath

³⁸ Ibid., p. 1: ‘in de Dool-wegh-straet, teghen over den Dwael-gheest, aldernaest het Mis-verstant, in den nieuwen vervalschten Bybel’.

³⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

⁴⁰ Ibid.: ‘Als oock [...] heft dien grooten Godt ghesien die groote Beeldt-stormery der Calvinisten, diemen noemt de Geusen in het Iaer 1566. daer hy over vertorent was ende vergramt inden hoochsten gaet, alsoo dat hy die verduyvelde Kettters met alle hun aen-slaghen op den staenden voet hadde conen vernielen, ten ware dat hy sijne ghewoonelijcke bermherticheyt van hondert Iaren hadde willen oeffenen.’

⁴¹ Anonymous, *Den oprechten Hollantse waerseger ofte Prognosticatie op het groote wonder iaer, 1666. Eertijts gepractiseert door d. Martinus Luther, en nae verlicht door d. Ioannes Cavinus ... Waer in de bouvalligheyt der roomsche stoel, als mede den voorspoet ... der Hollanders met den coningh van Engelant wert vertoont ... Tegen den hier nevens gaenden Vlaemschen leughen-gheest, schuytende onder de naem van den Onvervaschten Hollandschen waerseger, ofte voorsegginge op 't iaer ... 1666* (Antwerp: s.n., 1666)

⁴² Ibid., f. a1r: ‘in de Verdruckerye der Rechtsinnighe Leere / by de Erfgenamen van Paus Juth / woonende in de Toegemetselde straet tot Roomen / aldernaest daermen de Overtollige Goedewercken der Roomsche Heyligen om ghelt verkoopt / in 't uytgepiste Vagevier.’

⁴³ Ibid., f. a2v: ‘gelyck zy oock veel willen spreekken van de hondert jaren waer in onsen Staet ghefloreert heft, zy niet en gedencken dat de Pausen van Roomen in 't Iaer 666 tegen den eerste kristen Patriarg [...] van Konstantinopolen so goddeloos met verraderie en noyt gehoorde moorderie in haren stoel zyn bevestigt’.

understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six'.⁴⁴

The increasing distance in time also allowed authors to better reflect on historiography about the Revolt. We have already seen this in the previous chapter, in which I discussed how States Party sympathiser Pieter de la Court tried to summarise the dominant reading of the Revolt. Similarly, awareness that the Revolt had begun one hundred years earlier probably inspired a Jesuit propagandist from the Habsburg Netherlands, Cornelius Hazart, in 1669 to publish an important church history in Dutch. In the third volume of his four-volume *Ecclesiastical History of the Whole World* [*Kerckelycke historie van de gheheele wereldt*], Hazart dealt with the troubles in the Low Countries and, remarkably, also paid relatively much attention to the period of Alba's governorship.⁴⁵ This rich account drew from the works of Franciscus Haraeus, Famiano Strada, Adriaen van Meerbeeck, Heribert Rosweyde and Nicolaus Burgundus and was also illustrated by numerous depictions of Beggars abusing good Catholics. In his discussion of the iconoclastic furies, which had provoked Philip II's sending of Alba to the Low Countries, Hazart referred to Northern historians Bor, Van Meteren and Gerard Brandt. 'In order to prevent their sect from becoming hated among the community', he wrote, 'they repeat frequently in their histories that a bunch of souls, thugs, whores, thieves, and scum had begun the iconoclasm and that their clergymen had not been culpable'.⁴⁶ Although Hazart readily agreed that thugs and whores had participated in the furies, they were Calvinists egged on by Calvinist preachers. Throughout his text he used a range of Catholic historians as his sources and at the same time discredited Northern historians. The historiography about the death of Don John of Austria exemplified this discrepancy between good Catholic history-writing and false Northern scholarship. Don John fell ill not far from Namur. On his deathbed he heaved sighs, not because of his suffering but because he had so hoped to be able to die for the Catholic faith.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, he died a devout man, something which, Hazart notes, did not capture the attention of Northern historians.

⁴⁴ *The Holy Bible*, Revelation 13:18.

⁴⁵ Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* III; see also: Joep van Gennip, 'Cornelius Hazart S.J., *Kerckelycke historie* (1669)', in: Paul Beghyn et al., eds., *Jesuit Books in the Low Countries 1540-1773* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009), pp. 183-186.

⁴⁶ Hazart, *Kerckelycke historie* III, p. 58: 'om hunne secte niet hatigh te maken by de Ghemeente [...] herhaelen seer dickwils, in hunne historien, dat het eenen hoop sielen, rabauwen, hoeren, boeven, ende ghespuys is gheweest die de beeldt-stormerye hebben aen-ghegaen, ende dat hunne Predikanten sich hier mede niet en hebben bemoeyt.'

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 155.

Having taken his evidence from several credible Catholic authors, Hazart wondered about the

bitterness and passions of the Beggar historians, namely Emanuel van Meteren, Pieter Bor, and Pieter Hooft, who not only have maliciously concealed the respectable circumstances of Don John's death, but who have also not been ashamed to sully the reputation of this Christian and devout hero.⁴⁸

Hooft, for instance, suggested that Philip II had ordered someone to poison Don John. Pieter Bor claimed that God had punished Don John for his pride.⁴⁹

The centenaries celebrated in the period 1666-85 revolved not only around the Revolt. The city of Brussels, for instance, celebrated in 1670 the third centenary of the Holy Sacrament of Miracle.⁵⁰ On the occasion, Jacques Stroobant wrote a history of the devotion of the Brussels Sacrament.⁵¹ In his preface he explained that

publishing only this feast of the happy jubilee [...] in a booklet I considered too insubstantial for our city, since in the passing of three hundred years and more, so many honourable triumphs occurred, in the entries and inaugurations of our lords and princes of the land.⁵²

⁴⁸ Ibid., p. 156: 'de bitterheyt, ende passion van de Geusche History-schrijvers, namelijk Emanuel de Metere, Pieter Bor, ende Pieter Hooft, de welcke niet alleen dese treffelijcke omstandigheden van de doodt van Don Ioan moetwillighlijck hebben verswegen, maer oock niet beschaemt zijn gheweest dien Christelijcken ende vromen Heldt in sijnen lof te bekladden'.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ See for example: anonymous, *Eevw-ghety des heylighs sacraments, ofte Den vollen ivbilé van dry-hondert iaren, en de ghevvenschte dry-hondert-iarighe ivbel-feest* (Brussels: Guilliam Scheybels, 1670); a centenary of another Holy Sacrament of Miracles was celebrated in Leuven: anonymous, *Zegenprael der onwinbare kercke [...] op de dry-hondert-jarige feest van het H. sacrament van miraeckel, by de [...] augustynen binnen [...] Loven* (Leuven: Adriaen de Witte, 1674). Although the miracle celebrated in Leuven had taken in place in Middelburg, the devotion was moved to Leuven when William of Orange captured Middelburg in 1574, see: 'Middelburg, Heilig Sacrament', in: *Databank Bedevaart en Bedevaartplaatsen in Nederland*, Meertens Instituut, <http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/bedevaart/bol/plaats/501> (accessed 22 January 2013).

⁵¹ Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen*; anonymous, *Groot en langh-ghewenschte dry-hondert-iaerich jubilé van het wijdt-vermaert alder-heylighste sacrament van mirakel* (Ghent: Maximiliaen Graet, 1670).

⁵² Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen*, f. *a1v: 'dese feest van den blijden Jubilé [...] alleen in een Boecxken uyt te gheven, docht my te weynigh te zijn voor onse Stadt, midts daer op het verloop van ry hondert jaeren en meer, soo veel Eer-Triumphen zijn voor-ghefallen, soo in de Inne-komsten, als Huldighen van onse Heeren en Princen van het Landt.'; Willem de Bury described the festivities in Latin in his *Bruxellensium jubilus ss. sacramento trecentis annis miraculoso exhibitus mense julio & Aug: anni M.DC.LXX* (Mechelen: Joannis Jay, 1670).

Here, Stroobant linked the Holy Sacrament of Miracle to the history of Brussels, which he felt was in dire need of a history in the vernacular. He mentioned other historians who had published local histories including Erycius Puteanus, Jean-Baptiste Gramaye, Aubertus Miraeus, Adrianus Barlandus, and Franciscus Haraeus, but their histories ‘have always been in the Latin language, so that these histories are not read by the common man, as would be desirable so that all lords, burghers and inhabitants may know and see what has happened here in previous times.’⁵³ Stroobant wrote that the chapter of the St Gudula Cathedral with the provosts of the fraternity of the Holy Sacrament of Miracles ‘noticing that gradually the time came near of the third centenary of the eminent Holy Sacrament of Miracles, have out of special urge and zeal, sought gently to arouse the hearts of the burghers and inhabitants’.⁵⁴

The chapter seems to have been successful. Joannes Jacquinet wrote that on 20 July 1670 ‘thousands of people, young and old, flocked to see and worship the high feast day of the venerable Holy Sacrament of Miracle, whose memorable mystery was then exactly 300 years ago’.⁵⁵ On 20 July a great procession was held past decorative arches with depictions of the miracle. The same route was being followed as during the ‘regular’ commemorations of the miracle, organised annually. Jacquinet felt it was difficult

to describe the beauty and splendour that could be seen everywhere, both on the streets as well as in front of churches and the Dominicans, and before the church of the Society of Jesus, which was decorated the prettiest of all, and whose fathers had made the best effort to make everything successful and who had also arranged the nine triumphant floats, all at the cost of the city of Brussels.⁵⁶

⁵³ Ibid., f. *a1v: ‘al te-mael in de Lattijnsche Tael gheschreven zijn, soo is’t dat die gheschiedenissen soo onder den man niet en zijn, als’t wel waer te wenschen, om dat alle Heeren, Burghers, en In-ghesetenen souden mogen weten en sien, wat hier in voor-tijden al ghedenckweerdighs gheschiedt is.’

⁵⁴ Ibid., f. aa1r: ‘Siende en bemerckende dat allenckens den tyt quam te naerderen van het dry hondert Jarigh Iubilé, van het Hooghweerdigh H. Sacrament van Mirakelen, hebben uyt eenen besonderen yver ende drift, van langer hant de herten van de Borghers en Inghesetenen al soetiens soecken op te wecken’.

⁵⁵ Jakenet, ‘Historie der Nederlanden’, f. 360r: ‘deusenden van menschen, ionck ende audt, waren comende om te sien ende te vereeren den hooghen feest dach vant hoogh weerdich H. Sacrament van Mirakel, wiens gedenckwaerdige misterie nu iuyst was geleden 300 iaeren’.

⁵⁶ Ibid., f. 361r: ‘ten is qualyck met geene penne te beschryven de schoonicheyt ende fraeicheyt dier over al te sien was, soe opde straten als mede voor eenighe kercken als voor de Predickheeren ende voor de kercke vande Societeyt Iesus, daer het wel het alder schoonsten was verchiert, ende welcke paters oock den meesten arbeyt daer toe gedaen hadden om alles in goeder orden te stellen ende die 9 triumphante wagens oock hadden geordonneert ende toe gestelt, doch alles tot last ende costen van der stad Brussel’.

Although the celebrations in 1670 were held in honour of the Holy Sacrament of Miracle, it is evident that, apart from the story of Jews stealing the Hosts, the centenary also invoked memories in general of the ongoing threats of heresy. In several ways the sixteenth-century troubles played a role in the proceedings of the 1670 jubilee. First of all, there was the dynastic framing of the story. For instance, one of the cavalcades during the procession was entitled the ‘the Holy Sacrament triumphant because of the piety of the house of Austria’.⁵⁷ Depictions of pious rulers such as Rudolph I showed how Habsburg princes had always been devout Catholics. Philip II was also included, ‘who rather lost his lands, than concede to the rage of the heretics against the honour of this holy mystery’.⁵⁸

In front of the house of the count of Grimbergen, close to the St Gudula Cathedral, one triumphal arch drew attention to the origins of the veneration of the Holy Sacrament and, more importantly, to previous jubilees. It showed how the relic had strung together three successive dynasties: the houses of Brabant, Burgundy and Habsburg. Duke Wenceslaus of Brabant, husband of Joanna of Brabant, had punished the evildoers in 1370. One century later, Charles ‘the Bold’ of Burgundy had organised the first centenary of the miracle, and another century later the Habsburg prince Philip II had continued the veneration in his fight against heretics.⁵⁹ The Latin inscription that accompanied a statue of Philip II characterised him as the ‘firmest exterminator of infidels and heretics as far as the world extends’.⁶⁰ According to Stroobant, religious troubles also explained the lack of commemorations in 1570, when the country had been in too much turmoil to organise a grand-scale event.⁶¹ Indeed, the Jesuits had erected in front of their church an arcade that attributed the lack of celebrations in 1570 to the bellicosity of heretics. It showed, according to Stroobant’s description, that ‘the peace, war and heresy being chased away, gave to the city of Brussels this happy jubilee’.⁶² Between two arches near the Mint, pictures of the former overlords adorned the houses. Here was also the convent of the sisters of Mary-Magdalene, where the relic had been hidden during Brussels’ period as a

⁵⁷ Stroobant, *Brusselsche eer-triumphen*, p. 125: ‘het H. Sacrament triumpherende door de godts-dienstigheyd van het huys van Oostenrijk.’

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 125: ‘die liever heeft gehadt sijn Landen te verliesen, als iet toe te laten aen de rasernye vande Ketter, teghen de eer van dit H. Mysterie.’

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 113-115.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 115: ‘impiorum et haeticorum constantissimo, qua patet, orbis exstirpatore’.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 95.

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 116: ‘hoe den Peys, den Oorlogh en Ketterye verjaeght zijnde, aen de stadt Brussel den blijden Jubilé gaf’; the triumphal arch of the aldermen of Brussels, erected close to the city hall, conveyed a similar message: *ibid.*, p. 107.

Calvinist republic. The nuns had decorated the front of their convent with tapestries and with wax figures that depicted the return of the relic by Matthias Hovius, the archbishop of Mechelen, to the St Gudula Cathedral in 1585. Stroobant ended the description of the street with the remark that everyone had done their very best to ensure the continued veneration of the sacrament.⁶³

In chapter 2 we saw how the celebration of memories of the Holy Sacrament of Miracles served to show the populace that Catholicism had been, and was still, under threat. During the period of dynastic and religious reconstruction at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Holy Sacrament of Miracles in Brussels became a popular national relic.⁶⁴ The centenary of another momentous event took place in 1685. As the century progressed, the Revolt itself became such a frame of reference for Southerners. In the summer of 1685, a halberdier from Amsterdam in the Dutch Republic, who went by the name of Anthony Creel, visited Antwerp and kept a diary of his travels. His timing was auspicious because the city was just celebrating some important commemorative days, ‘being then the first centenary of that the duke of Parma, Alexander Farnese, took the city of Antwerp under the government of his royal majesty Philip the Second.’⁶⁵ The people of Antwerp celebrated that a hundred years had passed since their liberation from heretical domination. The event in Antwerp was well publicised, and several publications from the festivities survive.⁶⁶ Jesuit Petrus Franciscus de Smidt wrote a commemorative book on the occasion. To introduce his readers to the centenary, the author first explained ‘how our imperial city of Antwerp was abused by rebellious and mutinying heretics’.⁶⁷ They had practiced

⁶³ Ibid., p. 112.

⁶⁴ Dequeker, *Het sacrament van mirakel*, pp. 60-69.

⁶⁵ Creel, ‘Bondich verhaal’, f. 52r: ‘sijnde doen eenverjaringh van hondert iaeren geleeden dat den hartogh van parma alexander farnese de stadt van antwerpen heeft ingenomen onder de regeringhe van sijne koninklijke majesteijt philypus den tweede’

⁶⁶ Petrus Franciscus de Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubilé-vreught bewesen in dese Stadt Antwerpen ter oorsaacke vande herstellinge des geloofs in 't jaer 1585. door de Glorieuse wapenen van sijne Catholijcke Majesteyt, onder t'beleyt vanden Victorieusen Prince Alexander Farnesius Hertogh van Parma &c.* (Antwerp: Hieronymus Verdussen, 1685); Hermannus Franciscus Van den Brandt, *De herstellinge van de Roomsche religie binnen de stadt Antwerpen, haer overgevende aen de gehoorsaemheydt van zyne Koninglyke Majesteyt van Spanien, ...: blyeindende treur-triumph spel* (Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1685); Anonymous, *Antverpiense Jubilum* (1685); anonymous, *Waerachtich ende cort verhael van het gene vertoont is gheweest van de jonckheyt [...] der societeyt Jesu van het Engels colesie [...] vierende het honderste [!] iaer, vande verlossinghe der stad Antwerpen. Ghehouden op den 27. augusti 1685* (Antwerp: Gielis Verhulst, 1685).

⁶⁷ De Smidt, *Hondert-jaerigh jubilé-vreught*, f. a2r: ‘in 't kort te verbelden hoe dat onse Keyserlijcke Stadt Antwerpen door de op-roerighe ende muytnerende Kettters mishandelt is’.

extreme godlessness, which had already spread itself through many cities and provinces of our Netherlands: it so happened that they not only plundered the main church of our city, but also the subaltern parishes, convents and churches, stripped from all ecclesiastical ornaments, and the icons torn asunder from all sides, violated and broken, all holy relics and shrines abused and disgracefully trampled upon.⁶⁸

God no longer wanted to tolerate the suffering of his ‘elect people’, De Smidt explained, and He ‘by the skill and industry of the unsurpassed prince Alexander Farnese, duke of Parma etc. used His omnipotence to relieve our city of Antwerp from the dark night of heretical errors, under which they had been suffering for some years’.⁶⁹ In August 1685, one hundred years later, therefore, ‘this imperial city of Antwerp lets us taste with a centenary the sweetness of this hundred year jubilee’. To give thanks to God, for the first time the ‘reverend lords canons of the Cathedral Church have desired to show their special zeal and affection by cleaning the entire church and the altars’.⁷⁰

The English college of the Jesuits also published a booklet about their festivities on the occasion of the centenary.⁷¹ The anonymous author described the parade of Jesuit floats passing by. Trumpets heralded the first, which ‘depicted Antwerpia, chained by the rabid rebels, behind the godless iconoclasm, whose merciless violence trampled upon the golden faithfulness, accompanied by the restless heresy, trampling on the true and unerring religion’.⁷² In line with their usual way of propagating information about the Revolt, the author blamed rebels – who were not from Antwerp – for holding the city hostage. Apparently, the float showed how Antwerpia gave a sword to Alexander Farnese that was

⁶⁸ Ibid., ff. a2r-v: ‘extreme Goddeloosheid, die hae door veele steden ende Provincien van ons Nederlandt nu al hadde verspreyt: is soo voort ghevaeren datse niet alleen de hooft-Kercke onser stadt, maer oock soo de subalterne Parochien, als Cloosters ende Godtshuysen hebben uyt-gheplundert, berooft van alle Kerckelijck cieraet, ende de Belden aen alle canten af-gheruckt, geschonden ende ghebroocken, ende voorts alle Heylighde Reliquien ende Heylighdom mishandelt ende schandelijck onder de voeten ghesmeten hebben’.

⁶⁹ Ibid., f. a2v: ‘door beleydt ende industrie van den noyt-vol presen Prince Alexander Farnesius Hertogh van Parma &c. ghebreyckt sijne Almoghenthey in’t verlossen onder stadt Antwerpen uyt den donckeren nacht der Kettische dwaelinghen, waer in sy nu al eenighe jaeren versucht hadde’.

⁷⁰ Ibid.: ‘Dit soo sijnde dat dese Stadt nu naer hondert Jaeren versoent, herstelt is, soo laet ons dees Keyserlijcke Stadt Antwerpen met een Eeuw-ghety smaecten de Soetigheyt van dit haer hondert-jaerigh lubilé [...] voor eerst [hebben] de Eerweerdighe Heeren Canonicken vande Cathedrale Kercke willen bethoonen hunnen sonderlinghen yver ende gheneghenthey in’t verciere ende reynighen der gheheele Kercke ende Autaeren’.

⁷¹ Anonymous, *Waerachtich ende cort verhael*.

⁷² Ibid., s.p.: ‘Die uytheelt de geketende Antverpia, door de verwoede Rebellen, achter op de Goddeloose Beltstormery, wiens niet ontsiende geweld werpt de goude Getrouwicheyt onder de voeten, vergeselschap met haer gespeel de ongheruste Ketterye, vertrappende de waere ende onfeylbare Religie’

so strong that it enabled him to capture the city. Hence, the fall of Antwerp was not so much a hostile take-over but rather a joint effort of the prince of Parma and the good citizens.⁷³ The idea of Antwerpia in chains recurred in other floats and triumphal arches. The arch on the Steenhoudersvest showed Saint Norbert defeating the heretic Tanchelm and also featured two of the martyrs of Gorcum. On the day of the celebrations, Parma and Philip II were shown unchaining Antwerpia.⁷⁴

A few days after his visit to Antwerp, Creel came to Brussels, and there, too, he was confronted with a lively memory culture about the Revolt. After a visit to the Grand Place he noted how ‘the chronicles report that the lords the counts of Egmont and Horne were beheaded in front of the Maison du Roi in the times of the duke of Alba’.⁷⁵ Creel was not the only traveller in the Southern Netherlands who commented on this dark episode in the square’s history. In many seventeenth-century accounts of the city of Brussels, such as histories, travel diaries and chorographies, the execution of the two counts was remembered and linked to the Grand Place.⁷⁶ In the same account, Creel observed different parts of the local memory landscape in Brussels. At the court on the Coudenberg he marvelled at the stuffed horse of Archduchess Isabella (1566-1633) and the suit of armour of Archduke Albert (1559-1621). Above the court stables he admired the royal standard of Francis I of France whom Charles V’s army had captured at the Battle of Pavia in 1525. He also noted the relics from battles against the Ottomans such as the heraldic achievement of Don John of Austria who had fought against the infidel at the battle of Lepanto in 1571.⁷⁷

Long-term memories in the Dutch Republic

In the Dutch Republic, as in the Southern Netherlands during the War of Devolution, the rise of France played an important role in the way people looked back to the past. The centenary on 1 April 1672 of the first rebel take-over of a Netherlandish city, namely Brill, coincided with increased tension between France and the Republic.⁷⁸ In reaction to the War of Devolution, England, Sweden and the Dutch had joined powers to counterbalance the

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Creel, ‘Bondich verhaal’, f. 54v: ‘de cronycke melden dat de heeren graven van egmontd en hoeren voordat broothuys sijn onthalt inde tyden vanden hartoch van alba’.

⁷⁶ Verhoeven, *Anders reizen?*, pp. 218-219; Verhoeven points out that the sword with which the counts of Egmont and Horne were beheaded was also on display.

⁷⁷ Creel, ‘Bondich verhaal’, f. 64r.

⁷⁸ The centenary was acknowledged not only in the Dutch Republic, see: anonymous, *Jubel-Jahr der vereinigten niederländischen Provinzien Anno 1672: neben angefügter prächtiger Begräbniß und Gedächtniß-Seule* (1672).

rise of France. In retaliation for the Dutch Republic's participation in this Triple Alliance (1668) and as part of Louis XIV's expansionist policies, France invaded the Northern Netherlands.⁷⁹ Following the political and military unrest that ensued from this venture against the United Provinces, literary activity mounted. 1672 saw an enormous growth in pamphlet production in the cities of the Republic as people confided to paper their worries and concerns.⁸⁰ In recent years, several historians have studied political texts of the period from the beginning of the war with France in 1672 to the Peace of Utrecht in 1713 from a variety of angles. Donald Haks has argued that public support was vital to continuing the war effort during the three expensive wars against France.⁸¹ He shows convincingly that the Eighty Years' War served as an example and inspired the population's endurance of privation.⁸² The following section will build on his work to explore how new war experiences had changed the way people in the Republic looked back on the Revolt against the Habsburg overlord.

In 1672, Alkmaar bookseller Reyndert Jansz Moerbeek published a booklet about the pitiable state of the Republic after the invasion of the French, in which he urged people to pray to God and to consider examples from history. 'Let us recall our ancestors,' Moerbeek urged his audience, 'who so courageously fought for our Lord God, and were thus liberated from the hands of the enemy.' Moerbeek exhorts his readers to remain loyal to the fatherland and fight for their freedom. 'Thus God will help us, just as he helped our forefathers almost a hundred years ago. My dear brothers: their struggle is a good example to us all.'⁸³ The author took his readers one hundred years back to a time when the Sea Beggars took hold of several coastal cities in Holland and Zeeland and thus gained a foothold for the Revolt. The year also marked the duke of Alba and his son Don Fernando's violent campaign of retribution against the rebellious cities. Many Netherlanders would have seen the sack of Naarden in December 1572, dealt with by Moerbeek, as a prime

⁷⁹ Jonathan Israel, 'De Franse opmars en de anti-Franse coalitie in de late 17^{de} eeuw, 1668-1702', in: Paul Janssens, ed., *België in de 17^{de} eeuw* (Gent: Snoeck, 2006), p. 43.

⁸⁰ Michel Reinders, *Gedrukte chaos. Populisme en moord in het rampjaar 1672* (Amsterdam: Balans, 2010), pp. 14-17; Vroomen, 'Taal van de Republiek', pp. 171-172; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede 1672-1713*, pp. 21-55.

⁸¹ Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 293-303.

⁸² *Ibid.*, pp. 25, 38, 65-66, 91, 289-290.

⁸³ Reyndert Jansz Moerbeek, *Het klaegh-huys des Heeren: of het Christelijck zee-schip, waer van Christus de zee is, waer door wy alle moeten passeren* (Alkmaar: Reyndert Jansz Moerbeek, 1672), Knuttel 10244, f. a4v: 'Als wy eens gedencken aen onse Voor-Ouderen / [...] die soo vromelijck treden met Godt den Heere / en soo uyt de handen van haer Vyanden verlost zijn. [...] Soos al onse Godt ons hulpe doen / gelijk hy onse Voor-Ouderen heeft gedaen / dat nu haest hondert Jaer geleden. Mijn liever broeders; dit is een goet exempel voor ons'.

example of Spanish tyranny.⁸⁴ Clergyman Michaël Frederic Tatinghof from Zaandam wrote an account of the 1672-invasion entitled *Remember the Netherlands' Downfall, Begun in the Terrible Leap Year 1672 [...] About a Hundred Years after the Netherlandish Rise had Begun [Gedenck Nederlandts Nederganck, begonnen in 't Verschricklijck Schrickel-Jaer MDCLXXII. [...] Als even voor hondert Jaer op de selve tijdt Neerlandts Opganck begost]*.⁸⁵ After his discussion of 1672, the author added a brief account of the Revolt in 1572. Then, 'the first foot of land was won by the Water Beggars by the capture of Brill', after which 'Vlissingen [and] Veere surrendered to the prince [William I], the burghers of Enkhuizen seized the city for the prince'.⁸⁶ What follows is a concise list of rebel victories in 1572.

Just as Moerbeek conceded, the celebrated struggle for freedom had ended decades earlier, and many of the blackest Spanish war crimes had been committed almost a century ago. Still, seeing Spain as a hereditary enemy was irresistible for many authors who considered such enmity to be a national trait to be passed on to succeeding generations. 'It is inherited by the Netherlands, the love for Orange, it is inherited by the Netherlands, the aversion to Spain,' wrote schoolmaster Johannes Orizant in 1670.⁸⁷ Orizant composed his text on the occasion of William III's appointment as stadholder and the prince's accession to the Council of State. This 'encourages me,' he wrote, 'to shed light on the illustrious and heroic deeds of the august houses of Nassau and Orange as they are dealt with in the history books.' The observation that many of those deeds had fallen into oblivion was all the more reason for recalling past heroism, 'of which the lustre has been obscured by the rust of time.'⁸⁸

Not only the rust of time motivated people to commemorate the Revolt. In voicing their disgust at French expansionism during the invasion of 1672-3, authors and artists also

⁸⁴ This public memory involved not only the elites. Neeltje Luijkis, a working class woman, who was not well educated, lamented in 1672 to her sailing husband that the French treated the Dutch people so murderously 'such as the duke of Alba had never done in his tyranny' ['als nimmer als Ducdalf gedaen heeft in zijn tieraenij'], cited in: Pollmann, *Het oorlogsverleden*, p. 4.

⁸⁵ Michaël Frederic Tatinghof, *Gedenck Nederlandts Nederganck, begonnen in 't Verschricklijck Schrickel-Jaer MDCLXXII. Door de slaende Handt Gods der Heerschers in alle landt. Als even voor hondert Jaer op de selve tijdt Neerlandts Opganck begost* (Amsterdam: Albert van Panhuysen, 1672).

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 8: 'het eerste voet Landts gekregen door de Watergeusen met innemen van de Briel [...] Vlissingen, ter Veere geven sich onder de Prins, de Burgers van Enckhuysen maken sich meester van de Stadt voor de Prins'.

⁸⁷ Johannes Orizant, *Oude wijn in Nieuwe Leder-zacken, of Lauwrier-Krans, Her-Vloghten om het Hoofd van ... Wilhelmus de III. By der gratie Godts, geboren Prince van Orangie ... Over sijne Heerlijcke Intrede inden Raed van State der Geunieerde Provintien, en in die Eminente Charge geluckigh op syne Hoogh. Persoon bevestigt den 31 May 1670* (s.l.: s.n., 1670), p. 51.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, f. 3r.

frequently compared it to the Revolt.⁸⁹ According to the political needs of the time, the narrative frame of remembering Spanish misdeeds could simply be reused. In his pamphlet *Frank Address [Vrymoedige aenspraeck]*, first published in 1650, the Orangist clergyman Maximiliaen Teelinck from Middelburg sided with the house of Orange in the public discussion between supporters of True Freedom and Orangists. Teelinck defended the prince of Orange's right to rule by underlining the historical position William III's forefathers had occupied in government and the role they had played in liberating the land from Spain. He likened the princes of Orange to Moses, Joshua and David, while portraying the Spanish as the violent Philistines. In 1672, nineteen years after its author's death, Amsterdam publisher Jacob Benjamin brought a new edition of the *Frank Address* on the market. Almost identical to the one published in 1650, in the 1672 edition the references to the Spanish enemy were replaced by references to 'the enemy' in general, and sometimes to France or other states. Significantly, many of the author's qualifications of the enemy did not change. A simple comparison between the two texts reveals that negative attributions to the Spanish enemy appeared to be equally useable in relation to new enemies: France, England, Münster and Cologne. In the 1650 edition, the author had cautioned his audience to remain vigilant, for 'the Spanish act perfidiously, do not believe them, their mouths are as slippery as butter.'⁹⁰ In 1672, the Republic had acquired new enemies and the text was altered accordingly: 'The French, English and the Bishop's adherents act perfidiously, do not believe them, their mouths are as slippery as butter.'⁹¹ The publisher thus had no scruples in replacing Spain with France, England, Münster and Cologne. The passage reveals that what really mattered was the idea that the enemy was evil; the identity of the enemy became of secondary interest.

Another indication that the memory culture of the Revolt premediated accounts of the French tyranny is the reporting on the French massacres in Zwammerdam and Bodegraven in Holland in December 1672. On the fateful days of 28 and 29 December,

⁸⁹ Schama, *The Embarrassment*, pp. 278-279; Cilleßen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd', pp. 81-88; Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 38-41.

⁹⁰ Maximiliaan Teelinck, *Vrymoedige aenspraeck aen syn hoogheyt de heere prince van Oraengien [...] Gestelt tot vvaerschouwingh en noodige opmerckingh in desen verwerden en kommerlijcken standt van ons lieve vaderlandt* (Middelburg: Anthony de Later, 1650), Knuttel 6857, p. 10: 'De Spaensche handelen trouwlooslick, en geloofse niet, haer mont is gladder dan boter'.

⁹¹ Maximiliaan Teelinck, *Vrymoedige aenspraeck, aen sijn hoogheyt de heere prince van Orangien [...] Gestelt tot waerschouwingh en noodige opmerckingh in desen verwerden en kommerlijcken stant van ons lieve vaderlandt* (Amsterdam: Jacob Benjamin, 1672), p. 10: 'de Fransche, Engelsche, en Bisschopse handelen trouwlooslijck, en geloofse niet, haer mont is gladder dan boter'. With thanks to Ingmar Vroomen for giving me these two references.

French troops slaughtered the population that had stayed behind, and soldiers burnt down the two villages.⁹² Printers were inspired by the extremely popular *Mirror of Youth*, adopted its format, and narrated a collection of enemy cruelties remarkably similar to those discussed in chapter 2. Probably from 1674, the *New Mirror of Youth or French Tyranny* [*Nieuwe spiegel der jeugd of Fransche tyrannye*] appeared, which described the violence of French soldiers.⁹³ Wolfgang Cilleßen rightly observes that the *New Mirror* contains a very similar ‘repertoire of brutalities’ such as people being burnt in their own houses, drowned in water, raped, having their breasts cut off, and salt and pepper sprinkled on the wounds.⁹⁴ Other publications, too, forged a link between the attacks on Bodegraven and Zwammerdam, and the great struggle against Spain. Reformed clergyman Johannes Quintius for instance wrote an account of the events in which he emphasised the awesome power of God.⁹⁵ He explained that the Lord’s punishment had ‘miraculously and astonishingly wreaked havoc at the time of Nero, Caligula, Maxentius, Valerian, Julian etc. and particularly against Philip the second, king of Spain, against whom the blood of the Netherlands cried out like the blood of Abel against Cain’.⁹⁶ Quintius thanked God for the house of Orange. William I, he explained, ‘has not only laid the first stone of this state, but also provided it with battlements; and [he] has also left two sons to protect it’.⁹⁷ Another author, Adam Verduyn, ended his more factual and graphic account of the French aggressions with a reference to the war against Spain:

I have often heard my parents talk about the Spanish cruelties committed in Zutphen and Naarden at the beginning of the troubles, but this French fire, murder and rape outweighs all the cruelties of the Spanish: and the Spanish king appeared to have a right of these lands because he was our natural prince, although abjured due to the Spanish tendency towards tyranny. But this French king has no right

⁹² Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 21-35.

⁹³ Anonymus, *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugd of Fransche tyrannye* (Alkmaar: Jan van Beyerens and Jacob Maagh, [1674?]).

⁹⁴ Cilleßen, ‘Der Spiegel der jeugd’, pp. 93-100.

⁹⁵ Johannes Quintius, *Bodegraven en Swammerdam in brandt* (Amsterdam: Jacob Benjamin, 1673).

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, f. a2v: ‘wonderlijck en wonderbaarlijck heeft de rechtveerdigheyt Godts huys gehouden ontrent Nero, Caligula, Maxentius, Valerianus, Julianus, &c. en insonderheyt ontrent Philippus de tweede, Koningh van Spanjen, tegen welck het bloet van Nederlant riep als het bloet van Abel tegen Cain’; see also: Haks, *Vaderland en vrede*, pp. 25-27.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, f. a3r: ‘heeft niet alleen den eersten Steen van desen Staet geleyt, maer dit swaerlijvig gebouw ter Tinne toe opgetogen; en heeft oock twee Soonen achter gelaten om het selve the decken’.

whatsoever of our free United Netherlands, so that it is only from a desire for status and domination that he is seeking to damage us.⁹⁸

As we can see from the example above, the French invasion in 1672 not only revived popular interest in stories about Spanish cruelties during the Eighty Years' War, but the Revolt also served as material for comparison, enabling authors to argue that the French aggressions exceeded those of the Spaniards. Something similar may be observed in Leiden. In 1674, it was exactly one hundred years earlier that William of Orange and his Beggar army had liberated this city. On this occasion, lawyer and city councilor Karel Crucius addressed local magistrates and other notables in the main auditorium of the university to commemorate the past and celebrate the first centenary of this great episode in the history of the city and of what he called 'an eighty years' war'.⁹⁹ In the preface of the published edition of the speech, Crucius remarked that

from what small and negligible beginnings our Fatherland in the first Spanish wars has become great, and after what sudden change it has become small in the last surprise attack, testimony can be found on the first in abundance in our histories and for the second in the wretched experiences of this time.¹⁰⁰

In his actual speech he noted that

there has never been anything, esteemed gentlemen and fellow citizens, leafing through the worldly commemorative books, that raises more serious thoughts and

⁹⁸ Adam Thomasz Verduyn, *Oprecht historisch verhael, van't geen voorgevallen is in Bodegraven en Swammerdam, door't invallen en doorbreken der Franssen* (Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, 1673), p. 10: 'Ick heb mijn ouders dickwils hooren verhaalen, van de Spaense wreedtheden bedreven in 't begin van de troublen tot Zutphen en Naerden, maer dese Franse Brandt, Moordt en Vrouwen-kracht, overweight alle de wreetheden der Spanjaerden: en den Spaensen Koningh die scheen noch eenigh recht op dese Landen te hebben, want hy was onsen natuerlicken Prins, alleen vervallen zijnde, door den Spaensen hooghmoedt tot Tyrannye; maer desen Franssen Koninck heft geen schijn van recht, op onse vrye Vereenighde Nederlanden, soo dat hy uyt enckeke Staet en Heersucht ons dit lijden aen doet'.

⁹⁹ Karel Crucius, 'Oratie van de gedurige voorsienigheit Godts, over ons vaderlandt', in: Adrianus Severinus, *Oorspronckelijke beschrijving van de vermaerde belegering en 't ontzet der stad Leiden* (Leiden: Weduwe Abraham Honkoop, 177x), p. 197; 'Mr. Karel Crucius', in: A.J. van der Aa, *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden, bevattende levensbeschrijvingen van soodanige personen, die sich op eenigerlei wijze in ons Vaderland hebben vermaard gemaakt III* (Haarlem: J.J. van Brederode, 1858), p. 893.

¹⁰⁰ Crucius, 'Oratie', f. *6r: 'Uit wat klene en onge-agte beginselen ons Vaderland in de eerste Spaense oorlogen groot, en na wat haestigen omkeer het in dese laetste overrompeling kleen geworden is, 't eerste getuigen ons overvloedig de geheug-schriften des vorigen, het tweede de jammerlijke ondervindingen deses tijts.'

wonder in me, than the puzzling rise of this Republic. For who does not tremble each time he commemorates the histories, that have occurred since the year fifteen hundred two-and-seventy in this small corner of the earth?¹⁰¹

The year 1672 became one of the most important new episodes in the canonic national history of the Dutch Republic. In 1675 a Northern pamphleteer looked back on the French invasion of 1672 and condemned the French drive for expansion, writing that

the Netherlands and the Holy Roman Empire are in a more ruined state these last years than they have been since the time of Charles V [...] As long as the border posts of France extend beyond Oudenaarde, Maastricht, Limburg and Breisach, people should not expect from France a durable and persistent alliance.¹⁰²

Here, the author strove for a maximum rhetorical effect: even the previous war against Spain had not been as devastating as the French invasion. In subsequent decades other Dutchmen, too, connected the Revolt to the war with France in a variety of different publications. In proclamation of days of thanksgiving, the States General urged clergymen to reflect on the political situation during the war against France. In their sermons and in the dedications they wrote in published editions of their sermons, ministers based their remarks not only on the Bible, but they also used the history of the state to interpret the situation. After the Republic's victory against Louis XIV at Namur in 1695, for instance, Utrecht clergymen Theodorus van Toll answered the States General's call for a day of thanksgiving and gave a sermon in which he praised William III (who had become stadholder in 1672) for his successes against the French.¹⁰³ Comparing Netherlanders and their successful resistance against Louis XIV in 1672 to the people of Israel, Van Toll, considered 'the

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 179: 'Niet wasser ooit, Geagte Heren en Medeburgers, dat mij, de wereltsche gedenk-boecken doorbladerende, in soo ernstige gedagten en verwonderinge kost doen opklimmen, als de onbegrijpelijke opkomst van dese Republijck. Want, wie isser, die soo dickwils als hy gedenckt aen de geschiedenissen, die tsedert den Jare vijftienhondert twee-en-tseventig in dit kleine hoecjke van de aerde zijn voorgevallen, niet en schrickt?'

¹⁰² Anonymous, *Hannibal noch in onse landen ofte consideratien over d'onmogelijckhey des vredes, omme in dese tegenwoordige constitutie van tyden een vaste en bestendige vrede met den Koning van Vranckrijk te bekomen* (Cologne: s.n., 1675), Knuttel 11308, pp. 6, 8: 'de Nederlanden [sijn] met het Roomse Rijk meer geruineert [...] in dese weynigh Jaren / als-se oyt hebben geweest van den tijdt af van Carolus Quintus [...] Soo lang als de Grenspalen van Vranckrijk sigh uytbreyden tot over Oudenaerde / Maestricht / Limborg ende Brisack / soo moet men van Vranckrijk geen bestandige ende volherdende Alliantie verwachten.'

¹⁰³ Theodorus van Toll, *Neerlands dankaltaar met het opschrift De Heere is mijn baniere, ofte Dankpredikaatsie [...] op de overwinninge van [...] Namen* (Utrecht: Anthony Schoute, 1695), pp. 7-8.

redemption in the year seventy-two as a result of God's omnipotence and love for us'.¹⁰⁴ He asked at the end of his oration:

whose manly heart would not cringe in his bosom by only commemorating what cries, moans and complaints were heard on our streets when our cities were burned by fire, our sons and daughters killed by the sword, our young children crushed, and our pregnant women cut open?¹⁰⁵

After the Battle of Blenheim on 13 August 1704, which was won by the Grand Alliance against France, Amsterdam minister Johannes Brandt gave a sermon on a day of thanksgiving held especially for this victory.¹⁰⁶ He exhorted his audience to apply biblical examples to the Dutch situation: 'Observe yourselves as burghers and burgheresses of the fatherland [...] it was God who liberated our forefathers, and us in them, from the spiritual Babel of the decayed popedom and blessed us with freedom of body and soul'.¹⁰⁷ He continued by drawing a parallel with the people of Israel. God,

placing the light of the Gospel in the midst of this land and calling us to the confession of the purified faith: crossed a red sea of an eighty years' long bloody war, we have been recognised by the Spanish monarch as a free people, and then liberated from the miseries that can be found in the Dutch histories.¹⁰⁸

Although Brandt referred people to the history books, he elaborated on some of the best-known episodes of the Revolt. He wrote that 'it was pitiful to see these provinces, about

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., p. 23: 'de Verlossinge in den Jaare twee-en-seventig, als een uitwerksel van Gods Almagt en Liefde t'onswaarts'.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., p. 24: 'Wiens Manmoedig hert sou sig niet in sijnen boesem verkrumpen, slegts te Gedenken, wat een geweest, gehuyl en naar geklag op onse straaten gehoord is, wanneer onse vaste Steden met vuur verbrand zijn, onse Soonen en Dochteren met den sweerde gedood, onse jonge Kinderen verplettert, en onse swangere Vrouwen opgesneden?'.

¹⁰⁶ Johannes Brandt, *Dank- en biddagpredikaatsie, ter gelegenheit van de heerlijke overwinning [...] by de hooge bontgenoten aan den Donau behaalt, den XIII. augustus MDCCIV* (The Hague: Pieter Visser, 1704).

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., p. 18: 'Merkt u zelve maar aan als burgers en burgeressen van de Vaderlant [...] T was Godt die onze voorvaderen / en ons in hen / uit het geestelijk Babel van 't bedurve Pausdom verlost en begenadigde met vryheit van lichaam en van ziele'.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., pp. 18-19: 'den kandelaar van 't Evangeli in 't midden van dit lant stellende en ons roepende tot de belijdenis van 't gezuivert Kruisgeloof: door een roode zee van een tachtig jaarigen bloedigen oorlog getrokken / zijn we van Spanjes Monarch voor een vry volk erkent / en toen verlost uit ellenden / die / in de Nederlantsche Historien te vinden?.'

one and a half century ago, when people invented the wicked Inquisition'.¹⁰⁹ It was also 'sad to see, when the placards of Philip were proclaimed from the city hall, and that these laws turned the cities into graveyards'. Brandt took some time to describe the cruelties. The 'trees were full of bodies, and the arms of the executioners wore themselves out by the killing of the miserable: when people heard Alba, Netherland's scourge, boast to the count of Koningstein that he had his executioners kill 18,000 people'.¹¹⁰

For the military campaign of 1708, Amsterdam clergyman Johannes d'Outrein also gave a special sermon in which the Eighty Years' War featured prominently alongside the war against France.¹¹¹ He asked his audience's attention for trials that the Dutch people had experienced in the past. The first trial was 'the eighty years' war against Spain; from which God has nonetheless saved and spared us by a Twelve Years' Truce or ceasefire, now just a hundred years ago, in 1609, after which we were declared a free people, by the eternal Peace 1648, and thus led towards complete freedom'.¹¹²

Not only clergymen but also the States General of the Republic tried to marshal support for the expensive wars against France. The States General did so by open letters to local governments and to the population in general. The Revolt against the Habsburg overlord came in handy as a historical example because it could motivate people to endurance. In one of their proclamations, published in 1702, they justified their declaration of war on France and Spain, and argued that France threatened the Republic's

freedom and religion, for which values the subjects and inhabitants of the state have suffered under such terrible persecutions, and which, only after goods and blood and all that was dear to them was invested with very great willingness and

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., p. 19: 'T zag 'er hier in deeze gewesten deerlijk uit / ontrent anderhalve eeuwe geleden toen men die heillooze Inquisitie uitvond'.

¹¹⁰ Ibid.: "'Tzag er deerlijk uit / toen men de bloedige Plakkaten van Philips / ter puye af las / en naar der zelve regelen de steden tot Kerkhoven maakte / de boomen riste door de lijken / en de armen der beulen zich afsloofden / door't vermoorden der ellendigen: Toen men Alba / Neerlands geessel / hoorde roemen tegen den Graaf van Koningstein / dat hy 18000 menschen / door beuls handen / hadt doen sterven'.

¹¹¹ Johannes d'Outrein, *Nederlands dank-altaar, gesticht (ter [...] gedachtenisse van de zegenryke overwinningen, bevochten [...] gedurende de gantsche veldtocht des jaars MDCCVIII.) [...]. Uit psalm LXVI: 8-20* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Borstius, 1709).

¹¹² Ibid., p. 47: 'In den tachtigjarigen Oorlog met Spanjen; waar uit God ons egter gereddet ende uitgeleid heeft door het Twaalfjarig Bestand of Wapenschorsing / nu net hondert jaren geleden / 1609. waar op gevolgd is dat wy voor een vry volk verklaart zyn / door den eeuwigten Vrede 1648. En aldus in een volkomene vryheyd geleid zyn'.

steadfastness, [...] for which they fought a war of eighty years against the powerful king of Spain.¹¹³

Conclusion

When the antiquarian and merchant Jacob Marcus in 1735 compiled the sentences and summons of the duke of Alba in the sixteenth century, he remarked ‘that most writers of these histories [about the Revolt] deal with the persecutions in general terms, without appending real documents as evidence’, and he thought this practice could be explained by the fact that ‘many matters that occurred in the times of those troubles were still in fresh memory and known by many at the time that they wrote [about it]’.¹¹⁴ Marcus hence implied that by the time he compiled his work, the Revolt was no longer ‘fresh’ in the public memory. There is probably some truth in this remark. By the end of the seventeenth century, and later, it became more difficult to find new uses for the past. The two dominant narrative frames that had developed since the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries had matured, and their political usage no longer seems to reveal the same kind of lively dynamic that we have seen in the first three quarters of the century.

This does not mean that people had forgotten about the Revolt or that other historical frames of reference had replaced the earlier rebellion against the Habsburg overlord. The celebration of centenaries, both of secular events and of local miracles, shows that the Revolt played an important role in the way people in the Habsburg Netherlands determined what qualities defined a true Netherlander: loyalty to the dynasty and Catholicism but also that the two were inextricably linked. As we have been able to see for the Southern Netherlands, more than ever before, the Revolt had become an integral part of South Netherlandish history.

In the Dutch Republic, we have seen how a new war could turn the fierce contestation of memories in 1650-72 into a relatively consensual approach to the canon. In many ways, we are back where we began. The canon had once more become a fairly

¹¹³ *Manifest, houdende de redenen waerom de [...] Staten Generael [...] genoodtsaecht zijn tegens [...] Vranckryck en Spaigne den oorlogh te declareren, in dato den achtsten mey, 1702* (The Hague: Paulus Scheltus, 1702), p. 4: ‘vryheydt ende Religie, voor welke diere Panden de Onderdanen ende Ingezetenen van den Staet voor dese so schrickelijcke vervolgingen hebben moeten lijden, ende de welke, na dat Goedt ende Bloedt ende alles wat haer lief was, met een seer groote bereydtwilligheydt ende standvastigheydt hadden opgeset, ende tachtigh jaren aen den anderen jegens die machtige Koningen van Spaignie den Oorlogh gevoert, eerst in een volle versekertheydt zijn gestelt geworden.’

¹¹⁴ Jacob Marcus, ed., *Sententien en indagingen van den hertog van Alba, uitgesproken en geslagen in zynen bloedtraedt* (Amsterdam: Hendrik Vieroot, 1735), pp. vii-viii.

uncontested narrative about the Revolt that could be used to arouse the public against a foreign enemy. The examination of the political usage of references to the Revolt in new political contexts, then, has once more demonstrated the dynamic character of memory practices.

