From Revolt to Riches:

EDITED BY THEO HERMANS & REINIER SALVERDA

Culture & History of the Low Countries, 1500–1700

UCL PRESS

From Revolt to Riches

GLOBAL DUTCH: STUDIES IN LOW COUNTRIES CULTURE AND HISTORY

Series Editor
ULRICH TIEDAU, UCL DEPARTMENT OF DUTCH

Global Dutch explores Netherlandic culture and history through an international lens. It covers not only the core Dutch language area in north-west continental Europe but also other places where Dutch culture has had or continues to have an impact, including parts of the Americas, southern Africa and south-east Asia. Global Dutch is especially concerned with relations between Netherlandic cultures and other cultures – particularly Anglophone – in all periods from the Middle Ages to the present day.

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Culture and History of the Low Countries, 1500–1700

Edited by

Theo Hermans and Reinier Salverda

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Preface to the new edition

It is a pleasure to introduce this third publication in UCL Press's Global Dutch series. *From Revolt to Riches: Culture and History of the Low Countries, 1500–1700* is a re-edition of a collection of essays that the UCL Centre for Low Countries Studies produced in the 1990s as part of the occasional series Crossways, self-published in a small edition, no longer obtainable and not widely held by university libraries.[1] The very fortunate co-occurrence of the refoundation of the UCL Centre for Low Countries Studies in 2014 and the launch of UCL Press, the UK's first Open Access university press (and one of the first worldwide) in 2015 finally enables us to make this highly respected but so far difficult to access body of scholarship available to a worldwide audience.

From Revolt to Riches investigates the culture and history of the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from both international and interdisciplinary perspectives. The period was one of extraordinary upheaval and change, as the combined impact of Renaissance, Reformation and Revolt resulted in the radically new conditions – political, economic and intellectual – of the Dutch Republic in its Golden Age. The emphasis of this volume is on a series of interactions and interrelations in this rich and nuanced era: between communities and their varying but often cognate languages; between different but overlapping spheres of human activity; and between culture and history. In continually crossing disciplinary, linguistic and national boundaries, while keeping the culture and history of the Low Countries in the Renaissance and Golden Age in focus, this book's contributions open up often surprising perspectives on a region all the more intriguing for the very complexity of its entanglements. While inevitably research since the original date of publication has added further perspectives on some of the themes covered in the volume, the contributions of *From Revolt to Riches* as a whole have stood the test of time, making the collection a worthwhile subject for republication. As the anonymous peer-reviewers pointed out: 'It gives in a condensed form voice to many research concerns which are

still valid in present-day research in Belgium and the Netherlands and readers will be able to follow up many of these topics in recent publications.' We do hope that the republication will prove valuable for further research in Dutch and Low Countries Studies in the UK and worldwide.

This leaves me to add a few words of explanation to the title of the new book series. Far from trying to be bombastic, although certainly meant to provoke and attract attention to what in today's academia is considered a less widely taught subject, Global Dutch does not suggest that the Dutch language would rival English, Chinese or any other more widely spoken idiom for that matter, as the *lingua franca* of today's or tomorrow's world. Instead this series focuses on the worldwide impact of Netherlandic language and culture, which at one point in the not too distant past indeed was spread around the globe, and conversely also on global influences in the Low Countries themselves. In other words, the new series Global Dutch aims at exploring Netherlandic culture and history through an international lens and is especially concerned with encounters and interactions between Netherlandic cultures and other cultures – particularly Anglophone – in all periods from the Middle Ages to the present day.

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UCL Department of Dutch

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Introduction

The aim of this collection is to explore the culture and history of the Low Countries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from both international and interdisciplinary perspectives.

The period is one of extraordinary upheaval and change, as the combined impact of Renaissance, Reformation and Revolt results in the radically new conditions – political, economic and intellectual – of the Dutch Republic in its Golden Age. While many aspects of this rich and complex era have been studied separately before, the emphasis in the present volume is on cross-border traffic, on interactions and interrelations: between communities and their varying but often cognate languages, between different but overlapping spheres of human activity, between culture and history.

The contributions are written by specialists in a range of disciplines: historians, linguists, bibliographers, art historians and literary scholars, based in the Netherlands, Belgium, Great Britain and the United States of America. The essays themselves are amended and extended versions of papers originally presented to the international conference on 'The Low Countries and the World', organized by the Centre for Low Countries Studies and held at University College London in April 1989. Some twenty conference papers dealing with linguistic topics and with aspects of medieval and modern literature, history and art appeared in two successive issues of the journal *Dutch Crossing* in 1989. As the section on the Renaissance and Golden Age yielded an unusually large number of innovative contributions, which proved to complement and illuminate one another in a variety of ways, it seemed appropriate to publish them as a separate volume.

In continually crossing disciplinary, linguistic and national boundaries while keeping the culture and history of the Low Countries in the Renaissance and Golden Age in focus, the collection opens up new and sometimes startling perspectives, windows on a world all the more intriguing for the very complexity of its entanglements.

1
Latin and the Low Countries

Jozef IJsewijn

For the past few years the politicians of the European Community have been trying to encourage student mobility. They gave their scheme the name of a great Dutchman, Erasmus. One of the major problems to overcome, however, is the profound linguistic division of modern Europe, a problem that is felt acutely by the native speakers of minor languages.[1]

If one looks at the ERASMUS plan from a historical point of view, it soon becomes clear that our politicians are now trying to partially restore a custom which for about a thousand years – say from Carolingian times down to the eighteenth century – was quite common throughout Europe (and not just Western Europe), and which was lost together with the loss of Europe's former universal academic language, Latin. If I had addressed a learned audience in London two hundred years ago, I would certainly have done so in Latin.

Thanks to Latin it was possible to attend courses anywhere in Europe without being continually thwarted by linguistic barriers. In fact the only real difficulty one might encounter upon one's arrival at a foreign university was the problem of getting used to the local accent in the pronunciation of Latin, a problem well known to everybody who in our days travels to an English-speaking institution. From the Middle Ages onwards large numbers of students went abroad, and many did so at a very tender age, being no more than thirteen or fourteen years old. Moreover, there was no separation between East and West: Vienna and Prague, Erfurt and Wittenberg, Krakow and Königsberg belonged to the European network of universities no less than Bologna or Paris, Salamanca or Granada, Cologne or Louvain, Cambridge, Oxford or St Andrews. Only the Balkans under Turkish occupation were cut off from the European community, which at that time extended from Malta to Iceland and

from Portugal to the Baltic countries. Furthermore, the exchange was not limited to students, but included professors and technical personnel such as the transcribers of manuscripts and, from the late fifteenth century, the printers of books. Let me illustrate, by means of a few examples chosen from among students and scholars from the Low Countries, how real that Europe-wide academic community was at a time when travelling was so much more difficult and dangerous than nowadays.

One of the first students at the University of Louvain shortly after its foundation in 1425, a certain Henricus of Montenaken in Brabant, made his way to Krakow after a few semesters. Conversely, many Polish students arrived at Louvain in the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. One finds them, for example, in the *Palaestra bonae mentis*, a kind of institute for advanced training in Latin eloquence, organised by professor Erycius Puteanus with the support of the Archdukes Albert and Isabelle. Professor Puteanus himself had begun his academic career in Milan before succeeding Lipsius in the chair of Latin at Louvain. Lipsius himself, as we know, completed his studies in Rome with the French professor Marcus Antonius Muretus, and taught successively at Jena, Leiden and Louvain; he declined calls to Breslau, Pisa and Rome.

Erasmus' main precursor in the Netherlands, the Frisian Rudolf Agricola from Baflo, north of Groningen, began his university studies at the age of thirteen in Erfurt. Afterwards he proceeded to Cologne, Louvain, Pavia and Ferrara. In the latter town he attended the courses of the famous professor Battista Guarini, the son and successor of the even more admired Guarino. In the classroom of the Guarinis one could meet students from all over Europe and even from Cyprus.[2] Agricola, then, was a true ERASMUS student at a time when Erasmus himself was still no more than a baby. I will conclude this list of examples with a country which today cannot yet participate in the ERASMUS scheme, yet was always a solid part of the old European cultural community, namely Hungary. Nicasius Ellebodius (1535–75), born in the South Flemish town of Cassel, was a famous Greek scholar. After studies in Padua and Rome he worked for many years in Poswony, now in Slovakia and better known as Bratislava. To this day he is highly esteemed in Hungarian learned circles.[3] On the other hand thousands of Hungarian students went all over Europe for study. Let me quote from a paper read by I. Forro at the 1976 Neo-Latin Congress at Tours:

> In Ungarn kann man sprechen von einer *Peregrinatio continua* der ungarischen Studenten nach dem Westen, Süden und Osten . . . Mein Thema erstreckt sich nur auf Holland und die holländischen

> Universitäten (Leyden, Utrecht, Groningen, Harderwijk, Amsterdam), insbesondere auf Franeker (1585–1811). Die Gesamtwahl der wandernden ungarischen Studenten nach Holland beträgt ungefähr mehr als 3000 und davon für Franeker mehr als 1200.

More than 1,200 Hungarian students in 125 years or an average of ten students every year in a small Frisian university like Franeker is really an impressive figure! In Dutch archives Forro unearthed over 200 Latin disputations and dissertations as well as ninety *Carmina gratulatoria* written by those Hungarian students.[4]

There is probably no need for more examples. For many centuries academic Europe was a truly united Europe thanks to Latin. But before coming to the specific contribution of the Low Countries to this world of Latin learning I want to add another point which I deem not unimportant. As long as Latin was the common academic language of Europe – and of America for that matter – artists, scholars and scientists from small nations were able to work on the same footing as those from the emerging bigger national languages areas.[5] A native speaker of Dutch, Danish or Czech was not at a disadvantage compared to a Frenchman from Paris, a Spaniard from Valladolid or an Italian from Florence. Everybody had to learn Latin, which nobody spoke at home. Nowadays we have to learn English but will never be equal to a native English speaker. Even for the greatest genius, if he hails from a smaller nation, it will be much more difficult to achieve a performance comparable to that of Erasmus, partly at least because he no longer starts from the same position as an English- or French-born scholar or artist. At the same time it is true that a successful participation in the learned art of writing Latin presupposed a well-functioning school system with able teachers. It is surely no mere chance that the Low Countries reached the highest level of Latin artistry during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as only then were there universities and good Latin schools in sufficient number.

I will now try to draw an overall picture of the Low Countries' contribution to Latin literature. Although I am much better acquainted with the age of humanism, I will also include the Middle Ages in order to make clear the basic features and the highlights of the long Latin tradition within Dutch culture. Since, however, there have been hundreds of Latin authors in the Low Countries and since endless lists of more or less glorious names are tedious, I will select just a few of the most noteworthy cases in the fields of *belles lettres*, scholarship

and the sciences. Furthermore, I will limit myself to the Dutch- and Frisian-speaking areas of the Low Countries, excluding the Southern Walloon part. I am well aware of the fact that such an artificial limitation hardly made sense under the *Ancien régime*, but in our specific case it allows me to devote all my time to such authors as belong directly to Dutch culture, if not by language, at least by origin or acculturation.

Latin came to the Low Countries in the tracks of the Roman legions, and for three or four centuries it became the official language. How many of the local population adopted the new tongue is hard to say. It is even harder to know if ever a *Batavus* or *Morinus* or other native went so far as to use it for literary purposes. There may have been such authors, as we know there were in Britain, but nothing survives except a few inscriptions in stone and wooden tablets from soldiers enlisted, for example, at Tongeren (Tungri) and based in various parts of the Roman world from Britain (Vindolanda at Hadrian's wall) to Asia Minor.[6] Whatever literary life there was, it perished during the devastating Germanic invasions. In the second half of the fifth century Sidonius Appolinaris of Lyons, one of the luminaries of literary life in his age, wrote to Arbogastes, governor at Treves: 'The splendour of the Roman speech, if it still exists anywhere, has survived in you, though it has long been wiped out from the Belgian and Rhenic lands…'[7] It would take several centuries before Latin was resuscitated in those *Belgicae terrae* sufficiently to bring forth writers who were able to do more than compose a saint's life in barbarous language. As far as I can see the Germanic part of the Low Countries reentered the Latin literary world in a more or less dignified manner with Bishop Radbod from Utrecht at the turn of the tenth century; and he had been educated in the palace school at Tours. Although his poetry[8] has nothing exceptional to offer, it reveals a thorough schooling and an acquaintance with the rhetorical and poetic devices cherished since late antiquity such as epanaleptic distiches (in his *Oratio ad S. Martinum*) and mannerist metaphors such as the one at the beginning of his *Ecloga de virtutibus Beati Lebuini*:

> Inclitus Anglorum veniens Lebuinus ab oris
> Sacris virtutum remis et remige Christo
> Saeva procellosi compressit flumina Hreni

in which the sacred oars of the virtues, and Christ the rower, who bring Lebuin from England to Deventer, anticipate by centuries the so-called

argutiae of the baroque age. But in contrast to the *argutiae* artists Radbod knows that all exaggeration is a source of annoyance and he refrains from overlong compositions lest his rustic Muses weary finer ears:

> Ecce autem cohibere monent fastidia carmen.
> Ne Musis doctas laedam ruralibus aures.

A sympathetic poem is the short piece *De Hirundine*. In his valuable *History of Secular Latin Poetry in the Middle Ages,* F. J. Raby found this swallow poem important enough to quote it in full[9] 'as we try to make out the course of medieval nature-poetry'. There is indeed more to it than learned and rhetorical material (in which it is certainly not lacking!); it contains various charming details which prove that Radbod has been observing the flittering bird with real affection. At the same time the poem is built on classical and late Roman traditions and reminds the reader of similar nature snapshots in Venantius Fortunatus; I for my part cannot see why the *Swallow* is a 'true German product' as Raby puts it.

One cannot say that Radbod marks the beginning of a new flowering of Latin poetry in the Low Countries. As a swallow he did not really herald a new summer. As a matter of fact, in our Middle Ages poets who were more than scholastic versifiers (such as Petrus Pictor of St Omer) and who wrote work which cannot be overlooked in a general history of medieval Latin literature are few and far between. Indeed, I am inclined to point to two or three at most, viz. the poet of the *Ysengrimus* and, in the strictly religious sphere, Arnulf of Louvain, a Cistercian monk in the mid-thirteenth century who is the author of a deeply moving ecstatic hymn *De Passione Domini*. The section 'Salve caput cruentatum' became widely known through the German adaptation by the seventeenth-century poet Paul Gerhardt, *O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden*, and the latter's musical accompaniment by J. S. Bach. In my own schooldays we still sang this hymn in the Dutch version O *hoofd vol bloed en wonden*, but nobody, of course was in the least aware of its Latin origin in our own Brabant.[10,11]

Far more important than Arnulf, however, is Magister Nivardus or whoever it was who shortly before 1150 in Ghent, Flanders, wrote the epoch-making beast epic *Ysengrimus*, the ancestor of the whole rich literature around Reynart the Fox, one of the most characteristic parts of Europe's medieval literature.

The exceptional importance of Nivardus leaps to the eye as soon as one opens a few histories of medieval Latin literature. Let me take a

rather out of the way example, the *Povijest svjetske Knjizevnosti* (History of World Literature) in Croatian. The second of the eight volumes is devoted to classical, medieval and modern Greek and Latin literature and to Albanian and was published at Zagreb in 1977. Apart from a few authors from Liège, 'Nivard Gentski' is the only medieval Latin author from the Low Countries who is mentioned, and he gets half a page of text.[12] I should like to add that he fully deserves the honour. In his *Ysengrimus* the animals are for the first time given personal names and well-defined characters: Isengrimus the wolf and Reinardus the fox are the protagonist and antagonist, the former being the eternal victim of the tricks of his cunning cousin. Next to them appear the sick lion Rufanus, Bruno the bear, Berfirdus the goat, Gutero the hare, etc. In seven books and twelve episodes – the bacon, the fishing-trip, the pilgrimage, etc. – the story of the wolf and the fox are elaborated, the core of the work being the diet at the lion's court.

Our poet is a most entertaining narrator with sometimes a touch of long-windedness; he is also an excellent satirist whose descriptions, now bantering now stinging, of ecclesiastical manners, abuses and dignitaries have lost nothing of their freshness and spirit. In his case I can easily agree with Raby who wrote that Nivard's 'poetical inspiration constructed an allegory and satire surpassing anything of this kind that the Middle Ages had as yet produced'.[13] Indeed, as a satirist I would place him on an equal footing with our other pre-eminent master of ridiculing human vices and follies, Erasmus; in many respects the *Ysengrimus* is a medieval *Laus Stultitiae* or may be placed alongside the best of Erasmus' Colloquies. However, one's enjoyment of the poem is somewhat marred by the not too brilliant quality of Nivardus' language and versification. Perhaps as a classicist and Neo-Latinist I am being a little unjust to him, but as one who likes the smooth harmony, the splendid clarity and melodious sound of classical Latin verse, I find it hard to appreciate the distichs of the *Ysengrimus.* And I am not criticising his use of many nonclassical words such as *babellare* which can produce picturesque effects or give a lively and far from unpleasant flavour to the text; rather I am thinking of the really unidiomatic style, exceedingly opaque in many places and too often intricate, obscure and, to my taste at least, unpleasing. On the other hand I gladly admit that Nivardus rarely if ever bores us with outworn and trite stock tags and phrases or with a tedious uniformity of speech.

He knows how to surprise his reader with unexpected formulas, metaphors, simple but adequate comparisons and descriptions which may even take surrealistic forms, as when he makes the lips of the

beheaded John the Baptist refuse the kisses of Herodias and blow her into the thin air through an open skylight:

> Oscula captantem caput aufugit atque resufflat;
> Ilia per impluvium turbine flantis abit.[14]

Nivardus' imagination here comes very close to or even surpasses that of the ancient poet Ennius, who keeps a trumpet blowing after the head of the soldier playing it has been cut off.[15]

After Nivardus we have to wait several centuries before one of the numerous Latin poets and versifiers from the Low Countries achieves real European prominence.[16] As we know, the diffusion of humanism resulted, among other things, in an unprecedented flowering of poetry in Latin. Most significantly, Renaissance humanists called themselves in Latin 'poetae', with or without the addition of the term 'orator'. A particularly cherished genre was erotic poetry following the classical examples of the rediscovered Catullus, of Ovid and of Petrarch. The latter's sonnets were popular among the Italian Neo-Latin poets and through them Petrarchan motives were carried across the Alps. By a happy coincidence this erotic poetry culminated in the Low Countries in the work of a young genius, who since then has always been the humanist love poet *par excellence.* This genius was Janus Secundus, who was born at The Hague on 15 November 1511 and died at the age of twenty-five at St Amand near Tournai. Janus had two brothers, Nicolaus Grudius and Hadrianus Marius. They were very distinguished poets in their own right and gave a final finishing touch to Janus' posthumously printed poetry, as we can see in the Bodleian manuscript Rawlinson G. 154 discovered in 1977 by A. M. M. Dekker and P. M. M. Geurts.[17] In his short life Janus wrote a book of fine Horatian odes, three books consisting partially of love elegies and the most glorious corner-stone of his lasting fame, a cycle of nineteen *Basia* or Kiss poems, short pieces in various metres which celebrate his love for Neaera. Ever since their first publication in Lyons in 1539 they have been in print, an honour which hardly any other Renaissance Latin poet enjoys. Even today one can buy them in a reprint edition, and only ten years ago two new editions were published, one in Barcelona, the other at Yale University Press. These places alone show the worldwide interest Secundus still provokes. How can we explain this dazzling success of a modern Latin poet, which surpasses that of other poets such as the Italian Johannes Jovianus Pontanus, who is certainly not his inferior in the field of Latin artistry? It may be the fact that Secundus succeeded perfectly in concentrating in one small cycle the

very essence of Renaissance love lyrics and did so at the happy moment when Neo-Latin literature reached its heyday not just in Italy but all over Europe: Secundus' own literary relations reach from Danzig to Lisbon. The concomitant and ensuing full bloom of Renaissance poetry in the vernaculars, which not infrequently invoked our poet as their model, certainly helped to consolidate his fame.

Secundus' love lyrics, and Renaissance erotic poetry in general, are essentially a joyous eulogy of idealised feminine beauty. They rarely if ever express the deeper feelings which can unite a man and a woman for life.[18] Exactly as humanists in the field of literature were fascinated by the perfection of classical word and verse artistry, so the love poet is spell-bound by the awesome beauty of his beloved, a sense expressed by Secundus in telling verses such as 'O vis superba formae!' (O proud power of beauty!), which concludes Basium VIII, and 'Formosa divis imperat puella' (A pretty girl rules the gods), the final thought of Basium XVIII. To be allowed to touch that beauty is the paramount desire; this desire and the physical description of the girl, especially her eyes, lips, hair and breasts, are repeated in endless variation. After Secundus it even resulted in the publication of entire books of *Ocelli* (Pretty Eyes), *Capilli* (Fair Hair) and the like. In sharp contrast to modern literature, however, the depiction of bodily contact rarely goes further than kisses and close embraces and mostly avoids a descent into overintimate details or vulgarity. A keen aesthetic sense of beauty and seemliness mostly guides the poet: *formosa* is the key word, *papilla* the most daring detail. Cruder descriptions of sexual activity or vices are left to writers of epigrams and satires in the wake of Martial and Juvenal. Secundus is definitely much chaster than his model Catullus. In all of the *Basia* there is perhaps a single line which by means of a Catullan echo suggests the physical reaction of his own body to Neaera's frolicking and teasing.

Secundus had numerous imitators and admirers all over Europe and especially in Holland until far into the eighteenth century. In 1641, exactly one hundred years after the first complete edition of Secundus' poetry prepared by his brothers, another noteworthy and posthumous book of Latin verses was published at The Hague, the *Venus Zeelanda* of Petrus Stratenus (Van der Straten). This young poet from Goes in Zeeland had died at The Hague in 1640 at the age of twenty-four, leaving three books of elegies and twenty-four *Basia*. The picturesque title-page shows us Venus sailing on the Scheldt river in a shell accompanied by two doves, the birds which pull her chariot in the first *Basium* of Secundus.

As long as neo-classical Latin poetry was part and parcel of European cultural life, authors from the Low Countries were at the

forefront. Among a host of others we may single out Daniel Heinsius (1580–1655) and Sidronius Hosschius (1596–1653). The first, a professor at Leiden, a literary critic and a bilingual poet, aroused admiration as well as opposition from France to Sweden and from England to Silesia. The West-Flemish Jesuit Hosschius could be called a remarkably fine Christian Ovid. When he died Pope Alexander VII ordered an international pleiad of Latin poets to mourn his loss. His elegies were read in Catholic schools all over Europe and as far as Mexico.[19] They were steadily reprinted until the first decades of the nineteenth century. A few years ago, when I was in Messina, a local Latin schoolteacher (Giuseppe Morabito) proudly showed me the only Latin poet of the Low Countries he possessed and whose exquisitely fine versification he highly admired (and he was speaking as a connoisseur, since he himself has written Latin verses all his life). That poet was Sidronius Hosschius.

Before turning to Latin prose I want to say a word on another genre which is closely linked to poetry, viz. drama. In several respects seminal contributions to the development of early modern drama came from the Low Countries in the course of the sixteenth century. The most important may well be due to Erasmus. He was one of the very first (in fact the first together with the lesser known Italian Anselmi) to translate two tragedies of Euripides into Latin, *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulide*, and to make them accessible again to all educated people in Europe.[20] After Erasmus others were to translate more plays, including the tragedies of Sophocles and, finally, of Aeschylus. The publication of these texts and their performances in school theatres signal the recovery in Western Europe of Greek tragedy after its long oblivion during the Middle Ages. Before long they stimulated other artists to make versions in the vernacular or to try their hand at entirely new dramas either in Latin or the modern tongues. The enormous popularity of the story of Jephthah, a Christian parallel to Iphigenia, is a good example of this. The theoretical grounding in the new dramatic art was found in a host of Latin essays; two major ones at least originated from the Low Countries: the *Syntagma tragoediae latinae* of Martinus Delrio from Antwerp (1593) and the even more important *De tragoediae consitutione* of Daniel Heinsius (1611), which became a respected authority in French literary circles. Apart from these theoreticians several of our Latin playwrights became real classics for about two centuries, especially in the field of biblical drama and morality plays. In the sixteenth century the lion's share of humanist drama is taken by the *fabula sacra*, which nearly always borrows its subject from the Bible. A pioneering example of this kind of drama is the *Acolastus* or Prodigal Son story (1529), written by

Cornelius Gnapheus of The Hague. In the sixteenth century alone it was printed over fifty times as well as being translated into German, French and English.[21] Another Dutchman, who built on the solid foundations laid by Gnapheus, met with no less success: Cornelius Schonaeus from Gouda (1541–1611) and a life-long teacher at Haarlem, is known to this day among scholars of the Renaissance as the *Terentius Christianus*. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries a hundred editions of his plays were published in places as far apart as Oxford and Varad/Oradea in Transylvania, Abo/Turku in Finland and in Paris, London and Prague. Add to them the various translations in Dutch, English, French, German, Swedish, Danish and Polish, and one can easily imagine how many young people read Schonaeus in their schooldays and learned from him the true Christian form of classical drama.[22]

So far I have dealt only with biblical drama. But since we are investigating the European dimension of the Low Countries' Latin literature we cannot skip another important branch of Neo-Latin drama, i.e. *Elckerlyc* or *Everyman*. Since Ischyrius' rather literal Latinisation (*Homulus*), this theme was taken up again by at least four or five other Latin playwrights in the Low Countries. Two of them stand out by virtue of their intrinsic qualities and of their international propagation and reputation. Both authors came from Brabant, Georgius Macropedius from the region of 's-Hertogenbosch, Laevinus Brechtus from Antwerp. The *Hecastus* (1539) of Macropedius is both his masterpiece and the classical Latin version of *Elckerlyc*. It was particularly popular and influential in the German empire. Ten years later at Louvain Brechtus composed his *Euripis*, which was to become the cherished model of a Christian play in the Jesuit colleges at the time the newly founded order began to work towards the creation of what now is known as the *Ordensdrama*, the last, brilliant phase of Latin theatre in the Catholic schools. Thus Brechtus' free adaptation of the Everyman motif was performed in many Counter-Reformation schools from Spain to Bavaria and Bohemia.[23] At this point I must stress that these two or three authors are just the tip of a huge iceberg and that many of the minor ones were read and performed far beyond the narrow boundaries of the Netherlands. In 1540 Nicolaus Brylinger published at Basel a representative selection of ten biblical dramas: seven of them are the work of five different authors from Holland, Zeeland, Brabant and Flanders.[24] This shows the dominant position of these small countries in sixteenth-century humanist drama, a position made possible by the generalised use of Latin in the European school system of the time.

Our discussion of Neo-Latin drama has brought us to the field of education during the Renaissance. I already underlined the paramount

importance of sound and thorough language instruction as a prerequisite for making valuable literature in Latin. Drama was one of the pedagogical devices, as were grammar books, colloquies, manuals and essays on rhetoric and style. In all of these the Low Countries provided the humanist schools all over Europe with first-class handbooks and critical discussions of basic issues. I can do no more than offer a hasty sketch of these fundamental areas of humanist learning and take a cursory look at the main scholars involved.

The study of a language begins with grammar and vocabulary, matters which in general do not appeal very strongly to children's minds. This sentiment is voiced in an old French verse about

> Un écolier qui ne s'amusait guère
> à feuilleter Clénard et Despautère.

The books the pupil was unwillingly leafing through were a Greek and a Latin grammar. Their authors were Nicolaus Clenardus (1495–1542) from Diest in Brabant and Johannes Despauterius (1480–1520) from Ninove in Flanders, both educated at the University of Louvain. Clenardus published his *Institutiones in linguam Graecam* in 1530 and between that year and 1700 about 500 editions have been counted of both the original version and its seventeenth-century modernisation by the Dutch scholar Gerardus Vossius.[25] Clenardus is beyond any doubt the second author from the Low Countries who can never be overlooked in a history of Greek and Greek literature in the West. The first one in the same field is about 300 years older, the Fleming William van Moerbeke (c.1215–86), the friend of Thomas Aquinas, for whom he produced a Latin translation of the complete works of Aristotle.[26] This William came from the same south-eastern corner of Flanders as Despauterius, the man who made the final humanist adaptation of the immensely popular *Doctrinale* or versified medieval Latin grammar by the Norman Alexander de Villa Dei. Despauterius' success can easily stand comparison with Clenardus. For several centuries two Latin grammars dominated in the European schools, by Despauterius and by the Portuguese Jesuit Alvarez.

It may be interesting also to mention the fact that Despauterius, when he was a teacher at Komen/Comines in Southern Flanders, had a noble protector and patron, George Lord of Halewijn/Halluin and Komen, who himself published a plea for learning Latin by what we call today the natural method.[27] We learn Spanish, so Georges argues, simply by listening to Spaniards, not by studying grammar books; so why don't

we do the same for Latin? With Latin, however, the problem was and still is that we don't have native speakers to listen to. A partial remedy in humanist schools was found in the performance of dramas and, in an earlier stage, of dialogues, the so-called *Colloquia* and *Declamationes*. To this day the vast body of Colloquies written by Erasmus is rightly famous. It is the most splendid example of a schoolbook which combines excellent language with fascinating content. Beginning with the most simple greeting formulas and the like, Erasmus increases the word stock of his pupils step by step and at the same time tackles with them one after another all the major issues – cultural, religious, political, literary – of his time. And he does it in his unique and irresistibly humorous style, where nothing escapes his wit and irony: military life, marriage, stupid scholarship and ignorance, superstitions and pilgrimages, clerical abuses etc. Although Erasmus never entered a classroom he wrote one of the best and successful schoolbooks of all time. I suppose Erasmus had experienced the truly soporific qualities of most schoolbooks in his days in Paris when he had to make a living as tutor to rich German and English children.

In a humanist school it was not enough to learn the correct use of Latin; it was equally important to master the secrets of its artistic use, which involved a thorough acquaintance with all the devices of rhetoric, beginning with the *inventio* and its indispensable fund of the *loci communes*, or commonplaces. In the late fifteenth century Erasmus' great predecessor, the Frisian Rudolf Agricola, a man formed in Italy, wrote a *De Inventione Dialectica*, which was destined to become the leading treatise in the field in most of Europe until it was supplanted in the latter half of the sixteenth century by the similar work of the Parisian professor Petrus Ramus.

I have mentioned the problem of the complete absence of native speakers of Latin. As a consequence the question arises of determining what constitutes good Latin. According to humanist perception these criteria must be sought, quite reasonably, in ancient literature. This principle, however, does not solve the problem, but only displaces it. Ancient literature covers a span of about 700–800 years and the Latin of Caesar is certainly not the same as that of Gregory the Great, notwithstanding the fact that both men were Romans by birth and talented authors to boot. So, it soon appeared necessary to agree upon the Latin of a well-defined period or group of authors. In Italy, two opposing schools clashed in violent disputes: one swore by Cicero and his age, the extremists among them by Cicero alone; the other group also admitted and sometimes preferred later authors such as Tacitus, the younger Pliny and

Apuleius. Great and furious battles were fought. In the sixteenth century two eminent sons of the Netherlands spoke out authoritatively on the question: first Erasmus, and then Lipsius. In his *Ciceronianus* dialogue (1528) Erasmus ridiculed excessive Ciceronianism and thus prevented the greater part of Northern humanists from wasting their time and art on trying to become perfect Ciceronian clones (or in humanist terminology *simii*, apes). From then on Cicero's style remained, certainly, the common base of literary prose, but only as a sort of general directive and not as an oppressive straitjacket. In the course of time it was to be expected, however, that one and the same model, even if followed in a free and intelligent manner, was bound to become tedious. So, half a century after Erasmus, Justus Lipsius – himself still educated according to the principles of smooth and harmonious classicism – tried to take a new direction basing his style on later authors such as Seneca and, especially, Tacitus: short, rough, chopped-up sentences were to take the place of lengthy well-balanced periods. Although this kind of style is much more difficult to understand for the reader, Lipsius' immense authority as a scholar and philologist guaranteed success all over Europe and even influenced the style of vernacular languages. For a time that success was consolidated by Lipsius' much-admired successor, Erycius Puteanus from Venlo. If in the long run the new style once more lost its hold in favour of the more classical one, the reason may be twofold: the classical style is easier for the reader, and the Jesuits in their influential colleges did not join in, but soon rejected the novelty, mainly through the authoritative essays of the Roman Famianus Strada, the 'Latin oracle of his age' as he used to be called.

Grammar and rhetoric are not by any means the only areas of learning in which Latin authors of the Low Countries made distinguished contributions from the scholastic Middle Ages down to the age of Renaissance humanism. But, as I do not myself have sufficient competence to discuss the various scientific and scholarly disciplines, I will simply let a few names speak for themselves. They are, indeed, so famous that every educated person has learned them in his or her schooldays. I will then round off my survey with a short discussion of two remarkable travel journals by Flemish authors which will allow me to compare a typical medieval and a typical humanistic text and, in so doing, show the striking impact on both form and content of humanist education and language instruction as it was offered in institutions such as the Louvain *Collegium Trilingue* (founded 1517).

In the Middle Ages the main scholarly disciplines were theology-cum-philosophy and law. The Low Countries cannot boast of having

given birth to the very greatest among the scholastic philosophers. Yet, in the thirteenth century Henricus of Ghent (d. 1293) is not unworthy to stand in the company of Thomas Aquinas, whose Aristotelianism he did not share, or for that matter, of Roger Bacon. And at the very end of the scholastic age the philosopher and mystic Denis the Carthusian from Rijker, Limburg (d. 1471), made the final synthesis of the views held by the representatives of the *Via Antiqua*. Denis is a contemporary of Thomas à Kempis, whose authorship of the *Imitatio Christi*, one of the most popular books of Christian piety ever written, is no longer seriously challenged. During the Renaissance scholastic philosophy drags out a lingering existence in ecclesiastical schools and seminaries, once in a while rejuvenated by a rare original thinker such as the Jesuit Leonardus Lessius from Brecht near Antwerp (1554–1623), who is now considered to be one of the pioneering authors in economic theory. At about the same time as Lessius a Dutch theologian and lawyer, Hugo Grotius (1583–1645), laid the foundations of modern international law in his *De iure belli ac pacis* (1625).

In the field of medicine everybody knows at least the title of Vesalius' anatomical work *De fabrica corporis humani* (1543); in the same field the Amsterdam anatomist Nicolaus Tulp (1593–1674) deserves an honourable mention as one of the founders of pathological anatomy. His fame, however, now seems better guaranteed by the fact that Rembrandt happened to paint one of his anatomical lessons. Another physician, Johannes Baptista van Helmont from Brussels (1579–1644), who specialised in chemical – or if you prefer alchemical – research gave the concept and the term 'gas' to the modern world. How far his fame spread through Europe is shown by the fact that around 1700 Rumania's greatest Latin author, the Moldavian prince Demetrius Cantemir, wrote in praise of Van Helmont and his physical doctrine.

These examples amply suffice to illustrate how well Latin served many generations of scholars and scientists from the Low Countries whose native language would have prevented them from participating fully in the international development of learning. I will now withdraw from disciplines which I do not know from my own studies and turn to two texts, a medieval and a humanist one, which offer a broad range of interesting aspects to students of language, literature, history and culture in general.

Ever since Cicero wrote his voluminous correspondence to Atticus and other friends, letters have been an important genre in Western literature. Our greatest Latin author, Erasmus, is at the same time one of the most brilliant epistolographers that ever wrote. His correspondence

can easily be called a *Speculum historiale* of his time. A whole library of scholarship has been devoted to its study and I will not try to summarise it or to add an insignificant trifle to such an amount of learning. I rather wish to look at two other letter-writers, who committed their adventurous experiences in the course of journeys to the East to long letters in Latin: Marco Polo's immediate precursor William of Rubroek (now Rubrouck near Cassel in northern France) travelling to Mongolia in the middle of the thirteenth century and, almost exactly 300 years later, Augerius Busbequius, who travelled from Vienna to the Sultan's court in Constantinople and Amasia in north-central Turkey. The first was a Franciscan monk unofficially in the service of the French king Louis IX (St Louis), to whom he addressed his report on his return in 1255.[28] The second went on diplomatic missions on behalf of Ferdinand I, the younger brother of Charles V. His first letter is dated 1 September 1554, his fourth and last 16 December 1562.[29,30] Whoever entertains doubts about the profound differences between the Middle Ages and Renaissance should read the two men's letters successively: he will find two entirely different spiritual worlds notwithstanding the fact that both men were Roman Catholics writing in Latin. William and Augerius came from the same south-western comer of Flanders which now belongs to France. Their native dialect must have been much the same and we hear a faint echo of it in the observation they both make about the Germanic language of Crimean Gothic. William actually passed through their region and expressly mentions those *Goti, quorum ydioma est teutonicum*, but fails to give further information. Busbequius had the opportunity of interviewing a Crimean Goth in Constantinople and his keener humanist interest in languages made him jot down a small word-list, the basic numerals and three lines of a song. On this occasion he states that his Flemish pronunciation of *seven* ('sevene') is exactly the same as in Gothic but different from that in Brabant, which is 'seven'.[31] There are still other common traits, for example a certain humorous view of their own persons. William tells us that he was always given a strong horse, *quia eram ponderosus valde*, 'because I was very fat'.[32] Augerius describes the special attire the Turks put on him upon being received by the Sultan and then adds: *Procedo cum hac pompa veluti Agamemnonem aut similem aliquem in tragoedia acturus*, 'I looked as if I was going to play the part of Agamemnon or a similar character in a tragedy'.[33]

Such similarities cannot conceal, however, the unbridgeable differences. William is a medieval monk who goes in search of Christian rulers and people to baptise. His attention is first and foremost directed to religious questions. In between there are, to be sure, many interesting

observations: he mentions skis (XXIX 45); he is the first Westerner to give correct information on Chinese writing (XXIX 50), etc. Yet the essential part of his narrative about his sojourn in Mongolia is devoted to theological discussions in which he tries to convince the local sovereign of the superiority of Roman Catholicism. The much more enlightened attitude of the Manchu Khan is a bitter disappointment for our Franciscan, who concludes the story with the astonishing reflection: 'If I had had the power of doing miracles like Moses, he would perhaps have abased himself.'[34] William, furthermore, writes horrible and in all respects unidiomatic Latin which it is no pleasure at all to read and which, under its deceptive simplicity, often verges on obscurity because of its un-Latin style. To give him his due, I should add that William was aware of his poor qualities as a writer since he introduces himself with the words: 'ab homine parum prudente nec consueto tam longas hystorias scribere'.[35]

Busbequius on the other hand is a truly gifted writer who handles classical Latin with masterly skill. His excellent, straightforward, lucid style is a joy to read and easy to understand. Moreover his interest is boundless: the lands and the peoples, local dress and architecture, plants and animals, ancient manuscripts, ruins and inscriptions and much more. He describes rice-fields in Bulgaria, and tulips near Edirne; he visits the zoo at Constantinople and asks to disinter the only giraffe which had died just before his arrival; he tastes and appreciates yoghurt, *acidi lactis genus, quod illi iugurtham dicunt.*[36] A pervasive characteristic of Busbequius' reports is the keen interest in all aspects and traces of classical civilisation. In William's letters references to ancient sources are limited to two medieval encyclopedias, Isidore of Seville and Solinus; and an isolated half-line from Virgil's *Aeneid*.[37] Augerius, on the contrary, knows his classics, which are part and parcel of his intellectual world. When he is called to Amasia, he remembers that it is the birthplace of the geographer Strabo. He reports that he could not find the *Insulae Cyaneae*, the famous colliding islands from the story of the Argonauts; he believes that at Nicea he slept in the very room in which the Council was held; he is happy to discover near Ankara the *Res Gestae Augusti*, which he copied out. Busbequius quite clearly is a man of a new era: thanks to the spectacular improvement in education he possesses a solid and broad cultural grounding based on both ancient and modern literature (he refers e.g. to Thomas More's *Utopia*).[38] Furthermore he has at his disposal a rich and flexible Latin, which enables him to express all his thoughts and experiences in an adequate way. In Busbequius one can fully appreciate the splendid results humanist education could achieve with talented individuals.

It is time to conclude. Latin is, as we have seen, an integral part of the medieval and early modern culture of the Low Countries. Through it they spoke to the whole civilised Western world. Today it is disappearing rapidly from the intellectual equipment of artists and educated people. Yet the old language has been slow to die in Holland and Flanders. Until 1978 the Royal Dutch Academy of Sciences in Amsterdam every year issued a successful international contest for Latin poets, the *Certamen Hoeufflianum.* In 1961 my own doctoral dissertation was published in Latin by the Royal Belgian Academy of Sciences, Letters and Fine Arts. At that time Latin was the only international language allowed to be used in the Academy's publications next to its own Dutch. Those times will never return. In the field of sciences and scholarship Latin can no longer challenge English. Nevertheless, it would be a substantial loss to our cultural heritage if in the future the scholarly knowledge of Latin were to waste away to such an extent that almost nobody was able to study our Latin literature with reliable competence.

2
Dutch national consciousness in early Humanist historiography: The Italian influence on Cornelius Aurelius (c.1460–1531) and his contemporaries

Karin Tilmans

'I cannot admire this island [i.e. Holland] enough', the Italian Luigi Marliani wrote between 1504 and 1508 to his Antwerp patron Jérôme de Busleyden,

> whether for its unusual character or for its beauty, or even for its general prosperity. For what is more unusual to see than the ocean fighting with the land? And the land protecting itself against and triumphing over the ocean with nothing but a shield of netted straw? And what is more unusual than the wind putting wheels into motion and at the same time fighting and guiding the water? And what, finally, is more amazing than that the whole island is frozen in winter? And that here and there groups of men, women and children move around on a sort of iron feet, so fast that one would think that great many Icaruses and Daedaluses were flying there![1]

A few years later, in 1514, another Italian from Naples, writing about his travels through Holland under the pen-name Chrysostomus, observed:

> There, on the Batavian island, you will find an extraordinary, tidy city, called Rothorodamum. On my journey through Holland

> I spent two nights there. When, driven by an immense interest, I studied it more closely than the other cities, it happened that my eyes could not get enough of its sight. I got the impression that it could not beat many other cities in size and wealth, but for some unclear reasons it appealed to me very much.
>
> The walls, the towers and the streets smiled on me. It seemed to me as though the very walls, all the houses and the buildings greeted me spontaneously, the heaven finally radiated more clearly and the wind blew there extremely heartily. It seemed as if the nearby land bloomed, as if a warm air enclosed you and even the spices and willows (which grow everywhere in the Dutch countryside) spread a most lovely perfume. While this surprised me and I looked for an explanation, I discovered that in this city, the greatest jewel of the Latin and Greek tongue, Erasmus, was born... O what a great joy pervaded me suddenly... to see this blessed soil...! After having honoured the genius of the city I cordially kissed the walls of the city more than once...[2]

We, researchers of humanism, can no longer kiss the city-walls of Rotterdam but otherwise there is enough occasion to celebrate this giant of Dutch humanism and to commemorate him. We might indeed form the impression, as did these early sixteenth-century Italian visitors to Holland, that the Dutch Renaissance acquired its fame through only one scholar and that, after Agricola in the North, Erasmus arose in Holland following a long period of profound silence. Nothing however could be further from the truth. It is the purpose of this chapter to make clear that Erasmus had not only Agricola and the Italian humanists as a model but that it was also his Dutch predecessors who helped to spread his and Holland's fame in humanist Europe.

The history of the Batavian island offers a precise and excellent starting point. Let us go back to the springtime of the year 1508, and see how Erasmus of Rotterdam worked in the printing office of Aldus Manutius in Venice on the final corrections of a new edition of the adages. At that time he received a booklet from Holland, called *Defensorium gloriae Batavinae* (Defence of the Batavian glory), written by his friend Cornelius of Gouda. As we shall see, Erasmus read this book with great interest and to his own advantage.

Erasmus and Cornelius of Gouda, better known by his scholarly name Cornelius Aurelius (after *aurum*, gold, for his city of birth, Gouda), had known each other for a long time. Although Aurelius was nine years older than Erasmus and belonged more to the generation

of scholars such as Johannes Trithemius, Jacob Wimpheling, Arnold Bostius and Robert Gaguin, Erasmus had befriended him around 1490, recognising him as a spiritual kinsman and spokesman for the *studia humanitatis*. Born around 1460 in Gouda to a learned family, Aurelius attended the Lebuinus school in Deventer in 1472–7, before the rectorship of Alexander Hegius. He studied *artes* in Cologne, Louvain and Paris, and after his return to Holland became an Augustinian canon like Erasmus. Through the congregation of Sion, Erasmus – who was living in the Sion monastery of Steyn in the neighbourhood of Gouda – became acquainted with the 'doctissimus poeta et theologus' Aurelius. The latter lived alternately in the Hemdonk monastery of Sion and the Lopsen monastery near Leiden of the Windesheim congregation. Together with Aurelius' nephew Willem Hermans of Gouda, they formed a literary salon where they entertained other scholars; they wrote very erudite letters, which shows they were delighted by the renaissance of the *bonae litterae* in Holland and were very enthusiastic about their own part in its cultural boom. They exchanged *carmina* and *colloquia* (poems and colloquies), and Aurelius had such influence on the religious poetry of Erasmus that mutual friends later called him 'praeceptor Erasmi', teacher of Erasmus.[3]

After Erasmus had left the monastery of Steyn in 1493 (to which he never returned) they kept in touch through letters and mutual visits. In 1497–8 they were both in Paris. Erasmus was earning a living there as a teacher, while Aurelius was there, together with five colleagues, on a mission for the Windesheim congregation to reform religious discipline in the famous abbey of St Victor. There is evidence of the continuing contact between Erasmus and Aurelius in their correspondence of these years, and also in the French history of the Paris scholar Robert Gaguin. In 1495 it was Erasmus who was invited by Gaguin to complete his *Compendium de origine et gestis Francorum* with a letter of dedication. In 1497–8 Aurelius became acquainted with Gaguin, at the time the 'primus' among the Paris humanists, through his Dutch friend. Aurelius in turn was invited to write a letter of dedication to the third edition of the *Compendium*. He took the opportunity to praise the writing of history from the point of view of a humanist and had for the first time the pleasure of seeing his own work in print. In more than one respect Aurelius' stay in Paris was fruitful. He got to know the theologian Jacques Lefvre d'Etaples and Judocus Clichtovius, with whom he later corresponded and exchanged books. He had already discovered old manuscripts, on the trip to Paris, of the history of the Germans and Belgians. In several libraries in Paris itself he researched the classical historians, and also

collected material on the life of St Jerome, to write a *Vita Jheronimi* after his return to Holland.[4]

It is striking that as early as 1497–8 Aurelius apparently took an interest in the nature and use of national historiography in general and in the history of the former Germans and Dutch in particular. Joachimsen and more recently Schellhase have written on the reception of Tacitus in German humanism. Holland received no attention in their observations.[5] In her *Tacitus in der Geistesgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Etter only sees the influence of the works of Tacitus in the Netherlands in the second half of the sixteenth century.[6] It is certainly true that with the revolt of the Netherlands against Spain the historical myth of the free, independent and excellent Batavians as forefathers of the Dutch had a pronounced political-cultural function. The art and literature of the Dutch Golden Age express this very clearly. We need only think of Rembrandt and his painting *The Conspiracy of Claudius Civilis*, or of the plays of P. C. Hooft or Joost vanden Vondel about the Batavians to realise this. But the Batavians as forefathers of the Dutch had already been discovered by humanist historians in the early sixteenth century, which illustrates the reception of Tacitus' works already in the first decade of the sixteenth century, and indicates a growing Dutch national consciousness. These two points, the reception of Tacitus in Holland and the expression of an early Dutch national consciousness in historiography, are connected and need a fuller explanation.[7]

If we ignore the writings of the Italians Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini and Raffael Maffei Volaterranus and concentrate on the historiography written in the Netherlands, we can probably claim that the Groningen politician Wilhelmus Frederici was the first who, in *De Frisiae situ gentisque origine* of 1498, mentioned the Batavians without clearly locating them geographically.[8] In Dutch historiography it was Aurelius who pounced on the Batavians and tried to prove that they could only have lived in Holland. Aurelius defended his ideas on Batavian history in three works, first in the already mentioned *Defensorium gloriae Batavinae*, the first draft of which he wrote in 1508. Between August 1509 and July 1510 he wrote a more detailed explanation in answer to some points of criticism from his Dutch humanist colleagues, under the title *Elucidarium scopulosarum quaestionum super Batavina regione et differentia* (Explanation of difficult questions on the Batavian region and its identity). And thirdly Aurelius wrote an exposition on the Batavians in his *Cronycke van Hollandt*, published in Leiden in 1517.[9]

Aurelius tried to put three theses to the Dutch *respublica litteraria* in his two Latin treatises. First he defended the view that Batavia – a

word used by analogy with the *Germania* of Tacitus – had nothing to do with the so-called Betuwe or Gelderland, the region neighbouring on Holland. His second thesis concerned the Batavian island of which Tacitus spoke in his *Historiae* (4.12), which began at castle Loevestein, where the river Waal flowed into the river Maas. From these two points there followed for Aurelius a third thesis which was beyond any doubt, namely that the Batavians, the brave and upright allies of the Romans, were the immediate forefathers of the Dutch. The different arguments which Aurelius used to substantiate these ideas were of a literary, historical-geographical and archaeological character. Italian historians whose work he knew in 1408–1510 brought no clarity in the matter of localising the Batavians. The *locus* from Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* was puzzling and probably corrupt, Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* was very vague and the places mentioned by Tacitus in the works known until then, namely the *Germania* and the *Historiae*, gave no more clues about the Batavian island than that it lay between the two arms of the Rhine.

From earlier Dutch historiography Aurelius knew that the course of the river Rhine had changed more than once in the early Middle Ages. He defended the opinion that Holland was originally bordered by the arms of the Rhine, and could therefore be called an island. Additionally, the ruins of a Roman *castellum* were discovered south of Leiden in 1502. Two large stones with inscriptions were found on that occasion, and Aurelius considered them proof of his statement that the south of Holland had been the very centre of the classical Batavia. His Leiden monastery of Lopsen was situated near this Roomburg castle, where he apparently studied the inscription and some Roman coins which he discovered himself. Because one of the two stones has since disappeared and the other is walled up in the tower of the castle of an old Batavian family, the Wassenaars, we still do not know if Aurelius invented the inscription 'Gens Batavorum fratres et amici Romani imperii' (the Batavian people brothers and friends of the Roman empire). Aurelius was the first to use the inscription, which is now considered to be a forgery.

The new Tacitus edition of Filippo Beroaldo junior, which appeared in Rome in 1515 and contained the newly discovered books 1 to 6 of the *Annales* of Tacitus, gave sufficient grounds for the Gelderland humanist Gerardus Geldenhouwer Noviomagus to call Aurelius the *nugator* or 'instigator' of the Batavian history of the Dutch. In *Annales* 2.6 Tacitus wrote that the Batavian island began at the point where the river Waal separated from the river Rhine. With this, Lobith in Gelderland became a serious rival to Aurelius' castle Loevestein. The publication of Tacitus' *Opera omnia* and the subsequent polemic on Batavia was a

very important reason for the publication of a new historical work by Aurelius, the third that contains the Batavian history, but now in the vernacular: his *Chronycke van Hollandt Zeelant ende Vrieslant*, published in Leiden in 1517.

This huge work, inspired by the Nuremberg chronicle of Hartmann Schedel and other works, can be characterised as an imperial country-chronicle: it contains the history of Holland, from its beginning to the year 1517, but embedded as it were in the history of the Roman empire. Aurelius combined three different genres of history-writing in this ambitious work: the world chronicle, which starts with the creation and history of the empire; the regional chronicle, with the history of the county of Holland; and thirdly, the humanist national chronicle with the classical, medieval and modern history of the Dutch *natio* as a part of the Burgundian-Habsburg empire.

Aurelius worked on this chronicle for about five to six years; he even designed a world map for it so that Dutch readers could gain an impression of the position of the Low Countries in the world as it was known then. This was the first Dutch map to feature the new continent of America. He found a printer for his chronicle in the Leiden parchment maker Jan Seversz who, a year earlier, had printed the famous Dutch 'mirror of princes' *De cura rei publicae et sorte principantis*, written at the end of the fourteenth century by the Dutch jurist Filips of Leiden. Partly because of the complex composition of Aurelius' chronicle and partly because of the striking arrangement in thirty-two so-called 'divisies' instead of books, it has been known as the *Divisiekroniek* since the middle of the eighteenth century. The work was used in complete or shortened form as a schoolbook until the nineteenth century, and has influenced the historical outlook of many Dutch generations since Aurelius.

The *Divisiekroniek* was a very appropriate medium, especially for the general diffusion of the idea that every Dutchman had originally been a free and brave Batavian. The chronicle was written for a broader audience than his two Latin writings about Batavia. The *Defensorium* and the *Elucidarium* were intended for his Dutch humanist friends such as Erasmus, Willem Hermans and the Gouda city magistrate and patron Reinier Snoy. To convince scholars of this calibre Aurelius needed all his learning and his most proficient Latin. The *Divisiekroniek* on the other hand was written for the Dutch layman who did not understand Latin. These readers were instructed by means of anecdotes and historical examples and they needed a graphic description of how the Batavians had lived.

For this purpose Tacitus' *Germania* was an excellent source, although Aurelius ignores Tacitus' reservations concerning the wild Germans, and in his description of the morals and manners of the Batavians he depicts a wholly arcadian society, which in every respect could be an example to the Dutch of his own times. Thus Aurelius explained to his Dutch readers that the Batavians wore very elegant clothes, that their wives even wore very tight low-necked dresses, but this did not in the least impede high morals and strict monogamy. 'Oh, Oh,' Aurelius complains, 'how far away from this are we nowadays!'[10] He described the well-known menu of the Batavians: beer, butter, cheese and eggs; the marriage ceremonies and the education of the children; their democracy and military politics. Virtue, gallantry, civic solidarity and public spirit are the key terms of this Batavian arcadia.

The importance of this picture for the formation of a Dutch national consciousness is clear. For the first time in Dutch historiography Aurelius formulated a collective, historical identity which was valid for the Dutch *nacie* or people as a whole. Before that time only the rulers, the counts of Holland, had famous ancestors. In Dutch historiography we find, as in the medieval historiography of many other nations, the Trojan myth of princely descent. This myth assumed that the counts of Holland descended from Aeneas, son of king Priam. The Batavian myth did not apply to the prince but to the Dutch people as a whole, and in this way became a historical point of orientation for every Dutch citizen. This is one of the most essential innovations of the humanist historiography of Aurelius. Of course this innovation was only possible through the critical use of the newly discovered classical historians, like Caesar, Pliny the Elder and, above all, Tacitus. We can ascertain in the *Divisiekroniek* that the *Opera omnia* edition of Tacitus was rightly and very quickly received in Holland. The *Annales* of Tacitus are also used as an authority, and we can conclude from this that the influence of Tacitus in Holland runs parallel with that generally found in Germany, as has been described recently by Schellhase.[11]

Let us return to the year 1508, to beautiful Venice, but now in the autumn. In September 1508 there appeared the new *Adagia* edition of the much praised Erasmus of Rotterdam. The last statement in this edition is called *Auris Batava*, 'Batavian ear', inspired by an epigram of Martial. The proverbial Batavian ear apparently meant for the classical poet something like bad, country taste. Far away, but with the *Defensorium gloriae Batavinae* of his old friend Aurelius on his writing

desk, Erasmus decided to celebrate his *patria* with a new, positive *Auris Batava*, as the following quotation shows:

> The majority of the learned agree, and all the suppositions favour the view that the island of which Tacitus speaks, is what is now called Holland, a country that I will always praise and honour . . . If we consider the manners, one would not find a nation that is so inclined to civilisation and friendliness and that has so little roughness and ruthlessness as the Dutch. Their character is uncomplicated, without cunning and without perfidy. They do not have any inclination to heavy gossip; only delight, especially the pleasures of the table, they like a little too much.[12]

Apart from the reproach of too much eating and drinking the Dutch receive only praise: their beautiful landscape, the many good pastures, thousands of birds, beautiful, clean little towns, the quality and beauty of the domestic utensils, all that one cannot admire enough. Erasmus concludes his *laus patriae* in a Virgilian manner with the words:

> Nowhere in the world is the number of reasonably educated people larger; that not so many people achieve excellent feats, above all in the field of classical studies, can be explained by their luxurious lifestyle, or by the fact that outstanding justice means more to them than outstanding learning. They do not have a lack of talents, for that we find many proofs; my gifts however are modest, not to say poor, like almost everything else I possess.[13]

These words are for us more than mere Erasmian irony. This conclusion has also a basis of truth. It indicates that it was probably the scholar who had remained in Holland, his friend Aurelius, who had given Erasmus the inspiration for the famous and elegant adagium *Auris Batava*.

3
The play of language in the Flemish chapbook *Frederick van Jenuen* (1517/1531)

Myra Scholz-Heerspink

In terms of basic motifs and the bare bones of story, there is nothing particularly new about the short prose novel *Frederick van Jenuen*, first printed in Antwerp around 1517 by Willem Vorsterman.[1] Boccaccio, nearly two centuries earlier, included the story in his *Decameron* (Second Day, Ninth Story), and various High and Low German versions as well as an English translation of the Flemish version testify to its general popularity in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth century.[2] Apparently a story with a merchant's wife in the role of protagonist and a merchant cast as the villain spoke to the imagination of late medieval urban readers.

In brief the narrative line is as follows: four wealthy merchants travelling together on business arrive in Paris on Shrove Tuesday. There they ask the innkeeper to provide plenty of food, drink and company from the neighbourhood for the evening. When the party is over, talk turns to their wives at home and the whole touchy problem of marital faithfulness. One of the merchants, Jan from Florence, suggests that they extend the party by bringing a few women to their rooms. Who knows, he asks, what our idle wives are doing at home anyway – more than likely they are enjoying some good male company. Ambrose from Genoa is particularly incensed at this insinuation. He will not break his marriage vow because he is sure that his loving wife is the very model of virtue. The outcome of the disagreement is a wager: Jan stakes 5,000 guilders on his ability to seduce Ambrose's wife, and Ambrose bets an equal amount that he will not succeed.

With Ambrose waiting in Paris, Jan rushes off to Genoa, expecting to get rich quick and have a good time to boot. His first sight of Ambrose's wife convinces him, however, that he has made a serious – and expensive – error. This is definitely a virtuous woman. The only way out for him he now sees in trickery. With the help of an evil old hag he hides himself in a large wooden chest in the bedroom of Ambrose's wife. At night while she is sleeping he sneaks around the room, steals some of her jewels, and notices that she has a small mole on her upper left arm. He returns victorious to Paris, where he shows Ambrose the jewels he was 'given' and tells him about the mole – an intimate detail that only a husband or lover would know. Ambrose is shattered, of course, pays up his debt and returns to Genoa where, without even seeing or communicating with his wife, he orders a servant to put her to death.

When the moment for this terrible revenge has come, the servant is relieved at the woman's suggestion to slaughter her pet lamb instead and to bring its tongue instead of her own as 'proof' of her death. She then assumes male disguise and a male name (Frederick) and finds employment on a ship, caring for falcons which are on the way to the Muslim king of Cairo. Because the falcons pine away for her after they are delivered, she is kept on at the court where she quickly rises to the level of knight and the king's right-hand man. When a plague breaks out in the country and the king has to flee for his health, Frederick takes over and proves her heroic qualities once and for all by fighting and defeating invading armies.

One day Jan shows up in Cairo, displaying his precious wares. When Frederick recognizes her jewels among them, she engages Jan in conversation and finally learns the true story of how she was betrayed. As intelligent as she is brave, Frederick now instigates a meeting between her husband and Jan in the presence of herself and the king. The climax is one great unmasking: Jan is revealed as the scoundrel he really is and Frederick amazes all three of the men when she appears before them naked. Justice follows swiftly, with Jan condemned to the wheel and the gallows. Ambrose and his wife are reconciled and return to Genoa where they live happily ever after, blessed with four children, the eldest of whom they name Frederick and who achieves great fame by following in his mother's footsteps, serving the king of Cairo.

The story as I have outlined it here is, on all important points, the same in all its North European variants. What sets the Flemish version apart from its predecessors, however, is the new form – and I am tempted here to say 'novel' form in both senses of the word – its serious artistic attempt to come to grips with the story in a new way.

Unlike the German versions, the Flemish story begins with a lengthy prologue, which in its first sentence, a Latin quotation from the New Testament, already sets the serious tone: '*Qua mensura mensi fueritis remetietur vobis*' ('With what measure ye mete, it shall be measured to you again', King James Version). The Latin is immediately translated for the benefit of the less educated reader, yet the fact that it is there testifies to certain cultural pretensions. The anonymous author of *Frederick* was undoubtedly an Antwerp *rederijker* (rhetorician), that is, a member of a literary guild; and although *rederijkers* did produce many best-selling chapbooks, they were not merely interested in turning out quick stories to amuse as large a public as possible. Their appeal, as the Dutch scholar Herman Pleij has pointed out, was to an intellectual and material urban elite, a class struggling to mould its own set of ethical norms and cultural monuments.[3] Latin as the language of the church of course implied seriousness on a different plane as well. The entire prologue, full of finger-waving moralisation about what happens to those who behave unjustly, indicates that the story should be read as an *exemplum*. However, the formulation of the Flemish title hints that this work may belong to a more complex, and in a sense more playful genre than the straightforward exemplary tale. The titles of the Low German versions, 'A Story of two [or in one case four] Merchants and an Upright Virtuous Woman' would seem perfectly suited to the story as *exemplum*. But the Flemish title reads (translated): 'Of Sir Frederick of Genoa in Lombardy, a true story briefly told, who was a woman and a merchant's wife and had to wander into foreign countries and became a great knight of the king of Cairo whom she served thirteen years as a man.'[4] Catapulted into the spotlight of the title is the heroine of the story, and the sketch of her amazing career plays deftly with her double identity: *Sir Frederick* . . . who was a *woman* and a . . . *wife* . . . became a great *knight* . . . *she* served the king of Cairo as a *man*. The merchant, for better or worse, may be the focal point of the prologue; the title, however, suggests that his wife's story will be at least as important, and probably more fun.

If this juxtaposition of title and prologue already indicates a kind of hybrid genre (suspenseful adventure tale plus didactic story), the verse passages scattered through the rest of the narrative give the work a patchwork character, as if we are dealing here not with a simple hybrid but with a veritable potpourri of genres. The rhyming passages include dramatic dialogues, soliloquy-style monologues, a prayer, a letter, a confession and a concluding poem, a kind of epilogue about the vanity of all worldly success.

This interspersing of prose with verse can be found in much chapbook fiction produced in Flanders at this time and is therefore not unique to *Frederick*. In fact, some of the verses were, with only slight variations, integrated into very different stories. This formal peculiarity of Flemish chapbooks has been accounted for in terms of the writers and readers of the stories: *rederijkers*, whose social role had been largely that of producing dramas and writing poetry, carried over their practised techniques into the relatively new genre of prose fiction;[5] and readers experienced the poetry as refreshing lulls in the unrelenting pace of prose.[6] The verse passages have been described as a kind of decorative drawing card for potential book buyers, a somewhat inexplicable literary rage.[7]

R. J. Resoort, who recently gave some closer attention to the phenomenon of verse passages in the chapbook *De Borchgravinne van Vergi*, concludes that, since it is usually at highly emotional moments in the story that a switch to verse takes place, prose was not yet considered an adequate vehicle for expressing strong feeling.[8] This is certainly borne out by *Frederick*, for the monologues and some of the dialogues give voice to despair, joy, religious devotion and tenderness. Although this goes a long way toward describing the function of such passages, it seems to me that, in the case of *Frederick van Jenuen* at least, there is more at stake. The writer who adapted this Low German tale approached his or her task with such thorough-going artistic seriousness (not synonymous, of course, with moral high seriousness or the ruling out of good fun) that the text merits – and richly rewards – a close reading. I am referring here not only to such well thought-out features as the wealth of biblical imagery or the recurring images of ships and sea-voyages, but especially to thematic development brought about by the frequent juxtaposition of two words: *coopman(schap)*, and *avontuere*, merchant (or the qualities associated with being a merchant) and adventure. This two-pronged theme, only half formed in the German versions, is fully exploited in the Flemish text. And the many verse passages can, I think, be understood as contributing to this development in a rather striking way.

Our immediate association of *avontuere* with adventure covers only a small part of the broad semantic range of this term as it was used in the sixteenth century. According to the GTB,[9] the large dictionary of the Dutch language, *avontuere* could also refer to such diverse things as danger, risk, gambling, amorous adventures, valuable pieces of property, loot, luck, fortune and Fortuna. Significantly enough, nearly all uses of the term occur in *Frederick*. Space will allow mention of only a

few important ones. Jan, on that fateful night in Paris, talks about how hard they have to work as merchants and under what dangerous conditions, 'ons leven ter aventueren stellende' (83) – risking our lives, we would say. He next uses the term when, in the bedroom of Ambrose's wife, he congratulates himself on discovering the tell-tale mole: 'Wat groter avontueren heb ik' (85) – what a stroke of luck, or how fortunate I am. The climax of the whole idea of *avontuere* comes in chapter 14 (pp. 97–9) when Jan, seeking *avontuere* abroad, arrives in Cairo and meets Frederick. She asks to see his *avontueren* (his goods), and when she spots her own jewels she asks with great interest how he came by them. He boasts to her that he acquired them *avontuerlic* (in a risky or adventurous way) and tells the whole story of the wager and his trickery. Frederick can only agree, albeit very ironically: 'dat ghelt hebdi avontuerlic gewonnen met wonderliken pracktiken' (You certainly did acquire the money adventurously, through some amazing deeds). This entire chapter reads like a tour de force on the two words *coopman(schap)* and *avontuere*.

The German historian Erich Maschke, in an essay on the professional self-image of late medieval merchants, points out that not only was the awareness of risk or danger central to the merchant mentality, but also that *aventuere* was the technical term for risk used in insurance contracts in the area controlled by the Hansa.[10] Closely related to this meaning of the word, he asserts, is that of luck or fortune and, more specifically, of Fortuna – the mythological lady who, by blindly turning her wheel (the 'rad van avontuere'), determines the weal and woe of individual people. These morally neutral senses of the term *avontuere* are only half the story, however. The physical and financial hazards of merchant life shaded over into an area of moral risk as well. Greed for greater and greater profits, Maschke points out, led some merchants to hazard a head-on conflict with the Church and with their own conscience. A Flemish confession manual published in 1518 describes in the first person a character known as an *avonturier*: 'I am a jeweler and an adventurer and travel around with costly gems, rings and other precious things and intentionally deceive many people, selling them one stone for another.'[11] This does not correspond exactly to Jan's crime in the story of *Frederick*, but there is a close family resemblance. Certainly the way Jan repeatedly uses the term *avontuere* indicates that he fell down that slippery slope, heading from the more or less neutral risks of merchant life to the clearly reprehensible ones.

The idea of *avontuere* is not only linked to Jan in this story, however. Frederick's ironic use of the term in her conversation with the

villain was based on broad experience of a different kind of adventure. While deputy ruler of Cairo, she had – as the king praised her later – performed valiant knightly deeds, risking life and limb ('stellende v lijf ende leven ter grooter auontuere', 97). Prior to this her voyage to Egypt had preceded 'sonder eenighe quade aventuere' (95) (without any bad fortune). In fact, the tone for all her experiences in exile was set already at the moment of her departure, when she is described as travelling 'op gods avontuere' (94). This phrase is difficult to translate (placing her fortune in God's hands perhaps?) but the thrust is clear. Because this woman is virtuous and god-fearing, any dangers she must face cannot, ultimately, do her any harm. Fortune smiles on her, giving her adventure of the archaic, knightly kind that would make her the envy of all her contemporaries, living as they were in the afterglow of the chivalric myth.

There can hardly be any doubt that the story's focus on the term *avontuere* is deliberate and, playful as it may be, nevertheless implies some serious criticism: the lines between legitimate and illegitimate risk, between unavoidable bad fortune and that brought on by plainly immoral behaviour, were probably in danger of being obliterated in the urban culture of the early sixteenth century. *Avontuere* offered itself as a handy umbrella term that obscured a multitude of semantic and ethical nuances.

Oddly enough the word *avontuere* does not occur in any of the verse passages. What seems possible then is that the poetic monologues and dialogues function more or less as prisms, refracting the undifferentiated use of *avontuere* characteristic of the prose narrative into its various component parts. In the verses the characters lay bare not only their emotions but also their motivations, which are linked to their own understanding of such forces as chance, fortune, Fortuna or providence. Two examples will have to suffice for now. Central to the story, and totally absent in the German source material, is the heroine's impassioned prayer to Mary when the servant is about to kill her. Her next monologue, when she is about to set out on her wanderings, starts with a complaint about this 'bedriechelijke werelt' (94) (this deceptive or deceitful world) – 'werelt' at this time was also used for the fluctuations of fortune – but ends with an expression of trust in divine providence. This stands in unmistakable contrast to her husband's lamentation in verse when he accuses 'fortune' of bringing about the incomprehensible infidelity of his wife; his own appeal to Mary is brief and ineffective (89).

The multiplicity of genres present in *Frederick*, as well as their function in highlighting the voices of individual characters, is strikingly reminiscent of several points made by M. M. Bakhtin about the development of the novel.[12] The mentality that nourishes this genre thrives, he maintains, on the boundary lines of cultures and in periods of historical transition, such as that between the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. The most important characteristic of the novel he locates in its multiplicity of languages. This 'polyglossia' or 'heteroglossia' can be achieved in a number of ways; one method which Bakhtin calls a very basic one is simply to incorporate a variety of artistic and extra-artistic genres into the prose novel. The point of portraying all these languages is not only to mirror the complexity of the society in which they originate but also to bring them into dialogue. *Frederick* is, of course, still a far cry from Bakhtin's example of Rabelais as the great Renaissance novelist. Language typical of the lower social classes is not included in *Frederick*; nor does the story give itself over entirely to horizontality, to the expansive this-worldliness of Rabelais. Nevertheless if, as Bakhtin claims, 'the primary stylistic project of the novel as a genre is to create images of languages',[13] *Frederick* offers a fascinating example of how plot and characters can be orchestrated around a linguistic theme, in this case reducible to one word: *avontuere*.

Recently both Bakhtin and Rabelais have been chided for ignoring the language and voices of women.[14] On this point *Frederick* does not fall short, taking its place in the ongoing medieval and renaissance dialogue about the nature and role of women in the scheme of things. The novel can, in fact, be read as a creative response to the platitude quoted by Jan the villain at the beginning of the story: woman's nature, he declared, knows no stability or constancy (83). The opposition man/woman implied by Jan grows into what Bakhtin would probably call an opposition between two chronotopes, two ways of plotting a narrative along time-space co-ordinates;[15] here a modern merchant adventure is played off against an adventure of the archaic chivalric kind. The value judgement implied in this opposition is reinforced by the religious imagery associated with the heroine (she is a kind of Old Testament Joseph and Isaac as well as a Christ figure), and by the extended scene – new in the Flemish version – near the end of the story in which Ambrose, on his knees, begs her forgiveness. The story is far from being a straightforward feminist tract and the whole idea of assigning a combination of archaic and religious features to a woman protagonist may itself be problematic in terms of the society

in which the work took shape. Yet there is undeniable strength in the character of Frederick, and – temporarily at least – she occupies a key position in the religious scheme of things. Built into the story is a kind of hierarchy which, in a very modern sixteenth-century way, bypasses the mediating role of the institutionalized church: Ambrose makes his confession to Frederick; Frederick makes hers to Mary; Mary intercedes with God. And the solidity of this vertical axis unmasks much of the merchant talk about *avontuere* as at worst morally dubious and at best superficial.

4
Psalm translations in the Low Countries, 1539–1600, and their European context

Gijsbert Siertsema

Introduction

From the first half of the sixteenth century onwards psalm translations began to be published in Europe, and by the middle of the century it is possible to point to distinct developments in different countries. The Reformation had spread through the greater part of the German states, so that in Strasburg the autonomous city council had abolished Roman Catholic practices in the liturgy. In France, the theologians of the Sorbonne and the humanists of the Collège de France, although each from a different perspective, dominated the theological and political scene. Although psalm versifications by Marot and Beza were not used in Paris in public, the devotional lyrics of these poets were appreciated at court. In the Low Countries, the situation was different again.

Although not politically independent, the Dutch nation was important in its own right and, as Waldo S. Pratt remarks: 'though racially Teutonic, by religion it became linked with French Huguenotism'. Even though Emperor Charles V was determined to stifle any process of reform, there had been a relatively independent, and at first partly clandestine, tradition of psalm translations. In a town such as Antwerp a certain degree of freedom existed for German exiles to worship according to their own religious convictions. For this reason, Antwerp also served as an 'underground' publishing centre. But there was no opportunity to introduce publicly the work of Luther, Calvin, Bucer and Zwingli into the Low Countries, and public adherence to Reformed ideas was forbidden. As a result of this situation scarcely any Dutch

psalm translation was published or circulated publicly during the first half of the sixteenth century. At considerable risk to their lives, travelling tradesmen and other adherents of the new faith sometimes ventured to hide forbidden books and heretical works in their merchandise. Yet such tradesmen were often feared and distrusted.[1,2] Devotional and religious works in public use would be carefully examined by Catholic or civil authorities, and only approved when in full agreement with traditional Catholic theology. However, the heretical works – pamphlets and other writings – that must have been printed in secret are numerous.[3] In order to present a European context for psalm translations in the Low Countries, I will consider briefly some of the published versifications that did appear and try to show how they relate to each other.

Deuoot ende profitelijck boecxken

In 1539 a collection of vernacular psalms and other religious songs was published by Simon Cock at Antwerp under the title *Deuoot ende profitelijck boecxken*.[4] The tone of the psalm renderings in this work can be considered heretical, since the commentaries on dogmatic subjects that were included in the sources, such as the rejection of the doctrine of transubstantiation, or of the doctrine of celibacy and papal authority, were opposed, of course, to Catholic principles. One of its psalms – Psalm 64, number CLV in the collection – was a revised version of what S. J. Lenselink refers to as one of the most heretical books to have been printed in the Low Countries some years earlier.[5] Cock's 1539 volume may be regarded as the beginning of a clandestine Reformed tradition in the Low Countries, relatively independent of Lutheran influence. Aart van Schelven urges a relationship between events in the Low Countries and France.[6] In his view the French Huguenots influenced the attitude towards Protestantism in the Low Countries, since what the reformists were above all able to achieve was a political rather than a religious tolerance.[7] All the same, it is remarkable that the *Deuoot ende profitelijck boecxken* was not printed in more than one edition of 1539.

Souterliedekens

A psalm translation that did go through many editions was the *Souterliedekens* attributed to Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt and first

printed by Simon Cock at Antwerp in 1540.[8] The precise confessional tone of this psalter is disputed, with scholars such as Gerard Knuvelder regarding it as purely Catholic.[9] A more persuasive school of thought attributes the *Souterliedekens*, with G. A. van Es, to the Reformed tradition.[10,11] Van Es also suggests that it might have been Nyevelt's purpose to introduce Reformed ideas into the Low Countries with his psalm renderings.

H. A. Bruinsma regards the *Souterliedekens* as primarily Protestant, and his evidence is such as to close discussion on the confessional nature of this collection. There are three main elements to Bruinsma's case. He argues that the privilege obtained to print this collection does not necessarily mean that it was used by Catholics in the liturgy, the more so since there is no proof of the collection's actually having been used by Catholics, whereas there is proof that it was used by Protestants. Secondly, Jacob van Liesvelt's Protestant psalm rendering is unambiguously mentioned on the title-page and research clearly shows that it was used as a source. Thirdly, some of the melodies were associated with profane works so that institutional pressure against their use by Catholics may have been a relevant factor. Lenselink comes, independently, to the same conclusion,[12] although for him the decisive fact is the parallel between the prologue to the *Souterliedekens* and Luther's prologue to the *Walther'sche Gesangbuch*.[13] In both cases the psalms are introduced in a similar way, even to the point of correspondence in vocabulary. Both authors indicate the importance of the text and show that the melodies used take second place. Besides, most of the Dutch Bible translations that Nyevelt used would have been based on Luther's work.[14] None of this proves, of course, that the *Souterliedekens* were unacceptable to Catholics and for that reason not to be published, and the work never appeared on any official list of forbidden books.

The *Souterliedekens* do not consist of a free rendering of biblical subject matter or introduction of individual interpretations. Although in some places rhyme schemes and grammatical structures hampered literal translation, the translator in the main adhered closely to the biblical text. The *Souterliedekens*, composed primarily for home use, consist of a rich variety of rhyme patterns, and most of the psalms were written in different forms. The stanzas vary in total from four to thirteen lines.

In this respect one may wonder if Nyevelt knew or used other sources. Obviously, as H. Hasper rightly remarks, he must have been acquainted with the psalm translations of Luther, Marot and Campensis.[15] Lenselink regards Willem Vorsterman's 1528 translation as Nyevelt's main source.[16] There is reason to assume that the printing

of the original, approved Vulgate text in the margins was intended to deceive the Catholic authorities, and thus permit the unhindered printing of this Psalter. Besides, the Vulgate text formed the basis for the translation. Another likely source for Nyevelt's translation was the Lutheran Liesvelt's 1526 translation of the Bible.[17] It is interesting to note that Vorsterman had already copied lines and words from Liesvelt, and this fact makes the latter's influence on the *Souterliedekens* even more persuasive. Since Liesvelt had based his work on Luther's translations, Nyevelt's two principal sources were in fact heretical by the standards of the Catholic authorities of the time.

Officially ten editions of this collection were printed by Simon Cock at Antwerp in 1540.[18] At least thirty-three other editions were printed between 1540 and 1613,[19] suggesting that the *Souterliedekens* were very popular at the time and met a certain need for a complete Dutch psalter. The music to which the psalms were adapted came from Dutch folk songs and other secular melodies. These would have been well known and almost certainly contributed to the popularity of the psalter, even though they may have been frowned on institutionally.[20]

Of the music used for this collection at least seventy-seven Dutch melodies were adopted. Sixty of these appeared later in the Antwerp song book printed in 1544, and six melodies have been identified as being French.[21] Scheurleer suggests that these melodies were of a profanity that would indicate that the *Souterliedekens* cannot have been used in church.[22] Among these are melodies from love songs, serenades, satires, drinking songs and minstrel songs. Originally the music was polyphonic; however only one of the three or four voices would have been adopted for the *Souterliedekens*. For the 1562 edition, Jacobus Clemens non Papa produced polyphonic settings for Nyevelt's collection or, according to Bernet Kempers, applied the tenor part of his three-part settings.[23]

With his *Souterliedekens* Nyevelt established a collection of psalms that were in use for more than seventy years. In fact they were the first metrical psalms in the Dutch language and may well have inspired later renderings. The strength of their simplicity must have appealed to many Netherlanders and their form suited daily life in the Low Countries. Yet the *Souterliedekens* were only meant for private worship. Lenselink remarks that London was probably the only place where these psalms were part of the liturgy, and it seems as if the Dutch congregation at Austin Friars in the early 1550s adopted the *Souterliedekens* for their worship.[24] In fact these Netherlandic refugees seem to have been the first to have had the opportunity to use psalm renderings freely in liturgies of the Reformist tradition.

The popularity of the *Souterliedekens* and their many editions during the sixteenth century made them well known both inside and outside the Netherlands.[25] In this respect the *Souterliedekens* may have served other, foreign psalm translators. Richard Todd connects the *Souterliedekens* with Sir Philip Sidney and his sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke.[26] Todd argues that Sidney, a thoroughly Europeanised Protestant, must have been familiar with the major European psalm versifications, and it is very possible that he may have encountered the *Souterliedekens* or may have used them as a model. There are remarkable similarities between the Sidney-Pembroke psalter and the *Souterliedekens* in form and rhyme schemes.[27] In further research Todd has demonstrated that the final part of Sidney's psalms, Psalms 38 to 42, may date from a period during his last and fatal stay in the Netherlands.[28]

Eenige Psalmen, thien in getale

Robin Leaver assumes the *Souterliedekens* to be the natural starting point for Jan Utenhove when he began to translate the psalms into verse.[29] Utenhove was the first translator after the publication of the *Souterliedekens* to have produced a more liturgical psalm rendering. Owing to difficult personal and professional circumstances he had to leave Louvain and went to Cologne, where he met, among others, Martyr, Bucer and Fagius before going on to Strasburg to flee from persecution.[30]

In 1548 Thomas Cranmer sent a letter to Strasburg in which he requested the assistance of Bucer and others in his work for the Reformation in England. The death of Henry VIII and the accession of Edward VI, under the Protectorate of his uncle, Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford and duke of Somerset, had rendered the situation in England more propitious for reform. The group of Bucer, Utenhove, a Lasco, Fagius and others acceded to this request and joined Cranmer. Utenhove for his part brought together the Netherlandic refugees in London and assumed leadership of the Dutch congregation at Austin Friars.[31] During the reign of Edward VI approval was given to these developments and the work of the Reformation thereby stimulated.[32]

While belonging to this congregation of Netherlandic reformed refugees Utenhove began to render some of the psalms into Dutch.[33,34] Since the *Souterliedekens* seem to have been destined primarily for home use, a more liturgical collection of psalms was required for use

in church. This appeared in 1551 under the title *Eenige Psalmen, thien in getale*, followed by the Lord's Prayer and Creed. For Lenselink it is the resemblance of these ten psalms to the *Souterliedekens* that provides reason for assuming that the latter must have been popular with the London congregation.[35] Whether Utenhove's settings were indeed sung at Austin Friars remains uncertain. Some authorities argue that, since only the 120th psalm bears Utenhove's initials (I. V.), the other psalms in the collection must have been set by other members of the congregation, the more so because Utenhove was not in the first instance a poet or literary figure.[36] But there is no real evidence to assume that Utenhove would have published work by others under his own name.

Although Utenhove's collection was limited in scope, it met the essential needs of a recently established congregation, as psalms of different purport had been chosen for the specific parts of the liturgy: psalms of praise, repentance and penance, psalms for weddings and burials were all included. Hasper recognises the first psalm as being an adapted version of the *Souterliedekens*,[37] set to the melody of the Ten Commandments by Bourgeois in 1543. Psalm 2 was an adaptation from a German psalter by Andreas Knoepken dating from 1527. Utenhove (if he was indeed the translator of the entire collection) would have known the remaining eight psalms from the *Bonner Gesangbuch* that had been reprinted in 1550.[38] Sometimes indeed he literally translates given psalms along with errors in his originals. This sometimes results in Germanisms in the Dutch text.

Vyf-en-twintig Psalmen

The collection just mentioned indicates that Utenhove's attitude to his sources was eclectic.[39] This was also the case with a new collection of psalms by Utenhove, published in 1551, which includes Dutch renderings of metaphrases by Marot, Liesvelt, Nyevelt and Bucer among others. The new collection appeared as *Vyf-en-twintig Psalmen* and included the ten psalms already mentioned, as well as the Song of Simeon and the Ten Commandments. Utenhove closely followed the French poets in words and stanza forms, but he deliberately abandoned their patterns of thought. Yet with this new collection Utenhove showed, on the whole, greater independence of his sources. His main effort seems to have been directed at approaching as closely as possible the needs of his London congregation.

Until the death of Edward VI in 1553 Utenhove, like any Protestant, was able to publish his work in England without danger of persecution. Although in the Low Countries printers had found various ways to distribute their works secretly, publishers there ran the risk of being imprisoned, tortured or executed for producing Reformed psalm translations or tracts.[40] But in England, too, the situation of the refugees altered dramatically with the accession of the last Tudor Catholic monarch Mary I. Supported by the majority of the English nobility she attempted to eradicate Reformist forces and reimpose Catholicism as the state religion. Two months later Utenhove and a Lasco moved to Denmark where they were expected to conform to Lutheran doctrine. After having left Denmark on 18 December 1553, the Reformers were finally able to settle at Emden, thanks to the indulgence of Anna, Countess of Oldenburg.

Other miscellaneous collections from the 1550s

It was here in Emden that various smaller collections of Dutch psalm renderings were printed: two reprints of the London psalms published in 1557 and 1558, and a new collection of *11. Anderpsalmen* in 1558. The latter was mainly based on Liesvelt's psalm translations with only one setting originating from Marot. Of the melodies, five came from the French psalter of 1551, four from German hymn books and three from a Strasburg hymn book, probably printed in 1545.

A similar collection, *Andere 26. Psalmen Dauidis nieuwelick toeghemaeckt* by Utenhove, was published by Gellius Ctematius in 1559. It appears to have been a reprint of psalms used for earlier collections. Although the language and spelling and the printer's introduction, as well as the content, were new, the psalms can be traced back to Liesvelt, Marot and for the greater part the *Liber Psaltnorum Dauidis* of 1556–7. From 1559 onwards many different collections of psalms were published, with or without the consent of the translator.[41]

Hondert Psalmen Davids

After these editions and reprints, Utenhove, having returned to London, produced the *Hondert Psalmen Davids*, printed by Jan Daye [sic] in 1561. From Utenhove's letters and psalm commentary we can see his emerging interest in the work of Petrus Dathenus,

who had embarked on his own renderings in 1558. It was through Ctematius that they had been introduced to each other's work. There is no evidence that Utenhove actually used Dathenus' psalm renderings, although the style, vocabulary and rhyme schemes are closely related.[42] Where sentence structures, number of syllables and rhyme patterns were irregular, they were changed but not according to any binding principle. Other corrections or adjustments took the form of new melodies and new spelling. Complex melismas were changed into simple melodic lines, so that the number of syllables became more regularly ordered.

This collection of one hundred psalms was a compilation from earlier psalms published by Utenhove and others. The *Thien Psalmen* of 1551, the *11. Ander Psalmen* of 1558–9 and the *Andere 26. Psalmen* of 1559 were included, as were some new renderings based on psalms of Beza's dating from 1551.[43] Among the sources for the melodies were the French-Genevan hymn books of 1548. In many instances Utenhove applied alterations in spelling and corrections to the translations and rhyme schemes as compared to his earlier versions. The melodies often compelled Utenhove to subject the Dutch psalms to a more uniform poetic treatment than Marot and Beza had done. In other cases Utenhove simplified both text and melody. His *Hondert Psalmen Dauids* was reprinted some months later, yet virtually unchanged since, as Lenselink has shown, it derived from the same manuscript.[44]

Dathenus

The psalm renderings of Utenhove were replaced by a new psalter, Petrus Dathenus' *De Psalmen Davids*, in 1566.[45] Until 1773 his psalter was used as *the* hymn book for Reformed, i.e. Calvinist, liturgies. Between 1566 and 1568 many editions were published, the first probably at Heidelberg. Dathenus had decided to translate the French renderings by Marot and Beza, being not entirely satisfied with Utenhove's psalms. As the Dutch-speaking Protestants were closely related to the French Protestant tradition, Dathenus seems to have felt the necessity of using Marot's psalms.[46] Dathenus' dissatisfaction with Utenhove was at least partly based on the latter's progressive approach to spelling and vocabulary and he found a traditional psalm rendering more appropriate for his continental congregation.

Dathenus was a translator who did not go back to the original Hebrew Bible, but copied images and metaphors from the French. Some philologists, among them actual contemporaries of Dathenus such as the aristocratic Philips van Marnix who represents a tradition that would persist into the nineteenth century, criticised Dathenus' attitude towards psalm translation. Dathenus was regarded as ignorant, since he was unable to read the Hebrew psalter, and he was thought to have had an uncritical attitude towards the use of original, literary motifs and themes, copying directly from Marot and Beza. Lenselink has suggested that Dathenus must also have used psalm translations by his predecessors, such as Utenhove, Lucas de Heere and Nyevelt. Dathenus followed the French psalm renderings quite accurately. In every psalm he retained not only the same number of stanzas but also the same form of these stanzas, as well as their rhyme patterns. The result of this is that he inevitably copied the additions, explanations and paraphrases of Marot and Beza.[47] Some of Dathenus' psalms offer an awkward or illogical impression when one bears in mind their French original. But those additions of his own which Dathenus does incorporate give a personal touch to his translation and tend to obscure the strong French influence. Structurally there are some inaccuracies in cases where Dathenus follows his French source too literally. Sentences that were grammatically acceptable in French do not always permit direct transposition into Dutch.

All these aspects make it difficult to arrive at a consistent conclusion concerning his psalter: Dathenus' methods and techniques were too diverse. To make his psalter acceptable to his congregations, he accurately counted the syllables of a verse line from the original French melody in order to be able to use it. On the other hand he did not consider stress patterns in a given line, and this made regular recitation difficult. Metrical or rhythmical structures were of little importance to him.

The popularity of Dathenus' psalms, according to Lenselink, lies in the following facts. Dathenus was one of the first Dutch psalm translators to produce a complete psalter along the lines of what had already been done in France and Germany. Secondly, as Marot and Beza were Protestants, renderings based on their work were readily accepted by the Dutch-speaking Protestants. Thirdly, the psalter was relatively strong from a poetic point of view, as compared to previous Dutch psalm translations. In these respects – with its simple theology and linguistic characteristics – the French Huguenot psalter appealed more to Dathenus' congregations.[48]

Marnix van St Aldegonde

In 1580 *Het Boeck der Psalmen Davids. Wt de Hebreische spraeke in Nederduytschen dichte op de ghewoonlijcke Francoische wyse ouerghesett* appeared in the Low Countries. It was an adaptation of the Marot-Beza psalms produced by Phillips Van Marnix of St Aldegonde (1540–98).[49] Since Marnix had been in contact with Calvin and Beza in Geneva, he knew how to interpret the Genevan context of the psalms. In addition to being first and foremost a public figure in the Low Countries,[50] Marnix was also a scholar of Hebrew. Although he closely followed the formal settings of the French psalms as far as, for instance, stanza forms and melodies were concerned, for the text he went back to the original Hebrew version. In 1591 a second edition of these psalms appeared.[51] In an introduction to his psalms of 1580 Marnix comments on Dathenus' work as a translator. In his preface to the 1591 edition he becomes even more explicit when he subtly mentions the fact that Dathenus was not a scholar of Hebrew, and that therefore he was not able to correct or interpret the psalms properly for a new rendering. Since Dathenus' psalm versifications continued to be very popular with the public, Marnix's renderings, although officially recommended, were not widely introduced into the Dutch Protestant church.[52] Yet his work must have been known internationally. There is clear evidence that in particular Marnix's poetical work was known to various circles in, among other countries, England.[53]

Conclusion

With this description of the major Dutch psalm translations, their contextual, international consequences may be sketched out briefly. We saw that after the publication of the *Deuoot ende profitelijck boecxken*, many Reformed renderings were produced in the Low Countries that were related to other European psalm translations. The history of the psalm renderings was not exclusively determined by religious and literary matters. It is inseparably bound up with political, ecclesiastical and musical issues. From a religious point of view there was an intense concern with biblical lyrics. Although the Bible had been available for centuries, its rediscovery as a philological and literary authority had changed its medieval status. By using formal elements of European psalm versifications in combination with the original content of the

psalms, Dutch-language poets introduced a new poetry to Dutch literature, and of course to European literature at large.

We saw that from 1539 the Dutch religious lyric, such as the *Souterliedekens* and Utenhove's psalm renderings, spread to other European countries. There are striking similarities between Dutch prosodic forms on the one hand and the poetic productions of the Sidneys on the other. At the same time the introduction to the *Souterliedekens* showed similarities with Luther's preface to his *Walther'sche Gesangbuch* of 1524, and the main source for the music of the *Souterliedekens* is generally taken to be the 1544 *Antwerpsch Liedboecxken*, which was not favoured by the authorities of the time. The *Souterliedekens* were also the starting point for later psalm versifications, as for instance the settings by Utenhove, who had introduced his work to Dutch-speaking congregations in England, Germany and France. For his *Vyf-en-twintig Psalmen* Utenhove had used the French psalms and had combined them with melodies from the *Bonner Gesangbuch*. For other compilations, too, Utenhove adopted psalms from foreign renderings. A poet such as Dathenus rightly noticed that the French and Dutch Protestant traditions were closely related, and therefore directly adapted the Marot-Beza psalms, introducing French images and metaphors. The same can be said about Marnix, who, with his many foreign connections, played a major part in the European Protestant tradition. The religious lyric from different countries and different Protestant viewpoints was brought to the Low Countries, adapted in various ways, and in its turn found its way to foreign congregations again. In this way the Low Countries may be regarded as a connecting nexus between the various traditions of the different European countries.

5
William the Silent's statecraft

K. W. Swart

William the Silent has been the most highly respected of all leading political figures in the history of the Netherlands. Already during his lifetime many of his followers honoured him as the 'father of the fatherland', who served as God's instrument in attempting to liberate their country from Spanish tyranny. This idealised image of the prince of Orange was, for example, presented by the author of the '*Wilhelmus*' at the very beginning of the Revolt of the Netherlands. In the twentieth century, when the '*Wilhelmus*' became the Dutch national anthem, Orange was more than ever acclaimed as the great national hero. During the past eighty years even Dutch scholars of pronouncedly Catholic or leftist persuasions have portrayed him as a statesman who towered far above all his contemporaries. As one of them put it, he was one of those rare individuals whose shortcomings are ennobled as a result of his struggle for a high ideal.[1]

Orange was however not an idealist ahead of his time, but a highly pragmatic politician who shared, at least initially, the political outlook which was characteristic of the high nobility of his age. Yet he had a variety of gifts which distinguished him from his fellow noblemen and predisposed him to play a leading role in the government of his country. He had for example a very sharp mind and an excellent memory as well as a keen insight into the political realities of his period. He was, moreover, tactful, patient and ingratiating in his manners, never behaving haughtily, in spite of his illustrious descent, towards persons of less distinguished background.

Orange was also a master in the field of political propaganda. By publishing numerous anti-Spanish tracts he greatly contributed to the propagation of the so-called Black Legend, i.e. the once so widely accepted view that the Spanish people are innately superstitious, cruel

and tyrannical. Specifically, he greatly exaggerated the misdeeds committed by leading figures in the Spanish government. The duke of Alva, for example, was portrayed as a wild tiger, and Philip II fared hardly better. Although in the '*Wilhelmus*' it was stated that the Prince had always honoured the king of Spain, in Orange's *Apology* Philip II is falsely accused of such horrible crimes as incest, bigamy and the murder of his son Don Carlos.[2] Orange also knew how to present his own political role in as favourable a light as possible. The highly idealised image of the prince which is to be found in the '*Wilhelmus*' is little more than a poetic restatement of the views which Orange himself had put forward in his pamphlets soliciting support for his abortive invasion of 1568. In representing the Revolt of the Netherlands as a struggle between black and white, Orange not only influenced public opinion of his time in his favour, but also put many later historians on the wrong track.

Although Orange was a very talkative person, he seldom revealed his true political objectives. For this reason some of his opponents called him the Silent, a name that his admirers did not give him until long after his death. His enemies also called him a liar and a hypocrite, and it cannot be denied that truthfulness was not one of his main virtues. But there is something to be said for the opinion of a seventeenth-century biographer of Oliver Cromwell – another revolutionary leader who was frequently not very veracious – that a politician who does not know how to dissemble is also incapable of governing.[3]

A number of prominent Dutch historians have argued that Erasmus profoundly influenced Orange's religious and political views.[4] But in none of Orange's writings is any reference made to the works of the great Dutch humanist. If any sixteenth-century writer exerted a profound influence on Orange's political outlook, Machiavelli seems a more likely choice, and not only many critics of the prince but also some of his admirers have maintained that he frequently consulted the best known work of this Italian humanist, *Il Principe*.[5] This seems doubtful, because Orange was not much of a reader. But it is far from unlikely that if Machiavelli had written his famous political treatise fifty years later, he would have pointed out that Orange was the personification of almost all the virtues that a prince should possess in order to achieve his objectives, namely: persevering and willing to take great risks; knowing that the goddess Fortuna bestows her favours upon the bold; not overly confident in times of success and not dejected in periods of adversity; gifted in winning over his fellowmen to his way of thinking; sly as a fox if not strong as a lion; and aware that a statesman cannot

afford to be overly scrupulous in the choice of his methods, since in politics the harsh rule prevails that necessity knows no law.

The prince of Orange was however more than a gifted, shrewd, frequently opportunistic and sometimes even unscrupulous politician. He was also single-minded, pursuing certain objectives with great determination. In dealing with the question of what cause Orange was fighting for, a clear distinction should be made between the beginning of his political career, when he was still a more or less loyal servant of Charles V and Philip II, and the last sixteen years of his life, when he acted as the leader of the Revolt of the Netherlands. Up to 1568 Orange, like most of his fellow noblemen, regarded it as one of his primary duties to uphold and promote the honour and interests of his family, if not those of the nobility in general. When in 1559, as a result of the death of his father, he became head of the house of Nassau, he wrote to his brother Louis: 'We should follow in the footsteps of our father so that our house, which with God's help has been held in such high esteem, will not lose credit but rather become more and more highly respected'.[6] At the same time Orange also revealed his dynastic aspirations by choosing the proud device 'Je maintiendray Nassau'.

In his early years religious questions meant little to him. In 1560, when he was determined to marry the Protestant princess Anne of Saxony, he assured her powerful German relatives that he was a Protestant at heart, while at the same time declaring to Philip II that nothing was as dear to him as the Catholic religion. He spoke more truthfully a few years later when he stated that Catholics and Protestants basically professed the same faith, even if they expressed their belief in different ways.[7] It is understandable that a person who attached so little significance to the confessional controversies of his period, and whose closest relatives and best friends as well as his wife were Protestants, was utterly opposed to Philip II's merciless persecution of heretics. And it is often assumed that after he made his speech in the Council of State on New Year's Eve 1564 in favour of freedom of conscience, he was firmly resolved to dedicate himself wholeheartedly to the realisation of this ideal. This was however by no means the case. What did happen was that Philip II began not only to distrust Orange's Catholic orthodoxy, but also to question the loyalty of the prince, who at this time acted as the leader of the aristocratic opposition. Knowing that he had fallen into disgrace with the king, Orange decided in April 1567, when the duke of Alva was on his way to the Netherlands to crush all opposition, to carry out his long contemplated plan to retire to his native country, Germany. It was not until a year later that he reluctantly decided to take up arms

against Philip II. What prompted him to join battle with the powerful king of Spain was not primarily his aversion to Philip's policy of religious persecution, nor the fear of God, as is stated in the '*Wilhelmus*', but his indignation about the great injustice that had been done to him personally, namely the abduction of his son Philip William to Spain, the seizure of his estates and the summons to appear before the Council of Troubles on the (according to him) trumped-up charge of having been the main instigator of the troubles in the Netherlands. These tyrannical measures offending his sense of honour and his reputation – so Orange repeatedly stated – had compelled him to take the law in his own hands.[8]

Orange's eventual decision to take up arms constituted the great turning point in his career. The once loyal servant of the House of Habsburg became a rebel leader who felt called upon to perform a historic mission, the success of which became more important to him than the promotion of his family interests. To acquire the much needed support in this seemingly unequal struggle against a formidable opponent, Orange now established cordial relations with two groups of the population with which he had refused to be associated until this time, namely with the Calvinists and with those members of the bourgeoisie who were outraged by Alva's utter disregard of the traditional privileges of the country. With the assistance of his new allies he henceforth entirely committed himself to what he usually called 'the common cause', which he also characterised as a just and holy enterprise. Before he had made up his mind to come to the defence of the oppressed Christians, so he assured some of his disheartened followers in August 1573, he had entered into an alliance with the King of Kings, and he and his followers would ultimately prevail over their enemies.[9]

Orange also called the cause he fought for the cause of the dear fatherland. But during his lifetime the Revolt of the Netherlands was not so much a struggle for national independence as a civil war. Only a small part of the population was willing to assist Orange in his daring enterprise, while an equal number of inhabitants sided with the king. Orange's position was therefore not that of a leader of the nation, but that of a head of one of the warring parties.

Later historians, such as P. C. Hooft, called the party of Orange the party of liberty.[10] But liberty is a notoriously vague term, which can serve as a cover for all kinds of causes. So it is not surprising that many persons in the Netherlands were convinced that there existed more freedom under the rule of Philip II than under that of the prince of Orange. It is also well-known that Orange's supporters disagreed amongst themselves on the question of what kind of freedom they were fighting for.

To the Calvinists it meant the freedom of God's word, but the social elite in the rebellious town were afraid that the Calvinists aimed at introducing a theocratic regime that would be as oppressive as that of the Catholic Church. It was not for religion that most members of the bourgeoisie were willing to support Orange's cause, but for the sake of the privileges that had been violated by Alva and in order to gain more influence on the conduct of government.

Orange's concept of freedom was neither that of the Calvinists nor that of the well-to-do bourgeoisie, but in his struggle against Spanish domination he was dependent on the support of these two groups of the population and he was adamant that at least part of the freedom which his most trustworthy supporters wanted to attain should become a reality. In his religious policy he actively promoted the establishment of the Reformed Church, frequently at the expense of the rights of the Catholics. Although never a true Calvinist, not even after he belatedly joined their church in 1573, he always rejected any peace proposal that did not guarantee the free exercise of the new religion. It is true that as a firm believer in religious toleration he would have preferred the same rights to be granted to the Catholics, but on this question he was prepared to compromise. In his manifestos of 1572 he assured the Catholics, whose support he hoped to acquire because they made up the majority of the population, that their rights would be respected. But the commanders of his troops who liberated Holland and Zeeland from Spanish domination did not act accordingly, and in 1573, when in all revolutionary towns the exercise of the Catholic religion had been forbidden, Orange resigned himself to this situation. In 1578, after the southern provinces, where the old religion could count on stronger support, had joined the revolt, Orange made a more serious effort to introduce a religious peace between Protestants and Catholics. But again he failed in his attempt and, in contrast to Coornhert and other firm advocates of religious toleration, he acquiesced in the prohibition of the public exercise of the Catholic religion in all areas under rebel control.

Although opposed to the intolerant Calvinist attitude towards Catholicism, Orange bears some responsibility for the fact that Catholics came to be treated as second-class citizens. It was for example largely at his instigation that during the early years of the Revolt most of the possessions of the Catholic Church were seized and that some of these were given to the Calvinists or used for military purposes. Orange exaggerated when he claimed at the end of his life that he had suffered more than anyone else and worked to promote God's word,[11] but it is true that

the Calvinists, in sharp contrast to the Catholics, had many reasons to be grateful for the efforts he had made on their behalf.

Orange was likewise a staunch defender of at least some of the rights claimed by his supporters among the urban elite. It is true that in spite of his solemn pledges he did not show much more respect for their privileges than that shown by the duke of Alva. Moreover, the taxes levied in his new revolutionary regime became much higher than the universally detested Tenth Penny which Alva had wanted to introduce, while the civilian population suffered hardly less from the wanton behaviour of Orange's poorly paid, generally foreign mercenaries than from the wilfulness of the Spanish soldiery. As a result, many burghers withdrew the sympathy that they had initially felt for Orange's cause. A Zierikzee burgomaster undoubtedly expressed a widely held view when he lamented in 1574 that, in the name of liberty, liberty was perishing.[12]

On the other hand, the prince of Orange made one important contribution to the cause of political freedom which was highly appreciated by his bourgeois supporters: he conferred much more authority upon the representative assemblies, thus paving the way for the form of government of the Dutch Republic in which the States assemblies wielded near-sovereign power. His willingness to grant the members of the States a decisive voice in the determination of government policy is surprising, for he held a low opinion of their zeal for the common cause and frequently took them to task for being more concerned with their local interests than with the welfare of the country. Especially during the last four years of Orange's life, the States-General appeared to be unwilling to play the leading role in the government which the prince had assigned to them. Frequently they started their deliberations months later than agreed upon because many deputies failed to appear in time or to show up at all. They were moreover never provided with the plenary powers Orange had insisted upon. But it is remarkable that Orange, unlike other revolutionary leaders such as Cromwell and Robespierre, never dealt with the representative assemblies in a high-handed manner in order to arrogate dictatorial power to himself.[13]

The major reason why Orange always strove to maintain cordial relations with the States assemblies was that they alone were able to provide him with the funds needed to finance the war effort. The only objective on which he was in dead earnest was the downfall of the so-called Spanish tyranny. This meant in practice that the king of Spain, his councillors and his political and military representatives should no longer have any say in determining the affairs of the Netherlands, so

that justice could be done not only to Orange but also to all others who had committed themselves to the common cause. On this point he was unyielding, stubbornly refusing to consider any peace proposal that did not assure that Spain's political influence in the Netherlands was reduced to a bare minimum.

During the initial, most critical years of the Revolt, Orange was irreplaceable as a leader of the revolutionary movement. For there was no person of comparable social status and political ability. This was realised by friend and foe alike. The States knew that without his leadership they would not be able to keep up the struggle against the Spanish forces much longer. On the numerous occasions when Orange threatened to resign if the States continued to oppose the drastic measures that he deemed necessary to fight the enemy, they promised to behave better in the future and implored him to proceed with his blessed rule. The Spanish authorities were likewise convinced that the Revolt would collapse if Orange no longer served as its leader and secretly encouraged many individuals to try to assassinate him long before they publicly put a price on his life in 1580.

In the pursuit of his main objective Orange displayed extraordinary perseverance. In spite of the numerous reversals he suffered, he never abandoned the hope that the chance of war would turn in his favour. This means that the saying often attributed to him, 'n'est besoin d'espérer pour entreprendre, ni de réussir pour persévérer', only partly typifies his political outlook. It is true that lack of success never deterred him from making renewed efforts to damage his opponent, but without hope, which frequently proved to be idle, much of what he undertook would never have been attempted. In his struggle against the enemy he behaved much less prudently than has been generally assumed. In fact, he sometimes acted like a daredevil who is willing to take great risks. Some of his ventures were crowned with success, such as the inundation of large parts of Holland's countryside in order to force the enemy to give up his siege of the town of Leiden. But in other instances he failed miserably, because he vastly overestimated the financial or political support he would be receiving. Such was, for example, the case with the ill-fated campaigns that he undertook in 1568 and 1572 in order to overthrow Alva's tyrannical regime. What cost him even more dearly was the hazardous and highly unpopular pro-French policy which he stubbornly pursued during the last four years of his life. As a result of the treacherous role played by the French duke of Anjou, who had been appointed as the new ruler of the Netherlands on Orange's insistence, the revolutionary

government fell into a state of anarchy and large parts of Flanders and Brabant, which were at this time still the two most important provinces of the Netherlands, fell into enemy hands.

Orange's political insight was not always infallible, and the ultimate outcome of the Revolt – the establishment of an independent republic in the northern part of the country – did not entirely correspond to what he had aimed for. Nonetheless his achievements were remarkable. The Revolt of the Netherlands brought about a radical and lasting change in the political development of the Low Countries. It would, like most other revolts in the early modern period, have ended in total failure if the leadership of the revolutionary government had not initially rested in the hands of such a highly able and determined person as the prince of Orange.

6
Southampton, sea beggars and the Dutch Revolt, 1567–1573

Andrew Spicer

The defeat of the First Revolt of the Netherlands between 1567 and 1568, and the subsequent arrival of the duke of Alva and the work of the Council of Troubles, caused a considerable wave of emigration from the Southern Netherlands. At least 15,000 refugees came to England. Among the State Papers are two letters from 'les habitants des Pais-Bas espars et dispersé ça et là pour le jourdhui la parole de Dieu', which appealed to the Queen for protection.[1] Many of the refugees joined the existing Stranger communities in London, Sandwich and Norwich, though new communities were established in towns such as Maidstone and Southampton. The refugees were directed to Southampton by the Privy Council in the hope that they would help to revitalise the town's economy, through the introduction of the 'new draperies'.

The Southampton refugees claimed to have 'determined with our selves without regard either to the losse of our goodes or native contrey to seeke out an other place of habitacon where it may be lawfull for us to live more quietly and Christian like', because they could not 'endure and abide our consciences to be burdened and in especiall to beare the intolerable clogge of the Spanish Inquisicon'.[2] The Southampton refugees were a closely linked group. More than half of the seventy Walloons who attended the community's first Communion service on 21 December 1567 can be shown to be connected to each other either by ties of blood, marriage or employment which were established before their arrival in Southampton. Of these seventy Walloons, at least thirteen were cited to appear before the Council of Troubles and other members of the community were related to them or to four further people who were summoned to appear before the Council.[3]

Many of the Southampton refugees originated from Valenciennes, whose role in the First Revolt came to an end when the town fell to the government forces on 23 March 1567. Some of the refugees appear to have been clearly implicated in the troubles of the *Wonderjaar* 1566.

Guillaume Coppin, a member of consistory of the Calvinist church in Valenciennes, together with members of his family was reported by government spies to have attended sermons during the wave of hedge-preaching. Furthermore another Southampton refugee, Jan le Mesureur who was also a member of the consistory, played a prominent role in defending the town from the government forces. Le Mesureur was arrested after the capture of Valenciennes but managed to escape into exile.[4] Other refugees, while not appearing to have been actively involved in the First Revolt, certainly supported the Calvinist cause. Several members of the Sohier family are recorded as having contributed to the Three Million Guilders Request in January 1567, whose ostensible purpose was the purchase of religious freedom but which was probably a pretext to raise money in order to recruit mercenaries for the Calvinist cause.[5] In their exile, did these refugees continue to be interested in the affairs of their homeland, and so support the Revolt and the Orangist cause in the Netherlands?

The Stranger communities of Sandwich, London, and to an extent that of Norwich, played an important role in the early years of the Revolt of the Netherlands. The consistories of these communities were responsible for organising the public Reformed service held at Boeschepe in July 1562 and in 1567–8, and they coordinated and financed the activities of the Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier of Flanders.[6] Later, in 1572, the Orangist commissioner, sent to Veere by the Governor of Walcheren, travelled to Norwich where the Dutch community contributed 125 soldiers who were sent to Veere and also in that year the London community raised £1400 for Flushing.[7]

There are several points that have to be remembered when considering the support given by the Southampton community to the Netherlands in these years. Southampton clearly was geographically far removed from the Netherlands when compared with the East Coast ports of Norwich and Sandwich. It was more difficult for the refugees to go back and forth to the Netherlands and to launch military operations from Southampton in a similar way to those sent out from Sandwich. The community was also considerably smaller than the communities in Sandwich, Norwich and particularly London. It should also be remembered that the Southampton community was not primarily Flemish/Dutch like those of Sandwich and Norwich; Southampton's

was a Walloon community but it also contained an influential number of native Channel Island merchants, who appreciated services in their own language and of a similar form to those that they enjoyed on Guernsey and Jersey. Furthermore from 1568/9 onwards French Protestants began to arrive in the town and to be admitted to the church. The influx of these Huguenots resulted in a further diminution of the Walloon character of the community, especially with the later migration of some of the founder members of the community. It is for these reasons that I have decided to confine this study of the community's attitude to the Revolt to the period 1567 to 1573.

The community as a whole showed their concern for events on the continent by the fasts that were held during this period. Fasts according to the Reformed manner meant not merely abstinence from food but also periods of prayer and preaching. In 1568 a fast was held on the occasion of William of Orange's entry into the Low Countries with a German army for what was believed to be the relief of the Calvinist churches. In 1572 they fasted not merely for Orange's arrival in the Low Countries to relieve the country and the churches but also for the Huguenots of France in the wake of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre. Support for the Revolt in the form of public fasts continued in Southampton during the remainder of the sixteenth century, with military operations in the Netherlands and the Protestant cause being commemorated in this way.[8]

Unfortunately the church's consistory book for this period, which may have contained details of the church's correspondence, disappeared during the eighteenth century and no financial records for the church and its community have survived either. This does make it more difficult to gauge the level and form of support for the Orangist cause in this period. However it appears that Orange's agent, Lieven Calwaert, was sent to London in the spring of 1573, to raise money for the Prince's military operations. He was a minister, which probably strengthened his position within the Stranger churches when he was appealing for money. Calwaert was in contact with Adrian Saravia, who promised to further the Orangist cause. He was at that time the headmaster of King Edward VI's grammar school in Southampton and was probably involved in the affairs of the French church, although he retained his links with the London church. Saravia had at one time been Orange's chaplain and in a letter sent to him at Southampton, the Prince referred to collections made in Southampton and Rye. Orange was disappointed by the amount of money raised by the Stranger churches during 1573 and wrote several letters to them, requesting further sums. One of his previous letters to the communities at Southampton and Rye had only

raised £10, but this may be a reflection on the increasingly French character of the Southampton community and the Rye community which was almost exclusively composed of French Huguenots.[9]

Besides the support of the community as a whole for the Revolt and the Orangist cause, individuals did make their own contributions. Most of the evidence that survives concerns the activities of Jean de Beaulieu and the Sea Beggars. Jean de Beaulieu was related to the Sohier family, who had contributed to the Three Million Guilders Request, and his mother, Wauldrue Malapert, had been cited to appear before the Council of Troubles before she also fled to Southampton.[10,11] By its very nature, information concerning privateering and the activities of the Sea Beggars is scarce. We are however fortunate that Jean de Beaulieu's involvement with the Sea Beggars resulted in a series of protracted law suits, one of which with Benedict Spinola lasted for at least four years. While I have not yet been able to study all the material from these cases, the depositions given by the witnesses provide a valuable insight into the activities of the Sea Beggars in the area around the Isle of Wight and off the Hampshire coast.

A survey of the state of shipping on the South Coast made in 1570 suggests that Meadhole on the Isle of Wight served as the centre for French Huguenot privateers while the Sea Beggars operated in this area from a base at Portsmouth. In response to a survey of shipping, Sir Edward Horsey wrote on 23 July 1570 concerning Meadhole that there were 'x sayle of shipps well trymed in warlicke order and aborde them as I can lerne CCC of their nations as well Marriners as others' and that the French captains were serving under the queen of Navarre. However at Portsmouth there were six ships from Emden and one from Zeeland; the majority of the Sea Beggar captains came from the coastal provinces of Holland, Friesland, Zeeland and Groningen. Evidence that this was probably a Sea Beggar fleet is supported by the fact that, during one of the cases concerning De Beaulieu, a deponent stated that Anthony Agache, De Lumbres' secretary, was probably in the company of the Admiral at either Portsmouth or Dover.[12]

Even before the emergence of the Sea Beggars, shipping in the Channel suffered from the activities of Huguenot privateers. In 1568 Spanish treasure ships were forced to seek protection in English waters from these privateers. One of these ships sought protection at Calshot Castle but after being attacked, possibly by pirates in league with James Parkinson the Captain of the Castle, it moved on to Southampton where the ship's captain suggested that his cargo of bullion should be unloaded so that it could be better protected.[13] It has been suggested that both Sir

Anthony Champernowne, the Vice-Admiral of Devon, and Sir Edward Horsey, the Captain of the Isle of Wight, were prepared to assist in the Huguenot seizure of the bullion with a proportion of the prize going to the Crown, rather than to allow it to continue to the Netherlands.[14] However, there is no evidence to suggest that the Sea Beggars or members of the Southampton refugee community participated in this affair, although information concerning the seizure is vague. It is perhaps significant that this bullion belonged to a Genoese syndicate in which Benedict Spinola was a leading figure and that it was the same person who later became embroiled in litigation with De Beaulieu.

In May 1571 in the High Court of Admiralty, Benedict Spinola represented a group of Italian merchants in a case that was largely concerned with the disappearance of four barrels of cochenile from a ship called the *Flying Dragon* which were estimated to be worth about £360.[15] Jean de Beaulieu was alleged to have stolen the barrels one night and then taken them by boat towards Southampton. The ship had been sailing from Cadiz to Antwerp and had been seized by the Sea Beggars. The owner of part of the cargo, Phillip Asselvaro, had engaged De Beaulieu to act as an intermediary; he was to halt the ship and to negotiate with De Lumbres over the cargo.[16] The cargo was dispersed at Meadhole on the Isle of Wight which had, since the Middle Ages, been a centre for piracy. In the sixteenth century people were attracted from a wide area to buy prize goods at Meadhole. The cargo of the *Flying Dragon* attracted merchants from London, Bristol and Southampton as well as people from the smaller towns of Hampshire, Sussex and Kent.[17]

The case reveals that, as well as acting as an agent between the Sea Beggars and the owner of the ship, De Beaulieu was on friendly terms with Orange's Admiral, De Lumbres, whom he frequently saw at the Isle of Wight and Southampton, even entertaining him at his lodgings.[18] De Beaulieu was also responsible for providing the Sea Beggars with supplies, as did Roland Petit, another of the founder members of the Southampton community, although he was probably acting on De Beaulieu's behalf.[19] Contacts between the Sea Beggars and De Beaulieu appear to have continued after the autumn of 1571 when De Lumbres was replaced as admiral by Lumey van der Marck, who became more directly involved in the operations of the Sea Beggars than his predecessor had been.

De Beaulieu also gave substantial financial support to the Sea Beggars. A bill of 24 October 1571 promised to repay De Beaulieu £100; this was signed by Lumey and eleven other leading Sea Beggar captains.[20] Apparently £150–£300 was sufficient to keep a ship of 100–300

tons at sea for three months with a crew of fifty to ninety men, so the amount lent by De Beaulieu was significant.[21] Furthermore when Charles de Beaulieu, himself an active supporter and agent of Orange in the Netherlands, attempted to recover the money which his father had lent from the States of Zeeland, he alleged that it was the money loaned by Jean de Beaulieu that made possible the seizure of Den Briel.[22] This does not appear to have been an idle claim. In the autumn of 1571 Lumey was apparently preparing for an attack to be launched on Den Briel and was at that time absent from the Sea Beggar fleet, possibly in London and later on the continent, where he apparently began recruiting soldiers. The bill of October 1571 could have been drawn up in London, where De Beaulieu had lodgings, and six of the signatories were known to have been just off the English coast at that time.[23] As Lumey appears to have been preparing to attack Den Briel, it is conceivable that the money was borrowed for this purpose.

It may have been this substantial financial support for the Sea Beggars which resulted in the protracted dispute with Spinola, who may have been attempting to undermine support for the Sea Beggars. Benedict Spinola could have been acting on behalf of the duke of Alva when he began his litigation against Jean de Beaulieu. Spinola's status in London led Alva to consider him as a possible conciliator in the negotiations that were being undertaken concerning the goods taken in the wake of the seizure of the Spanish treasure ships in 1568, and their possible return.[24] He may have also involved him in more covert activities in the interests of Spain. It would not have been possible for any direct attack to have been made upon De Beaulieu's financial activities, but embroiling him in a series of expensive law suits provided one way of attacking the income which he was using to support the Sea Beggars. This is suggested in the case before the Star Chamber where it is revealed that the deponents in the Admiralty Court were paid by Spinola's agents for making false depositions; furthermore several of them were offered the possibility of accepting letters of safe conduct from François de Halewyn, Seigneur of Sweveghem, in order to return to the Netherlands.[25] Sweveghem was a Flemish noble and a leader of the Malcontents who provided a number of services for the Brussels government. He was at that time in London acting as Alva's envoy to England in the negotiations with Elizabeth concerning the seizure of goods in 1568.[26] This offer of letters of safe conduct appears to suggest that the litigation against De Beaulieu had the support of the duke of Alva, and that Sweveghem and Spinola were working together covertly against the Sea Beggars. Further research may yield more information

concerning the attempts made by Alva to disrupt the activities of the Sea Beggars in England.

We may conclude that the Southampton community as a whole appears to have been concerned with the state of affairs in the Netherlands and to have provided financial assistance. While the position of Southampton made it difficult for it to serve as a base for military operations in the Netherlands, when the Sea Beggars became localised in the English Channel they were able to give them significant support. The evidence which has emerged in considering the attitude of the Southampton community to the Revolt of the Netherlands has emphasised the importance of the Stranger communities in relation to the activities of the Sea Beggars as well as shedding new light on the financing of their operations.

7
The strangers at work in Sandwich: Native envy of an industrious minority (1561–1603)

Marcel Backhouse

1561–1566: Co-operation and harmony

The presence of Flemish Strangers in Kent in the sixteenth century was by no means an innovation.[1] Trade relations between England and Flanders were firmly established as early as the eleventh century and already in 1303 between Flanders and Sandwich in particular. In the thirteenth century the Kentish ports became the principal ports of shipment for the exportation of wool and cloth to the Continent. In the fourteenth century Sandwich's cloth and wool export had become sufficiently important to justify the appointment of special officers.[2]

William Cecil, Queen Elizabeth's most trusted adviser, was extremely conscious of the economic potential the foreign refugees in England represented. The success of the 'New Draperies', established as early as the fourteenth century in the rural Westkwartier of Flanders and, from the mid-sixteenth century onwards, with Hondschote and its neighbourhood as a booming textile centre, prompted Lord Burghley to conduct a venturing experiment, a characteristic part of the Tudor economic policy of attracting and inviting foreign craftsmen to this country.[3] When in May 1561 a small number of Flemish immigrant families, already settled in Sandwich,[4] presented their request to the local authorities to officially recognise the Strangers' community, the town council immediately approached the Privy Council to that effect. Cecil did not hesitate to endorse this ambitious project in the hope of reviving the town's economy. Towards the end of the fifteenth century the structural condition of the port of Sandwich had begun to deteriorate. As the sea

gradually withdrew, the mouth of the river Stour silted up and consequently the port declined to the status of a little backwater.[5]

Lord Burghley seized the opportunity presented by the Strangers to revive the flagging economy of Sandwich and convinced the Queen to grant permission to allow Stranger workmen to settle in the town. On 6 July 1561 she authorised the royal warrant by which Sandwich became the home of the oldest exile community outside the capital under the following conditions. Apart from their limitation in number (only between 250 and 300 persons were allowed to settle) the newcomers were to be of honest and quiet disposition and had to be skilful in making baize, says or serges and other cloths not formerly manufactured in England.[6]

The latter condition was strictly observed by the Dutch Refugee Church in London, who took part in the settlement negotiations. It carefully recommended only compatriots possessing the required skills for settlement in Sandwich. Of the (provisionally) 1,577 identified Strangers who emigrated to, or were born in, Sandwich, I have been able to establish the occupation of 520, i.e. 32.9 per cent. It should, however, be noted that sometimes the evidence about the occupation of a Stranger comes from his time in Flanders and some Strangers changed their occupation when they settled in Sandwich. For the period 1561–6 the Flemish community at Sandwich was divided into two distinctive categories: those recommended by the Dutch Refugee Church in London and those Strangers who escaped from Flanders and travelled to Sandwich directly or via another locality. Of the original exiles who came from London (I identified 107) we note twenty-four say workers, fifty-seven baize workers, one weaver and twenty-five masters: six master-say workers and nineteen master-baize workers. Of those 107 at least twenty were commended to Sandwich by the London Dutch Church, namely seventeen master-baize workers and three baize workers. One schoolteacher was also sent to the town.[7]

The restrictions on the introduction of the 'New Draperies' explains why many Strangers who exercised different occupations in their own country became baize and say workers when they arrived at their new settlement. We know the names of 433 refugees who emigrated to Sandwich between 1561 and 1566 and of these we know the birthplace of 159: apart from six, who originated from Bruges, Bethune and Antwerp, all the rest, i.e. 153 or 96.2 per cent, were born in or inhabited thirty-three different localities that were situated in the Westkwartier of Flanders, the stronghold of the 'New Draperies'.

Of those 159 we know the occupation in Flanders and Sandwich of seventy-six of them. Of those seventy-six Flemish exiles thirty-nine

exercised different occupations in Flanders from those they practised at Sandwich, i.e. hatters, cobblers, smiths, millers, booksellers, etc. As the textile industry in the Westkwartier of Flanders had developed above all in the countryside, the 'New Draperies' were nothing else than a commercialisation of peasant techniques. The original textile workers and manufacturers were farmers (i.e. tenant farmers, peasants and smallholders) for whom the industry provided a means to supplement their income by weaving. Therefore those who are not known to have been closely involved in the manufacture of the 'New Draperies' in Flanders would have acquired knowledge of the techniques of weaving.[8]

At the time of their arrival in Sandwich in 1561 the Strangers complied with the conditions of settlement and their activities were strictly regulated. On 22 December 1561 a delegation appeared before the mayor and jurats and discussed the sealing of their baize and says. It was agreed that the Strangers would pay 4d. for any fine piece of cloth and 2d. for baize and says 'more coursely wroughte'. They also agreed to pay the third penny for any default.[9] Willem Brand, a silk weaver from Mesen, was made responsible for the collection and paying in of this money and he was sworn in accordingly.[10,11]

Sandwich town council did everything possible to promote the 'New Draperies' on which the prosperity of the town rested. On 8 January 1562 the mayor and jurats granted the Flemish exiles a market hall for the sale of their products on Wednesday morning. On 24 April of the same year they were allowed two market days for the sale of their baize and says and other cloths made by them, namely on Wednesday and Saturday morning. There were certain restrictions, however, intended to protect the interests of the town and the local English inhabitants. On Wednesday morning only freemen of the town were allowed to buy their products, whilst on Saturday freemen as well as the Strangers could buy. All cloths not sold on the Wednesday could be offered for sale to anyone on Saturday. Cloths unsold after both market days were permitted to be sent to another market by the maker, provided that none of these products was sent to London either by maker or buyer. There was a 10s. fine on any cloths otherwise sold.[12] For the quality control of those products twelve carefully chosen men, presumably Strangers, attended daily at the hall to check the standard of the stuffs brought in.[13]

From the outset the Strangers had their own tailors, which threatened the local highly organised Tailor Corporation. Soon agreements between the latter and the Flemish exiles were reached and ratified by the mayor and jurats. On 10 July 1562 it was decreed that eight Stranger

tailors were allowed to exercise their occupation. The agreement stipulated that they might only make Flemish apparel until the next feast of St John the Baptist (24 June 1563). Any offender was liable to a fine of 40s., with half the proceeds going to the town and the other half to the Corporation of Tailors.[14] This agreement was renewed on 3 September 1563.[15]

On 28 June 1564 a further agreement was settled between the two parties: Lyven Symons, Stranger tailor, was allowed to open shop. In return he had to pay 5s. each year to the Corporation of Tailors. He was not allowed to employ foreign workmen.[16]

Lord Burghley's project was taking shape. Within a short space of time of settling in the town, many Flemish exiles were involved in the manufacture of the 'New Draperies' as they had been in the Westkwartier. Gradually Sandwich prospered. When Archbishop Parker visited the Cinque Port in 1563 he came to the conclusion that the Strangers were 'very godly on the Sabbath day and busy in their work on week days, and their quietness such as the Mayor and his brethren had no cause of variance between themselves coming before them'. He further stated that 'profitable and gentle Strangers ought to be welcomed and not grudged at'.[17] But for how long?[18]

From 1567 onwards: disillusion and discord

The ever increasing number of Flemings arriving in Sandwich from 1567 after the collapse of the Calvinist insurrection in Flanders could not all find employment in the cloth trade and many Strangers started to follow 'unrecognised trades' (any trade not connected with the textile industry). A 1582 rate list, for example, shows 351 names and fifty-nine different occupations; 217 of them, i.e. 61.8 per cent, are connected with the 'New Draperies', but the remaining 134, i.e. 38.1 per cent, followed a wide variety of occupations including apothecaries, smiths, bookbinders, bakers, carpenters, brewers, painters, millers, basket makers, wheelwrights.[19]

Clearly the Strangers community had moved far from the original congregation of baize and say makers and fishermen permitted by the terms of the royal warrant of 1561. Did Sandwich council turn a blind eye because of the economic advantage or did they lack the means to control the influx? The career of Jacques Ebrecht shows how easy it had become to enter and leave the town. In June 1567 he travelled from the Westkwartier to Sandwich. On his arrival he found room in a house

named the 'White Bear'. He immediately started work as a tailor and after three or four months he returned to Flanders to take part in the abortive rebellion against Alva. In May or June 1568 he again left the Westkwartier for Sandwich, resided in the same house and became self-employed for three or four months.[20]

It is not surprising that such circumstances led to conflicts with and complaints from the local townsmen as the second half of the sixteenth century progressed. Originally the refugees received a warm welcome, but as time went on they suffered increasingly from social and economic discrimination. Under pressure from the town corporations the local authorities had to issue supplementary decrees. Competition and severe rivalry eroded the relationship. Already by 1569, after only eight years of residence, the Strangers were subject to an inquiry after a forceful complaint from some of the local inhabitants. The Flemish exiles had not only exceeded the number and kind of occupations allowed but had also commenced sales by retail. They were accused of taking away the livelihood of the English inhabitants and thus impoverishing them.[21] On 22 July 1569 the mayor and jurats launched an inquiry, which resulted in the decree of 24 February 1570 issued by the authority of the town council:

(1) from the feast of the Annunciation (25 March 1570) no Stranger might sell by retail any kind of merchandise whatsoever brought from abroad, e.g. baize, yarn and household articles;
(2) Stranger shoemakers were no longer allowed to sell or make new shoes;
(3) no Stranger tailor or hosier might carry on without licence from the mayor and jurats and agreement with the Tailors' Corporation;
(4) no Stranger carpenter, bricklayer or mason might work other than as a hired man without official permission, unless an Englishman had already refused the job;
(5) no maker of silk laces, striped canvas, etc. might sell by retail;
(6) bakers were no longer allowed to bake ordinary bread for sale, other than kinds heretofore in issue, or sweet bread for their own purposes;
(7) Strangers were no longer allowed to sell by retail English butter, cheese or bacon.[22]

Despite the decree the mayor and jurats appear to have been unable to enforce the restrictions on the Strangers, several of whom flouted the

decree.[23] The next decade saw no improvement in relations between Sandwich council, the local inhabitants and the Strangers. On the contrary, the decree of 1570 had made little impact on the Flemish refugees and the English townsmen lodged renewed complaints. According to the preamble of the new ordinance of 21 July 1581 the situation had become desperate:

> Whereunto the said estrangers, not regardinge their then agreement nor the prosperitie and good estate of the English dwellers in this Towne, of a gredye desyre to enriche them selves and to encroche all manners of trades into their own hands, have procured them selfs to be made denizens and kepe open shopps as mercers, grocers, taylers, channdlers, shoemakers, etc. and all other trades and occupacons used by the English inhabitants, to the great impoverishment of all the said inhabitants within the same, and to utter rewyne of the said towne . . .[24]

This set forth more draconian measures:

(1) no shops were to be kept open without written licence issued by the mayor and jurats and agreement with the wardens of the several fellowships of any of those trades;
(2) after the feast of St Bartholomew (24 August 1581) the only trades allowed to be followed by the Strangers and denizens were making of baize says, tapestry, lace and fishing in accordance with the royal warrant of 1561;
(3) Strangers, not being freemen, were forbidden to sell any retail after 24 August without special licence issued by the mayor, jurats and commons, and needed an agreement in writing with the wardens of the various fellowships;
(4) any breaches of the decree were punished with hefty fines: 40s. for shops open after St Bartholomew's and/or imprisonment if they were selling by retail.[25,26]

Even some of the most moderate and accommodating exiles found the decree unacceptable as they saw their livelihood threatened. Unwilling to negotiate any longer on this matter with Sandwich Council, the Flemish Refugee Church presented a petition to the Privy Council, who asked Lord Cobham, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, to make investigations. In March 1582 the Privy Council finally reached a decision

after having summoned the mayor and jurats and a delegation of the Flemings:

(1) aliens and denizens who used the facilities and trades specified in the royal warrant and none other, and those who had been admitted to the freedom of the town, or were brewers, joiners or artificers of other mysteries not hereafter prohibited, may remain in the town until further order;
(2) Strangers and denizens who follow any trades other than that specified in the royal warrant will have until Whitsun following to leave Sandwich and settle in another locality, which locality must be at least eight miles distant from the town;
(3) the mayor and jurats were forbidden to allow any other Stranger denizen to reside in the town, except only such as who followed the facilities and trades contained in the royal warrant;
(4) every denizen in Sandwich, ordered to depart, was entitled to sell his wares, household furnishings, without hindrance from the mayor and jurats;
(5) Strangers remaining in the town were forbidden to gain a living as retailers, shopkeepers, tailors, shoemakers, cobblers, coopers, masons, bricklayers, bakers, blacksmiths, shipwrights and cowherds; however, as many in the town were poor, the Privy Council allowed such to remain until Whitsun, by which time they may depart or provide themselves otherwise; they were likewise allowed to sell anything in their possession;
(6) those who had suffered the seizure of various items by the mayor and jurats were to have their property restored, or in the event of it having been destroyed, one half of its value in money;
(7) the town's decree was to be suspended until next Whitsun;
(8) mayor and jurats were to return to Sandwich without recrimination, and upon any offence or default by them, to answer the same upon their peril.

Despite this compromise, accepted by both parties, the tensions and controversy remained. Encouraged by the decision of the Privy Council, the mayor and jurats repealed a previous decree made under the late mayor Richard Porredge concerning Flemish blacksmiths on 3 January 1584. Henceforth they were forbidden on pain of punishment to make 'audierus black, spytts tryvett doggs for buildinge all manner of nayles, saw, hobb nayles, shoinge of horse waggens and

cart wheles, water work, shippwork, cartwork, ploughwork, brewers worke, bell worke'.[27] On 9 September that year the position of the cowherds was reassessed since they had more cattle than the regulations permitted.[28] Also in that year the native tailors of Sandwich complained to the mayor and jurats that the Flemish tailors continued to trade contrary to the order of the Privy Council. The Stranger tailors were summoned consequently to the Council Chamber on 30 October and informed that they might tailor Flemish and English work until Shrove Sunday next.[29] This did, however, not satisfy some local inhabitants. As they kept up their complaints, the Flemish settlers requested the council to be allowed to maintain a competent and appropriate number of Flemish tailors to make 'dutche apparell' only, as happened in Canterbury, Maidstone, London, Colchester and other places in England where Strangers were licenced to dwell. Having considered the arguments of both parties the Council issued a decree on 15 December 1585 which stated that twelve tailors were allowed to practise their craft 'only to marke mende and botch dutch or flemishe apparell and noe other'.

Although the sources make no reference to complaints during the remaining years of the sixteenth century, it would appear that the conflicts between local inhabitants and the Strangers continued throughout the seventeenth century; at the beginning of the eighteenth century the Strangers moved the cloth trade to Colchester.

8

The Animal fable: Prints and popular culture in the Dutch Revolt

Carol Janson

In 1579 the Antwerp rhetorician Willem Haecht published an unusual group of four satirical engravings using animal fables interwoven with rebuses. They describe the condition of the Netherlands through the theme of the world upside down. The country is in dire peril because of the mental blindness, greed and sloth of its leaders. Haecht's name appeared on the prints as the conceptualiser of the series and Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx states that he probably also wrote the texts.[1] Martin van Cleef is identified as the designer, and Antoine Wierix or his brother Jerome as engravers on engravings 1, 3 and 4. The consecutive numbering of the prints and the date 1579 on three of the four prints suggests that they constituted a series.[2] The recurrence of the same animal characters in the second and third prints, *The Sleeping Lion* and *The Gluttonous Wolf*, affirms their sequential relationship. The first and last images, *The World Upside Down* and *The Blind Shepherds*, could be paired as well but their affinity is more generic. Since each print's message may be interpreted independently, the possibility of individual purchase cannot be excluded. The loose correlation among the four prints raises the issue whether they might have only been joined as a series later, but the uniform dating strengthens the assumption that they were intended as a unit.

Sixteenth-century prints often favoured allegorical depictions for propagandistic invective, but did the choice of the animal fable tradition ensure a wider and perhaps non-literate audience's visual interest and comprehension? Second, how were they read by their audience? Did rebuses appeal more to the learned *rederijkers* who employed them on their organisation's coat-of-arms? What relationship did the text have to

the imagery? Was it supplemental or crucial to the print's propagandistic message? What type of print community does it reflect by including French and German translations? In order to consider these questions more closely, the contents of each print will be identified and discussed.

The first of the print series, *The World Upside Down* (Fig. 8.1), stages a tripartite *tableau vivant* reading from left to right; each group forms a phrase spelling out the two-line verse below. Unlike others in this series, the first image presents a fairly realistic setting despite the inclusion of rebus images. Hypocrisy and Tyranny at the far left recollect evil characters not unlike *sinnekens* from contemporary plays.[3] Brandishing a bouquet of snakes and twigs, Hypocrisy extends her rosary to spread its shadow over the world in place of the lowered cross. Her companion, a soldier holding the world in bondage, has cast down Concord (the joined hands) and slain the heart. Their evilness is evident even if the viewer cannot specifically identify their personas.

Haecht may have intended a literary pun on his native Antwerp, visually symbolised by the hand now cast down *(hand werp)*, to suggest its current lowly state. Beyond the stream Love sleeps, as Time instructs us. The skull-faced clock on the pedestal evokes death – its dagger hand pointed towards the year 79. Time's scythe extends its shadow towards Love. Thus even without the secondary connective symbols added to the key words of the rebuses – the duck for *en(de)* (and) or the sod for *zo* (so or thus) – the viewer can comprehend the basic message: 'Gevijnsheyt met Tyrannij hout de Weerelt verkeert, Trouwe en Liefde slaept, soo den Tijt ons leert'. Hypocrisy and Tyranny hold the world turned, Concord and Love (Charity) sleeps, so Time informs us.

The rebus system, however, still requires a certain level of familiarity with symbols. The viewer must know that time is represented by an old bearded man with a scythe. In other words, the concept represented may not always be identifiable purely by guessing.

At the upper left corner, two cities firing upon each other depict the topsy-turvy condition of the world; in the middle ground between Tyranny and Love a military offensive takes place. If the date inscribed on the world's circumference is intended as 1576 rather than 1579 (that is with a nine as a reversed six) the sacking of Antwerp by the Spanish on the third of November 1576 offers a specific reason for the world to be upside down. This event led, five days later, to the pact known as the Pacification of Ghent signed by the provinces of the Netherlands to expel the Spanish troops. The religious strife concerning public Catholic or Protestant worship in the provinces was temporarily solved by confirming public Protestant worship only in Holland and Zeeland.[4] Haecht's

Fig. 8.1 *The World Upside Down.* Engraving by Antonie Wierix (II) after Marten van Cleve (I), 1579. Engraving, 20.7 x 32.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

print conveys a distrust of the Catholic faith, although Tyranny plays the stronger role in blocking Concord and Love. Perhaps the rather generic bird located at Love's feet and at the boundary of a stream (the Scheldt?) refers to Prince William's supporters, the beggars referred to in other prints in a visual and verbal pun on *geus* (goose).[5] Despite the presence of Love and Concord, the bird cannot help break the bonds of Hypocrisy and Tyranny. Such symbolism, however, would be unique in the print for the directness of its political associations.

The second print, *The Sleeping Lion*, refers to the duke of Alva's 1567 arrival in the Netherlands when he established a Council of Troubles leading to the arrest of Dutch citizens and confiscation of their goods (Fig. 8.2). Murder, robbery and arrests take place as the Netherlands' Authority (the lion) sleeps on the orb of hypocritical advice. Foreign robbers and Spanish officers (wolf and fox) pillage the General Welfare (seven birds and two pigs) despite the alarms of the patriotic guard dog. Previous Warfare (an ass loaded with military gear) sleeps or collapses as the Innocent Robbed (the sheep) stand passively by.

Haecht's image mixes humans and symbolic animals within a natural world where soldiers lead off cattle, steal sheep and chase birds. Since feeding the Spanish army was an ongoing problem such actions were not uncommon sights for Low Countries citizens. However, these actions are made more horrific by their juxtaposition with the gluttonous, lusty and slothful Bruegelesque characters on the left.[6] Personal comfort outweighs concern for the general welfare, and these humans materialise as the bad dream of hypocritical advice pillowing the lion's head. The personal peril suffered by the beasts is also summarised at the communal level by the wicker basket filled with birds and pigs. Their numbers seven and two suggest the States-General membership of the seven northern provinces as well as Brabant and Flanders.[7]

The numbering of the key protagonists, not really needed for reading the image from left to right, leads the viewer through simple rhymes below summarising the nature or condition of each beast: 'Den leeu die slaapt; Den Wolf die ghaept; Den Vos die steelt; Den Hondt die bast; Den Esel lijdt last; Het Scaepken queelt'. The short phrases reinforce the clarity of the actions depicted and generate a cumulative effect: the lion sleeps; the wolf steals; the fox robs; the dog barks; the ass is burdened; the sheep suffers. The blame for this condition is clearly stated above: 'When 1567 was writ, it was scandalous that the lion remained sleeping so long'. However, the text's use of the present tense to describe the animals' actions implies that things have not changed, and that the increasing evils are due to that initial negligence of the country's leaders.

Fig. 8.2 *The Sleeping Lion.* Engraving by Antonie Wierix (II) after Marten van Cleve (I), 1579. Atlas Van Stolk, Rotterdam

The Gluttonous Wolf print (Fig. 8.3) states that the lion finally awoke in 1578 and recognised the wolf's nature, but visually it is the petitioning by the sheep, guard dog and ass that cause the lion's awakening. They, more than the lion, are the primary forces achieving the expulsion of the intruders as dog attacks fox, and stag and ass smite the wolf. The monkey and the cat – enemies who have sought their safety in the trees – observe the battle, as do the lion and sheep. It is tempting to see each animal not only as a protagonist from *The Sleeping Lion* print, but also as military leaders of the Revolt. Yet none of them can be convincingly linked with an animal persona thus far.

The central group depicts the gluttony of the wolf but also the willingness of fox, cat and dog to take what they can get. The cat's apron pocket indicates that it has already helped itself. The dead goose and pig lying near the dogs imply the wolf has been gorging himself on the towns and provinces indiscriminately, yet the dogs are indifferent to their compatriots' plight. The merciless behaviour of King Philip's military commander Don Juan in seizing towns such as Namur (1577) is transformed here and the true nature of the Spanish leaders (greediness and lack of concern for the general welfare) is revealed. In addition, the behaviour of the wolf's attendants recalls the events of late 1578 and early 1579 when Don Juan's successor Alexander Farnese, prince of Parma, attempted to placate the malcontent southern nobles through monetary incentives in order to regain their territories for the Spanish fold.[8] This dialogue of the cat, fox and wolf confirms the visual message. Cat and fox find that the wolf has swallowed too much for his own health. The wolf replies that neither would have had their share if he had not. While David Kunzle argues that the cat and fox are forcing the wolf (Spain) to disgorge the innocent creatures it has swallowed, their actions suggest rather that they support the wolf but want their own share.[9] The appetite of the wolf is insatiable and non-discriminatory, for the heads poking out of his food bag seem fox-like. The repulsive behaviour of the wolf's supporters is evident from their cannibalistic interest in regurgitated food.

In the final print, *The Blind Shepherds* (Fig. 8.4), Haecht uses a rebus system to warn against leaders lacking true spiritual faith. The parallels between the animal and human kingdom are visualised through scenes of robbery, captivity and threatened slaughter. In constructing the rebus phrases, the world visualised becomes the most fantastical of the series. Two Bruegelesque blind shepherds set out with a dog guiding them towards a large ditch.[10] God displays a commandment requiring his children to love Him and to love their neighbours as themselves, but

Fig. 8.3 *The Gluttonous Wolf.* Engraving by Antonie Wierix (II) after Marten van Cleve (I), 1579. Atlas Van Stolk, Rotterdam

Fig. 8.4 *The Blind Shepherds.* Engraving by Antonie Wierix (II) after Marten van Cleve (I), 1579. Engraving 20 x 32.8 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

his Word is ignored. The spiritually blind flaunt God's law through their foolishness which leads to the wolves shearing the sheep. This is more succinctly stated in the rebus and below: 'Schout blinde herders die Godts wet ontbeiren, Want deur haer sotheijt wolven de schapen scheiren'. This image also seems to function well as a *tableau vivant* rather than a smoothly flowing narrative. For the non-Dutch reader a few images must have been rather puzzling since some rebuses only have meaning in Dutch – such as the symbols for connectives *dij* (a bird's thigh) for *die* and a mitten for *want*. Yet the basic message comes through nonetheless: physical blindness as symbolic of spiritual negligence; ignorance of God's law; and the foolishness of expecting a wolf to change its nature and not be greedy.

What did this message mean in the context of 1579? Despite the attempts to achieve some sort of religious stasis during the summer of 1578, public Catholic and Protestant worship remained an important issue. In addition, Alexander Farnese persuaded the Walloon provinces of the Southern Netherlands to return to the Spanish fold with the Treaty of Arras in January of 1579, and continued to work on reconciling the malcontent members of the nobility. That same month the northern provinces formed their own counter pact in the Union of Utrecht.[11] Haecht's print blames the Catholics and royalists for the evils of contemporary life.

All four prints share the themes of physical peril, loss and lack of insight symbolised through sleep and blindness. The viewer is exhorted not to trust the enemy (identified by its base character); to awaken to dangers and to unite in saving each other from physical and economic peril. The narrative modes of the series have theatrical and literary affiliations with the Reformation themes of the world upside down and spiritual blindness.[12] From a literary perspective interest in animal fables remained strong. During the mid-1560s and late 1570s numerous editions of Aesop appeared, plus derivative texts such as Eduard de Dene's *Waerachtige Fabulen der Dieren* (1567). His book was translated into French and reissued in 1578 and 1579.[13] The continued popularity of animal epics such as *Reynaert de Vos*, and cross-fertilisation of the fable tradition with emblem books ensured an audience familiar with fable conventions. Church and school also played a pedagogical role as Protestant reformers like Luther encouraged the use of fables for moral instruction and retention.[14]

The employment of fable-related imagery in the service of political and religious propaganda can be confirmed precisely during the decade when Haecht marketed these prints. In 1569 the bishop of Cologne

staged an animal combat at Brussels between a lion (the duke of Alva) and a steer (the prince of Orange) to show which leader would be victorious.[15] When the lion wounds the steer, the steer attacks the lion so fiercely it must finally be shot to avoid killing its enemy. The choice of a steer as representative of the Prince evokes his tenaciousness and strength, and may also imply the advantage of the native versus exotic species in terms of leadership. In a later instance, a Dutch medal of 1578 (Fig. 8.5) designed by Gerard van Bylaer, the battle is placed on a larger footing. The obverse showed the prince of Orange as David battling Goliath; the reverse, according to the inscription, the Netherlands lion

Fig. 8.5 Gerard van Bylaer, Dutch metal of 1578 ('Succes in de strijd tegen Spanje'). Silver, diameter 4.2 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

battling the Spanish pig.[16] The fascination with the strength and courage of animals in cross-species combat ties in with other non-political prints issued in 1578. Philip Galle's book of hunting parties dedicated to Cosimo de' Medici included a print of a fight staged indoors among dogs, lion, steer and horse (Fig. 8.6).[17] In this instance the animals outflank the lion despite his strength.

From a thematic perspective the equation of human and animal behaviour had a very long tradition in the depiction of vices and virtues.[18] Proverbs and folk sayings helped circulate these associations in the public memory. Naming became a powerful device of equation. For instance, a personal friend and supporter of William of Orange, the German nobleman Willem van Hessen, received an anonymous drawing in a letter of 28 February 1577.[19] The drawing responded to concerns about the Eternal Edict signed between Don Juan and the States-General of the Netherlands. The representatives of the States holding onto an ox's tail are led to the slaughterhouse by Don Juan and a Catholic monk. Like stupid oxen, they too will lose their heads for they ignore their peril.[19]

Similar associations could work against the enemy on a personal level in the propaganda of the Revolt. The Carmelite friar Peter Lupus (or wolf) was blamed for his influence in persuading the Catholic governor of Mechelen, De Bours, to restore the city to the prince of Parma. The motive of personal greed was cited for each protagonist, and Haecht's print would seem to be very relevant to the general issue. Likewise, Prior Renty accused the malcontent nobility of the Southern Netherlands of playing both sides against the middle – 'the fatted calf had been killed for them, after they had so long been feeding with perverse heretical pigs'.[20] He found them mutinous as ever and intent on establishing their own oligarchy instead of reconciliation with the King.

The use of animals as vehicles of propaganda offered the advantage of clarity of identification unlike abstract personifications. In addition it could connect easily with a much broader oral tradition already acknowledged in the Reformation broadsheets. The borrowing of ready-made characters like wolf, sheep and fox establishes familiarity, but may also have carried over associations from polemical religious messages in which the world is represented as a garden or sheepfold and attacked by base enemies identified as wolves or foxes wearing cardinal's hats or papal tiaras.[21]

If these long-lived visual traditions predominated, to what extent was a verbalisation of the print's message necessary? In this series none of the images would have been totally effective without the labels and inscriptions, precisely because those visual traditions gave a great deal

Fig. 8.6 *Fight among a Lion, Horse, Bull and Dogs*, from Philip Galle's book on Hunting Parties (from the series 'Venationes Ferarum, Avium, Piscium'). Print by Philip Galle after Jan van der Straet. Published Antwerp, 1578. Courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, London

of leeway in polemical interpretation since the opposing sides used the same characters. A more interesting question might be whether Haecht's choices of narrative (fable or allegory) reflected a sensitivity to likely censorship, and whether the differences in the visual or verbal emphases was a method to circumvent the censorious eye by disguising its criticism under unassuming visual conventions.

In that sense, the fable mode in prints might have found its sources in the oral traditions of *rederijker* songs from competitions; these interests could be historical as well. For instance, Van Meteren mentions a sixteenth-century Zierikzee *rederijker*'s song commemorating the Flemish siege and subsequent relief of Zierikzee in 1304. The song used the symbolic system of a cat and dog fight for its narrative.[22] It is tempting to speculate whether Haecht's *rederijkers*, the Antwerp Violieren, might have produced something similar to the satirical fables discussed here. At least the pairing of animal and fool was not foreign to *rederijker* traditions, and their evocation in these prints acknowledges these roots.[23] The stopped-action effects of the prints parallel the theatrical conventions of *tableaux vivants* or successive scenes enacted across a partitioned stage.

Haecht's fable series offers the opportunity to study how a rather generic narrative system can be exploited in a series of polemical images appealing to elements of popular culture. Experimental solutions to the perennial problem of audience appeal are made by using character types familiar from chamber of rhetoric productions, fable and proverb oral traditions, and mimetic devices to clarify the abbreviated texts. While this sample of four is insufficient to draw any general conclusions, it demonstrates the rich sources available to evaluate the styles of visual learning used in print culture even within a single series. Moreover, while standard interpretations of political broadsheets argue for their short-lived topicality, Haecht uses narrative forms that largely evade this. There is very little information within the prints to conjoin them with historical events. The method of presentation even tends to support cyclical interpretations, as the animals are portrayed as unchanging in nature and mankind succumbs to the deadly sins of sloth, greed and anger. Political and social problems breed from these perennial faults. Yet Haecht does acknowledge specific dates as historically important, and relates them to the political and social conditions of his country. The conjunction of these generates a concept of history specific to Haecht's environment.

However, Haecht did not evaluate his world only from that vernacular perspective; he also published an illustrated book in 1578,

Tyrannorum proema or *Den loon der tyrannen*, on the tyrants of classical and biblical history.[24] His interest in a serial form of knowledge led him to publish allegorical prints commemorating the various treatises signed during the late 1570s, as did other Antwerp artists such as Philip Galle and Jacob de Gheyn the Elder.[25] Such works need to be studied in conjunction, for they confirm Haecht's awareness of varied tastes within the audiences for prints. The close associations of the fable mode with popular cultural traditions requires a restudy of polemical prints as more subtle markers of audiences, and the exploration of the function of such different methods of presenting knowledge.

9

The Amsterdam Chamber De Eglentier and the ideals of Erasmian Humanism

Marijke Spies

In the development of Dutch Renaissance literature the Amsterdam 'chamber of rhetoric' De Eglentier (The Eglantine) played a leading part. However, the extent of De Eglentier's achievements has scarcely been analysed. Only the chamber's publications in the field of popular education – a grammar, an introduction to dialectics and an introduction to rhetoric, all in the vernacular – have attracted learned attention. But even these educational efforts have not, in my opinion, been sufficiently recognised as moments in a wider, ideologically defined programme. In this chapter I will try to give an impression of what this ideology may have been, restricting myself to a small number of texts and to a comparatively short, but crucial period of the chamber's existence, approximately the first decade after its reopening in 1578. First, however, I shall briefly outline the political situation in Amsterdam around that time and the years immediately before, because it is there we have to look for the causes that gave rise to this ideology.

In 1567, after years of political as well as religious disturbances, Amsterdam was put under the direct control of the Roman Catholic government in Brussels. Thousands of inhabitants, including some of the most prosperous, were exiled or left the country of their own accord. Often their possessions were confiscated. The local chamber of rhetoric, De Eglentier, was closed down, and one of its most prominent members, the merchant Egbert Meijnertsz, was condemned to death on account of his Protestant convictions. He died in prison the day before he was due to be executed. Until early in 1578 the town was

politically and culturally dominated by a pro-Spanish, strictly Roman Catholic magistracy.[1]

Under these circumstances one would expect a strong reaction when in 1578 things at last changed and the refugees returned. Instead, as far as De Eglentier is concerned at any rate, we get a message of reconciliation, of mutual peace, tolerance and freedom of conviction. I will now take a closer look at this ideology, and at the means by which the leading members of De Eglentier intended to put it into practice.

From the very first days of the re-established Eglentier, Hendrik Laurenszoon. Spiegel must have been one of its most influential members. Among his papers a series of the chamber's New Year's songs have survived, of which the first – dated 1578, but actually going back to 1579 – gives voice to the ideals mentioned above, but in the same breath deplores their absence. The New Year will bring peace and happiness after so much sadness, it says, and peace will bring commerce and prosperity back to the town. But while conflict and strife seem to be leaving the country, hatred and envy are still burning. Revenge and hatred will bring war once again. Alas, those who have been striving to live in freedom now refuse to grant freedom to others.[2]

Exactly the same points were elaborated by Spiegel's fellow member Laurens Reael in a lengthy ballad on the treaty by which Amsterdam in 1578 went over to the side of the prince of Orange, the so-called 'Satisfaction'. Here too – and this time formulated in a positive way – the central issues are peace, which will bring back trade and prosperity, concord and friendship, freedom of conscience and religion, and the rejection of feelings of hatred and revenge.[3] Of course these points are in accordance with the spirit of the treaty, but nevertheless the insistence on concord and on the need to rise above hatred and revenge are revealing. This is even more striking in Reael's case than in Spiegel's, because Reael had been one of the exiled Protestant leaders; he was also a brother-in-law of the unfortunate Egbert Meijnertsz, on whose death he had written a bitter poem in which one finds no feelings of tolerance at all.[4]

Reael's ballad on the 'Satisfaction' has no reference to De Eglentier, but in several other poems of his the chamber does appear. They were written around the same time, with peace and love as a dominant theme, just as in Spiegel's New Year's songs for the chamber. I believe that here we touch upon a central point in the chamber's ideology. All these poems and songs have a distinctly religious content, stressing the adoration of the Christ-Child and the imitation of Christ; this is, of course, due primarily to the fact that they were written for Christmas and New Year, but, as we shall see, it also reflects the specific views of the chamber.

There are two poems that offer further information about what the chamber thought and felt during these years. The first is another long poem by Reael, written in answer to the question 'What folly does man cling to most persistently?' It was read in the chamber's gathering on 26 December 1580. Apparently the chamber had organised a competition on this theme. Reael's answer declares that self-conceit is man's most persistent folly because it stays with him until the hour of his death, while all other follies will disappear in due course because of their own disagreeable consequences. All supposedly wise, intelligent and learned people have been suffering from this folly, and so they violate the honour of God, upon which everything depends.[5] A rather Paulinian, if not Erasmian statement.

The other poem is the chamber's New Year's song for 1580 by Spiegel. It is a song in praise of rhetoric. This discipline is described as the fountain of all other arts, a gift from the Holy Ghost in which wisdom and eloquence are conjoined, known to Moses, David and other pillars of the church and honoured by the Ancients, a beacon of truth and an incitement to virtue. The song ends with an appeal to De Eglentier to turn to this art.[6]

At this point the two poems certainly do not seem to have much in common. The only correspondence occurs when Spiegel says that rhetoric, however wise, is seemingly foolish and therefore subject to mockery. This wise foolishness is the counterpart of the foolish wisdom mentioned by Reael. Here indeed we find the gist of the chamber's opinions, as I will demonstrate below. But first I should like to focus on the kind of rhetoric promoted by Spiegel.

At first sight Spiegel's poem stands in a century-old tradition. From the fifteenth century, so-called 'rhetoricians' in the Southern Netherlands had been writing poems in praise of what they called 'rhetoric'. This 'rhetoric' was defined as eloquence and rhyme and characterised by a predilection for complicated lyrical forms and for sophisticated stylistic devices and sound effects. In short, it was what the 'artes versificatoriae' of the Middle Ages called 'poetry' and it certainly had nothing whatsoever to do with classical – Ciceronian, argumentative – rhetoric. From medieval poetry it had also assumed the qualifications of being of divine origin and of speaking the truth, qualities that were now linked with the Pentecost miracle, in which the Holy Ghost had descended upon the apostles and inspired them to speak in many tongues. The only possible link with classical rhetoric is that in this period it also assumed the qualification of being the root of all other arts, a position which in the Middle Ages was assigned to philosophy. Here

we find perhaps a reflection of the humanist Ciceronian revaluation of rhetoric to the level of philosophy. But even in those scarce instances in the second half of the century where there are references to Cicero and Quintilian and where a distinction is made between poetry and rhetoric, there is nothing to indicate any knowledge of what rhetoric is really about.[7] In Spiegel's case things would be very different a few years later, and I have no doubt that already at this time his traditional words had a true Ciceronian meaning.

In 1584 De Eglentier started the impressive undertaking of publishing a grammar (1584), a handbook on dialectic (1585) and one on rhetoric (1587) in Dutch. There is no doubt that Spiegel acted as principal initiator and author of this most probably collective project.[8] The rhetoric is a short but truly humanistic, Ciceronian rhetoric, in which argumentation plays as important a role as eloquence and in which the art of dialectic is argumentation's backbone. Rhetoric and dialectic together form a unity of a kind, as initiated by Rodolphus Agricola and made popular by Melanchthon.[9] There is no room and no need here to enter into the specific relations between these publications of the Amsterdam chamber and their possible sources. Suffice it to say that the chamber was in line with modern North European Christian humanism. More important to my argument are the objectives which led to this position being taken. The publications themselves are quite explicit about this. As stated in the introduction to the *Art of Rhetoric*, chambers of rhetoric are vernacular schools for grown-ups to study all sciences and arts. Rhetoric itself is the art of speaking both eloquently and with good sense, in accordance with whatever arguments are available. Dialectic is proclaimed on the title-page to be an instrument to tell truth from falsehood, most useful and necessary in all discussions. And in an introductory letter to the project as a whole, Coornhert emphasises its importance by stating that most troubles, conflicts and disturbances originate from an unclear or faulty way of expressing one's meaning.[10] I think we may conclude that in these publications the Amsterdam chamber insisted on argumentation and eloquence as vehicles of knowledge, reason and truth, these being the best means to further concord and peace in the community.

The reason why Spiegel in his New Year's song praised rhetoric in traditional terms is that he meant, or at any rate meant also, poetry, the difference between Spiegel and his sixteenth-century forerunners being that to him poetry should include not only the objectives, but also – and this we do not find among any of the older 'rhetoricians' – the techniques of classical rhetoric. In his treatise on rhetoric he says as much: on the title-page he recommends his book to all 'rhymesters', and in the preface

he refers to the traditional task of the chambers as being that of 'rhyming'. This view is confirmed by a second poem in praise of rhetoric by another member of De Eglentier, Roemer Visscher. It is also in Roemer Visscher's poem that we will find the solution to the 'wise foolishness' Spiegel ascribed rather enigmatically to rhetoric.

Roemer Visscher was not only a fellow member of De Eglentier, but also a close friend to Spiegel, as is testified by the poems they wrote back and forth. Besides, his name is used as that of one of the interlocutors in the chamber's grammar, which was written in the form of a dialogue. His 'Praise of Rhetoric' is an elaborate, 204-line poetical treatise, divided into thirty-four strophes of six lines each.[11] Basically, it voices the same ideas as Spiegel's New Year's song (which has only eight seven-line strophes), namely: rhetoric is the root of all other arts, it is of divine origin, known to Moses, Isaiah, Salomon, Job, David and others as well as to the Classics, it is the light of truth and teaches virtue, it is the Christian fool that makes us wise.

But Visscher does a few other things in addition. First of all, he states, at the very beginning of his text, that poetry and rhetoric are one and the same. What he means by this is obvious when one remembers the influence exercised on this and many of Visscher's other poems by one of the favourite textbooks for teaching classical rhetoric, the famous Agricola-Lorich edition of the *Progymnasmata* by Aphtonius. Secondly he explains that rhetoric serves truth and virtue through critical rationality, this last notion personified by the little god Momus, who was constantly criticising everybody, even Jove.

In recent years much work has been done, especially by Lisa Jardine, on the development of dialectical rhetoric as inaugurated by Agricola and made popular by Hegius, Erasmus, Melanchthon, and by the commentaries on Agricola's texts by Alardus Aemstelredamus. In this type of rhetoric the logical way of thinking of scholasticism was put aside and replaced with a more dialectical, as it were probabilistic method, which was not based on certainties but tried to reach the truth by way of critical reasoning, by 'rationes contra rationes'.[12] To me this seems to come very close to what Visscher proclaims in his poem to be the gist of rhetoric.

Alardus fully deserved to be called Aemstelredamus: he stayed in close contact with his birthplace throughout his life. It was there, of all places, that he put hands on the collection of Agricola's papers that was in the possession of the Amsterdam merchant Pompeius Occo. And his pupil and friend Cornelius Crocus was a teacher at one of the two Amsterdam Latin schools for more than twenty years. So it may not be

too farfetched to say that Visscher indeed knew about this method of Agricola, which Erasmus had fostered as the way to revive the 'philosophia christi'.[13]

To support my proposition I will now give a global analysis of Visscher's poem. This may help in understanding the structure as well as the substance of its argument. I hope it will make quite clear how rhetorical Visscher's poetry is, how humanistic his rhetoric and, above all, how Erasmian his purpose.

The structure of Visscher's 'Praise of Rhetoric' is the normal one for a rhetorically constructed 'laus' of an art. The 'exordium' (str. 1–5) gives arguments to stir the listeners' attention and benevolence, and raises the question whether the subject is to be called poetry or rhetoric. The author declares that this makes no difference and that he will praise his 'rhetoric' in a rhetorical way. After an 'invocation' of Mnemosyne and the Muses (str. 6), he offers a carefully constructed argumentation in the best rhetorical tradition. First he formulates the proposition which is to be proved, split up in its different components (str. 7–11). These strophes define the general characteristics that constitute the laudability of this art, i.e. the by now well-known statements that rhetoric is the root of all other arts and a spark of God's truth. After this the arguments for these statements are presented. In doing so, Visscher sticks to the normal 'loci' for the praising of an art, dealing with its inventors (str. 12–15), its usefulness (str. 16–24) and its honourableness; he counters the possible objection that rhetoricians (i.e. poets) occupy themselves with poetic dreams, farces and fables (str. 25–6). Rounding off with a peroration, or epilogue, in which the decisive points are summed up and a final emotional appeal to the listener is made, the poem comes to an end with the stereotyped topos that 'It is too late' (str. 31–4).

In comparing this structure with the example of an 'Eloquentiae encomion' in the Agricola-Lorich edition of Aphtonius, we find some striking similarities: the exordium, the two statements which constitute the proposition itself, the objection and its refutation, as well as the epilogue, are all there. Of course Lorich's example is much shorter and more global, and it lacks most of the arguments that are used to prove the given proposition and constitute the bulk of Visscher's text. But this fact is outweighed by some similarities in content: the argument used in the exordium to induce benevolence, namely, 'To praise a great thing up to the level of its greatness is virtually impossible', is the same as that used by Reinhard Lorich for the epilogue; the statements that make up the proposition are the same; and both texts refer to the same mythical

instance of Orpheus bringing harmony among men – a myth used in antiquity (e.g. by Horace) to defend poetry.[14]

As for the arguments themselves, the identification of poetry with rhetoric becomes apparent in the way Visscher presents the 'locus' of the inventors. The biblical instances he mentions (Moses, Isaiah, etc.) are taken from the famous *De inventoribus rerum* by Polydore Virgil, where they are named as the inventors of poetry.[15] The fact that to Visscher rhetorical eloquence indeed is the crowning quality of poetry appears most clearly in the refutation. The objection that rhetoricians supposedly occupy themselves with poetical dreams, farces and fables, is refuted in two ways: first, by pointing out that Christ did the same thing when he spoke in parables, and secondly by postulating a kind of development: rhetoricians do write love poems when they are just beginning to write, then they turn to philosophy, and finally it is rhetoric that shows them the right way, which is the way of the scriptures.

This last statement brings us to the argument Visscher uses to prove the usefulness of his subject: rhetoric conquers all tyranny, injustice and deceit. The argument that rhetoric sets free, because it teaches how to speak up against tyranny, was taken from Erasmus' *Apophthegmata*, which in its turn quoted Demosthenes.[16] With regard to the conquest of all forms of injustice and deceit Visscher calls rhetoric the caretaker on earth of Momus, the critic of the gods. In most sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poetry the little god Momus is vilified because of his everlasting urge to criticise. However, some authors regard him as the protagonist of truth. This view originated in Lucian and was developed by Leobattista Alberti in his satire *Momus o il principe* and continued by others, including Pandolfo Collenuccio whose fable *Alitheia* was translated into Dutch by Roemer Visscher himself.[17] Here Momus is portrayed as the personification of critical rationality, defending truth and unmasking hypocrisy and deceit. By linking rhetoric with this Momus, Visscher affirms its argumentative aspects in a way that ties it closely to the method of Agricola as explained by Alardus.

All this leaves one final connection to be established. It is not only critical rhetoric which is related to truth. Parallel to it Visscher names the child Jesus. At a later stage, just after the refutation, and when he is on the verge of proving the honourableness of his subject, Visscher again mentions Jesus, this time in terms of Paulinian foolishness. Just as Jesus died to save us, which was the wisest instance of foolishness that ever took place, rhetoric has to become foolish to make us wise. Apparently taken from Erasmus' *Moriae encomion*, this statement may also be linked to views held by Melanchthon and his pupil Matthäus Delius, who

published a poem *De arte iocandi* in 1555. Heinz-Günter Schmitz has shown how important this conception of 'arguing in a childlike way' is to humanist educational philosophy.[18] It is through the Christian parable that Visscher in his refutation links this foolish rhetoric to the fiction of farces and fables. (The 'poetic dreams' he mentions refer, I believe, to the love poems he says rhetoricians often write when they are young.) At the same time he establishes in this paradoxical way the honourableness of rhetoric, which makes us wise by teaching virtue and paving our way to heaven.

We are back with Spiegel. Critical rationality and Paulinian foolishness as apogees of wisdom appear to form the essence not only of Visscher's rhetorical conception of poetry, but also of Spiegel's. If this is true, Visscher's poem may be seen as formulating the Amsterdam chamber's literary programme. Its striking similarity with the chamber's New Year's song as written by Spiegel justifies this conclusion, since New Year's songs, we may assume, had a programmatic function. Looking at Spiegel's preceding New Year's song and at Reael's entry for the chamber's 1580 competition, it is not difficult to see the link between this programme and the city's political situation at that time, which indeed called for a plea for Christian foolishness in terms of the abandonment of all self-conceit.

10 Calvinism in the Northern Netherlands from a farmer's point of view

Wiebe Bergsma
Translated by H. Bannatyne

> Religion has no influence on life…little thought is given to religious practice. (Abel Eppens)

Introduction

An itinerant priest, on a clandestine mission in the province of Groningen in the seventeenth century, was astonished and bewildered at the decline of the Roman Catholic Church, the rise of so many different forms of heresy and the dominance which Reformed Protestantism had acquired in Groningen since 1594. Angrily he described the process by which Calvin's heresy had gained the upper hand; a heretical bonfire had blazed up in Germany, France and England, fanned by a seditious north wind in the teachings of Luther, Calvin and Menno Simons, all three of whom were apostates from the Catholic Church and monsters of evil. The sparks from this fire were blown throughout the Netherlands too, by foreigners who had either been drummed out of their own countries or had fled to escape the gallows. Wickedness reigned supreme; charity had disappeared; people's pockets were empty; the people were eager to hear new voices; their hearts, blown this way and that by the wind, responded like sulphur to a flame. Indeed, the people resembled unbridled horses or undisciplined children; moreover, the nobility were lost in drunkenness and lust. Many people were therefore receptive to

the new doctrines. Heretical books, slanderous pamphlets and verses could be found in every street, market and inn; they even 'fell like snow' on the Regent, Margaret of Parma.[1]

This was, of course, a Jesuit's view of the Reformation in the Netherlands. His account contrasts sharply with that of Abel Eppens, a sixteenth-century Calvinist farmer in exile, who could see little trace of interest in Reformed Protestantism in his native district, the Frisian Ommelanden, which forms the modern province of Groningen. This chapter sets out a number of general observations on the religion of Protestants in general and Calvinism in particular. Above all, I am concerned with what Margaret Spufford has called faith without history:

> orthodoxy, like happiness, has no history. We can scarcely say anything of the overwhelming mass of parishioners who went on going to their parish churches, whatever the changes in liturgy and belief imposed on them. Amongst them were presumably some who went, not solely because worship was required of them by ecclesiastical law, but because they had a meaningful faith. But this faith has no history.[2]

Nonetheless, some sources have survived which make it possible to gain an impression of the faith of believers and churchgoers in general, although such sources must be used with caution. They include *acta ecclesiastica*, the records of the consistories, diaries, personal documents and reports of visits of inspection. My reflections on Calvinism in the Northern Netherlands will be based on one such document, a letter written in 1586 by Johannes van der Mijlen, a Reformed Protestant minister in Delft, to his former congregation in Appingedam in the Ommelanden, which was published with comments by the Frisian chronicler Abel Eppens (1534–90).[3]

Rusticus Eruditus

Abel Eppens was a learned man, a farmer from Eekwerd. His schooldays in Groningen were followed by a *peregrinatio academica* through the universities of Louvain, Cologne and Wittenberg. He subsequently married a woman from a prominent family, took over his family's farms and fathered eight children. He was a landowner of importance in the village, involved in the church and in local politics and the settlement of water management disputes. However, Eppens is remembered for more than just references in contemporary records or account books; while in exile he took up his pen and composed a detailed chronicle

of his times. He had increasingly identified himself with the cause of the Dutch Revolt, rapidly becoming well-known as an enemy of Spain. After Rennenberg's notorious coup in 1580, Eppens was forced to abandon his farm. During his ten years in exile in Emden, that 'refuge of the oppressed and the God-fearing', he produced a lengthy account of religious, political and economic developments garnished with quotations, original documents and personal reflections. He wrote about Luther's deathbed, Melanchthon's funeral, endemic unbelief and religious indifference; about lapwings and ways to improve milk yields; he wrote letters to his wayward son Eppo, who had given up reading the Bible and taken to frequenting ladies of easy virtue. And that is merely a sample.

Eppens' life and chronicle reflect the multi-faceted nature of religious life in the sixteenth century. He was born in an area where Anabaptists were numerous and active, even instigating a large-scale riot in 1534. At school, he heard the Catholic Church being severely criticised by Regnerus Praedinius, a scholar who was famed throughout Europe. In fact, the principal of one of Groningen's two municipal schools was secretly in sympathy with the arch-heretic, David Joris. Eppens went on to study at Catholic Louvain and Lutheran Wittenberg. He attended Melanchthon's lectures and was present at his funeral. The chronicle lists many categories of heretics for whom Eppens felt no sympathy: Anabaptists, libertines, atheists, Lutherans and the followers of Kaspar von Schwenckfeld, Sebastian Franck and David Joris. In addition to polemic and theological essays, Eppens recorded the stories he heard around him. One such story introduces the Beggar Willem Maler who, when asked for his opinion on Calvinists, Zwinglians and Lutherans, replied: 'That question is too difficult for me to answer. Just give me a nice piece of veal covered in orange sauce. That's a very tasty dish.'

Eppens was not indifferent or neutral in religious matters, nor did he sit on the fence. On the contrary, he was a convinced adherent of Reformed Protestantism. And it was that particular variation on the Christian theme which largely determined his view of events in the Ommelanden and East Friesland. Abroad in Emden he saw his ideal: a community of Calvinists led by Menso Alting, whom he greatly admired. He could only watch with sorrow the oppression suffered by the Reformed in his native district. His detailed description of religious life in both the Ommelanden and East Friesland includes theological debates, character sketches, judgements on and criticism of other variants of Christianity and sometimes letters in reproduction. One of these was the letter which the Delft minister Van der Mijlen sent in 1586 to the members of the Reformed congregation in Appingedam. I shall begin by

sketching the framework in which Eppens places the letter, then paraphrase its contents and finally offer some reflections on what it has to tell us.

Pastoral care by letter

Eppens contrasted the slow progress being made by Reformed Protestantism with the growth of Anabaptism. The Catholics tolerated the Anabaptists provided the latter paid up. The Reformed Church, however, was short of ministers, its services were restricted to private meetings of small groups of people and as a community it was hated. Even the troubles in the Ommelanden were blamed on the preaching of the true religion. These sad tidings were conveyed to Johannes van der Mijlen in Delft. In response, he wrote to console 'all the forsaken Christians' in Appingedam, and it was this letter which Eppens thought 'worthy of remembrance' and therefore copied, doubtless for the encouragement of his children, for whom he was compiling his chronicle.

Van der Mijlen had heard that there were still some pious, God-fearing Christians in Appingedam, members of the congregation who had not only spurned Roman idolatry and all manner of sects but had also held steadfastly to the true Reformed faith. They met every day in a private house to read the word of God and to offer one another comfort. Van der Mijlen thanked God that a few seeds still remained from the scattering of the church, seeds which could bear fruit in time. He was glad that the faithful were standing firm in the midst of the wolves and that his work in Appingedam had not been in vain. Many members of the congregation had fled to East Friesland, where they were bearing themselves in an edifying manner. 'We are united in the Spirit', wrote Van der Mijlen, expressing the hope that the remaining faithful would not lose courage in the face of tyranny, threats, sectarians and wicked men who might distract them briefly from the truth but could never tear them away from it altogether. As long as there were any individuals with a taste for God's word and a glimmering of knowledge, the congregation should make every effort to bring them into the fold. He told the members of the congregation to arm themselves against the enemies of the Gospels and to read diligently from the Holy Scriptures. It would do no harm to read Bullinger's *Hausbuch* at their meetings, as it contained the main points of Reformed doctrine. This would strengthen them in their faith and enable them to offer more effective resistance to the sectarians. Members who had strayed from the truth were to be guided

back on to the proper path. Van der Mijlen asked to be told the names of errant members and the reasons for their lapses so that he could write to admonish them with the word of God. He concluded by pleading with his former flock, in a warm pastoral tone, not to let their courage fail them. It was a benevolent letter, certainly in comparison with another epistle, dating from 1578, on unbelief in East Friesland, in which Van der Mijlen claimed that the people of that district showed 'a loathing for the Word and for every valuable ordinance of the congregation'.

Historical background

The background to this letter can be reconstructed from Abel Eppens' chronicle, which gives the impression that most of the population of Groningen and East Friesland were reluctant to commit themselves one way or the other. The ministers complained that they preached to no more than twenty or thirty people at a time. According to Eppens, unbelief was endemic and religious indifference widespread. In Emden, even the Jews were allowed their freedom, in the interests of trade. He thought that the hymn of faith had largely fallen silent. Nonetheless, Eppens was well informed about the various currents of religious opinion flowing through the Northern Netherlands, as is clear from the history of Appingedam itself.

To a twentieth-century eye, what Van der Mijlen and Eppens regarded as pernicious dissension looks like religious pluralism. The history of Appingedam provides an excellent illustration of such pluralism and of the interplay of magic and religion. Appingedam was notorious for numerous cases of witchcraft, and indeed might be described as the Endor of the Ommelanden. Eleven of its residents were burned at the stake for witchcraft. In 1587, Eppens ascribed the devil's success in gaining so much power to the fact that the townspeople were 'Papists'. Moreover, Appingedam was a hotbed of heresy. The Mennonite leader Obbe Philips had baptised people there in 1534. Jan van Batenburg, the revolutionary, sword-wielding church-robber, stayed for a short while in an inn in the town and had numerous followers in the area. Scenes reminiscent of Munster took place in the nearby village of 't Zand, where a crowd led by a prophet who thought he was the Messiah went into a frenzy. Leenaert Bouwers, an Anabaptist missionary, claimed to have baptised no less than 130 people in Appingedam. When Mary of Hungary visited the town in 1545, she found one monk in the monastery who was a follower of another prophet with Messianic pretensions,

David Joris, the notorious spiritualist. Joris did indeed have many followers in the area; the sources published by Mellink confirm Eppens' jeremiads on this subject.

Amid the heretical voices raised in the Ommelanden, criticism of the mother church grew louder. Eppens wrote that many priests, inspired partly by the renowned schoolmasters Verrutius and Praedinius, began to preach in the style of Luther, Brenz and Melanchthon. The consecration of churches, the mass, matins, vigils and masses for the souls of the dead were abolished and mocked. Communion was celebrated in the Reformed manner, church services were held in the vernacular and the monks of Appingedam cried: 'Stay at home, dear friends. The Lord God is no more present here than He is in your own homes. Pray to God and call on Him there.'

It is clear from Eppens' account that the progress made by Calvinism in the Ommelanden was not without its ups and downs. The proclamation of the Religious Peace in 1578 seemed a promising development to the Calvinists, and the chronicle demonstrates its significance to the congregation of Appingedam. Johannes van der Mijlen was the first to preach there, on the Wednesday before Sant Gangen, in October 1578. He had been called from Twickelsum in East Friesland. He preached in the monastery's refectory, taking as his text Matthew 23: 'Woe unto you, scribes and pharisees, hypocrites'. The church was then purged of altars and images. The same month saw the arrival of three other ministers from East Friesland: Johannes Bogerman senior, a former priest, and Johannes Aerarius and Obelus Ipius. Although we are told, by a prominent resident of Appingedam, Doede van Amsweer, who joined Eppens in exile, that their sermons attracted crowds of people from Appingedam and the surrounding villages, Eppens was not satisfied. As he saw it, while it was true that the Catholics no longer celebrated mass but did preach the Gospel, they were still not prepared to submit to the true apostolic Reformed Church. In other words, they were not willing to be examined, deny their past lives and reform their way of life.

Rennenberg's defection to Spain in 1580 drove many people, Eppens of course among them, to take refuge in Emden. In exile, Eppens saw interest in the Reformed religion wane, as many people wanted to make peace with Philip II in the interests of trade. Defeatism affected the exiles too. Even men who had been elders and deacons in Appingedam turned away from the Reformed Church and urged reconciliation with the enemy. These developments caused Eppens profound

sorrow. Having given up the fleshpots of his farm *religionis causa* he was now being compelled to watch the ruin of all that he had striven to build.

General remarks

This, then, was the background to Van der Mijlen's letter to his old congregation in Appingedam. Prompted by this letter, I shall now venture to make a number of sweeping statements, which I have supported with more detailed arguments elsewhere. Many of the issues raised would repay consideration in more depth. They include the wide variety of thinking within Calvinism itself, the role of Heinrich Bullinger's *Hausbuch*, Van der Mijlen's remark that Catholics and Anabaptists could not detach the members of the congregation from the truth, the letter's mild pastoral tone, the image of God portrayed by Van der Mijlen, which is different from the hackneyed representation to be found in other writers, the situation in Appingedam itself, the Anabaptists in the town and its environs, the letter's ecclesiology and the minister's involvement in the fortunes of his former flock. However, I shall look at no more than three of these topics.

The first point of interest is Van der Mijlen's surprise on hearing that there were still some church members left in Appingedam. Such surprise becomes understandable if we remember that Calvinists who had openly embraced Reformed Protestantism should have left the Ommelanden in 1580. The war did nothing to assist the growth of the Reformed Church. Fighting and plundering as they went, the troops of both sides burned and pillaged up and down the province. However, Van der Mijlen's surprise at the number of members remaining and Eppens' view that many people were reluctant to join the Reformed Church in the 1580s reflect the ambivalent nature of contemporary Calvinism as it has been demonstrated by A. Th. van Deursen and A. C. Duke, for example.[4]

On one hand, the Reformed Protestant Church was a broad church, with room for those who were unable or unwilling to become fully fledged members – 'adherents' (*liefhebbers*), as they were called. On the other hand, it was a community of those who were permitted to take holy communion. Anyone wishing to take communion had to become a member and members were supposed to destroy the old Adam in themselves. But, as the consistory clerks noted, when nature made her presence felt, the church members were subjected to church discipline, the *exercitium disciplinae ecclesiasticae*. Many people were prevented from

joining the church by its disciplinary practice. Indeed, adherents played a major role in the Northern Netherlands. In short, Eppens' remarks about small congregational rolls reflect both the specific situation in Appingedam and the nature of Calvinism in general.

Secondly, the letter illustrates the wide variety of religious belief in the Northern Netherlands. A religious spectrum which is familiar from other sources can be seen in both Eppens' own chronicle and the letter he reproduced. At one end of the spectrum we see those who formed part of the three major churches: Roman Catholicism, Reformed Protestantism and the numerous, different Anabaptist communities. The other extreme comprised the large numbers of people who were indifferent to religion in any form. The centre was occupied by another large group: those who were neutral or, in Eppens' words, sat on the fence. It was these people who for many years would not, could not or dared not commit themselves to one of the many religious options open to them. The letter expresses a profound fear of the attraction exerted by Anabaptism in all its forms which, to an even greater extent than in Holland and Zeeland, was characteristic of the Northern Netherlands, especially the present-day province of Friesland, where approximately a quarter of the population were Mennonite.

Thirdly, the letter provides still more evidence of the immense importance of Emden to the Reformation in the Netherlands in general and the more northerly provinces in particular. Johannes van der Mijlen and the other three ministers who, Eppens tells us, came to Appingedam in 1578 had all held posts in East Friesland. Emden's significance has been analysed by many historians. Large numbers of Lutherans, sacramentarians, followers of the Family of Love, of Karlstadt, Melchior Hoffman, Schwenckfeld and Franck found a temporary home in Emden from where they kept in touch with the Netherlands. The city was also an important publishing centre; the *Hausbuch* referred to by Van der Mijlen was printed there. Moreover, as Eppens makes very clear, Emden was the mother church for the congregations 'under the Cross'. Reformed ministers such as Van der Mijlen and the others I have mentioned received their training there. The synod of Emden in 1571 laid down the structure of the Reformed Protestant Church in the Netherlands. Lastly, Emden afforded a refuge to hundreds of prominent refugees from the Ommelanden. While none of this is new, Van der Mijlen's letter presents emphatic evidence of the role played by the city of Emden in the Reformation of the Northern Netherlands.[5]

Conclusion

Abel Eppens' chronicle shows that the situation in the Ommelanden in the last quarter of the sixteenth century was very different from that in the western part of the Netherlands. The difficulties encountered by the Reformed Church caused him great grief. He noted that there was no longer a significant difference between 'those of the Church' and 'the children of the world'. People did not want to go to church, preferring to stroll down Emden's main street or meet in the churchyard during the services or – which was even worse – opting for false sects like the Anabaptists. Perhaps we need not attach too much importance to Eppens' condemnation of church members for being too concerned with worldly things. The significant thing about his observation is that it helps us to understand the notion of a *purior ecclesia*, which was such a feature of sixteenth-century Calvinism.[6]

When Eppens points out that, while many people in the Ommelanden did not attend mass they would not join the Reformed Church and submit to its discipline either, his lamentations probably hide a considerable measure of historical truth.

11

1598: An exchange of Dutch pamphlets and their repercussions in England

Anna E. C. Simoni

The pamphlets which are the subject of this chapter are not altogether unknown; their bibliographical complexities have given rise to some contrary opinions requiring clarification, and the English connection deserves attention beyond the cursory and incomplete references hitherto available.[1] The historical facts of the momentous year of 1598 are common knowledge. Ten years earlier the Armada had been defeated; thirty years earlier the Dutch Revolt had flared up – a date fixed properly only at a later time to provide a convenient starting point for what came to be called the Eighty-Years War, but not so clearly perceived then; some saw its beginning in 1566 with the rejection of the Petition of the Nobles, others had their own preference: the first pamphlet in the series to be discussed here speaks in its first stanza of only twenty-five years of war having passed. Certainly fifty more years of hostilities were to follow, a fact luckily not foreseeable in 1598. During that year King Philip II's life was drawing to a close; he died that September. The Austrian Archduke Albert, regent at Brussels since 1596, was to marry Philip's daughter Isabella Clara Eugenia, though this event did not take place until April 1599. Nominally Albert and Isabella then became sovereign princes in the Spanish Netherlands, an arrangement made by Philip and known to be imminent. In fact, the purse-strings as well as military direction remained in Spanish hands, thereby enforcing Spanish policies. The stipulation that the provinces should revert to full Spanish sovereignty in the case of Albert and Isabella's marriage remaining without issue further weakened the new princes' appearance of independence.

Albert made repeated attempts to achieve a settlement with the young Dutch Republic; not surprisingly they were unsuccessful. It was after all exhaustion on both sides rather than fundamental agreement which in 1609 led to the proclamation, not of peace, but of a prolonged truce – and in 1598 that was still eleven years in the future. One of the real stumbling-blocks was the position of the refugees who had left the south for their faith: would they be allowed to return, recover their station and assets while yet remaining true to their Calvinist religion? This the Catholic south could not contemplate and this refusal again fed the fears and resentments of the refugees, many of whom had acquired wealth and influence in the north, and of their fellow Calvinists there. Albert's approaches were doomed to failure, whether he made them through the good offices of the merchant Daniel van der Meulen, an Antwerp émigré to Amsterdam, or through a diplomatic letter to the States of Holland. The latter did not even elicit an answer until eight months later, and then it was a contemptuous one.[2]

The pamphlets under discussion reflect these attempts at bringing about a settlement, one side pleading, cajoling, threatening, the other refusing to be tempted, rejecting promises as untrustworthy and returning threats of its own. The series begins in the south where an address to Holland, simply titled *Aen Hollandt*, was launched in the spring of 1598. It is written in verse, in the form of a *refrein* of eight twenty-line stanzas, each ending in a sententious punchline. It is anonymous, but its printer is known: it has a colophon reading: 'Louanij, Ioannes Masius excudebat', preceded by an approbation dated 'Bruxellae 12. Martij, 1589'. This date is a misprint for 1598, but it does specify the date of publication as probably late March or early April. Whether the author should also be sought at Louvain is difficult to say. There were printers at Brussels who could have done it there; arguably a Louvain author could have kept an eye on it during printing more easily. Jan Maes was a prolific printer who had been at work for thirty-one years when he printed this small work.[3] The misprinted date does him little credit.

Modest as it was, the leaflet must have come as a bombshell to the Protestants in the north. Its gist was that it was time to make peace: 'Come back into the fold, all will be forgiven; obey your lawful king, return to your friends and let us all be one country again.' It sounded reasonable. Would the population, weary of war and the sacrifices it demanded, fall for the blandishments offered? How to prevent it? Not for the first time and certainly not for the last, one pamphlet provoked another and so, in response to the first challenge of the (first) *Aen Hollandt* we get the first reply, titled *Copie van seker Refereyn*

by de overheerde Nederlantsche Provintien aen Hollant gheschreven/ beroerende den Vrede. Met oock der Hollanders antwoorde rijms-wyse daer by ghevoecht (Fig. 11.1). As this title declares, the response begins with the full text of the southern *refrein* and follows it with counter-arguments pronounced by the Hollanders. This reply is also in verse, similarly divided into twenty-line stanzas ending in punchlines,[4] but the reply is more than twice as long, two or even three stanzas refuting each one of its adversary's. 'Oh no', the Hollanders are made to say, 'how can we trust you and how can we forsake our religion as you surely demand? Your king has himself broken the promises and obligations of the old privileges he had agreed upon, etc.'[5] Both sides quote from history and scripture, utter warnings and prophecies, mainly of doom and disaster. This text, representing the views of the 'hawks' in the Republic (the orthodox Calvinists, the fugitives from the south, the keen merchants and other opponents of Spanish rule and Catholic domination), is reinforced by an illustration, more powerful than mere words. Placed between the title and an apposite verse from Psalm 28, it made matters clear from the start, helping to emphasise points made in the text and confirming them as reading proceeded. Nor is this all. Of this first reply there are five different text editions with three versions of the illustration in various states.[6] The textual variations are in spelling, corrections (such as that of the misprinted date of the first challenge), the addition of two sonnets and the use of different founts of type. All this points to a desire to print large numbers of copies and to do so fast.[7]

The differences in the engraving are even more telling than those in the printed text. After all, the cost of an unillustrated publication depended chiefly on that of the paper needed rather than on labour and machinery. But an engraving was a considerable additional expense, requiring the copper plate, a designer and an engraver (not necessarily one and the same person) and a different printing process on another press. To have an illustration done at all and then to have it done in a variety of versions, surely implies more than ordinary purpose.

The first title-page engraving (Fig. 11.1) is the most elaborate of them. It can be divided into two areas, an upper one containing two circular emblematic images resembling the two sides of a coin or medal, and a larger 'action' picture below. The left-hand circular emblem contains the Dutch Lion tied to a column inscribed 'Inquisitie', topped by the statue of a bishop, perhaps Granvelle. A monk holds the Lion's rope to the right of the column while the figure of Alva has the words 'Thiende is myn begeren', 'The tenth is what you'll pay me',

inscribed next to him, countered by the Lion's defiant ''k hoop 't door God te weren', 'I trust in God to stay thee'. While he is apparently impotent, a tiny mouse gnawing away at the rope around his neck is busily freeing him from captivity. A marginal inscription explains the

Fig. 11.1 *Copie van seker Refereyn by de overheerde Nederlantsche Provintien aen Hollant gheschreven, beroerende den vrede*. Amsterdam, 1598. Leiden University Library (THYS PF 1023)

emblem in Latin and Dutch: 'Loris Leonem rosis mus liberat. S' muis bytende tanden den Leeu los knagen', 'The mouse with his sharp teeth gnaws through the ropes and sets the Lion free'. In the next circle on the right the Lion is shown free. The crowned figure of King Philip II is seen approaching him bearing an olive branch for peace, but holding a collar to go round the Lion's neck in his other hand. Philip says 'Ic doe als my is bevolen', 'I do as I am told', and we see from whom he gets his orders: the Pope with mitre and triple-cross staff. The meaning of it all is again engraved into the margin: 'Liber Leo revinciri pemegat. De Leeu los synde wil geen halsband dragen', 'The Lion, now free, refuses to be bound again and to wear a collar'. The lower part of the engraving translates the emblems into actuality. A burgher, the 'Hollander', soberly dressed, honest-faced, bareheaded and unarmed, accompanied by two boys (Westfriesland and Zeeland?) confronts a smooth-faced priest described as 'De over-heerde Provintien', 'The subjugated Provinces', an olive branch in his left hand extended towards the Hollander, but hiding a sword behind his back in his right. Also at his back a helmet replaces the priest's biretta and covers the face of a bearded soldier. The priest resembles the Archduke who, though nominally in command of the Spanish forces, made his peace initiatives. The Hollander does not trust him, for although the soldier's guise is invisible to him, in his mind's eye he can see the Armada: 'De vlote uit Spaingnen alsmen tracteerde van pais an[no] 1588', 'The Spanish fleet while peace talks were being held in 1588', and on the shore of the Channel, opposite 'Dover', the town of 'Cales' is inscribed with an olive branch beside it to recall the negotiations of ten years ago. These memories make the Hollander rebuff the priest with the words 'Tis doch al bedroch', 'It's all deceit anyhow'. The two boys are also drawn into the argument. One has run forward to meet the stranger, but returns to his father/protector in some alarm. The father's words are there to reassure him: we shan't be deceived. The other boy, clinging to his father's hand, points to the little scene above him, a reminder of what may yet be in store for any 'heretic' foolish enough to submit to Catholic rule: the execution of Anneke Utenhove, described as 'Dochter levende gedolven binnen Brussel den 19. Julij anno 1597', 'Spinster buried alive at Brussels on 19 July 1597'. She was an Anabaptist unwilling to renounce her beliefs.[8] And this had occurred less than twelve months before the pamphlet was published. Anabaptists were no less despised and persecuted by the Calvinists than by the Roman Catholics, but burying them alive went a little too far! That it happened to be the last

occasion of Protestant martyrdom in the Southern Netherlands no one of course could then know.

There are other small scenes equally recalling Spanish and Catholic treachery: two murder attempts on Prince Maurice of Orange are referred to in the upper spandrels, on the left a man with a gun is identified by the date 'An. 1594' as Michel Renichon; on the right a man with what looks like a lance but was a knife with hooks at its point by the date 'An. 1598' as Pieter Panne. Both would-be murderers had been apprehended well before they could do the deed they had been sent to perform, Renichon allegedly by Albert's predecessor, the Archduke Ernest, Panne as he confessed to the Jesuits. They were tried, sentenced and executed, Pieter Panne as recently as 22 June 1598. Their intended victim, identified as 'Mauritius', and his attending officers fill the small space at the top between the emblems, the very personification of the Dutch Lion. In the centre of the whole engraving and drawing it all together, 'Iehova', whom Protestant dogma forbade to be illustrated as a person, makes his judgment known through a cloud from which beams of sunshine fall as a blessing onto the Hollander's head while a warning finger points to the duplicitous priest-warrior. Still engraved on this elaborate plate is the publisher's imprint: 'Laurens Jacobs excud.'

C. P. Burger considered this version to be the latest because it is the most finished. W. P. C. Knuttel describes it first among the copies of it without explaining why. I agree with Knuttel's arrangement, just because of its careful finish.[9] The other versions are simpler, in my opinion and – I presume Knuttel's – proof of haste in the production of more copies. These other versions together with the first allowed concurrent printing of them all, an expensive investment, but in the eyes of the pamphlet's sponsors apparently necessary.

The second version according to this theory (Fig. 11.2) offers the same images, but in a much cruder execution.[10] When we examine the circular emblems we find that Alva and his dialogue with the Lion have vanished and the inscription in the margin is in Dutch only, which is the case also in the 'free Lion' emblem. Below, the priest has lost his distinctive helmet above the soldier's face and the hand that holds the sword can only be guessed at. The crowd attending Anneke Utenhove's execution is much more densely packed and its caption, now placed above it, had to be squeezed into place, requiring the division of 'Dochter' over two lines. The ships of the Armada are likewise pushed together and made more alike, and the waves have been greatly reduced. Some copies have no engraved imprint.

Fig. 11.2 *Copie van seker Refereyn*. Title-page engraving, second version. Photo © Royal Library of Belgium (II.38.355 A 18)

The final version by this arrangement (Fig. 11.3)[11] is most remarkable for its reversal of the original plate into its mirror image. The left-hand emblem now shows the 'free', the right-hand one the 'captive' Lion. This by all common usage goes against a chronological reading from left to right and therefore, in my view, cannot possibly conform to the original designer's intentions. What is more, the 'captive' Lion is now accompanied only by his faithful mouse; both Alva and the monk have

Fig. 11.3 *Copie van seker Refereyn*. Title-page engraving, third version. British Library, London (1578/3809)

gone. The circular marginal inscriptions are however bilingual, indicating derivation from the first, not the second version. The small scenes are finely drawn and so is the background, but the Hollander's words are sadly upside down. Again, only the publisher has put his name to it. We do not know which engraver or engravers were called upon to make the plates, nor who printed them.

In reducing the 'captive' Lion emblem one character too important to be omitted and certainly important enough to be mentioned in the marginal explanation is the mouse. Whom did the artist represent as this liberator? It could not be any of the great persons of the Revolt: William of Orange, Maurice, Elizabeth I, Leicester – it would have been unthinkable to portray them like this. The image itself comes from Aesop, but there the mouse is no more than a mouse, so humble that the lion's generosity in sparing its life prompts that wonderful service of biting through the net in which the lion had on a later occasion been trapped.[12] Another engraving connected to the underlying imagery of our title-pages will solve the puzzle (Fig. 11.4).[13] The text also is related to that of our pamphlet. The 'captive' and 'free' Lion images are shown in small oblong pictures one above the other on the left. Notice the imprint on the lower one: 'Laurens Jacobs excud.', so any similarities are not likely to be accidental. The 'captive' Lion is here dated '1566' and his jailer is no less a person than 'Madame de Parma', a reference to the famous Petition of the Nobles and the institution of the new bishoprics. But instead of the Aesopian mouse the Lion's liberator is a very vigorous goose. The text engraved below the picture reads: 'Den Leeuw raeckt los van d'lnquisitie want/Den cloecken Gues de knaechd' hem af den bant', 'The Lion breaks from Inquisition loose: Who gnawed his bond? It was the valiant Goose'.

The word 'Gues' in the second line obviously refers to the goose in the picture and at the same time, equally obviously, it means 'Geus'. The spelling 'gues' was common – it is best recorded in the title of the *Geuzenliedboek* in the phrase 'Vive le Gues'.[14] The word 'goes' for goose, instead of the modern Dutch word 'gans' has become restricted to dialect usage, but it survives in the placename Goes for the town whose armorial animal is the goose.[15] A goose is however not known for its gnawing which is much more the prerogative of the mouse. And thus the Geus can be represented by one analogy as a goose and by another as a no less valiant mouse, familiar to the educated from Aesop and thus easily recognised by them in this humble but resourceful fighter for the Lion's freedom. He might then also help to encourage the civilian to resist.

The remaining images in this engraving correspond to other parts of the same propaganda. The lower oblong on the left shows additional figures approaching the 'free' Lion: an armed figure behind Philip II with olive branch and noose must be the Archduke and in the background the Pope is seen shaking hands with Charles V whose edicts against heresy were the cause of so much persecution once more under Philip's rule. The 'bepaelde commissien' lying like stones at Philip's feet

Fig. 11.4 *Refere[yn] by de overheerde Provinciën aen Hollant ghesonden . . . Met . . . Antwoordt.* Engraving related to *Copie*. Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague (Pamflet 1043)

to be used in an attack on the Lion probably refers to the attempts at undermining the Protestants' independence. The Lion himself sits in the fenced garden which symbolises the Republic, its gate bearing a large 'N' to make this quite clear. He holds the sword of freedom in his raised paw above the shield displaying the bundle of arrows that stand for the union of the seven provinces. The explanatory text reads: 'Hier gaet den Paus door zyn verleydde maecken / Aenslaghen om des Leeuws vryheyt t'ontschaecken', 'See how the Pope through these his creatures slavish / attempts the Lion's liberty to ravish'. The top image on the right shows Maurice within the sunbeams' blessing and flanked by two named and dated would-be murderers: 'Michiel Renicon 1594' and 'Pierre du Four 1594', who were assassins sent allegedly by the Archduke Ernest. The moral of the scene is inscribed underneath: 'Den moorder gheeft zyn lyf om snoo ghewin/Zulck spreeckt van vrede en heeft krych in den zin', 'For base reward the murd'rer risks his life; such speaks of peace, his heart intent on strife'. The lower right image combines a powerfully realistic version of the Anneke Utenhove story with the attack on Maurice by Pieter Panne who is seen once more in the background where he gets his instructions from a Jesuit. The verses below the scene interpret it: 'Al roept men vreed' aenmerckt hier nu t'ghebaerdt-wel/ (Van Jesu-wijt) der Jesu wijten aerdt-fel', 'Though peace they shout, how they behaved mark well; (From Jesus far removed) the Jesuit mood is dark hell'.

The priest in the central picture has no double face, but a scorpion's tail protrudes from his back (which the south was to find particularly insulting). The Hollander is now a trader in cheeses which he has taken from his barrels. The pole in his arm declares that he has come by boat. The boys are alarmed, but there is no Channel, no Armada. Anneke Utenhove has, as we have seen, been moved to one of the side images. The four-line dialogue between priest and cheesemonger runs: 'Hollander vriendt comt met u waren vet/Aengrypt den Pays soo muechdij varen bet. – Neen Pausdom wyckt, 't Spaensch jock can ick niet lyden / De kinders sien t'bedroch, ick wilt vermyden', 'Friend Dutchman, bring your butter and your cheese; Take hold of peace and sail with greater ease. – Off, Popery, away, Spain's hateful yoke I fear; the children see the fraud, I'll keep well clear'. These are not very polished verses, and the whole broadside is simpler than the *Copie*, appealing to a less literate part of the population, but with similar impact.

Now while copies of the original first challenge *Aen Hollandt* are quite rare (were most of the copies sent to the north and there destroyed?), copies of the *Copie* containing the reply are plentiful.

With all its variations of printing and illustration, I have myself, without going to any great length in my search, found twenty-two complete copies plus one copy of the title-page only.[16] All of them had one feature in common: offsets (Fig. 11.5). Each title-page verso showed the

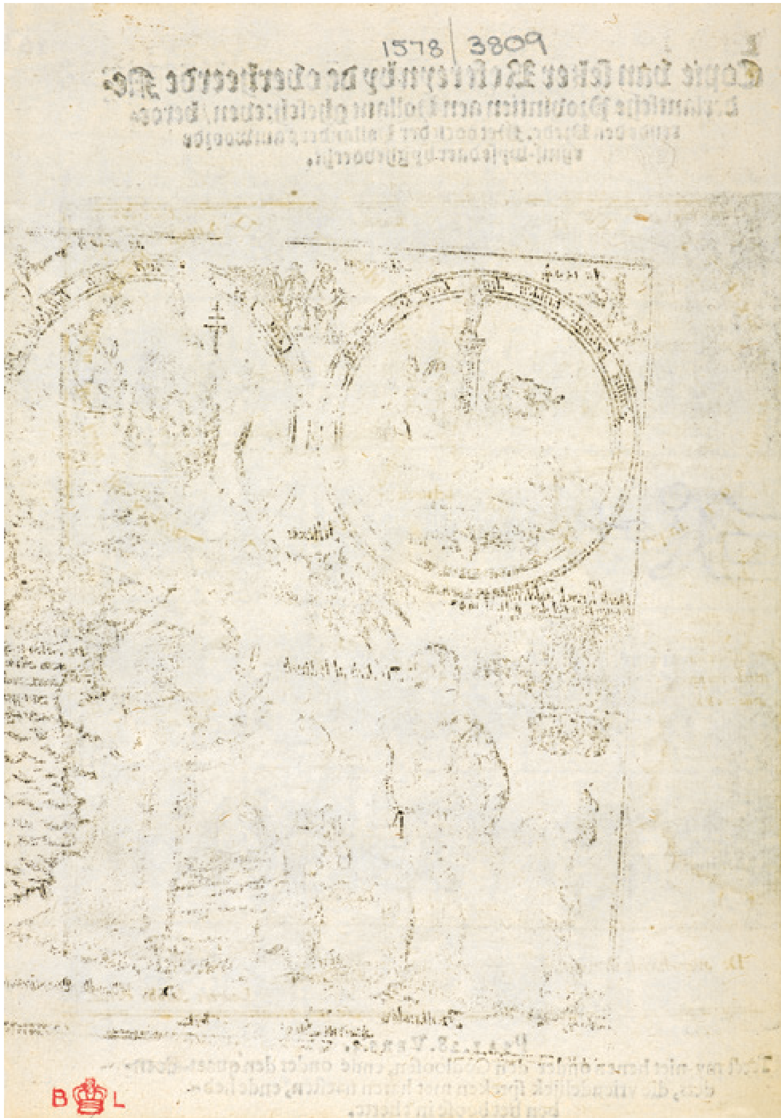


Fig. 11.5 Offset of a second version title-page engraving of the *Copie* left on the verso of the title-page of a copy with a third version engraving. British Library, London (1578/3809)

mirror impression, more or less faint, of at least one of the versions of the plate. The strange thing was that so often the offset was of a different version from that printed on the recto of the particular title-page. This tells us that the printed copies in all their varieties came together to have the plate imposed on them and that the sheets, newly emerged from the engraving press, were insufficiently dried before being piled up one on top of the other in untidy confusion. There the remaining wet ink from the plates could be soaked up by the sheet lying above it, usually its verso, but on a few occasions the offset is visible on the recto itself: was such a sheet placed wrong side up on the pile? Did it happen on the premises of Laurens Jacobsz or at the plate printer's? Were they the same? And did it not matter as long as there were plenty of copies for immediate distribution?

Whoever it was who had decided on countering the sirensong from the south with this cold blast from the north had certainly considered his plans carefully. We know the author of the reply poem: it is signed with the motto 'Vigilantia et fide', known from other sources to have been that of David Mostaert, a refugee from Antwerp, though of a family with northern connections. At first earning his living at Amsterdam as schoolmaster at the Latin School, he became a notary in 1590, having been secretary for matrimonial affairs to the Amsterdam town council since 1587.[17] He must have known everybody who was anybody, having taught them or their sons or helped them to settle many of their legal affairs. Perhaps he had been one of the instigators of the *Copie* from the start, or someone would have soon mentioned his name as a valuable ally in this campaign. Then we know the publisher. Not all the plates bear his imprint – it was perhaps added later when there was a moment's lull in the frantic printing; the imprint does regularly occur at the end of the reply *refrein* or in some issues at the end of the two additional sonnets in the form of 'Ghedruct voor Laurens Jacobsz. inden Bybel op t' Water tot Amstelredam. Anno 1598.' (Printed for Laurens Jacobsz, at the sign of the Bible on the Water at Amsterdam, 1598). He too was an important figure in the rapidly expanding city and one of the most respected members of the steadily increasing group of men who did their best to rival and if possible outstrip Antwerp's renowned position in the booktrade.[18] While normally restricting himself to books in Dutch, a little later one of his 'authors' was to be the Spanish Protestant scholar Cypriano de Valera whose new edition of Cassiodorus de Reyna's first translation of the Bible into Spanish Jacobsz published. For this De Valera had come over to Holland from England where he had taken refuge and during his stay at Amsterdam he signed David Mostaert's *Album amicorum*. I know

of no other connection between Laurens Jacobsz and England, but it was to England that the pamphlet he published in 1598 went next.

A translation, titled *A true Coppy of the Admonitions sent by the subdued Prouinces to the States of Holland: and the Hollanders answere to the same* (Fig. 11.6), was published in London under the imprint of

A true Coppy of the Admonitions sent by the subdued Prouinces to the *States of Holland: and the Hollanders answere to the same.*

Together with the Articles of Peace concluded betweene the high and mightie Princes, Phillip by the grace of God King of Spaine, &c, and Henry the fourth by the same grace, the most Christian King of Fraunce, in the yeare 1598.

First translated out of French into Dutch, and now into English by H. W.

Imprinted at London by Iohn Wolfe, 1598.

Fig. 11.6 *A true Coppy of the Admonitions*. Title-page woodcut imitation of the first version title-page engraving of the *Copie*. British Library, London (8079.d.28)

John Wolfe and with the date 1598. Not only is the title an accurate rendering, so also is the title-page illustration, which is however not engraved, but done in woodcut. The text has been put into prose, but distinct paragraphs correspond to the stanzas of both the challenge and the reply poems, each such paragraph ending with its appropriate punchline.

Added to the English text of the Dutch *Copie van seker Refereyn*, as the title-page states, the edition contains the text of the peace of Vervins: *Together with the Articles of Peace concluded betweene the high and mightie Princes, Phillip by the grace of God King of Spaine, &c. and Henry the fourth by the same grace, the most Christian King of Fraunce, in the year 1598. First translated out of French into Dutch, and now into English by H. W.* To read this correctly one has to realise that only the peace treaty was first published in French, not the 'Admonitions', whereas the translator's initials apply to both the constituents of the English edition. H. W., the translator, has so far not been identified. He translated other pieces from Dutch into English at around the same time, all of a political nature and several of them for publication by John Wolfe.[19] He probably lived in Holland, a supposition supported particularly by the description on this title-page of the origin of the second piece. The text of the peace treaty between Philip II and Henry IV would have arrived in England in French and could have been translated directly from a copy of the original; the detour through a Dutch version (Fig. 11.7) would only have caused unnecessary delay. This was not so if the translator could pick up the Dutch version as soon as it was produced. John Wolfe, although he published all sorts of books, specialised in news from abroad. He had his agents everywhere and it appears that H. W. was one of them, though not on an exclusive basis. He seems to have stayed in Holland for a number of years and to have known both languages well, but whether the translation of the peace treaty from its Dutch version was due to his ignorance of French or to his failure to lay his hands on a French text of it cannot now be ascertained.[20]

He must have worked fast. The first southern challenge, as we have seen, came out in March or April. The reply had then to be composed according to the instructions of its sponsor or sponsors and the illustration designed and approved before the whole could be produced, going through its two printing processes. The reference to Pieter Panne limits the design of the illustration to no earlier than mid-May and more probably sometime in June. There is a copy of the *Copie* in Leiden which has a contemporary manuscript note on its title-page below the imprint: 'in Iunio 1598'.[21] This could refer to the date when the writer acquired it; but the position for such a record in the absence of a fly-leaf is usually at the top of the title-page, its verso or first text page and one would expect to

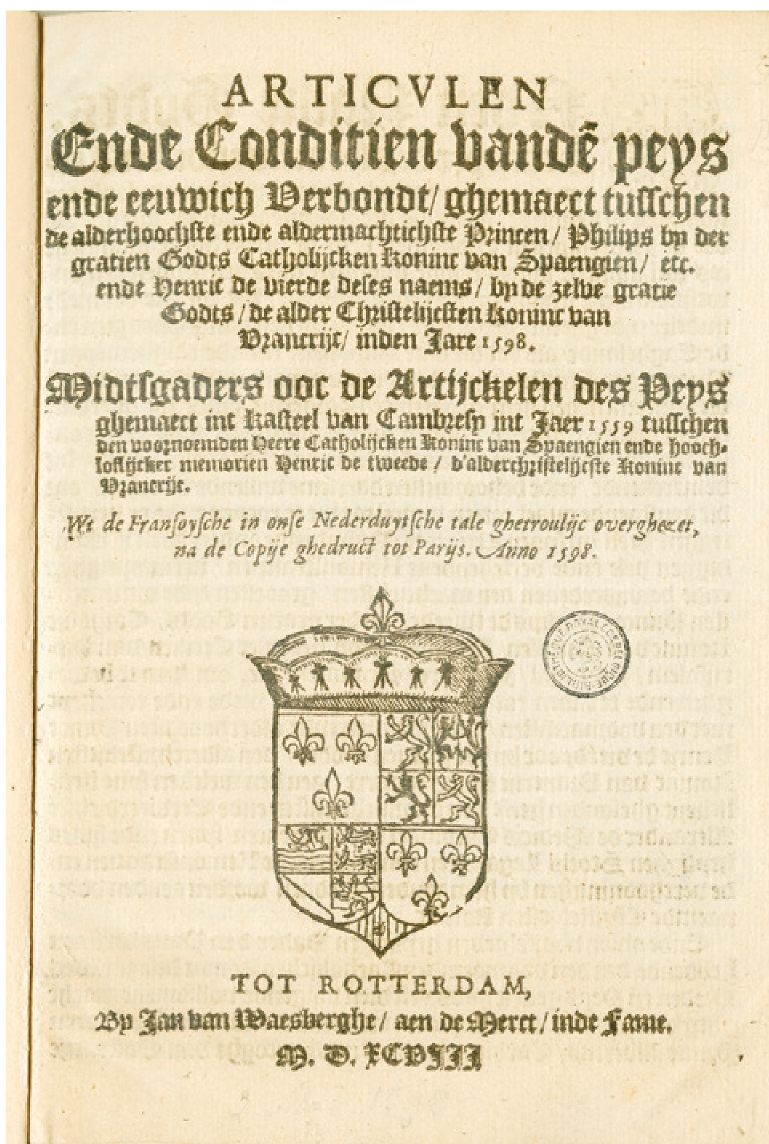

ARTICVLEN
Ende Conditien vandē peys
ende eeuwich Verbondt/ ghemaect tusschen
de alderhoochste ende aldermachtichste Princen/ Philips by der
gratien Godts Catholijcken Koninc van Spaengien/ etc.
ende Henric de vierde deses naems/ by de zelve gratie
Godts/ de alder Christelijcksten Koninc van
Vrancrijc/ inden Iare 1598.
Midtsgaders ooc de Artijckelen des Peys
ghemaect int kasteel van Cambresy int Iaer 1559 tusschen
den voornoemden Heere Catholijcken Koninc van Spaengien ende hooch-
loflijcker memorien Henric de tweede/ d'alderchristelijcste Koninc van
Vrancrijc.
Wt de Fransoysche in onse Nederduytsche tale ghetrouwlijc overgheset,
na de Copÿe ghedruct tot Parÿs. Anno 1598.
TOT ROTTERDAM,
By Jan van Waesberghe/ aen de Merct/ inde Fame.
M. D. XCVIII

Fig. 11.7 *Articulen ende Conditien vanden peys*. Dutch text of the Peace of Vervins which was published in English together with *A true Coppy* (Fig. 11.6). Photo © Royal Library of Belgium (II 38.355 A 17)

find the day as well as the month and perhaps also the place of purchase entered. Considering that the note can be read as part of the imprint it is possible to take it as the nearest date of publication available to this owner. From the register of the Stationers Company, recording the date when a manuscript was submitted for approval before printing, we can

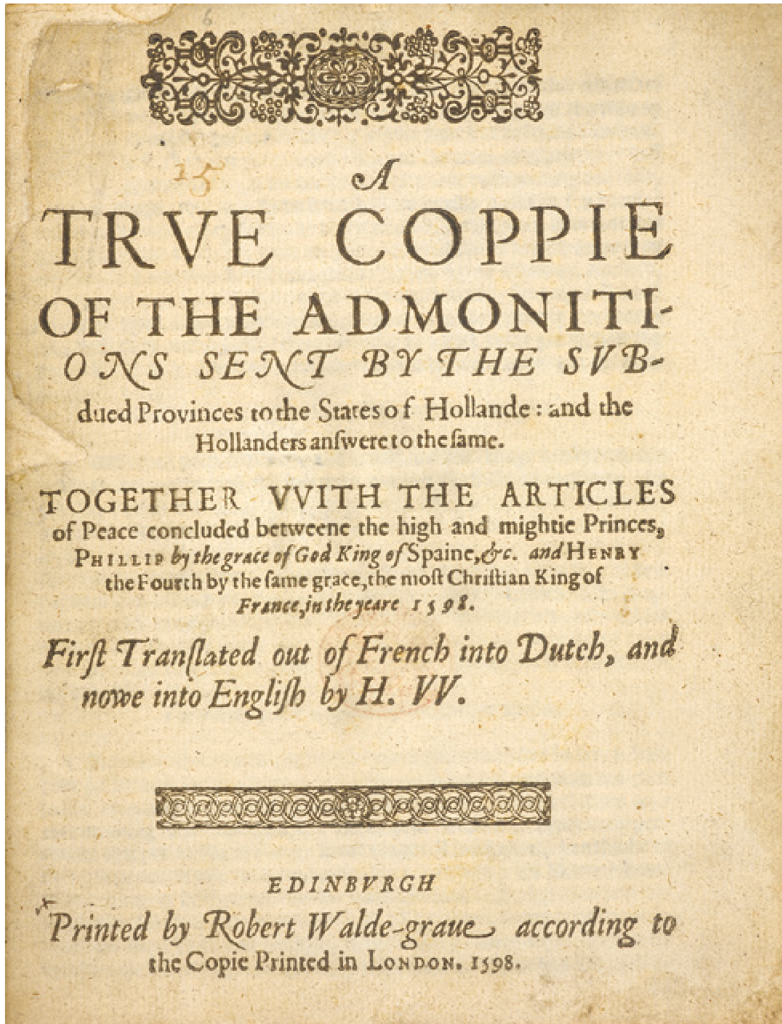
date the publication of the English edition as sometime in July.[22] Not bad, if it is remembered that the woodcut had also still to be made. Printing would thereafter have been easier than in Holland because prose is easier to set than verse and a woodcut can be inserted within the letterpress text of the title-page and be printed together with it in one go.

The woodcut has obviously been modelled on the version described above as the first version of the illustration. The images are in the chronologically correct order; the emblems have their full complement of figures. There is a slight inaccuracy in the sunbeams' blessing: it seems to be directed away from the Hollander. But otherwise it is a neat and correct adaptation. My theory is that the woodcut was made in England – or else why not get another engraving from those proficient Dutch artists? – implying that H. W. sent at least the original title-page, if not a complete copy of the pamphlet over to England together with his translations of the two separate Dutch publications.

Probably still in the summer rather than later in the year, the pamphlet was again printed in the same English translation, but now north of the border (Fig. 11.8): *A true coppie of the admonitions . . . Together with the Articles of Peace . . . First Translated out of French into Dutch, and nowe into English by H. W.* This time the place of publication is Edinburgh, the publisher Robert Waldegrave. He had lived and worked in London before moving to Edinburgh and had certainly had links with the Dutch-Flemish refugee community in the English capital.[23] This may have influenced his decision to republish the pamphlet for a Scottish readership. He acknowledges his source, but makes no attempt at reproducing the illustration.

It is easy to understand why this text should have been of interest in both countries. With France no longer at war with Spain due to the peace of Vervins, the outcome of the war between the two parts of the Netherlands was more than ever vital to the future prospects of England should Spain be tempted to renew its threat of conquest. Elizabeth was careful not to get too openly embroiled in the Dutch wars, but she knew very well, and so did the people, whose side they were on. In Scotland meanwhile fellow feeling with the Calvinist protagonists of the Dutch Republic would have been strong; unification of the Netherlands under Catholic rule across the Channel was not a happy outlook for either of the two countries of Britain. The success of the campaign to prevent it from happening must have been most important to British spectators.

On the other side of the Channel the presses had not stood still either. Apart from the different settings of the *Copie* with their threefold



A

TRVE COPPIE

OF THE ADMONITI-

ONS SENT BY THE SVB-

dued Provinces to the States of Hollande: and the

Hollanders anſwere to the ſame.

TOGETHER VVITH THE ARTICLES

of Peace concluded betweene the high and mightie Princes,

Phillip by the grace of God King of Spaine, &c. and Henry

the Fourth by the ſame grace, the moſt Chriſtian King of

France, in the yeare 1598.

First Tranſlated out of French into Dutch, and

nowe into Engliſh by H. VV.

EDINBVRGH

Printed by Robert Walde-graue according to

the Copie Printed in London. 1598.

Fig. 11.8 *A true coppie of the admonitions.* Title-page of the Edinburgh edition. British Library, London (1441.f.21)

plate versions, there was the broadside featuring Margaret of Parma and the Goose/Geus and there was yet another broadside (Fig. 11.9),[24] once more bearing challenge and defiance with a related composite engraving. It appears to be derived from what I have called the third version of the original plate in so far as the 'captive' Lion is without human companions. Both this emblem and that of the 'free' Lion are in reverse compared to our first and second versions. But there is now a third circular

Fig. 11.9 *Aen Hollandt [and] Antwoordt.* Engraving related to *Copie*. Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague (Pamflet 1044)

'medal' picture, recalling the murder of William I in 1584. The inscriptions around all three roundels are in Dutch only, those of the first and second quote the original Dutch phrases changing the verb to the present participle: 'knagende', 'syn dragende'; that of the third not forced into a rhyme scheme: 'De Prins doorschooten den 10 July A° 1584', 'The Prince shot through on 10 July 1584'. The priest is two-faced, but wears the biretta only. He extends the olive branch with his right hand, but also gestures with his left towards the Hollander. The sword hangs on his side next to a pair of shears intended to fleece the Dutch sheep. At his back, below the soldier's face, a captive sheep peeps from his cloak

above a broken olive branch. Anneke Utenhove's execution and the murder attempts on Maurice by Renichon and Panne are present and the Dutch Lion appears twice, once accompanying the Hollander in place of the two boys who have vanished, and again, with raised sword and bundle of arrows inside the garden behind the gate with its large 'N', guarding the sheep. A pig, a common representation of Spain, looks in. Oblong pictures in the top corners show, left, the 'Inquisitie' column with the Lion tied to it and Alva flourishing the decree imposing the terrible punishments on all opponents, here a mixture of Dutch sufferings as recorded by Frans Hogenberg and Spanish misdeeds committed in the West Indies known from translations of Bartolomé de las Casas to which gruesome illustrations were added.[25] On the right a Spanish envoy kneels before Queen Elizabeth offering peace while the Armada is on its way. The inscriptions read, on the left, 'Due de Alba' only: it said it all; on the right: 'Doenmen hare Mt. pays aenboot/quam de Spaensche Vloot', 'As peace was dangled before the Queen, the Spanish fleet arrived on the scene'. There is no imprint on the engraving, nor under the text, but it is part of the same anti-peace campaign.

Did the rejection poems fulfil their sponsors' aims? They clearly worried those of the first southern challenge enough to send out a reply to the reply, the second challenge, rather unfortunately once more titled *Aen Hollandt*. It has twenty stanzas this time, but is again unillustrated. Its approximate date is September 1598. In turn, there is a second reply: *Antwoordt op het tweede Refereyn/by de Overheerde Nederlantsche Provintien aen Hollant gheschreven: om haer met schoon-schijnende Redenen/Ongefondeerde dreygementen/ ende ongelijcke Exempelen te bewegen/Vrede te maken met den Spangiaert* (Fig. 11.10).[26] A large single-scene engraving illustrates the title-page, with a quotation from Psalm 43 at its foot. There is no imprint. The text is composed of a repetition of the challenge poem and an answer to it at more than twice its length: the anonymous author cannot be accused of lack of thoroughness. But it is once more the engraving that will interest the modern reader most. It shows the southern ships manned with all kinds of dangers for the United Provinces if they were to accept peace and be conquered. This peace is proclaimed on the banner of the small leading boat. The Dutchman, ensconced safely in his garden and with the Lion to defend him, draws the peace-boat towards him by the line attached to it while repelling the large barge of state bearing the commanders Pope, King and Priest and a hateful crew, together with its entire flotilla. He says: 'Ick begeer pays maer geen bedroch', 'I desire peace,

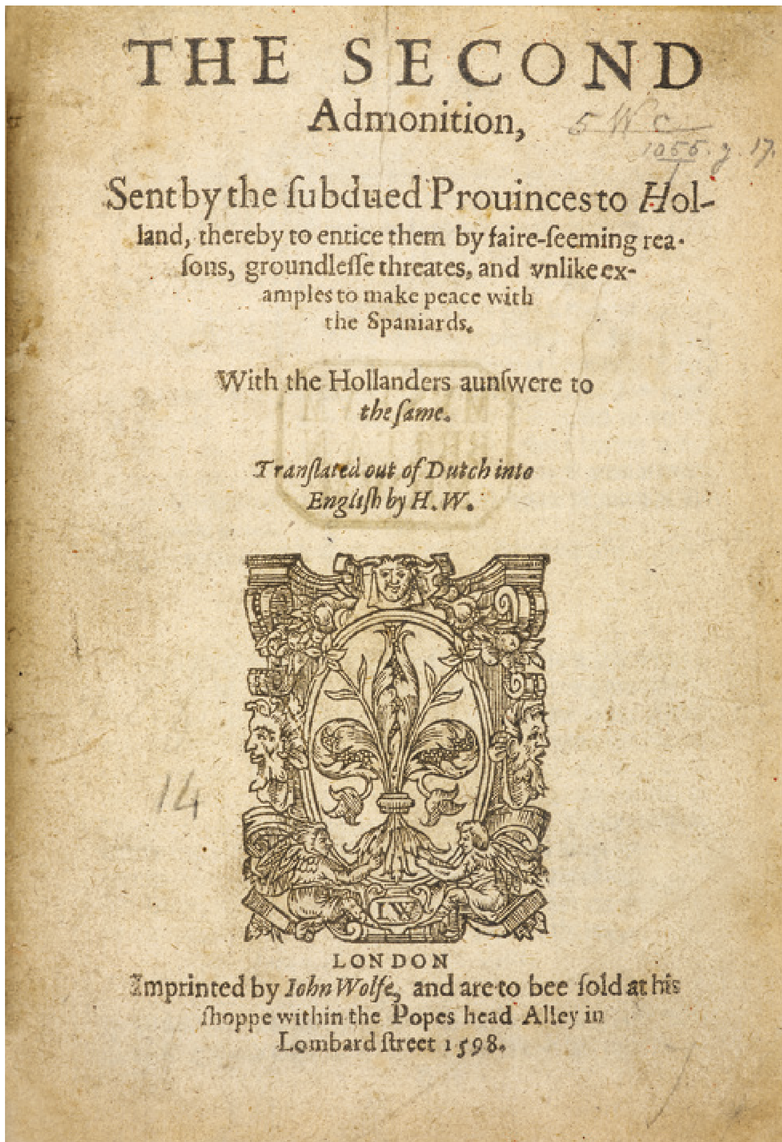
Antwoordt op het tweede Re-
fereyn/ by de Overheerde Nederlantsche Pro-
vintien aen Hollant gheschreven: om haer met schoon-schijnende
Redenen/ Ongesondeerde drie gemeenten/ ende ongelijcke Exem-
pelen te bewegen/ Vrede te maken met den Spangiaen.

Richt my Godt, ende voert myn sake tegen ... onheylige volck, ende verlost
my van den valschen ende boosen lieden. Psal. 43. vers. 1.

Fig. 11.10 *Antwoordt op het tweede Refereyn.* Title-page. British Library, London (T.2147(18))

but no deceit'. Evidently the pamphlet comes from the same circle of mainly Amsterdam political leaders as did the *Copie.* No variants are known of this publication.

Once more, H. W. translated it and John Wolfe published it in London: *The second Admonition, sent by the subdued Prouinces*


THE SECOND
Admonition,

Sent by the ſubdued Prouinces to *Hol-*
land, thereby to entice them by faire-ſeeming rea-
ſons, groundleſſe threates, and vnlike ex-
amples to make peace with
the Spaniards.

With the Hollanders aunſwere to
the ſame.

Tranſlated out of Dutch into
Engliſh by H. W.

LONDON
Imprinted by *Iohn Wolfe*, and are to bee ſold at his
ſhoppe within the Popes head Alley in
Lombard ſtreet 1598.

Fig. 11.11 *The second Admonition ... With the ... aunswere.* Title-page. British Library, London (C.33.e.36)

to Holland, thereby to entice them by faire-seeming reasons, groundlesse threates, and vnlike examples to make peace with the Spaniards. With the Hollanders aunswere to the same. Translated out of Dutch into English by H. W. (Fig. 11.11). It bears Wolfe's imprint and the date

1598, but this time the title-page illustration has not been transferred. Instead there is John Wolfe's fine device in which his initials appear in a label at the bottom of the cartouche. The style of the prose translation is very much as that used in the *True coppy*. From the records of the Stationers Company its date of publication can be fixed as early or mid-November.[27]

Still the south did not relinquish hope. Yet another response, still in the same vein, addresses the north as having seceded and threatens human and divine retribution: *Aende afghewekene Provincien van Hollant, Zeelant, &c.*, followed by a quotation from Deuteronomy and the date statement: 1598. The title-page ornament is a fairly common one in the south: it could still point to Jan Maes at Louvain, but could equally well have belonged to a printer at Brussels or Antwerp (Fig. 11.12). It is however by now a rather tame and half-hearted piece of nineteen stanzas, no longer expecting much real success. It complains about the replies received from the north, grumbles at the scorpion, plays the burning of Servet by the Genevan Calvinists off against Anneke. Its publication brings us into the late autumn or early winter of the year and to the final pamphlet, the reply to it.

Aende Afgewekene Provintien van Hollandt/Zeelandt/etc Aenwysinghe opt vermaen vande verleyde ende overheerde Provintien van Nederlandt/ghedaen aen de vereenigde Nederlanden (Fig. 11.13) already shows in its title its pride and self-confidence: 'To the seceded provinces of Holland, Zeeland, etc.... Corrective to the admonishment made by the misled and subjugated Netherlands to the United Netherlands', stronger words than any used before in the titles of the replies.[28] Except for a couple of not uninteresting poems at the end, the reply text is no longer in verse, but surrounds the stanzas of the challenge poem in the customary form of a learned commentary. It is, to be frank, a long and tedious prose treatise, whose composition and printing pushed publication into the new year, 1599, and interesting mainly because it contains a more than previously explicit 'turned tables' notion – also known from other, more official sources[29] – that it is time the Southern Provinces rebelled also and joined their sister provinces which had obtained their freedom long ago. Earlier, there had been faint allusions, now there is real incitement to take up arms. This too was of course a completely unrealistic proposition in which nobody could seriously believe. There would be little to recommend this third reply as literature, were it not for a spirited poem on the title-page verso explaining the title-page engraving. The political use

AENDE
AFGHEVVEKENE
PROVINCIEN VAN
HOLLANT, ZEELANT, &c.

Deuteron. 32.
Het es een volck ſonder raedt, ende ſonder voorſie-
nicheyt: Och oft zy vvijs vvaren ende verſtonden,
ende dat zy haer vuyterſte voorſaghen?

GHEDRVCT INT IAER
M. D. XCVIII.

Fig. 11.12 *Aende afghewekene Provinciën.* Title-page. British Library, London (11555.d.22)

of fable is nothing new: that of the Lion and the Mouse in the *Copie* illustration was an example. Here however it is a specially invented animal fable that is applied to the situation, of an injured, indeed maimed, animal inviting those who are whole and healthy to inflict the

Aende Afgewekene Provintien van Hollandt/Zeelandt/etc.

DEVTRE. XXXII.

Het is een volck sonder raedt ende sonder voorsienigheyt. Och ofte zy vvijs vvaren ende verstonden, ende dat zy haer uyterste voorsaghen.

Aenwysinghe opt vermaen vande verleyde ende overheerde Provintien van Nederlandt/ ghedaen aen de vereenighde Nederlanden.

PROVERB.

Cap.1, vers.9. Deur den mondt des huychelaers wordt zijn naeste verdorven; doch de rechtveerdighe mercken ende worden verlost.

Cap.12, vers.6. De woorden der Godloosen rechten bloedtvergieten aen/ daerentegen den oprechten mondt verlostse.

Cap.28, vers.10. Wie den vromen verboert op eenen boosen wegh / die sal in zynen kuyl vallen; daerentegen de vromen sullen het goede erven.

ANNO M.D. XCIX.

Fig. 11.13 *Aende Afgewekene Provintien . . . Aenwysinghe opt vermaen.* Title-page. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (Plf. H 17)

same wound on themselves and so fall into the same trap, exemplified by the fowler in the background.[30] There is no English translation of this third reply: the argument had been won, the peace offer rejected by the population as well as its leaders; the propaganda war could for the time being be laid to rest.

Instead of a prose rendering of the accompanying poem such as H. W. might have written for John Wolfe, I shall conclude my discussion of the series with my own attempt at a verse translation:

> The fox was caught within so tight a snare that by no effort he could get away unless he left his tail behind him there, a loss which troubled him for many a day.
>
> In pitiable guise thus ran he, sad of heart, to meet his fellow foxes, pleading mild that they should likewise from their tails depart which, so he said, were useless in the wild.
>
> But one of them said: 'Friend, do not tell lies,
> beyond all else we our tails do prize,
> they lend us frequent aid, yea, when the fight is hot.
> I give thee better counsel: run with bottom bare!
> With monkey tricks perhaps canst save thy share, yet paint us with the same brush thou shalt not.'
> Note, reader, thus it is with these good chaps, they call, they plead and give, fair in our sight, much kindly counsel us and labour with all might, off ring to drop (what lovelier thing?) peace in our laps.
> Likewise in open field we can espy hidden by trees, the fowler on the ground, on his seductive pipe he plays with honeyed sound enticing birds into his net to fly.
> Wilt thou know why? then hear: for all their pains they lost their Privilege and are in chains which in their hearts in silence they deplore;
> but let their exhortations not incline us to what seems pleasure, for it's their design that we shall help them in their own hard chore.
> *Solatium est miseris, socium habere in poena* (Comfort it is to the wretched to have a companion in their sorrow).

12

The art of history and the history of art: Cause and effect in historiography and art in the Commonwealth of the Low Countries around 1600

Elisabeth de Bièvre

Defining the Low Countries in geographical, political or any other terms is difficult at any time, but especially in the period around 1600. Not only were frontiers changing month by month, but so were religious and factional loyalties. Few people knew what the political reality of the day was or what tomorrow would bring. The Union of Utrecht in 1579 assembled on paper six different territories, which had been for many centuries each other's competitors if not outright enemies. When at the beginning of the sixteenth century Charles V, as feudal overlord, inherited the Burgundian Netherlands, the regions of Friesland, Groningen, Utrecht and Gelderland were *not* included. Each of these areas changed their adherence in the following forty years, often after intensive conflict. By 1543 all had become newly subjected to the administrative and legal system of the Habsburg Empire.

Not only was there a history of inveterate discord between the different regions, but even inside one and the same area harmony had been rare. In the County of Holland, for example, strife had been persistent between the well-endowed religious foundations and the local aristocracy as well as between the growing towns and the Counts, not to mention the complicated struggles between the Hoekse and the Kabeljauwse factions.

The new partners in the Union of Utrecht shared traditions of independence although they were divided by wide legal and administrative

differences. Notwithstanding these huge divergences the Union was consolidated in 1588 into the Republic of the Seven Provinces. As a result the States-General – the only *communal* governing body of the new Republic – had to consciously take steps to define how the members of the young State were to relate and how they could cooperate after they had become a sovereign and independent power. As an internal unifying measure they abandoned the feudal names of Duchy, County or Bishopric in favour of the ancient Roman title of Province. Externally they used the Union to establish their identity in relation to the rest of Europe. Their consciousness about cause and effect is shown by their motto: *Concordia res parvae crescunt.* United as one state they presented themselves as at least the equals to France, England, Rome or Spain.

These institutional changes, however, were supported by other more gradual cultural transformations, which are the subject of this chapter. By what means – material or immaterial – were the psychological needs of the new state formulated and how were they achieved? Two of the most important were history writing and the visual arts, different categories of expression which developed in parallel ways. The correspondence between them emerges both in style and content and, as will be argued here, particularly in their common exploitation of the concept of causality. Used as instruments and commentators in the formation of the new state during the critical period between 1580 and 1630, works such as history books and paintings became simultaneously tools and reflectors of change. Their authors had to become more conscious than their predecessors of the relationship between cause and effect. History writing had to become an art – as Gerard Vossius was to insist in the early seventeenth century – in order to have enough power to influence the minds of rulers, ruled and foreign powers. It also had to become legally precise and rational in its analysis of causes in order to substantiate the claims for the new state. Vossius, even as a relative young man in 1605 in his first job as Rector of the Dordrecht Latin School, demonstrated his double interest in history and rhetoric by his publication of the *Institutiones Oratoriae* and the *Ars Historica.* Slightly later in 1626 the States of Holland and Zeeland commissioned him to produce a school textbook on rhetoric.[1] In 1603 Hugo Grotius, his lifelong friend, was appointed by the States-General as their official historian. He was to become the champion of pragmatism and precise logical reasoning in the classical tradition, summing up the legal claims for the sovereignty of the Low Countries Commonwealth most succinctly in his *De Antiquitate Reipublicae Batavicae* (1610).

The rules of ancient oratory studied and used as tools of persuasion in historiography could also be applied to art. In the precarious years around 1600 the limited resources of the union in the domain of visual arts were concentrated on strengthening both internal confidence and cohesion and external prestige. Reflecting on the origins and dramatic consequences of their actions the burghers necessarily thought in terms of cause and effect and the artists who served them shared these concerns.

The innovations in Northern Netherlandish historiography and art production around 1600 stand out most clearly against the earlier situation, although there are continuities as well. Already in the fifteenth century the dynastic turmoil caused by the succession of Bavarian, Burgundian and Habsburg rulers had brought new developments in both fields. As the source of law and order changed, a need arose to fix and document the history of the local rulers and of the privileges given by them to the major towns and monastic establishments. In art, stone statues of the counts were attached to the façades of town halls in Haarlem (1467), Middelburg, Gouda and many others (Fig 12.1).[2] In literature Joannis a Leyden, Prior of the Carmelite friary in Haarlem between 1477 and 1500, composed a Latin manuscript *Chronicon Comitatum Hollandiae et Episcoporum Ultrajectensium* heavily indebted to the earliest Chronicles of the nearby Egmond Abby.[3] These were mainly documents recording the legal agreements between the monastery, the Count of Holland and other claimants to the land and riches of the surrounding territories. Joannis a Leyden's manuscript later formed the basis for a printed Dutch version composed by the Augustinian monk from Gouda, Cornelius Aurelius, the *Chronycke van Holland, Zeeland en Vriesland* (1517).[4]

All these chronicles were written by Christian monks who were ultimately dependent on the favours and privileges given by the Counts of Holland. Aurelius however was in more than one way a transitional figure. Although a monk he was not completely bound to one place but travelled extensively between the learned centres of the period. This more worldly aspect was also evident in the printing of his manuscript in the vernacular by a commercial publisher in the thriving manufacturing town of Leiden. The date of publication, 1517, was a significant year introducing another period of political uncertainty. Charles V, having inherited the Netherlands, left Brussels for Spain to accept the title to the Kingdoms of Aragon and Castile. With the feudal lord replaced by an expanding bureaucracy it became vital for the inhabitants of Holland and Zeeland to establish their historical rights and freedoms. It is in this

Fig. 12.1 Town hall (Stadthuis), Middelburg, Zeeland, The Netherlands. Photo © Karl F. Schöfmann/imageBROKER RM/Diomedia

period too that the first attempts are made to publish rights more venerable and older than the ones connected to the counts and the recent ruling dynasty of the Habsburgs. Aurelius sets the local claims in a wider political background by introducing in his *Defensio gloriae Batavinae*

and his *Elucidarium variarum questionem super Batavina regione et differentia* an account of the Roman antecedents of the county of Holland.[5] But the most striking example of this approach is produced by Aurelius' contemporary from Gouda, Reinier Snoy (Renerus Snoyus). In contrast to the historians mentioned earlier Snoy was not a churchman. Trained as a medical doctor in Louvain and Bologna he acted as one of Gouda's magistrates between 1510 and 1518.[6] His *De rebus Batavicis libri XIII* was one of the first works of history in the north composed according to classical rules. Like Livy he started with a *praefatio* and divided the text in *libri*, including several *orationes* after the Ciceronian example. Although the work was written by 1519 it was not published for another century, in 1620, when the debates on the sovereignty and historical superiority of Holland had been resuscitated.[7]

The older chronicles like the contemporary statues were important statements about privileges and genealogical rights, but essentially they both belonged to an earlier tradition. Series of statues were a feature of many Gothic buildings of preceding generations, and the work of Joannis a Leyden can be seen as the culmination of the tradition of the late medieval chronicles composed to propagate the hereditary and military prowess of a ruler and consolidate his authority. Most of the chronicles all over Europe had a similar structure. The ruling dynasty – in our case the Counts of Holland – was given a direct descent from Adam, via Aeneas and the Romans, and finally through Charlemagne to the present day. Fact and fiction were mixed in a convincingly natural way and history was justified as a sequence of victorious military actions of noble protagonists who fulfilled God's will. Human history was presented as a product of God's plan, in which time and place became irrelevant and each new ruler was another example of an earlier type. The actions of rulers were presented not as part of a sequence of cause and effect but as the results of an absolute divine will. This also fits with the fact that almost all the chroniclers were members of religious orders and not laymen.

This approach to history has its counterpart in the visual arts. Thus it is possible to compare the *Chronicon Comitatum Hollandiae* written in Haarlem by the Carmelite prior between 1477 and 1500 with the paintings by a lay brother of a monastery in the same town. In the Commandery of the Knights of St John the young artist Geertgen tot Sint Jans was chronicling the genealogy of the Order of St John (Fig. 12.2).[8] This he did by combining on one panel representations of the contemporary dignitaries of the order and the historical or pseudo-historical events associated with the excavation and burning of their patron's bones. Deficient in historical awareness the painting also denies the causes and effects of viewpoint

Fig. 12.2 Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *Legend of the Relics of St John the Baptist*, c.1460/65–before 1495. Altarpiece, closed view. Pigment on wood, 172 x 139 cm. Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Photo Erich Lessing/akg-images

and lighting, soon to be subsumed in the rules of spatial perspective. Many other contemporary paintings depict in one scene events separated substantially by time and space in a compositional anarchy recalling the juxtaposition of real and mythological happenings in the chronicles. A similar phenomenon is the inclusion of modern donors in scenes of the life of Christ, as in the altarpiece commissioned by Pieter Bladelin from Rogier van der Weyden around 1450 (Fig. 12.3), where we see the donor,

Fig. 12.3 Rogier van der Weyden, *The Middelburg Altar*, c.1450. Oil on panel, 93.5 x 175.3 cm. Staatliche Museen Berlin, Germany/Bridgeman Images

Fig. 12.4 Detail of flying buttresses of St John, ’s-Hertogenbosch. Photos taken in June, 2016. Photo © Steve Whitmarsh

the Chancellor of the Exchequer of Philip the Good in Burgundy, actually present adoring the Christ-Child, not on a side panel, but as a participant in the Nativity.[9] In architecture too we find mixtures of categories with ancient saints, real people and fantastic creatures adorning Gothic churches, such as St John in ’s-Hertogenbosch (Fig. 12.4). In the paintings and on the buildings worldly time is compressed and human cause and effect denied by the unity of Christian experience.

What is new however in many of the paintings like the Bladelin altarpiece is the introduction of wealthy commoners, and it was ultimately the rise of this group which brought the concept of causality to prominence. This was first true in daily life and later in both history writing and the arts, as the formation of the Commonwealth of the Seven Provinces forced a reassessment of realities. The merchants who increased their power in many European towns owed their new position to an acquisition of wealth which depended on the repeated testing of their judgement against cold reality. In a feudal agricultural society the results of a bad harvest would not bring immediate hunger to the landowners, while the peasants’ complaints would not result in more efficient farming techniques. In the dense texture of an urban community, however, inefficiency in industrial enterprises would directly be felt by all concerned, as when a badly designed ship would sink and

not return or a weaving loom failed to produce a competitive quality product.

The first mercantile city republics with substantial economic independence were to be found in Italy and it is there that we meet the first histories with a new approach. Already early in the fifteenth century the Chancellor of the Florentine Republic, Leonardo Bruni wrote the *Historiarum Florentinarum libri XII* in which the chief protagonists are no longer a dynasty upheld in power by traditional and divine rights, but the citizens of Florence who are presented as one group united by geography and history. Reinier Snoy's *De rebus Batavicis libri XIII,* written around 1518, is probably the first Netherlandish example of this type. Later this same approach was embraced by the new Union of Utrecht which even more blatantly than Florence denied traditional institutions. The old chronicles and the glorification of feudal power had to be replaced by a delicate justification of new, self-created rights. The celebration of a courtly system was succeeded by the reasoned appraisal by merchants, lawyers and doctors of both the origins and the consequences of their actions. Histories now took as their theme not chivalric achievement but the benefits which followed from acute observation, wise decision-making and good administration. In the new accountancy, causes had to be prudently balanced against effects and both carefully related to time and place.

One way in which Bruni had rejected the previous tradition was to look back past the Middle Ages to the Roman origins of Florence and past the medieval chronicles to the writers of antiquity, and during the sixteenth century the same was done in the Netherlands. I have already mentioned Aurelius and Snoy as transitional figures in this context. Historians looked back to the ancient, free Batavians who had been described by the Roman writers Tacitus and Suetonius as worthy opponents and whose existence was attested by concrete archaeological findings. Later, in 1588, the same year as the States-General declared themselves to be a free and sovereign power, one of the most authoritative books to explore this past was published under the title *Batavia.* Its author Hadrianus Junius studied medicine in Bologna, like Reinier Snoy, and was thus by definition trained to observe the most basic rules of cause and effect in the sequences of life and death. A citizen from the city of Hoorn, seat of the admiralty of West Friesland, he aimed at historical accuracy and at the same time interspersed his work with classical *exempla.* His intention was to follow Tacitus in his overall layout. Just as the classical author had intended to write first a geographical description of Germania and then a history, Junius wanted to

do the same for Holland. As in the case of Tacitus only the geographical description was executed. A concern for causality governs his approach to the function of history. He not only wanted to convince his audience through his classical style and form – based on the rules of rhetoric – of the truthfulness of his description of old Batavia, which was shown to be the basis for the sovereignty of the present towns. He also wanted to educate his readers with civic morality expressed in *cohortationes* or exhortations.

Turning from these examples of historiography to some in the visual arts we discover that architecture looked back in a similar way to antiquity. Although in this period of active warfare not much material culture was produced, a counterpart of this spirit can be seen in the town hall of The Hague, a structure erected in 1561 just before the revolt started (Fig. 12.5). No documents about the building process have been preserved, but the date is carved on the façade. In several urban communities in Holland the town treasurers had direct influence on the local building policies, and it is almost certain that in The Hague the notoriously Protestant town treasurer at the time Jan Wolf had an active part in the design. He took as his example the powerful and potentially Protestant community of Antwerp. That city, which through the might of its merchant banking could rival the Emperor, had just constructed its own gigantic and impressive town hall in the middle of the market place: a self-consciously classical statement of its importance. The Hague too opted for a classical idiom and an elevation very similar to Antwerp's. However, through important differences on the façade each expressed their priorities. Instead of the coats of arms of Philip II – as in Antwerp – The Hague displayed those of the Province of Holland. Lower down on the façade are allegorical statues of *Fortitudo* and *Iustitia* instead of *Sapientia* and *Iustitia* as in Antwerp. The Hague's claim to the virtue of *fortitude* rather than *wisdom* seems to show a tougher side to the town council which is also expressed in the decoration of several prominent consoles above the first-floor windows. The middle one displays a Hercules figure with his club and Medusa shield (Fig. 12.6). The reason for the new and more aggressive stance is suggested by a scene on the console on the extreme south side – as it were towards Spain – which depicts a relation between an unclothed female and a goat with a man's head with mitre and bishop's crozier. This type of anti-Catholic satire, although known from engravings and even medals of the time, is a daring statement by the fervently Protestant town councillor addressed to the town's population. Two inscriptions on the façade add to this image. One is the hortatory device of the Province of Holland, the militant

Fig. 12.5 Old Town Hall, The Hague, The Netherlands. This file is licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-ShareAlike 4.0 International license (https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/0/09/La_haye_ancien_hotel_de_ville.JPG)

Fig. 12.6 Hercules with Medusa's head, Old Town Hall, The Hague, The Netherlands. Photo © Jan Fritz/ImageBrief

Christian *Vigilate Deo Confidentes* – be prepared while trusting in God. The other is the more puzzling dictum: *Ne Iuppiter quidam Omnia* – even Jupiter cannot please everybody. This motto can be traced back to the sixth-century Greek Theognis, who in a debate about political systems promotes oligarchy as the winner.

Like Junius' text, the façade of the town hall in The Hague uses a classical framework to attract attention by clarity of form and style, while at the same time offering moral social lessons to the citizen. The rhetorical consoles and devices on the façade have the same purpose as the *cohortationes* in the text.

At the same time when historians presented the territory of Holland as a sovereign descendant of ancient Batavia they were also aware of the extraordinary strength and individuality of the different cities in the seven federated provinces. Cities were what made Holland superior to Batavia, and when Junius in his *Batavia* discusses separately the '*Theatre* of the walled and unwalled cities of Holland and West Vriesland' he calls cities the only answer to the lawless licentious living of our ancestors in their nomadic state.[10,11] Histories are now in the service of cities and states rather than monarchs and their heroes are now not kings but burgher communities and administrative units. The States of Holland had commissioned in 1572 the Leiden nobleman Jean van der Does (Janus Dousa Sr.) to collect and preserve the old charters of Holland. Appointed in 1585 as the librarian of the newly founded university in his home town he was commissioned to write a history of Holland. His *Annales*, like Bruni's, display an equal interest in style, form and historical accuracy, the latter enhanced by the influence of another writer of Italian origin, J. J. Scaliger. The reputation of Scaliger's new historical criticism as demonstrated in the *De Emendatione Temporum* (1583) had reached Leiden University at least by 1590 when he was invited to take the chair of history left empty after the departure of Justus Lipsius. His residence in Leiden between 1593 and 1606 influenced the thinking of people like Grotius and Heinsius considerably.

Art too was employed in the service of cities as we have seen already at The Hague, and after the revolt other communities of the new Republic used it to communicate their ideals of society. In Haarlem the city government restored and enlarged their town hall which had once been the residence of the counts of Holland (Fig. 12.7). On the façade they removed the statues of the medieval counts and replaced that series with a learned classical inscription comparing the building to a temple of Themis, goddess of justice (Fig. 12.8).[12] Inside, in the new council room, they took up Junius' theme of the role of cities in the suppression of primitive licence by placing at one end a chimney piece decorated with lusty satyrs and at the other cherubs and personifications of the senses controlled by social virtues.[13]

The virtues concerned were of course above all those of the burgher councillors who occupied the room. It was their decisions which

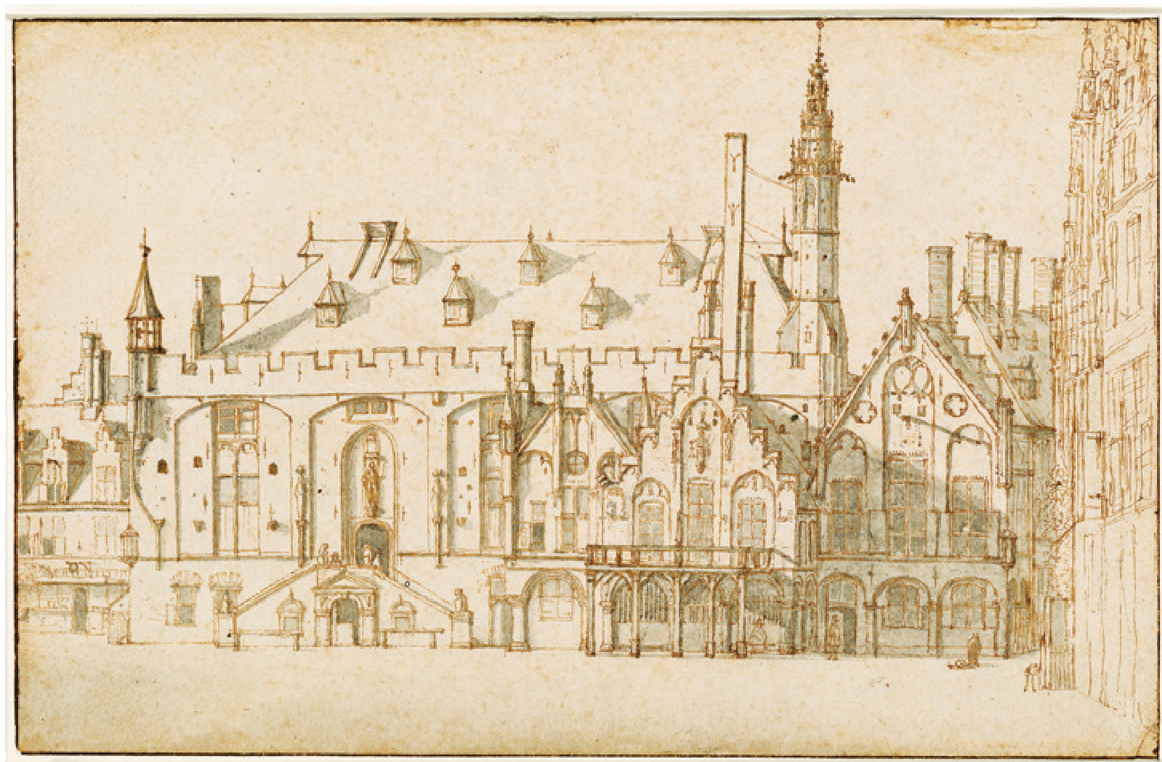


Fig. 12.7 Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, Town Hall, Haarlem, c.1626. Washed pen-drawing on paper, 17.1 x 26.4 cm. Collection Amsterdam Museum

Fig. 12.8 Town hall, Haarlem, The Netherlands. Photo © Arco Images GmbH/Alamy Stock Photo

brought law, order and civilisation to the potentially unstable towns. They set up specialised institutions and put up impressively solid buildings to house them. Next to the town halls would arise buildings for the militias, for the regulation of trade and industry, the guilds, for the physically and mentally sick, for orphans, for the poor and so on. Each of these institutions then went on to give visual expression to its own decision-making apparatus by commissioning group portraits in which were shown the changing bodies of men and women who were the new protagonists of history. It was such committees who had set up the state in the first place and it was these groups who continued to control the chain of cause and effect throughout the Union of Provinces. As was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter the States of Holland and Zeeland commissioned Gerard Vossius to write a school textbook on rhetoric. It was also during the first half of the seventeenth century that most elaborate individual city histories, mixed with recent events and the lives of outstanding citizens, were written, usually by one of the local town notables. Historians such as Baudartius, Scriverius and Hooft incorporated the immediate past of their own revolt and the development of the recent war into their works.

These histories became reports of their own here and now but always with strong emphasis on a personal or moralising viewpoint. In a similar way the art of painting in the seventeenth century usually portrayed the here and now of the United Provinces but also from individual, interpretive and moralising viewpoints. Artefacts became tools to explore the connections between law and an orderly life, the prime example of the application of the principle of cause and effect in the social sphere. This is best illustrated by the emergence and popularity of what we now call genre painting, a type hardly found outside the United Provinces. The style and content of paintings of high and low life indicate a consummate interest in the alternative causes and effects of ordered or disordered social behaviour. Cause and effect also had a particular impact on artistic production itself. Competition and market forces resulted in specialisation in the manufacture of different types of high-quality painting. In this respect painting follows a pattern found throughout economic life in the new state. It was only in the late seventeenth century, when social, economic and constitutional life stabilised and the ruling class, turning away from enterprise, started to live from their capital's interest, just as the feudal aristocracy had earlier lived from their land, that alertness to the link between cause and effect waned, to re-emerge a century later.

13

Euterpe's organ: Aspects of Spieghel's *Hart-Spieghel* in interdisciplinary perspective

Marijke Blankman

In this chapter, I would like to present a complex case of interdisciplinarity as found in a piece of Dutch literature dating from 1614. The text concerned, in which an organ is described in some detail, is part of a long, moral-philosophical poem titled *Hart-Spieghel*, written by Hendrik Laurenszoon Spieghel (1549–1612).[1] The title *Hart-Spieghel* is ambiguous: it could mean either 'Mirror of the Heart' or 'Spieghel's Heart'. The *Hart-Spieghel*, which consists of 137 pages of about twenty-eight lines each, is divided into seven books, named after the seven Muses in the following order: Calliope, Thalia, Melpomene, Clio, Terpsichore, Erato and Euterpe.

In the last book, Euterpe tells the story of a person (Spieghel) who visits a country house called Ruyschestein. She recounts how he is lured there by sweet music and how he enters the hall where Apollo is celebrating a feast with the Muses while Euterpe plays the organ.[2] It is probably this scene, incidentally, which Maarten van Heemskerck depicted in his painting *Apollo and the Muses* (1565).[3] The following is a paraphrase of the description of Euterpe's organ in the *Hart-Spieghel*:

> Euterpe's beautiful organ stands against the east wall. On the front of it *Arion on the Dolphin* is playing cheerfully. Euterpe looks at the visitor (i.e. at Spieghel). The organ is silent as she sings the following song: Arion is in mid-ocean and astride a fish. The nearest ship is a hostile one and rescue is nowhere to be found. Whoever sings so easily and happily in such a situation must be strong of heart and mind and rejoice in God and virtue. No guns,

> arrows, lightning, thunder, or swords, nothing can frighten him. He considers everything as being on loan, even his life, which he is willing to relinquish. It is not *things* that make you suffer, but your own stubbornness and a mistaken love of shadows. Here, in *Plato's Cave*, you can see the vain longings of bad habits, and of quarrels about what is seemingly good. Alas, few people look upon themselves and upon the real bliss of things through the light of reason. Fewer still follow Christ; they are entirely void of visions and striving of their own. Misleading examples and the habit of false opinion keep you tied to the restlessness of shadowy blessings. The blessings are delivered verbally, but deep in your heart you still praise wealth, and lust for honour and status. In the meantime the organ opens. On one door is painted *Plato's Cave*, in which everyone is driven mad by his love of shadows. On the other, the *Tablet of Cebes* can be seen. The first door is described by Melpomene, the second by Erato. False appearances and misunderstandings have brought you this far. Listen now and try to escape from this and reach towards bliss.[4]

The passage makes it clear that the organ is a musical instrument from which sounds are produced by air being forced through pipes. The pipes are moved by keys depressed by the fingers. It is a so-called positive organ. Two disciplines have been brought together in this passage. On the one hand, a musical instrument is described. It is unnecessary to emphasise the scope of the discipline of music at that time. The music of the spheres or cosmic music (*musica mundana*) may be inaudible to human ears, but *harmony* can be approximated by a harmonious human life (*musica humana*) and by instrumental music (*musica instrumentis constitua*). It represents a correspondence between microcosm and macrocosm.[5] On the other hand, there is the poetry of the *Hart-Spieghel*. Poetry and music together fit hand in glove from the point of view of harmony. Spieghel must have taken this very literally as his text begins with the statement: 'to the tune of "I have seen time, where has it gone now?"', which was a well-known melody.[6] This may imply that Spieghel's poem was meant to be sung, or perhaps, more probably, that the music is meant to resound in the reader's mind as he reads the text.

As already mentioned, as soon as the organ has been introduced, Euterpe stops playing and begins to explain the pictures on the organ in detail. In doing so she refers to the earlier explanations by Melpomene and Erato, which were given in books III and VI. There are three pictures on the organ, a triptych, representing *Arion on the Dolphin* on the

Fig. 13.1 Jan Harmensz. Muller, after Cornelis Cornelisz, *Arion on the Dolphin*. Engraving, 35.2 × w 35.8 cm. Van Haarlem, Amsterdam, 1589. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

outside of the doors (Fig. 13.1); and *Plato's Cave* (Fig. 13.2) and *Tabula Cebetis* (or the Tablet of Cebes) on the inside of the doors (Fig. 13.3).

The myth of Arion was seen in the sixteenth century as an example of the power of music. The myth can be interpreted in at least two ways. In the first interpretation, the dolphin comes towards the music made by Arion. The emphasis here is on Arion making music on the back of a dolphin – the symbol of inner peace and tranquillity of mind. This interpretation has its origins in Herodotus, Lucian, Plutarch and Pliny. In the second interpretation the emphasis is on music taming the waves of the sea. According to Marijke Spies the source of this interpretation is Ovid.[7] Spieghel uses the first interpretation. In the *Arion on the Dolphin* metaphor, Spieghel shows us a picture of a man after he has 'become

Fig. 13.2 *Plato's Cave*, Jan Saenredam, after Cornelis Cornelisz. Van Haarlem, 1604. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

Fig. 13.3 *Tabula Cebetis*, Jacob Matham, after Hendrick Goltzius, 1592. Engraving, h 66.5 × w 12.5 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

good'. This is, after all, the aim of the *Hart-Spieghel*.[8] In the process of 'becoming good', matters of the soul and of the path of life also become important, which brings me to the two other doors of the organ.

The second picture refers to Plato's myth of the cave, from book VII of the *Politeia* (The Republic). People are chained down in a cave and marvelling at the shadows of things. A runaway comes back into the cave declaring that he has seen real things, and that people who only believe in shadows are mistaken. He pities those unfortunates and weeps over their insanity. They, on the other hand, laugh at him as if he were deranged and expel him from the cave. Spieghel gives the cave the shape of a heart, saying that the shape of the cave resembles that of the human heart.[9] The third picture, the *Tabula Cebetis*, represents the way of life, divided into three levels. The lower one is confined to the life of the senses, the middle one to art and knowledge, and the upper one to the spirit. It originates from both Stoic and Platonic philosophy. Sixteenth-century humanism was especially attracted to this theme, both in its textual and graphic forms.[10]

The detailed description of Euterpe's organ introduces a third discipline, namely, the art of painting. An organ with painted doors was not a strange phenomenon in the early seventeenth century. There are many examples of such organs decorated with biblical and mythological scenes (for example in the New Church in Amsterdam). Attempts have been made to trace the pictures on Euterpe's organ back to works in Spieghel's own collection.[11] But these efforts have never been very convincing and in the text under discussion the pictures, in my opinion at any rate, can only be understood iconographically. There are many instances of such a metaphorical use of language being derived from well-known works of art, such as the image of Apollo and the Muses.

In referring to the three pictures of the organ's doors, I have touched on four other disciplines, namely: mythology, which plays a role in the picture of *Arion on the Dolphin*; classical philosophy, which figures in the picture of *Plato's Cave*; ethics, which is relevant to the *Tabula Cebetis*; and the history of medicine, insofar as Spieghel gives *Plato's Cave* the form of a human heart. The disciplines in the description of Euterpe's organ – poetics, music, ethics, iconography, philosophy and the history of medicine – have been brought together in the organ. Let us take a closer look at that instrument. When seeking references to it in classical, patristic and contemporary texts, it proved to be useful to choose the Greek word *organon* and its Latin equivalent *organum* as keywords. These words were ambiguous, as is the use of the word *organum* in dictionaries and Dutch sources dating from 1586 to 1644. The reader,

when looking for the word *orgel* (organ), would be confronted with the following range of meanings: organ, voice, instrument and 'organ' as a part of the body. The various connotations and the metaphorical use of the (musical) organ, which were common around 1600, were related to the cosmos and the way in which God created the universe. The organ owes its creative power to the same elements that God used for the creation of the universe and mankind; namely, *air, wind, pneuma* or *spirit*. 'Wherefore well sayid Dorilaus the Philosopher. That the world is Gods Organe', wrote the sixteenth-century scholar Ornithoparcus in *His Micrologus, or Introduction containing the art of singing*.[12]

I have come across several instances in which the workings of an organ are compared with those of the world and of a human being. Du Bartas (1544–90) used the image in his *La Semaine ou creation du Monde*, which was widely read in the Low Countries. The English version reads as follows:

> Where, as (by Art) one selfly blast breath'd out
> From panting bellows, passeth all-about
> Wind-Instruments; enters by th'under Clavers
> Which with the Keys, the Organ-Master quavers,
> Fils all the Bulk, and severally the same
> Mounts every Pipe of the Melodious Frame;
> At once reviving lofty Cymbals voice,
> Flutest sweetest ayre, and Regals shrilles noise:
> Even so th'all-quickning Spirit of God above
> The Heav'ns harmonious whirling wheels doth move.[13]

Athanasius Kircher presented the idea graphically in his *Musurgia Universalis* (Fig. 13.4).[14] The first chapter of book X (vol. II) is titled 'Deus Opt. Max. Organeado, Mundusorgano comperatur' (God compared to an organist, the world to an organ). Heninger wrote about Kircher's organ:

> At the top . . . the Holy Spirit implements the divine command, *Fiat Lux*, and provides the harmony of the first day. The harmony of the second day derives from the succeeding passage in Genesis: 'the waters were gathered together in one place and dry land appeared'. And so on through the other four days of creation until we arrive at the climax, the appearance of man. The label in the vignette for the sixth day repeats the passage from Genesis that is of greatest concern to humanists: God said, 'Let us make man in our image'.[15]

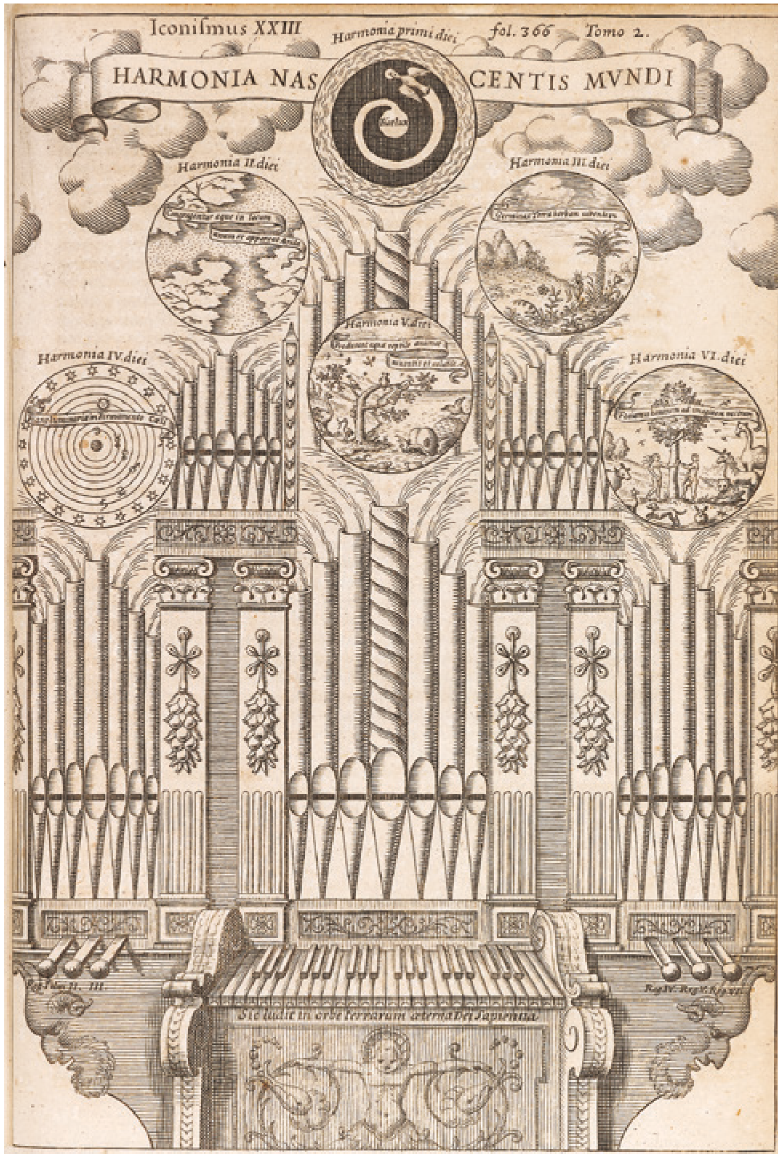


Fig. 13.4 *Harmonia nascentis mundi*, in Athanasius Kircher, Musurgia Universalis, Haarlem, 1650, Vol. I, Lib. X, fol. 366. Special Collections, University of Amsterdam (OTM: OF 63-1081)

The last example that I will mention is a sonnet by John Davies of Hereford, from his *Wittes Pilgrimage* (1610):

> No plaies my *Mind* upon his *Instrument*,
> (Thought-wasted Body, Organ of my Minde,)
> No *Parts* but such as wholly discontent,
> My *Parts* are so untun'd, by Thee, Unkinde!
> My *Longues* (the Bellows) draw in naught but *Aire*,
> That *filles* my Wind-pipes but with harshe Complaints Tending to *Diapasens* of *Dispaire*,
> Which often die, for, that Winde often faints.
> My *Hart* and *Braines*, (The Stoppes, that cause the Moode)
> Do often stopp; sith oft such *Moodes* they cause
> As by the *Pangs of Death* are oft with-stood,
> Through which the *Organs* voice doth, sinking, pause:
> But if thou (SWEET) will have It sweetly rise,
> Then, breath sweet Aire into It as It dies.[16]

Everything in this sonnet points to the fact that inspiration is derived from air with a special composition, a sweet air, which exudes a life-giving power.

P. Vinken has written about the similarities between Spieghel's description of *Plato's Cave* and the human heart.[17] These similarities are based on the inside of *Plato's Cave* and of the human heart, as it was known by medical science at that time. Vinken did not, however, take into account the main function of the heart according to medical theories at the time, which was to transform lower spirits into higher ones. According to Spieghel the light of truth is outside the cave.[18] The movement out of the heart is, in my opinion, an interpretation of the transformation of the *spiritus vitalis* into the *spiritus animalis*, a transformation which, according to classic Galenic medicine, took place somewhere between the heart and the brain. In this process the *pneuma* or spirit plays an important role.[19] Vinken thus missed an aspect that is particularly important: the fact that the image of *Plato's Cave* is depicted on one of the doors of the organ. There is a striking resemblance between the way in which *Plato's Cave*, seen as a human heart, functions, and the way in which the organ functions. Both instruments or 'organs' use *pneuma*, wind, air or spirit and have the aim of transforming *pneuma* (transporting it to higher levels).

With this in mind, I am inclined to interpret the three pictures on the doors of the organ as three parts of one argument. First, one must

achieve knowledge of true and false, of good and bad, as is illustrated by the myth of the cave. Then one must act in accordance with this knowledge in one's own life, as the picture of the *Tabula Cebetis* makes clear. And finally, one hopes to achieve the ideal state of *Arion on the Dolphin.* To sixteenth-century man this process of 'becoming good' was not merely an affair of abstract ethics. It was realised by physical processes in both the microcosm and the macrocosm. It is because of this that I have made my interpretation of this process as factual as possible. An important point in this respect is the growing medical interest in the workings of the heart, which, I believe, had a significant impact on Spieghel's text.

My conclusion is that the organ as described in the *Hart-Spieghel* and the many disciplines provide a clear explanation and a vivid mimesis of the very complicated process of man's soul as it 'becomes good'. Some people believe that Spieghel's *Hart-Spieghel* is incomplete.[20] They base their assumption mainly on the fact that it includes seven books told by seven Muses, whereas in fact there are nine Muses. While we cannot deny that there are indeed nine Muses, we must consider the aim of the text as it was formulated by Spieghel himself. If this is taken as the basis of our interpretation, then we must conclude that the text is constructed both logically and efficiently. The seven books culminate in Euterpe's organ in two specific ways. In the first place all the disciplines that are important to the process of Spieghel achieving his aim are depicted on the doors of the organ. Secondly, the way in which the *Hart-Spieghel* text works and the way in which the human organism and mind must function in order to reach the state of *Arion on the Dolphin* are identical to the way in which the organ functions. This for me is sufficient reason to conclude that the *Hart-Spieghel* has reached a complete and perfect state.

14
Geomancy in an early play by Theodore Rodenburgh

P. E. L. Verkuyl
Translated by J. G. Riewald

Theodore Rodenburgh is not unknown to those who are familiar with the relations between seventeenth-century Dutch literature and England. During his eventful life he stayed in London for more than four years, from December 1602 to March 1607, as a political representative of the town of Emden. It was in London that he possibly met Cyril Tourneur and became acquainted with *The Revenger's Tragedy*, which in 1618 he adapted as *Wraackgierigers Treurspel*. It is also quite likely that he came across Thomas Wilson's *Arte of Rhetorique* there, which he may have translated in a first version. Finally, according to his own statement, it was in London that Rodenburgh was delivered of 'de meesten hoop des reghelkens' (the major part of these verses) of his adaptation of Guarini's *Pastor Fido*, which saw the light of day in 1617 under the title *Anna Rodenburghs Trouwen Batavier*. For, as he says, this birth took place 'ten tijde als uE. liefde [i. e. Anna] uw Rymert verzelden in *Albeonsche Islingtouwn*' (when your beloved [Anna] accompanied your Poet in Islington in Albion), when the paragon Elizabeth held sway there and the Prince of Wales was already the crowned King James VI of Scotland.

All this sets part of the first version of the text of the *Trouwen Batavier* before Elizabeth's death (3 April 1603 N.S.[1]). From the Dedication, dated 1617, in which Rodenburgh refers to his work on *Trouwen Batavier* as a 'Zestien-jaren-geleden-tijd-verdrijf' (a pastime of sixteen years ago), it follows that his sojourn in London had already begun in 1600 or 1601 – a year or two before the date generally accepted in the literature on the subject. However, it is not only in *Trouwen Batavier*, the play with which he made his debut, that

Rodenburgh refers to his stay in London. He also does so in the first part of his three-part tragedy *Keyser Otto den derden, en Galdrada*, perhaps his official debut, which appeared in print a year before the *Trouwen Batavier.* Though his *Batavierse Vryagie-spel* also appeared in 1616, we do not know anything about the order in which the two plays were published. If the *Vryagie-spel* came after *Keyser Otto*, the latter would be Rodenburgh's first play to appear in print, published, as was the *Vryagie-spel*, by Porcevant Morgan, a printer-publisher of English descent.

From the beginning of Rodenburgh studies it has been noted that in all three parts of this play, about the famous tenth-century Emperor, Otto the Third, it is not only the story of the love affair of Galdrada, a Florentine lady – a story derived from Matteo Bandello, via Belleforest – that is dramatised. The story of Rodenburgh's own life also plays a part: that is to say, the character of Tyter represents the author's *alter ego* in his romantic relationship with Maria de Vos in the first and second decades of the seventeenth century. At a certain point in the play the said Tyter reproachfully asks his master, the Duke of Tuscany:

> . . . Waerom ghenoeghden gy u niet,
> Toscanen, dat ick willigh my ghebruycken liet
> In dienst, aende Albeonsche heerskerinne
> Elisabet. En liet my oock by Iacob vinnen (Pt. I, sc. 3 on D = A 3r)
>
> (Why did you not content yourself,
> Tuscany, with my willingness to be used for service,
> under Elizabeth, the Albion ruler.
> And I was also there under James)

Most surprisingly, we find Tyter here as Rodenburgh, mixing in English court circles in the early seventeenth century! This passage is one of the few autobiographical references, drawing directly upon the author's wanderings about Europe and his stay in England.

In addition to the fact that, as mentioned above, Rodenburgh had become acquainted with certain 'new' literature in London, I take it that he was also introduced there to an ancient *ars*, of which he made a curious use in the first ambitious play of his own making.

Among the *dramatis personae* of Parts One and Two of *Keyser Otto* there occurs a certain Theophelos, described as a geomancer. Geomancy, in which he seems to be well versed in this drama – though this does not really become apparent until Part Two – is an ancient *ars* originating

in a long, contested tradition. It is one of the *artes magicae*, and has been recently rediscovered by literary scholars through the study of the medieval *Fachprosa*. Little is known about the practice of this forbidden art in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Holland. As far as I know, the subject has not been seriously researched. The relevant literature about medieval treatises on geomancy (most of them in Latin) merely records one text (among many); this was also translated into Dutch. It seems unlikely that this *ars* will have been very popular in the southern Netherlands, Rodenburgh's homeland (he was baptised at Antwerp on 29 January 1574), since treatises dealing with it appear on the *Index of Prohibited Books* of Pope Paul IV. Nor does it seem likely that the climate for the public practice of geomancy can have been favourable in the Calvinist-governed northern Netherlands, where Rodenburgh spent his youth, first in Amsterdam and afterwards in The Hague. However, in early seventeenth-century London the activities of at least one notorious geomancer have been recorded, those of Simon Forman.

The relevant information is found in the chapter on 'Cunning Men and Popular Magic' in Keith Thomas' *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (1971). Thomas uses the term geomancy once or twice and, following, as he says, the leading textbook on the subject, viz. the (translated) *The Geomancie of Maister Christopher Cattan* 1591, he equates geomancy with astrology. But of course Thomas also knows that the 'wizard'-geomancer practises the *ars geomantiae* through 'interpreting the meaning of the pattern of dots produced by [his] random doodlings … in a state of semi-trance'.[2] The 'intellectual' geomancer distinguishes himself from such a wizard by applying the geomancy described in the treatises, while also making use of, among other things, astrological notions, houses and even diagrams. In this way geomancy – which originally made use of dots marked in the ground, or afterwards on paper, and may therefore be called the *art of puncturing* – was legitimised via astrology.

Simon Forman was such a geomancer. This doctor and ex-schoolmaster from Wiltshire, born in 1552, is mentioned as the author of a *De arte geomantia* in an (unpublished) manuscript dated 1589. By that time he had already been active in London as an astrologer for six years. He continued to practise until his death in 1611, and did not remain unnoticed: on several occasions he was imprisoned for short periods, and was persecuted by both the Church and the Royal College of Physicians. At the same time, however, Forman obtained a licence from the University of Cambridge to practise medicine

of an astrological kind, a procedure not unknown in those days. Forman's extensive and conspicuous activities may be illustrated by Thomas' statement that between 1597 and 1601 he cast an annual average of a hundred horoscopes and was consulted even more frequently.[3]

Is it possible that this man – now also remembered for his eyewitness account of a performance of *Macbeth* in April 1610 – and his *ars* can have remained unknown to Rodenburgh? After all, the writer lived in the same London during Forman's activities, and afterwards gave evidence of being familiar with that particular art of prognostication I think not.

Evidence to support my conjecture is found in Part Two of *Keyser Otto*. Here, I think, Rodenburgh plays with the technique, terms and content of the *ars geomantiae*, notably through the character of Theophelos. Tyter, Rodenburgh's *alter ego*, to whom I referred above, sojourns in Arcadia with an assignment of his lord, the Duke of Tuscany. There Rumour sends him word that his beloved Laura:

> [...] heeft ghenieticht all de trouw'
> Die zy [hem] was verplicht en Flavio heeft verkoore
> (Act 3, scene 1)
> (has broken all her promises
> made to him and has preferred Flavio)

Tyter reacts with bitter complaint in a soliloquy which is interrupted by Theophelos, the *geomancien*, who has come near, with the words:

> Mijn Heer, hoe dus? neemt moet. (see Fig. 14.1)
> (Sir, how now? Take courage)

Tyter already knows Theophelos in his capacity as geomancer. The latter, who was introduced as such in Part One and is therefore also known to the reader (or spectator), is asked by Tyter what the stars say. He thinks he knows:

> Dat gh'in uw sterre-kunst de teeckenen bevind
> Dat Laura my verlaet en Flavio bemind.
> (Act 3, scene 1)
> (that in your astrology you find the signs
> that Laura abandons me and loves Flavio)

Fortunately Theophelos is able to answer him:

> Recht anders als ghy waent de sterren my voorzegghen. (Act 3, scene 1)
> (Just the opposite of what you think the stars are predicting to me)

The text then continues as follows:

> Tyter, Waer is uw werck?
> Theophelos, Hier Heer.
> Tyter. Wilt my 'tgheheyme zegghen.
> (Act 3, scene 1)
>
> (Tyter: Where is your 'werck'?
> Theophelos: Here, Sir.
> Tyter: Be so kind as to tell me the secret.)

The reader of the play is then shown the *werck* on the adjacent page: a horoscope diagram with a *siglum of a sign of the zodiac* as well as a *geomantic symbol* in each of the twelve 'houses' (the little triangles) of the diagram (Fig. 14.1). Because literary scholars are not normally familiar with these two phenomena, a brief explanation would seem to be in order.

The path described by the sun across the firmament in the course of a year, the so-called ecliptic, is the central line of the zodiac – an imaginary belt of mostly conspicuous constellations such as Aries, Taurus etc. Every month the sun traverses a *sign*, the twelfth part of the zodiac, each sign of which is named after a constellation that was formerly (about AD 1) closest to it. In the astronomical and astrological literature these signs are each represented by a symbol. Thus there is a symbol for the Ram (Aries), for the Bull (Taurus), etc. These symbols are the *sigla* of the signs of the zodiac.

A *geomantic symbol* consists of four single or double points, arranged vertically. It is the result of placing an even or odd number (determined by chance) of (at least a dozen) points in sand or on a sheet of paper, in four parallel rows, from right to left. A row with an even number of points is represented by a double point in the symbol, and a row with an odd number of points by a single point. Each symbol has a name of its own (e.g., Rubeus, Puer) (Fig. 14.2). It has 'properties' connected with its so-called 'structure': its supposed relationship to the

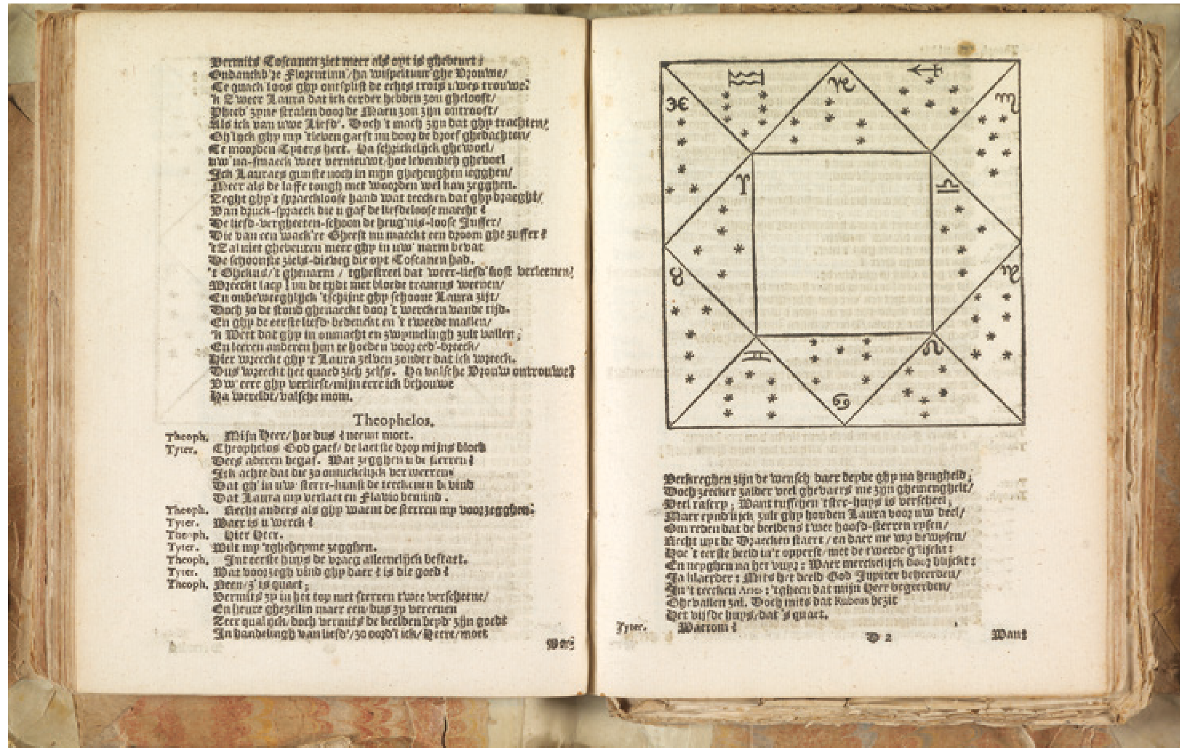


Fig. 14.1 Pages D I version - D ii recto from *Keyser Otto den derden, en Goldrada* (...) Tweede Deel. Amsterdam 1617. Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague (KW 1350 B 128 4)

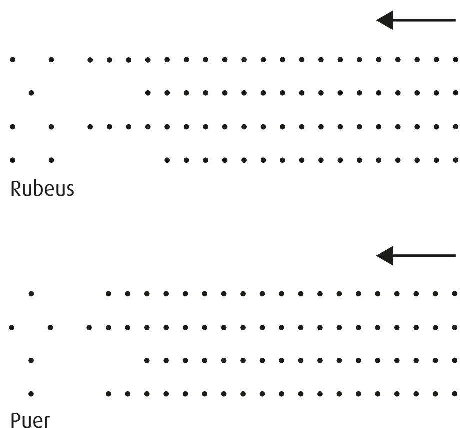


Fig. 14.2 Formation of geomantic symbol

body fluids, the elements, the seasons, the points of the compass and astrological phenomena, as well as the signs of the zodiac.

A *geomantic pattern* is made up of a system of fifteen geomantic symbols. Eleven of them depend on the four which were first designed in the way just described. These four are called *matres*. Issuing from the *matres*, the four *filiae*, the four *neptes*, the two *testes* and the *iudex* are generated in this order by the application of certain strict rules. The pattern is a triangle, with the *iudex* in the fifteenth so-called house at the top as its final product; the eight *matres* and *filiae* in their totality form the base of the triangle, while the four *neptes* and the *testes* occupy the space between base and apex. The triangle is drawn with its apex pointing downwards, while the houses are counted from right to left, beginning with those of the *matres* and ending with that of the *iudex* (Fig. 14.3).

In the course of the history of geomancy, or 'the art of puncturing', the first twelve of the geomantic 'houses' (the locations within the geomantic pattern in which the symbols are placed) became associated with the twelve *houses* used in *astrology* – celestial segments that together occupy the celestial sphere. These houses were, and still are, distinguished in the art of astrology, and occur in a horoscope diagram as small triangles (Fig. 14.4). Thus the *werck* that we are shown in Part Two of *Keyser Otto* is a combination of the astrological houses and the sigla of the signs of the zodiac (from *Aries* up to and including *Pisces*) with (twelve) geomantic symbols, on the square celestial chart (the horoscope diagram).

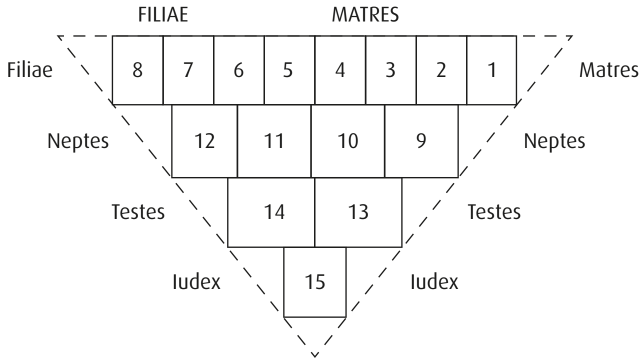


Fig. 14.3 Geomantic pattern with fifteen symbols

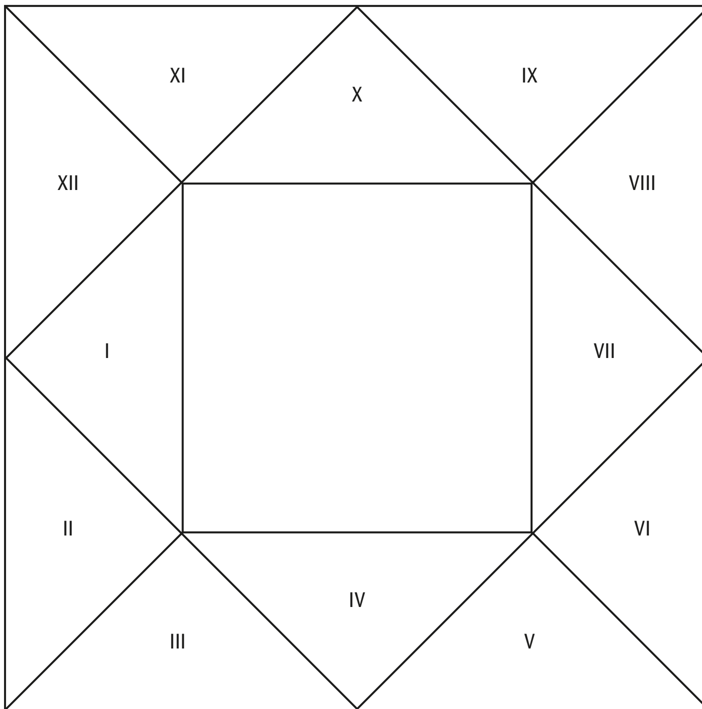


Fig. 14.4 Horoscope diagram containing twelve houses

Within such a diagram one counts anti-clockwise, beginning with the central house on the left. This is the first house, the *Horoscope* (ascendant). It thus appears that in the *werck* the first sign of the zodiac, indicated by the siglum *Aries*, is in the first house. *Taurus*'s siglum is in

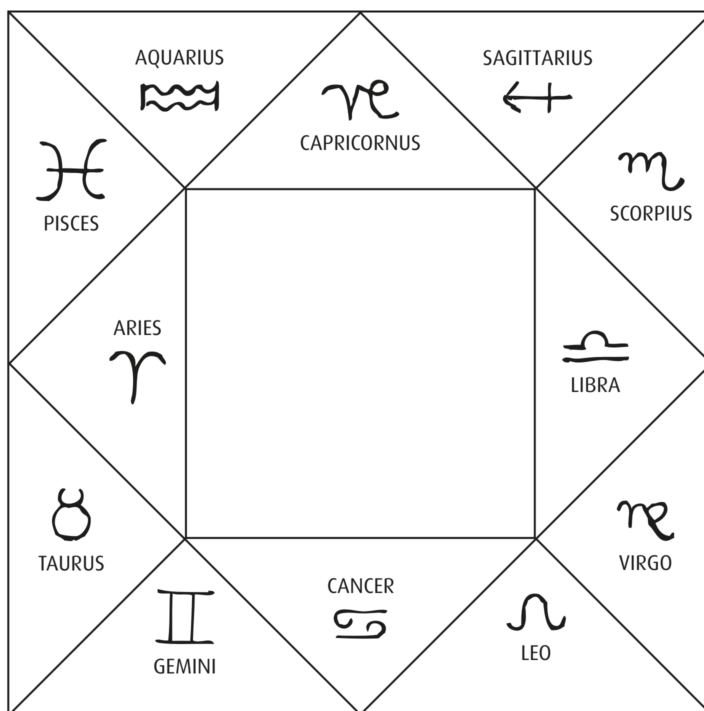


Fig. 14.5 Theophelos' *werck:* sigla/names of the signs of the zodiac

the second, etc. (Fig. 14.5) and so forth. Starting with the geomantic symbol accompanying *Aries* (in the first house) and enumerating them anti-clockwise, the series of these symbols opens with *Puella*, *Caput draconis* etc. (Fig. 14.6). As I hope to show, the use of this *werck* as the basis of a geomantic-astrological prediction, employed as such by Theophelos in answering Tyter's question about his future fortunes with Laura, deserves to be called curious, to say the least.

It needs no explaining that Rodenburgh's geomancer does not practise original geomancy, as he does not operate with the triangular pattern. Now there happens to exist a developed variant, the *geomantia astronomica*, which combines geomancy and astrology. The basis for this *ars* is a horoscope diagram in the houses of which a position of nine astronomical phenomena, such as *Sol*, *Luna*, the other planets and the so-called *Caput* and *Cauda draconis*, has been drawn. Placed in a certain order – beginning, as indicated, with *Sol* and *Luna,* and ending with the *Caput* and *Cauda draconis* – their positions are obtained by means of nine simple calculations, the result of which in each case is a numeral smaller than twelve. The nine numerals thus obtained indicate the

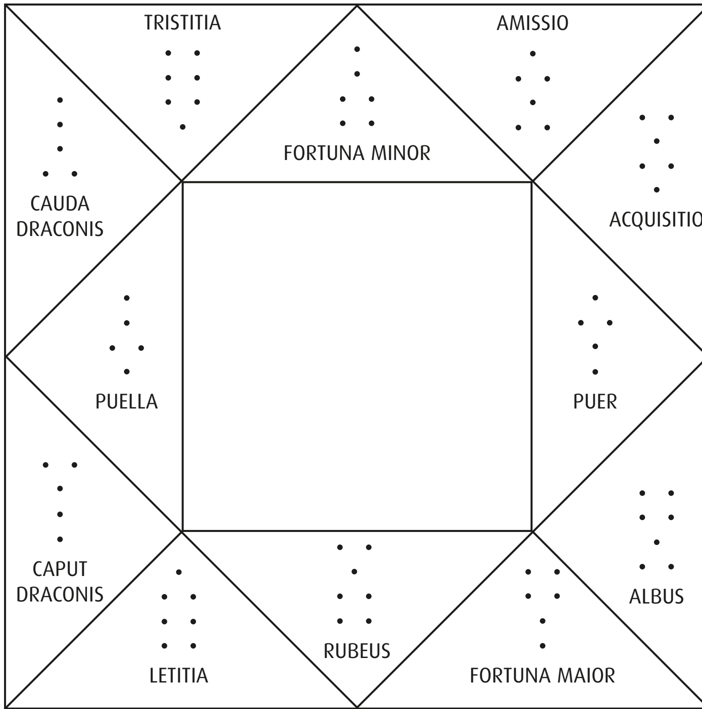


Fig. 14.6 Theophelos' *werck:* geomantic symbols/names

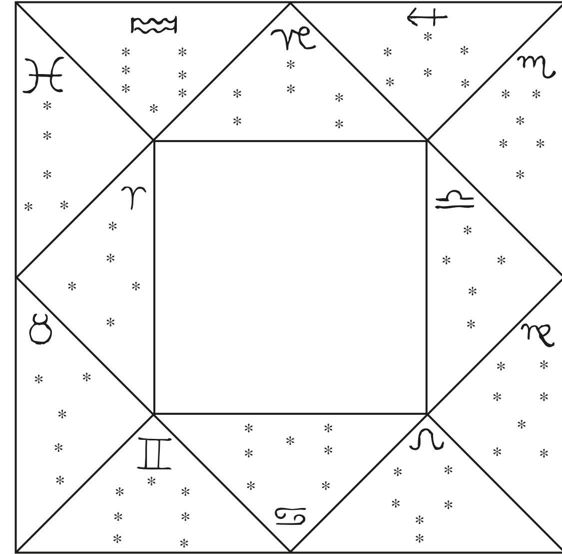
number of the astrological house in which each of the nine celestial phenomena must be placed respectively. The locations of the sigla of the signs of the zodiac follow from the first *mater*, which is designed as for a first geomantic house. The sign of the zodiac which is connected with the symbol that was to be the first *mater* is placed in the first astrological house. The remaining sigla are placed in the other houses, in the usual order, that of *Aries*, *Taurus*, etc. down to *Pisces*.

Now the curious thing about Theophelos' *werck* is that it lacks all astronomical phenomena. It cannot be said therefore that he practises normal astronomical geomancy, though he operates with an astrological diagram containing the signs of the zodiac and geomantic symbols. Looking at the *werck* and reading Theophelos' text, the conclusion must be that he is indeed a very curious sort of geomancer.

In lines 25–26 Theophelos refers to *Rubeus* (a geomantic symbol) as occupying 'het vijfde huys' (the fifth house), a position he calls inauspicious. In lines 31–32, however, he calls auspicious 'het seste huys, 'twelck in Geomancie / *Letitia* is ghenaemt' (the sixth house, which in Geomancy is named Letitia) (Fig. 14.7). Now the *werck* shows Rubeus

Keyser Otto den derden, en Galdrada (...) Tweede Deel (...) Amsterdam 1617
Text on D 1 verso - D 2 verso

1	*Theophelos*	*Mijn Heer, hoe dus? neemt moet.*
	Tyter	*Theophelos God gaef, de iaestste drop mijns bloed*
		Dees aderen begaf. Wat zegghen u de sterren?
		Ick achte dat die zo onluckelijck verwerren
5		*Dat gh'in uw sterre-kunst de teeckenen bevind*
		Dat Laura my verlaet en Flavio bemind.
	Theophelos	*Recht anders als ghy waent de sterren my voorzegghen.*
	Tyter	*Waer is uw werck?*
	Theophelos	*Hier Heer.*
	Tyter	*Wilt my 'tgheheyme zegghen.*
	Theophelos	*Int eerste huys de vraeg alleenelijck bestaet.*
10	*Tyter*	*Wat voorzegh vind ghy daer? is die goed?*
	Theophelos	*Neen, z'is quaet;*
		Vermits zy in het top met sterren twee verscheene.
		En heure ghezellin maer een, dus zy vereenen
		Zeer qualijck, doch vermits de beelden beyd' zijn goedt
		in handelingh van field', zo oord'l ick , Heere, moet
15		*verkreghen zijn de wensch daer beyde ghy na hengheld,*
		Doch zeecker zalder veel ghevaers me zijn ghemenghelt,
		Veel rasery; Want tusschen 'tster-huys is verscheel;
		Maer eynd'lijck zult ghy houden Laura voor uw deel,
		Om reden dat de beeldens twee hoofd-sterren rysen,
20		*Recht uyt de Draecken staert, en daer me wy bewysen.*
		Hoe 't eerste beeld in 't opperst, met de tweede g'lijckt:
		En neyghen na het vuyr: Waer merckelijck door blijckt:
		Ja klaerder: Mits het beeld God Jupiter beheerden.
		In 't teecken Aries: 'tgheen dat mijn Heer begeerden,
25		*Ghevallen zal. Doch mits dat Rubeus bezit*
		het vijfde huys, dat's quaet.
	Tyter	*Waerom?*
	Theophelos	*Want dit*
		Voorzeyd dat yemant zal na u af-lyving trachten,



		Wt jalouzy: die vaeck afgunsticheyden brachte:
		Of wenschen uwe dood, om gh'nieten Laura dan
30		*En zal gheschieden dor een hoofdich oorlochs-man.*
		Letitia is ghenaemtr dats goed.
	Tyter	*Met reden ick verblye,*
		Ghy noch een Ster-huys vind 't welck 'tmynen voordel is?

Fig. 14.7 Pages D I version - D ii recto from *Keyser Otto den derden, en Goldrada* (...) Tweede Deel (in a modern edition)

in the fourth (not the fifth) house, and *Letitia* (a symbol, not a house) in the third (not the sixth) house (see Fig. 14.6). Apparently Theophelos' way of counting is different from normal. Indeed, it may be assumed to be clockwise. Neither does he begin to count with the first astrological house, as a genuine astronomical geomancer would do. The plausible conjecture that in this *werck* Theophelos counts what is normally the eighth house as the first house (Fig. 14.8; and cf. Fig. 14.4), appears to be correct when checked. Thanks to the strictly regulated derivation of the *filiae*, *neptes*, *testes* and *iudex* from the four *matres*, the check can be made by virtue of the interrelationship of the geomantic symbols referred to above (Fig. 14.8).

If Theophelos starts his count, clockwise fashion, with the eighth house, the *matres* are the symbols in houses VIII, VII, VI and V. The symbols in houses IV through I, and XII through IX, are then the *filiae* and *neptes* respectively. And these indeed depend on these *matres*, as required (Figs. 14.4 and 14.8).

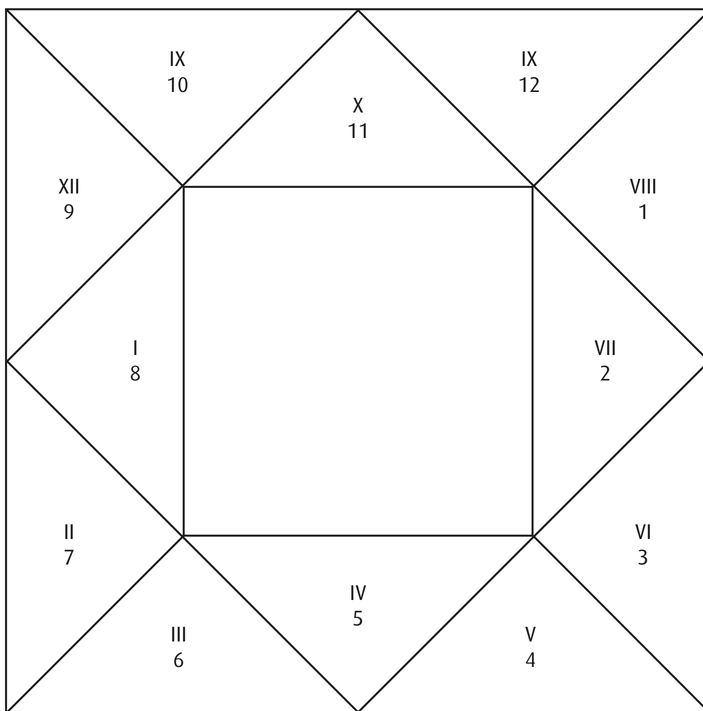


Fig. 14.8 Theophelos' *werck* interpreted.

Apart from this curious, unorthodox way of counting, with the relationship between the geomantic symbols remaining correct and the lack of astronomical phenomena in the astrological diagram, there is one more oddity, the third to be observed. In lines 19–20 Theophelos seems to speak about an astronomical phenomenon ('Draecken staert', i.e., *Cauda draconis*) not observable in the *werck*, as it appears in the printed text (Figs. 14.1 and 14.7). It would require too much space to treat this in detail here. For such and other details, the reader is referred to the expanded version of this paper.[4] These two lines 19–20 lead one to ask: did the *werck* which Theophelos presented to Tyter *on the stage* (and even to the audience?) show the said astronomical *Cauda draconis*? It is not impossible, though to me it seems improbable, because it would mean that Rodenburgh would have taken the situation on the stage completely seriously: Theophelos would have been employing a horoscope of geomantic-astrological confection of a very special type, worked out in detail. Such details would not be relevant and would in all likelihood be barely visible to the spectator.

The spectator can make do with what he sees depicted large and what he hears in detail. He sees from a distance what Tyter calls a *werck*, and hears what Theophelos says about it. The reader, on the other hand, is confronted with an illustration that obviously does not fully correspond with the text spoken by Theophelos. It is an unorthodox illustration, viz. an astrological-geomantic horoscope in which the counting is *abnormal*, whereas the signs of the zodiac are positioned in the *normally* counted houses, together with the geomantic symbols in their *required* interdependence – if, at least, one is to take the count seriously. The text partly corresponds with the illustration, but partly goes beyond what one sees.

To me all this seems to point to a juggling with well-known names and notions from geomancy and astrology with which the spectator-reader was supposed to be familiar. The author knows those names and notions; those among his audience who also know them, and the techniques in which they function, see the author playing with them through what Theophelos says. The latter addresses poor Tyter. However, Tyter does not ask for play, but for seriousness, for a predictive answer. To him what Theophelos says is more likely to be a palliative: a reassuring answer couched in terms that strongly vary in predictive value, either positively or negatively: *Letitia* next to *Rubeus*, the seventh next to the eleventh house. All this is given in rapid succession and is slightly, if not always transparently, systematised.

It may well be asked why in this situation – inquiring about an uncertain future course of love – the services of the far more normal astrology were not enlisted instead of this idiosyncratic type of geomancy. In my opinion the answer must be sought in the situation in which this matter is presented. If what the spectator-reader (hears and) sees is to produce the intended effect, the reality represented must have a high degree of probability. In the fragment under discussion, the reality represented has for its principal character Tyter. He is a lover with a telltale name: a variant, that is, of the name Apollo gave to Virgil as shepherd-poet. Thus Tyter is credibly the poet himself (in love), Theodore Rodenburgh. And this Tyter finds himself in Arcadia, the land of the shepherd-poets. In this land practitioners of the *simple ars*, an *ars*, that is, which can be practised without instruments or tables and which is called (astrological) geomancy, are more likely to be active than astrologers, with their *very learned art* of prognostication and who must operate with instruments and tables. In Arcadia a geomancer is a likely, credible, 'natural' figure.

There Tyter is the recognisable *alter ego* of Rodenburgh, and credible in this capacity. It is only natural that in his desperate love situation he should consult the geomancer with the significant name of Theophelos – a name, moreover, related to the author's first name, viz. Theodore. This geomancer foretells him, Tyter-Theodore, in a likely and, in the pastoral land, natural, credible and soothing way, his future exactly where it concerns that love.

What Theophelos says and shows is experienced by the spectators who witness the play, and by the readers who read the text and look at the illustration, as Rodenburgh is juggling with his knowledge of an amalgam of astrology and geomancy. All this is provided, of course, that the public (spectators and readers) is somewhat familiar with the *ars geomantia* and its variant-in-disguise: *geomantia astronomica*. Such juggling dumbfounds the ignorant, while at the same time it entertains the expert.

Rodenburgh was able to obtain his secret knowledge during his stay in early seventeenth-century London, where it might have been more readily available than elsewhere in Europe. Forman worked in London and enjoyed a great contemporary reputation in that city. Treatises on geomancy like the one by Cattan existed in several languages. That our author knew something about the *ars* is certain. It is not clear where he had obtained that knowledge, but it may be conjectured that he learned about it during his stay in London.

The fun of watching the actors play with the author's knowledge of the *ars* is for the most part lost on us, because we are no experts in it. It may be asked whether the intended joke did come across to Rodenburgh's public of the day: the spectators, if *Keyser Otto* was ever performed, or the readers of the unique edition of the play. In the light of our present knowledge of the popularity of the 'forbidden art' in the Netherlands, this question must be left unanswered. Some time, perhaps, when we know more about 'the forbidden arts' in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century, we may be able to answer it.

15
P. C. Hooft, Constantijn Huygens and the *Méditations Chrestiennes* of Rutger Wessel van den Boetzelaer, Baron van Asperen

Paul R. Sellin

Virtually every Dutch biographical dictionary since Jacobus Kok[1] has treated Rutger Wessel van den Boetzelaer, Baron van Asperen (1566–1632), as the author of what ought to be an important seventeenth-century meditative treatise in French verse. In addition to citing Van Asperen's readily verifiable translation of Du Bartas' *La Semaine* into Dutch,[2] for example, the venerable A. J. van der Aa's *Biografisch woordenboek der Nederlanden* not only lists 'Meditations Christiennes sur trois Pseaumes du Prophète David, composées en rime François' among the works of Van Asperen but offers publication data that are highly specific, giving place and date as 'à la Haye, 1622' and laying down the format as octavo.[3] Similarly, Molhuysen's *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek* repeats this formula practically verbatim, including the same place and date of publication as well as the format. Not surprisingly, editors of such major poets as Joost van den Vondel,[4] P. C. Hooft,[5] Anna Roemers Visscher[6] and Constantijn Huygens[7] repeat the essentials of this information faithfully,[8] and J. W. des Tombe's 1969 study of the Boetzelaer family reiterates the title among Van Asperen's works as 'Méditations chrestiennes sur trois psaumes du Prophète David'.[9]

Since Van Asperen was a man of letters much acclaimed as friend and translator by several of the major Dutch poets of the seventeenth century, it would add nicely to our picture of Netherlands letters in their Golden Age if one could have a look first hand at a work of which distinguished contemporaries went out of their way to take poetic note.[10,11]

Let us not forget either that a seventeenth-century volume of Dutch 'meditations' is of great potential interest to English literature of the early seventeenth century, especially if, as in the case of Van Asperen's work, it promises to touch on Anglo-Dutch relations in the early seventeenth century and on a figure no less significant than John Donne. Rutger Wessel's sister, Margaretha Elburg van den Boetzelaer, was married to Sir Theodore Turquet de Mayerne, personal physician to King James, and she lived in England as the spouse of one of the leading ornaments of the London College of Physicians during the first half of the seventeenth century. When one also recalls that the ministrations of Sir Theodore (most likely the personal physician whom the English monarch generously sent to attend the poet during his severe illness at the end of 1623) not only form the core narrative plot of Donne's famous *Devotions upon Emergent Occasions* (a remarkable collection of meditations published not long after in 1624[12]) but also received specific mention therein, then a continental work cast in a Romance vernacular that is said not only to stem from an in-law of Mayerne's but to bear a title as provocative as 'Christian Meditations' and a date as close to Donne's *Devotions* as 1622, should be a matter of urgent interest for students of meditative literature. This is all the more so as it is quite clear that Huygens, who greatly admired Donne's poetry, preaching and character, read or at least reacted to Van Asperen's work on the psalms not at home on Dutch soil, but while he was sojourning in London during the course of his second embassy to England in 1621–2.[13] During his various stays in England as a student and as a member of Dutch embassies during the early 1620s, not only was Constantijn on an intimate footing with the Mayernes, a relationship that had its roots in Dutch society back in The Hague,[14] but this period of the second embassy of 1621/22 is the very one in which he is often thought, if not to have made his initial acquaintance with the Dean of St Paul's,[15] then at least to have experienced personal contact for the first time in any depth.

Despite the many references in secondary literature to Van Asperen's 'Méditations' since the eighteenth century, however, apparently no one has succeeded in tracking the work down. So far as I know, there is no evidence of literary scholars, whether compilers of biographical notices or literary editors specialising in the Dutch Golden Age, ever in the last two hundred years claiming to have held the volume in hand, much less actually managing to peruse it. To judge from his note of Huygens' commendatory poem on Van Asperen's work on the Psalms, J. A. Worp searched for the book but was unable to locate it.[16] Evidently Des Tombe also tried to trace it but fared no better. His listing of the

'Méditations Chrestiennes' does not derive from the bibliographies offered in the standard biographical dictionaries cited above. Instead, he made a laudable effort to go back to the Asperen notice gracing the second edition of Kok's *Vaderlandsch woordenboek*.[17] Finding no specific reference to the 'Méditations' as such in either the first or second edition of Kok, however, he settled for inferring its existence from his secondary sources rather than relinquish the attribution.[18]

Personal efforts to locate a copy of the work have also been in vain. Perusal of standard bibliographical sources such as the Library of Congress National Union Catalogue (pre-1956 imprints), the catalogue of the British Library,[19] or the catalogue of the Bibliothèque Nationale yields no such title. As for more specialised resources, the old union card catalogue maintained at the Royal Library in The Hague lists no copy anywhere in the Netherlands; the title does not appear in Cioranescu's bibliography of seventeenth-century French verse,[20] and up to now queries placed with the *Nouvelles du livre ancien* (Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris) has yielded nothing. Checks with the Royal Library and the Meermanno-Westrenianum in The Hague or the Thysius Library at Leiden and Utrecht have also proved fruitless.[21]

There is good reason for such failure. As far as I can see, all modern references to the work simply stem from the *Beschrijving van de stad en baronnie Asperen* by Martinus Beekman in 1745. In his account of 'Heer Rutger Wessel Baron van den Boetzelaer', Beekman described Van Asperen as follows:

> A fancier of poetry and a good poet, as well in French as Dutch, as is evident from his poetical works, and still extant, to wit,
> *Meditations Christiennes sur trois Pseaumes du Prophète David, composées en rime Françoise, à la Haye 1622. in Octavo.*
> *Vertaaling van de eerste week der Scheppinge des waerelds, gedaan in 't Françoise by G. de Saluste, Heere van Bartas. Gedrukt in den Haage 1622. in quarto.*[22]

Given Van der Aa's specification of place of publication and format, not to speak of his wording of the title of the supposed 'Méditations', or his silence regarding the printer, it looks as though Beekman served as the source for Van der Aa and his imitators, and in this the nineteenth and twentieth centuries seem more credulous than the late eighteenth. Indeed, despite Beekman's explicit statement that the 'Méditations' was still extant in his time, we should observe that Kok himself seems to have been sceptical. That is, neither the first nor the second edition of

the *Vaderlandsch woordenboek* repeated Beekman's ascription or incorporated the bibliographical entry, though it is hard to imagine that Kok had overlooked Beekman. In the very second edition that Des Tombe cites, for example, Kok makes no specific mention of the 'Meditations' but merely asserts that Van Asperen excelled in composing French verse, adducing as proof the passage from Hooft quoted below. It seems clear from the context that, deducing from Hooft that Van Asperen authored 'outstanding' French poetry, he would do no more than term Van Asperen 'a great admirer of French and Dutch poetry'. Never once suggesting that he had actually seen or read any of Van Asperen's work in that tongue, he was evidently cautious in making statements about a book he had not personally examined, decided to ignore Beekman on the point of the 'Meditations' entirely, and seems scrupulously to have refrained from listing any such title.[23] Prompted by such restraint, I began to suspect that the title was but an eighteenth-century 'ghost' generated by Beekman and that the Van Asperen meditations never existed at all. Did his specification of the work not ring more like a layman's description of a book than a true bibliographer's rendition of exact information on a genuine title-page? End of story. Period.

Or was it? Luckily, the argument took on a storied ending. Having decided to risk developing sturdy, albeit risky dialectic based not on verifiable book facts hard to come by, I learned once again that dialectic, not facts, showed fancy readings often to be completely wrong. That is, while idly glancing somewhat later through Petrus Leffen's 1655 sale catalogue of the library of the late Daniel Heinsius, my eyes became very large when the page fell open at the fifth from the end. Six lines from the bottom, as no. 54 among 'Gallici in octavo', the title of Beekman's supposed 'ghost' suddenly popped up as 'Meditations [*sic*] sur trois Psaeaumes [*sic*] par W. de Boetzeler [*sic*] 1622'! Beekman could of course have obtained the correct format from the Leffen catalogue, not the book proper. However, the addenda he recorded in the title ('Chrestiennes', '*du Prophete David*, composées en rime Françoise'), his correcting the obviously erroneous spelling of 'Psaeumes' as 'Pseaumes' and giving The Hague as place of publication all clearly implied that he had physically taken the book in hand. Indeed, the fact that he neither changed the Leffen spelling of 'Meditations' into 'Méditations' nor followed others in altering the adjectives 'Chrestiennes' or 'Françoise' into 'Française' showed that these were the actual spellings on a title-page he had faithfully copied. Clearly, Van Asperen's *Meditations* of 1622 still existed in 1655 and survived up to 1745 at the least. No, it was I, not Beekman, who had generated a false 'ghost'.

In order to lay to rest the malign spirit I had called forth, it was necessary not merely to correct the mischief but also to call on *zestiende- en zeventiende-eeuwers* everywhere to be once again on high alert for Van Asperen's *Meditations*. After all, there was no reason to assume that the baron's volume was any more irrecoverable than the 'lost' Dutch translations of Donne's *Devotions* or John Milton's *The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce*, both of which were known to have once existed but only recently turned up. Sure enough, in 1992 the *Bibliografie van de Nederlandse taal- en literatuur wetenschap* finally repaired a gap in Dutch literary scholarship that the German occupation had torn open between 1940 and 1945, and the missing information was now available online. In a compact, gracious and pivotal essay, accordingly, Professor Dr Eddy Grootes disclosed that but four months and some eleven days after Germany attacked the Netherlands, Baroness van Boetzelaer van Asperen en Dubbeldam provided the prolific church historian Dr J. N. Bakhuizen van den Brink with a look at a small volume titled '*Meditations Chretiennes sur trois Pseaumes du Prophete David*. Composées en rime Françoise par W. de Boetzeler [*sic*] . . . A la Haye, Chez Arnoult Meuris [*sic*] Libraire, à l'enseigne de la Bible, en l'Année, M. DC. XXII. Avec permission.' Thanks to Grootes, we now know that Van Asperen's book was still extant 'presumably in private hands' as recently as 21 September 1940.

As Bakhuizen describes the contents, they consist of long, indeed substantial meditations on penitential Psalms 6, 32 and 51; a sonnet in French hexameter of mysterious origin; an 'Echo'; an 'Enigma' and three commendatory poems, one of them by Heinsius as well as Huygens' 'Sur les pseaumes meditez du Baron d'Asperen'. There were also some quirky features such as a psalm-like poem in manuscript; the bookseller's name is spelled 'Meutis', not 'Meuris'; and it also sports a vignette reaching back to the days of Beza at Geneva. Lastly, the Baron dedicated it to the Dutch Council of State – a most fitting gesture by a former *ritmeester* commanding a troop of cavalry in Het Staatsche Leger during the glory days under Prince Maurits, one who indeed, as Huygens neatly put it, once wielded an 'espée lettré' under the authority of that very body.

Who would not rejoice at Grootes' find? Where and when do we get a look at the sweet prize? Alas, towards the end of March 2010, Floris, Baron van Boezelaer, reported to Dr Ad Leerintveld that after searching through his paternal legacy he was unable to locate it. In my limited, yet happy experience, unknown or lost works like this tend to turn up in more than one copy once someone finds it. As the Leffen catalogue shows, there were any number of poetic reworkings of psalms

and meditations being collected at the time, and there is every reason to expect that chances of finding another copy of the Van Asperen *Meditations* are quite good, not just in private and public repositories in the Netherlands but also in France, Belgium, Germany, the United States, Great Britain, her former colonies, Scandinavia, eastern Europe and so forth. Let us just stay alert, be a little clever about sources, books and bindings; and above all keep eyes and mind open for it. Then wait for good luck.

Postlegomenon by Dr A. M. Th. Leerintveld

Meditations Chrestiennes Found!

While this volume was still in press, a copy of Van den Boetzelaer's *Meditations Chrestiennes* unexpectedly came to light, confirming Paul Sellin's prediction in this chapter.[24] On 25 August 2011, I consulted the *Karlsruher Virtueller Katalog* (http://www.ubka.uni-karlsruhe.de/kvk.html). Because I happened to make a 'mistake', I discovered that an unknown copy of the *Meditations* still exists in the Finspong Collection (books from the De Geer family) at the Stadsbibliotek, Norrköping, Sweden.

I am planning to write a complete scholarly article about this remarkable find. For now, however, the bibliographical description (based on scans provided by the Stadsbibliotek) will have to suffice. With slight modification, it follows the criteria of the *Short Title Catalogue Netherlands*.

> Boetzelaer, Rutger Wessel van den, Heer van Asperen (1556-1632)
> Meditations Chrestiennes sur trois Pseau- / mes du Prophete Dauid. / *Composées en rime Françoise*. / PAR / W. de BOETZELER / Baron d'Asperen. / . . . / A LA HAYE, / Chez Arnoult Meuris Libraire, à l'enseigne de la Bible, en / l'Année, M. DC. XXII. *Avec permission*.
> 8º: *.*^{8} A-N^{8} O^{4} (*.*7, 8 blank).
> Fingerprint 162208 – a1 <***>2$Wes: a2<***>4 tion$ – b1 A $e: b2 02 'a
> Norrköping, Stadsbibliotek, Finspong 2002
> (STCN 33716049X)

With thanks to Ola Fergusson and Jörgen Dahlberg (Stadsbibliotek Norrköping), Erik Geleijns (STCN), Margriet Lacy (editor), and Paul Sellin.

16
The Dutch Revolt in English political culture: 1585–1660

Hugh Dunthorne

The last twenty years have seen a growing and welcome tendency among historians interested in the Revolt of the Netherlands to consider the rebellion as an international problem. It has been studied in the context both of Spain's international empire and of the international relations of the North Sea; its close links with the French Wars of Religion have been explored; and there have been several works tracing the course of England's involvement in the Low Countries wars. Studies of the English connection have tended to focus on royal policy towards the Netherlands, and there are good reasons for this. The motives for Queen Elizabeth I's reluctant decision in 1585 to come to the assistance of the Dutch, the effect (or lack of effect) of English intervention on the course of events, the dilemmas created by James I's determination to make peace with Spain – all these were matters of widespread public concern in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century England, and they remain the subject of debate and disagreement among modern historians. Yet it is also possible to approach the subject of Anglo-Dutch relations from a different, and less familiar, standpoint. For the other face of England's involvement in the Dutch struggle with Spain – an involvement which lasted, officially or unofficially, for the whole length of the Eighty-Years War – was the impact which the Dutch Revolt and the rise of the Dutch state had upon England and English affairs, particularly during the turbulent first half of the seventeenth century. This, too, was a matter that attracted the attention of contemporaries. As early as 1615 the French political

writer Guez de Balzac recognised the wider implications of the Dutch Revolt for neighbouring countries:

> The Provinces of the Low Countries, [he wrote] which have broken out of the King of Spain's hold, because he tightened it too much, . . . give warning to all Rulers of what duties they owe their peoples, and provide all peoples with a memorable example of what they can do against their Rulers.[1]

Thirty-five years later, seeking an explanation of the English Civil War and the overthrow of the monarchy, Thomas Hobbes made a similar point when he remarked how

> oftentimes the example of different Government in a neighbouring nation, disposeth men to alteration of the form [of their own] . . .
>
> I doubt not, but many men have been contented to see the late troubles in England, out of an imitation of the Low Countries; supposing there needed no more to grow rich, than to change, as they had done, the form of their government.[2]

Yet contemporary insights of this kind have not on the whole been matched by comparable interest among modern historians, who have tended to place little emphasis on foreign influences in early Stuart Britain.[3] Whatever the reasons for this relative neglect, it seems regrettable. There is in fact a good deal of evidence to support, or at any rate to cast light upon, the kind of Anglo-Dutch interaction that Hobbes had in mind; and I should like in the course of this chapter to offer an outline of some of it.

A word must be said first about communications between England and the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century. By the end of Elizabeth's reign the exchange of diplomatic representatives had become established as a regular and permanent link between the two countries. But what is more remarkable – at least so far as the theme of this chapter is concerned – is the amount of unofficial, even popular contact that there was between the two areas, much of it the consequence of migration. Since the Middle Ages the commercial interdependence of the two regions had encouraged the movement of merchants and artisans across the North Sea. And to this mercantile migration the Reformation had added streams of religious refugees, first from the Low Countries to England with the onset of the duke of Alva's regime in 1567, and later in the other direction, as dissenters

of various kinds left England for the more congenial religious atmosphere of the northern Netherlands. From the earliest years of the Dutch Revolt, English, Scots and Welsh soldiers had gone to fight in the Low Countries – mainly, but not exclusively, on the rebel side – their numbers increasing markedly after the Anglo-Dutch Treaty of Nonsuch in 1585, and continuing to increase in the 1620s and 1630s. And at the same time a growing stream of English and Scots were seeking an education there, whether as commercial apprentices in the great trading towns, as students at the newly founded Dutch universities or simply as gentlemen travellers. By the 1630s around thirty English and Scots churches had been established in the Dutch Republic; and although the total size of the Anglo-Scots community is difficult to calculate, because it was in part a shifting rather than a static population, there seems no reason to doubt Keith Sprunger's estimate placing it 'in the tens of thousands'.[4] Dutch settlement in Britain never reached these proportions, but it was spread over a wider geographic area – from Scotland to East Anglia, London and the South-East.

One of the results of so much migration was to make the Dutch language more widely known among English-speaking people than it is today. It has been suggested, indeed, that during the seventeenth century Dutch became for a while an international language for the countries bordering the Baltic and the North Sea.[5] Yet even without a knowledge of Dutch or an opportunity to visit the Low Countries, it was still possible for English people to keep abreast of what was happening there thanks to the growth of the Anglo-Dutch printing industry. The Dutch Revolt was the first major rebellion to take full advantage of the printing press; and, in addition to what was published in Holland for the domestic market, a mass of printed material was addressed to readers in neighbouring countries, especially England – material which ranged in style from sober reporting to sometimes blatant propaganda (Catholic as well as Protestant) and in format from large-scale histories down to pamphlets and newspapers. The interest which this material aroused in England can be observed at several different levels: in the parliamentary tracts of the 1640s, littered with references to Dutch authorities like Van Meteren and Grotius;[6] in the allusions (admittedly not always favourable) to things Dutch in English poetry from Spenser to Milton and Marvell; and, not least, in the theatre. Events like the Sack of Antwerp, the siege of Ostend and the trial and death of Oldenbarneveldt were all to be seen during these years re-enacted on the London stage.[7]

With so many strands of communication, it is not surprising that the seventeenth-century English were said to know more about the

Netherlands, 'either by sight or relation', than about any other foreign country.[8] But how did this knowledge affect English life and thought? What, in other words, was the impact of the Dutch Revolt and of the emerging Dutch Republic on England? Let me point to three related areas in which I believe a significant impact was felt: military affairs, religious beliefs, and political and social thought.

It makes sense to begin with the military, since it was as a military struggle that events in the Netherlands were most immediately perceived by contemporaries: they spoke of *The Wofull Warres in Flanders* or *The Actions of the Lowe Countries*, hardly ever of the 'Dutch Revolt' as we usually say today.[9] In the early years of the conflict, the armed forces sustaining the Dutch cause were not impressive. To the experienced eye of a professional soldier like Sir Roger Williams, the Welshman who contrived at various times in the 1570s and 1580s to serve in both the Dutch and Spanish armies, the technical military superiority of the Spaniards was unquestionable.[10] But in 1588, with the appointment of Maurice of Nassau, second son of William the Silent, as Captain- and Admiral-General of the Dutch forces, the situation began to change. The military reforms which he set in motion over the next two decades – reforms of tactics and military science, of training and discipline – not only made the Dutch army a match for the Spaniards but also won it an international reputation, transforming it into what one military writer called 'the Schoole of War, whither the most martiall Spirits of Europe resort to lay down the Apprentiship of their Service in Arms'.[11] Among those martial spirits were many of the English and Scots officers who were later to serve in the victorious Parliamentary armies of the English Civil War – Philip Skippon, Thomas Fairfax, George Monck and others – and it is hardly an exaggeration to say that Oliver Cromwell's New Model Army could not have been the force it was without his soldiers' prior experience in the Low Countries.[12] The standard military handbooks of the time were written by veterans of the Dutch service.[13] Cromwell adopted Dutch tactical methods, particularly in the use of artillery.[14] His disciplinary code was modelled on those issued by the States-General in 1590 and 1631, which had been published in English translation in 1637 and 1643.[15] And, like Maurice of Nassau, he selected and promoted officers on grounds of ability, not social rank.[16] Above all, the activities of the Puritan army chaplains attached to English military units in the Netherlands anticipated the role which such chaplains were to play in the English Parliamentary armies of the 1640s. Almost without exception, the army chaplains in the United Provinces were radical Calvinists, exiles from England because their views were disapproved by the

Anglican hierarchy, and who were attracted to the Dutch cause which they saw as a holy war. Like their successors in the New Model Army, they tried through their preaching to create what Thomas Scott, chaplain to the English garrisons at Gorinchem and Utrecht, called 'the glorious splendor of the Christian Campe'; and they were ready on occasion to champion the grievances of the rank-and-file soldiers against their officers.[17]

This leads me to the second area in which the Dutch Revolt had an impact on England, that of religion. Garrison churches were not the only English religious institutions in the Netherlands. There were also the official churches for the English and Scots civilian population – official in the sense that they were sanctioned and maintained by the Dutch local authorities as English-language branches of what became after 1618 the state Calvinist church. And, thirdly, there were the more radical Separatist congregations, lacking official status but for the most part tolerated. Thanks to the work of numerous church historians, we know a great deal about these English churches in the Netherlands, about their often faction-ridden history, and about the influences exerted over them by Dutch Calvinism and by more radical groups like the Mennonites. In terms of church government they ranged from Presbyterian to Congregationalist, and in doctrine from orthodox Calvinist to Anabaptist. But what they had in common – or at any rate, what their ministers had in common – was a dissatisfaction with the current state of the Church of England and a determination to take advantage of the 'Sacred Sanctuary' provided by the Dutch Republic in order to search for a better kind of church.[18] Writing to Archbishop Laud in 1628, the English ambassador at The Hague put the same point another way when he referred disapprovingly to the Republic as a 'nursery to non-conformists'.[19] Consequently, when Laud was impeached by the English Parliament in 1640 and the episcopal hierarchy of the Church of England effectively overthrown, many of these exiled Nonconformists quickly returned to England eager to embark on the reformation of the English church for which they believed their period of Dutch exile had been a spiritual preparation.[20] Within a few years the English Parliament had issued ordinances replacing the traditional Anglican structure with a Calvinist system of church government. And during the period of religious anarchy that followed, many of the sects that sprang up in England and many of their doctrines and practices – including, for example, the active participation of women in church affairs – can be traced to origins among the English congregations of the Netherlands.[21] This was particularly true of what for its time was perhaps the most radical doctrine of all, religious toleration.

The first English plea for religious freedom was made in 1612 by the exiled Separatist John Smyth, influenced partly by Mennonite doctrine but also by the tolerant policy of the *vroedschap* of Amsterdam where he had been allowed to establish his congregation.[22] Taking up the argument for religious toleration in 1641, Lord Brooke pointed to 'the United Provinces (in the Low Countries) who let every Church please her selfe. And how Religion doth flourish There, is known to most men.'[23] Brooke himself certainly knew, from his experience as a student at Leiden in the 1620s. And so did the former minister of the English church at Rotterdam, Hugh Peter, who strengthened the argument further by remarking on the connection between toleration and Holland's flourishing economy.[24] But advocates of toleration had to contend also with the widely held view that religious freedom undermined national unity and created 'division and disturbance' in the state. The Leveller Richard Overton, another radical who knew the Republic from personal experience, argued that in practice the opposite was true: it was not toleration, but rather the attempt to enforce religious uniformity, that caused dissension. 'What', he asked, 'was the main cause so many Nations have been rent and divided in themselves, and one against an other, and in their division devoured one an other of late dayes? What occasioned the revolt... of the Neitherlanders from the King of Spaine... but this Divelish Spirit of binding the conscience?' As another Leveller pointed out, the unity of the Dutch in successfully defending 'their common liberty' was convincing proof that diversity of religion was not incompatible with patriotism and national unity.[25]

Toleration, in other words, was as much a political issue as a religious one, and it points to the third and last area of my subject to be considered: the impact of the Dutch Revolt on English political and social thought. It was an impact felt particularly during the 1640s as deepening political divisions produced among the English – and particularly among parliamentarians – a growing sense of the affinity between their situation and that of the Dutch, whose Eighty-Years War was now moving towards its conclusion. One illustration of this sense of affinity may be found in the development of English ideas about foreign policy. In Puritan attitudes towards Europe, the Dutch had traditionally been seen as members of the international Calvinist brotherhood and as a bulwark against the threat of Spanish tyranny, a bulwark which it was England's duty and interest to support. But in the 1640s this view was given an added dimension as England became engulfed in her own civil war – in the eyes of the parliamentarians, a war against much the same threat of tyranny at home as the Dutch

had been fighting in their long struggle with Spain. Consequently, when the outbreak of the war in 1642 led Parliament for the first time into pursuing its own independent foreign policy, its initial act was to appeal for support to the States-General of the United Provinces and to propose what was really an ideological union based on their common commitment to constitutional government and the reformed religion.[26] The proposal was turned down by the Dutch precisely because they were still at war with Spain and felt that fighting one war was enough. But this did not prevent the English Parliament repeating its proposal to the States-General several times until 1650, always with the same result. Moreover, although English frustration with the States-General's unwillingness to cooperate combined with irritation over various minor maritime disputes to produce in due course the Navigation Act of 1651 and the outbreak of the first Anglo-Dutch War, not even this conflict could entirely dispel the view that the English and Dutch Republics were really natural allies.

Equally revealing of England's sense of affinity with the Dutch Revolt are the arguments adopted by Parliamentary pamphleteers during the 1640s in order to justify the act of civil war and, later, the overthrow of the monarchy. For they are largely arguments that had been used by William the Silent and his circle in the sixteenth century, based on notions of popular sovereignty, natural law and the right of resistance. Princes existed for the sake of their people, from whom they held their offices in trust; and if they abused that trust, their subjects could lawfully resist – even, said John Goodwin in 1649, to the point of 'turn[ing] these servants of theirs out of their doors, as . . . the Hollanders of late have done'. In more than one parliamentary tract of the 1640s the States-General's Act of Abjuration of 1581 and other Dutch documents were cited or quoted at length.[27] It is true that this theory of resistance did not originate with the Dutch, and that the English could have imported it as easily from the political writers of the French Wars of Religion.[28] But it is worth noticing that it was a doctrine that was an established part of the teaching of politics and law at several of the Dutch universities at this time – Utrecht, Groningen and Franeker – particularly in the form set out by Johannes Althusius in his *Politico* of 1603; and the frequent citing of Althusius by English writers on resistance during the 1640s may suggest one way in which those universities were making their mark on English thought.[29]

Finally, the sense of affinity with the Dutch Revolt, and indeed with the Dutch Republic that had emerged during its course, can be seen in the wide-ranging debate which the Civil War set in motion in

mid-seventeenth-century England – a debate about constitutional and administrative structures, about legal reform, about social and economic improvement. Here, too, it seems likely that the Dutch universities – Leiden in the 1610s and 1620s, Franeker around the same years – exercised an influence by directing attention towards the study of republican institutions.[30] At the same time, some English readers may have got to know Hugo Grotius's book *On the Antiquity of the Batavian Republic*, which was essentially a defence of the Dutch republican constitution as it had evolved by 1610 – and, so Grotius argued, as it had existed from time immemorial. This was the first of his political works to be published in English, appropriately in 1649.[31] Perhaps even more influential were the generally favourable impressions brought back – and in some cases published – by Englishmen who visited the Dutch Republic of the earlier seventeenth century and saw the practical effects of its institutions at first hand: a country ruled by merchants, where 'every one hath an immediate Interest in the State', where justice was impartial, state finances orderly and wealth channelled into 'Publick things' rather than private purses.[32] Other observers again, more analytical in approach, used the Dutch Republic in order to argue for a causal connection between, on the one hand, the more 'democratical' style of government characteristic of a commonwealth and, on the other, the growth of the national economy.[33] Ideas such as these, whether picked up in university classrooms, through reading or from the common conversation of travellers, were potentially revolutionary. Thomas Violet, the city goldsmith and economic writer, called them 'the oyl that fed the flame of rebellion in London' during the 1640s and 1650s.[34] And their influence can be plainly discerned in the Rump Parliament's *Declaration* of 1649 announcing the abolition of the monarchy and the establishment in its place of the English Republic: for in setting up a 'Free State', parliament had 'received encouragement, by their observation . . . of Our Neighbours in the United Provinces, [who] since their change of Government, have wonderfully increased in Wealth, Freedom, Trade, and Strength, both by Sea and Land'.[35]

What is more, observation and encouragement led naturally on to imitation, to proposals that Dutch methods should be put into practice in England. Members of the English Commonwealth's new Council of Trade were not alone in urging the adoption of specific economic policies and techniques that had proved their worth in Holland – commercial diplomacy, lower customs and interest rates, free ports, active encouragement of immigration and of innovation, negotiable bills of exchange, banking and insurance.[36] Dutch systems of social welfare

and poor relief, with their emphasis on productive labour, were recommended during the 1640s and 1650s.[37] So, perhaps more surprisingly, were various features of the Dutch legal system, such as civil marriage, partible inheritance, merchant courts and the registration of land. There were fewer lawyers in the Republic than in England, it was said, yet because of its localised court system 'you may get justice as often and as naturally as their cows give milk'.[38] Milton, indeed, went further, proposing in his *Readie and Easie Way to establish a Free Commonwealth* (1660) that the whole political structure of the country should be decentralised and each county become a self-governing 'subordinate Commonwealth' on the model of the Dutch provinces.[39] Several plans were put forward for the reform and extension of education in England, partly along Dutch lines: William Petty, for example, drew on his experience as a student at Leiden, Utrecht and Amsterdam in the early 1640s in the proposals which he put forward in 1648 for 'Literary Work-houses, where [poor] Children may be taught as well to do something towards their Living, as to read and write' and for what today would be called a technical college, incorporating a university hospital, 'a complete Theatrum Botanicum . . . a Library of select Books, an Astronomical Observatory' and much else.[40] Finally – and more ambitious still – Hugh Peter, who believed that with God's help anything was possible, wanted large parts of London knocked down and rebuilt with new quays and broad paved streets in the style of his adopted city of Rotterdam.[41] How far these and other schemes were actually put into practice is, of course, another matter. But it is a matter which deserves to be investigated.[42]

The themes selected for discussion in this chapter – the role of the Netherlands as England's school of war, as its nursery of Nonconformity and as its model of revolution – do not of course in themselves provide a complete picture of Anglo-Dutch relations during these years. I do not want to suggest that the impression made by the Dutch on England, even on Puritan England, was always positive or favourable. The period that I have been considering was, after all, also the period of the massacre of Amboyna and of growing Anglo-Dutch commercial rivalry. Nor do I want to suggest that the Dutch Revolt can be regarded as a direct cause of the English Revolution. What I would argue, however, is that English people of the first half of the seventeenth century were well-informed both about the causes and progress of the Eighty-Years War and about the new state and society that emerged in the Netherlands during the course of it. Consequently, when they found themselves involved in their own civil war in the 1640s and apparently on the

threshold of creating their own new state and society, it was natural that some of them at least should have felt that they were following a road which the Dutch had already travelled and that they should have tried to apply the lessons which they believed could be learned from the experience and achievements of their ancient and familiar neighbours across the North Sea.

17

The theatricality of history in the Dutch Golden Age: Joost van den Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel*

James A. Parente, Jr.

No dramatic work has ever assumed a more hallowed place in Dutch cultural history than Joost van den Vondel's *Gysbreght van Aemstel*. This five-act tragedy, written in 1637 for the opening of the new Amsterdam *Schouwburg*, established a popular figure from Dutch medieval history, Gysbreght van Aemstel, as a national hero and his native Amsterdam as the centre of Dutch civilisation. Although the drama depicted the destruction of the city and the title hero's banishment, the work concluded with a prophecy about the future greatness of seventeenth-century Amsterdam and, by extension, the Netherlands, which has rarely failed to instil feelings of national pride in subsequent generations of native audiences. Because of its clear patriotic message, the drama was repeatedly performed throughout Vondel's lifetime, a fate allotted only a few of his tragedies, and until recently, the work has traditionally been presented on 3 January, the anniversary of its 1638 premiere, in several locations throughout the Netherlands.[1]

In accordance with its status as a cultural icon, *Gysbreght van Aemstel* has generally been interpreted as a national-historical pageant play. After a brief period of disfavour in the nineteenth century – the work was considered too undramatic – critics such as Lion Simons and Alfred Hermann rhapsodised about its quintessentially Dutch elements; indeed Simons even criticised Vondel for not creating a more accurate and less anachronistic portrait of medieval Holland.[2] More recent scholars such as W. A. P. Smit, Anton van Duinkerken, Myra Scholz-Heerspink and G. van Eemeren, likewise regard the work as a panegyric of Dutch history as they explore in a much more sophisticated way Vondel's

imitation of the destruction of Troy in Virgil's *Aeneid* (book 2) and the character of Gysbreght.[3,4] According to these contemporary readings, Vondel intended his work to demonstrate the mysterious workings of divine providence that allowed thirteenth-century Amsterdam to be destroyed only to be raised up again to unparalleled greatness over 300 years later. He borrowed Virgil's description of the Fall of Troy to flatter his audience into regarding themselves as the Christian heirs to the Roman Empire founded by the fugitive Aeneas. At the same time, the proud hero Gysbreght learned to submit to God's will by accepting the destruction of Amsterdam as a prelude to her future fame.

Such teleological interpretations of the tragedy, however, raise many more questions than they answer. Mindful of Vondel's statement in the dedicatory letter to Hugo Grotius that his work should please contemporary audiences because of its native historical plot, critics have been unable to escape from the traditional view that the play was written solely as a *laudatio* of Amsterdam. Indeed, as the prophecy of the archangel Raphael makes plain, Vondel wished to praise the rulers of his beloved city by attributing their political and economic success to divine providence. But the remainder of the play with its vivid, poetic representation of the treacherous downfall of the city and the dire fates that assail its inhabitants seems to suggest that Vondel may have intended much more than panegyric.

Several factors conspire against reading the play exclusively as a patriotic, ceremonial work.[5] In the first place, for readers familiar with such self-congratulatory historical dramas as Shakespeare's *Henry V*, Vondel's choice of subject, the destruction of the city and culture he wishes to praise, stands in sharp contrast to Shakespeare's unabashedly optimistic portrait of English martial triumph on the fields of Agincourt. The fact that Gysbreght, unlike Aeneas, does not establish the new state whose accomplishments Vondel appears to cherish, but rather participates in its destruction, further dampens the work's panegyrical effect. More importantly, Vondel's demonstration that man's fate is dependent on divine providence seems to clash with his avowed patriotic purpose of praising the Amsterdamers as the shapers of their own destiny. On the contrary, the tragic lot of Gysbreght and his city seems to suggest the fallibility of all human endeavour and the potential failings of present-day Amsterdam, whose achievements Vondel is ostensibly so eager to extol.

My purpose here in posing such vexing questions is not to engage in iconoclasm by unduly criticising a work that even its most ardent admirers have deemed flawed.[6] Clearly Vondel's tragedy is too complex

to be viewed only as urban propaganda: generations of audiences have also been deeply moved by the harsh fate that befalls Gysbreght and his family, the courage and nobility of his wife Badeloch in the face of encroaching disaster, and the stoic forbearance with which the bishop Gozewijn and the nuns of the abbey of St Clare endure the rapacious assaults of the besiegers.[7] But there has been too much self-confidence among these same audiences about the work's meaning, about Vondel's imitation of Virgil and about the moral lessons to be learned from this historical *exemplum*. In contrast, there has been too little discussion of his choice of topic, of the reasons for his Christianisation of Virgil and, most importantly, of his political and religious views at the time of the drama's composition.

The following investigation of *Gysbreght van Aemstel* aims to resolve some of the apparent anomalies of the work through an analysis of Vondel's concept of history in the context of his political and religious ideas in the mid-1630s. As will be seen, Vondel not only intended his historical tragedy to glorify the heroic past of his native city, but also to expose its failings and reveal the transitory nature of all human undertakings. In creating a semi-historical narrative to stoke the civic pride of his fellow Amsterdamers, Vondel simultaneously alerted them to, and consoled them about, the sinfulness of man, the abuse of political power and the inevitable ephemerality of all worldly success. Despite the celebratory occasion, the opening of the Amsterdam Theatre, for which the work was composed, *Gysbreght van Aemstel* was paradoxically written both to reinforce the patriotic aspirations of the audience and to demonstrate the folly of such aspirations in light of the fundamentally tragic nature of human history.

Vondel first betrays his pessimistic concept of history through the introduction of classical and Christian parallels to the destruction of medieval Amsterdam, an artistic device that evokes the absence of historical change. In his dedicatory letter to Grotius, Vondel remarked on the classical and Renaissance precedents for patriotic literature, Homer's *Iliad*, Virgil's *Aeneid*, Torquato Tasso's *Gerusalemme liberata* and P. C. Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, and mentioned his debt to Virgil's description of the fall of Troy for the present work. In the verse prologue addressed to the city fathers of Amsterdam, he explicated his Virgilian *imitatio* even further by connecting specific characters and situations from the *Aeneid* and the *Gysbreght van Aemstel*.[8] Thus, for example, Gysbreght becomes Aeneas; his wife Badeloch, Aeneas's spouse Creusa; the bishop Gozewijn, Priam; and the spy Vosmeer, Virgil's Sinon, who had tricked the beleaguered Trojans into believing that the wooden

horse before their gates was harmless. Vondel introduces a similar ruse, an abandoned rice ship, notably called the *Zeepaerd*, which Gysbreght in like manner thoughtlessly admits into the city.

In addition to this Virgilian imitation, Vondel provides a Christian analogue to the destruction of Amsterdam. Since the new theatre for which the play was written was supposed to open on 26 December, he placed the historical action of his tragedy on Christmas Eve. This arrangement allowed him not only to heighten the play's tragic effect by staging the bloody end of Amsterdam on the holiest of Christian feasts, but also to draw a parallel between the tyrannical behaviour of the ravishers of Amsterdam and the uncontrolled fury of the biblical Herod's pursuit of the Holy Innocents. With such explicit analogies, it is not surprising that most *Gysbreght* commentators have devoted a great deal of space to examining the extent of Vondel's Christian transformation of book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid.* W. A. P. Smit offered the most extensive analysis of Amsterdam's connections to Troy and Bethlehem and concluded that Vondel's transposition of Virgil to the Dutch Middle Ages was intended to emulate Tasso's own Christianisation of classical epic.[9] The birth of Christ in such humble circumstances as the stable in Bethlehem, Smit argued, also served to signal to Vondel's audience the basic paradox of Christianity: humble appearances disguise majesty and grandeur.[10] Thus the destruction of Amsterdam and the martyrdom of many of its inhabitants was not to be understood as cause for despair, but rather as a divinely ordained prelude to future success.

Smit's discussion of these classical and Christian parallels followed the traditional assumption that such analogies were chiefly intended to celebrate the political and economic glory of seventeenth-century Amsterdam. The city fathers would be flattered by the implication that their town rivalled the greatness of ancient Rome, and may in fact even surpass it, since their society was Christian. But Vondel's Christianisation of Virgil was much more complex, for he used the Roman parallel for two radically different ends. On the one hand, Rome was regarded from the Virgilian perspective in all her imperial splendour as a model of power and authority. At the same time, Vondel viewed Rome through Christian eyes as a metaphor for inevitable decline and the transitory nature of all earthly glory. This paradoxical adaptation of Rome as both a compliment and a warning was especially evident in the verse prologue to the Amsterdam rulers and in the liminary poem to the city councilman Nicolaes van Kampen that prefaced the drama. In both, Vondel praises the new *Schouwburg* as a magnificent municipal monument and the Amsterdamers as lovers of peace, but he also comments

on the theatre's proud roof whose extension into the heavens recalls the Tower of Babel (Genesis 11: 4): 'De trotze Schouwburg heft zijn spitze kap/Nu op, en gaet de starren naderen ... '[11] And later he adds:

> Wy bootzen't groote Rome na in 't kleen,
> Nu *Kampen* bezigh is met bouwen
> En na den hemel vaert met hout en steen.[12]

Lest this description of the theatre be dismissed as mere hyperbolic civic pride, Vondel likens the *Schouwburg* to the theatres erected by Pompey and Scaurus in ancient Rome, but with the cautionary reminder that such structures no longer exist:

> Pompejus zou zijn eer benijden,
> En Scaurus zelf, vernamen zy 't geluid,
> Dat, na'et verloop der ersten tijden,
> Hum faem verdooft; mits 't oude Rome vlack
> Ter aarde plofte met zijn wallen,
> En 't ijsselijck gevaerte kreegh een' krack
> In puin begraven of vervallen.
> De krijgh ziet heiligh noch onheiligh aen:
> Wat kan 'er tegen staen?[13]

Before the play even begins, the panegyric of the Amsterdamers is tempered by a melancholic warning. The erection of a towering new theatre is here shown to be just as fleeting a pursuit as the earlier achievements of imperial Rome.

These introductory poems aptly serve to prepare the audience for the fall of Amsterdam as an *exemplum* of the transitoriness of the world. To reinforce this lesson, Vondel also exploited the nature of the architectural structure for which the work was composed.[14] With the establishment of historical parallels between Troy, Rome, Bethlehem and medieval and modern Amsterdam, he created an artistic equilibrium between the stage and the spectators that enabled the latter to recognise the theatricality of their own existence. Just as the world on stage mirrors the historical reality around them, so is their seventeenth-century reality revealed as nothing other than theatre. As Vondel's inscription above the door of the new *Schouwburg* reminded all who entered, the world is all theatre ('De weereld is een speeltooneel, /Elck speelt zijn rol en krijght zijn deel'[15]), whose plot, as the drama well demonstrates, is determined by the will of God.

Vondel's concern with the theatricality and impermanence of earthly existence has often been overlooked in the scholarly enthusiasm for the prophecy of the archangel Rafael (V, 1823–64) concerning the prosperity of the seventeenth century.[16] In contrast to this providential view, based on the idea of historical progress, I should like to suggest that Vondel introduced the Trojan, Roman and Christian analogues into his work precisely to demonstrate the opposite: the cyclical, pessimistic nature of human history. Divine providence guarantees the eventual justification for all events both good and evil, but man himself and, by extension, human history, is entrapped in an unending cycle of triumph and defeat. By drawing the parallels to the fall of Troy and the slaughter of the Holy Innocents, Vondel reinforced the idea that the same bloody events recur throughout the ages in both the pagan and the Christian era. The sack of Amsterdam and the martyrdom of the bishop Gozewijn and the Klaerissen, the nuns of St Clare, thus re-enact not only the end of Troy but also the slaughter of the Innocents in the streets of Bethlehem.

More importantly, and this point has not been stressed enough, the martyrdom of Gozewijn and the Klaerissen served as a prefiguration of the bloody sixteenth-century religious wars, such as the Dutch revolt against Spain, as well as the Thirty Years' War that still raged throughout Europe in the 1630s. To underscore the continual recurrence of persecution and suffering, Vondel refers to the interminability of these seventeenth-century religious conflicts in the one place where the audience's fear of such torments has allegedly been allayed, viz., the prophecy of Rafael. In the archangel's description of the emergence of Holland, the triumph of Amsterdam is presented against the backdrop of recent destruction:

> het welck een bits gevecht,
> En endeloozen krijgh en onweer zal verwecken,
> Dat zich gansch Christenrijck te bloedigh aen wil trecken.
> (V. 1836–38)

There is no liberation here from the hardship that destroyed Troy ('urbs antiqua ruit'[17]) and medieval Amsterdam, and that continues to ravage the Christian kingdoms in Europe. As Vondel tells his fellow Amsterdamers in the liminary poem to Nicolaes van Kampen, refuge from such unending turmoil can be found in the new theatre where plays such as *Gysbreght van Aemstel* will console the audience with reassurances of God's providential direction of the world.[18] Vondel did not

write his tragedy, then, so much to celebrate a moment of triumph as to position this moment within the unending historical cycle of destruction and rebirth.

Rafael's reference to the endlessness of contemporary religious wars also reveals that Vondel's tragic view of history arose from his pessimism about the Christian era. As the second act chorus sings, the power of ancient Rome, its 'adel' and 'pracht' (II, 736), was broken as the birth of Christ inaugurated the age of Christian humility ('ootmoed', II, 738):

> Augustus Rijck verliest zijn eer:
> De Roomsche scepter reickt niet veer:
> Het Oost versmaed Latijnsche naemen:
> Maer dees beheerscht het al te zaemen,
> Oock daer de zonne neemt haer' keer. (II, 715–19)

But this Christian period, which succeeded in Augustinian fashion to the decadence of imperial Rome, represented in the play's imagery by the tyrant Herod, is just as flawed as the preceding era. In Gysbreght's Amsterdam, humility has been supplanted by political ambition and the quest for worldly honour. The chorus sings of the virtues that all true Christians should possess, but the drama makes bitterly plain how far man has deviated from the Christian ideal.

The historical circumstances leading up to the siege of Amsterdam, familiar to Vondel's audience from P. C. Hooft's tragedy *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, are in fact a depressing chronicle of injustice, tyranny and the unbridled pursuit of power. Hooft and Vondel, both ardent admirers of Senecan tragedy, no doubt discerned that the thirteenth-century conspiracy against Count Floris V of Holland and the subsequent civil war against the count's assassins provided a Dutch analogue to the dire hopelessness of the Roman's tragedies with their graphic representation of the unending exaction of vengeance for perceived wrongs. As recounted by Hooft, Floris' rape of Machtelt van Velsen, the wife of Geeraerdt and the niece of Gysbreght van Aemstel, was motivated by Geeraerdt's insult of Floris when the latter offered him his mistress. Geeraerdt, already incensed by Floris' earlier beheading of his brother, turns to treason after learning of the rape, captures the count and regards himself, wrongly as it turns out, as the instrument of God's vengeance.

Gysbreght van Aemstel is similarly driven by the urge to avenge crimes against his family's honour, and as in the opening monologue to Vondel's drama, he continually looks for signs of God's approval of

his actions. But like Geeraerdt, he remains singularly unaware of his own questionable power politics. Many years earlier he had initiated an unjust and fruitless war against the archbishop of Cologne for removing his uncle Gozewijn from the episcopal seat of Utrecht (I, 120–7). More recently, although he never contemplated regicide, he willingly participated in Geeraerdt's illegal seizure of Floris to censure him for his misdeeds.[19] Now as he stands on the ramparts of his native city beleaguered by Floris's vengeful supporters (I, 143–9), Gysbreght regrets that so much blood has been shed, but he still has not learned the important Christian lesson that peace can only be ensured through the renunciation of vengeance. The 'wraecklust' (V, 1629) responsible for so much political unrest and personal tragedy, the rape of Machtelt, the murder of Floris, the siege of Amsterdam and the gradual destruction of the house of Aemstel, a 'wraecklust' prefigured by such equally vengeful occurrences as the fall of Troy and the slaughter of the Holy Innocents, rages in the hearts of Hooft's and Vondel's Christian nobles with as much severity as in the pagan world. As in Seneca's depiction of the murderous strife between Atreus and his brother (*Thyestes*), there is no clear end here to the civil war between the former followers of Count Floris and their enemies save for divine intervention. With Gysbreght so eager to perish with his men in defence of a lost cause, only the appearance of the archangel Rafael can still his desire to uphold his family's honour at any cost. Gysbreght's abandonment of Amsterdam and submission to God's will at the end of the play thus served as Vondel's warning to his contemporaries to control their personal pride and recognise Christian humility as the best way to maintain peace in an imperfect world.

Vondel reinforced his cyclical interpretation of history with many other textual and extratextual devices. *Gysbreght van Aemstel* itself was a reprise of Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen*: the character of Gysbreght was based on Hooft's interpretation of this medieval lord who had been misled into a regicide plot against Floris V.[20] Like Hooft, Vondel concluded his play with a prophecy about the future glory of the Netherlands, but he revealed that the contemporary political world Hooft so fervently extolled was unstable and flawed. Whereas Hooft waxed poetic about the economic achievements of his fellow citizens, with the judicious warning not to overindulge in new-found luxury, Vondel tempered his pride about Amsterdam's wealth and power by attributing such success to the will of God.[21]

Furthermore, in the tragedy itself, Vondel drew parallels between plot events and characters to underscore his disbelief in historical progress. For example, the rape of the nun Klaeris before her martyrdom

(V, 1473–87) had already been prefigured by the rape of her mother, Machtelt van Velsen, who appears in a dream to Badeloch (III, 760–823) to recount her earlier shame and warn Gysbreght of impending doom. Vondel also took pains to demonstrate that in the course of the work Gysbreght himself becomes as obsessed with honour and vengeance as his besiegers. Critics have generally regarded Gysbreght's opponents as evil, but the leader of the besiegers, Willem van Egmont, is presented as a mirror image of Vondel's hero. In the first two acts, Gysbreght is characterised as a lover of peace (I, 151–7) and Egmont as a crafty military leader bent on the acquisition of honour (II, 456–88); in the final act, however, the roles are reversed: Gysbreght rejects the peace offer from Egmont's emissary, the Heer van Vooren, and welcomes a hopeless battle in order to preserve his military honour:

> Op mannen, wapen, wapen.
> Het is de jongste dagh en met dit huis gedaen.
> Noch zal het wraeckeloos zoo niet te gronde gaen:
> Daer moet een groot getal met ons ten hemel vaeren. (V, 1770–3)

Despite the ardent pleas of his wife Badeloch, Gysbreght is resolved to continue the cycle of crime and retribution initiated by Geeraerdt van Velsen and slay as many of the besiegers as possible before his inevitable defeat.

Additionally, in keeping with his belief in the pessimistic nature of history, Vondel presented Gysbreght's Amsterdam in a self-consciously anachronistic manner. References are made here to the topography of seventeenth-century Amsterdam and to seventeenth-century political institutions, such as the mayoralty and the city council that did not exist in medieval times (V, 1294–1355). As in the case of Hooft's *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, such allusions were, of course, intended to assist the audience in drawing parallels between the historical drama and the contemporary world, and Vondel imitated this technique in his sequel to the events of that play. Hooft, an ardent student of ancient and Renaissance political theory, was particularly interested in disparaging tyrannicide, especially when the assassins, such as Geeraerdt, acted independently and without the consent of the people. To his mind, revolutions such as the Dutch revolt against Spain were permissible only when the States, who represent the general public, consented to such action.[22]

Vondel shared Hooft's disapproval of vengeful civil wars, but he was less concerned with politics than with the immoral behaviour of the Christians who participated in them. Indeed, he was especially

distressed by the use of religion as a pretext for war and the abuse of religion by wielders of power. Gysbreght himself has little regard for the sanctity of clerical office, for he had previously attacked the archbishop of Cologne to exact satisfaction for an offence against his family's honour. The besiegers of Amsterdam are painted in even darker colours: their only allegiance appears to be to themselves. Diederick van Haerlem, an alleged avenger of Floris' death but actually desirous of personal gain (I, 137–8), violates the immunity of a Carthusian abbey and quarters his assault troops there. And the ensuing destruction of Amsterdam resulted in the desecration of churches and the martyrdom of bishop Gozewijn and the Klaerissen.

As Vondel well realised, political ambition frequently masqueraded as religious conviction and intolerance for religious differences often resulted in bloodshed. His detailed description of the burning of churches, the defilement of sanctuaries and the smashing of altars and images (IV, 1141–75) was most likely intended to conjure up memories of similar contemporary scenes in the minds of his Amsterdam audience and to remind them in their moment of cultural triumph of the injustice raging outside the theatre and even in their city.[23] To be sure, such destruction was not limited to war-torn Brabant or even to the Holy Roman Empire where, as Vondel lamented in his 1631 threnody on the annihilation of Magdeburg,[24] cities continually fell prey to marauding Christian armies. Amsterdam herself was not immune: the bloody riots against the Remonstrants in 1626 and 1628, culminating in the burning of their meeting house,[25] linger in the background of Vondel's account of such mindless destruction in Gysbreght's Amsterdam, and in such a volatile environment it is not at all surprising that the description of the death of Gozewijn and the Klaerissen (V, 1396–1487) would incur the disfavour of the intolerant orthodox synod of Amsterdam for its clear Catholic overtones.[26] Vondel's anachronisms serve to make plain that man has changed little since Gysbreght's day. The abuse of power by ostensible Christians and the persecution of the innocent are still sanctioned by political and religious institutions bent on the retention of honour and the consolidation of authority.

Vondel's pessimism about such contemporary political and religious turmoil also informed his Christianisation of Virgil. Vondel had long been an admirer of the Roman poet, and like so many Renaissance writers, he was especially intrigued by Virgil's reputation, based on the fourth Eclogue, as a harbinger of the Christian era.[27] He was also impressed with the *Aeneid* as a national epic poem, and in his political poetry of the late 1620s and early 1630s, in which he passionately

greeted Stadholder Frederick Henry as the new Augustus, he drew heavily on the imagery, language and characterisations of the *Aeneid* for his own panegyrics of the House of Orange. Frederick Henry was cast here as 'pius Aeneas' (*Aeneid* 1.220), the consummate leader of his people, who reluctantly waged war in order to bring a lasting peace (as 'VREDERYCK')[28] to the Netherlands. He is depicted as an accomplished general, a radiant Mars, training his son William/Ascanius in the art of battle, and possessed with a righteous vengeance against the atrocities of the tyrannous Spain.[29]

But Vondel's enthusiasm for Frederick Henry's military victories waned in the early 1630s, and concomitantly so did the poetic parallels to the *Aeneid.* Although he likened the Stadholder to the Emperor Augustus closing the doors of war after his triumphant victory at Maastricht in 1632, he urged Frederick Henry, in his poem 'Vredewensch aen Constantyn Huigens' of the following year, to desist from further conflict.[30] Vondel subsequently addressed his poems to all Christian princes, be they Catholic or Protestant, on the Dutch or Spanish side, to cease hostilities so that a truly unified European Christian community could emerge.[31] The Christianisation of Virgil in *Gysbreght van Aemstel* thus reflects Vondel's turning away in the mid-1630s from the Roman imperial ideal, his dissatisfaction with its martial ethic and his scepticism that Christian princes will ever be able to live in peace. Gysbreght's initial reluctance to subordinate personal honour to Christian humility and end a pointless civil war consequently foreshadows the stubbornness and political ambition of contemporary Christian princes that have prevented the end of military conflict in Europe.

Vondel's concern about the decline of Christian ideals in the mid-1630s was further reflected by his decision to dedicate *Gysbreght van Aemstel* to Hugo Grotius. Critics have often remarked on the similarities between the fates of Gysbreght and Grotius: both men were forced into exile because of political difficulties in their native lands.[32] But Vondel's selection of Grotius as dedicatee was not limited to the obvious biographical parallels. Grotius was also the chief proponent of the peace and Christian unity that Vondel so sorely missed among contemporary princes, and Grotius's career, especially his mistreatment by the States-General in 1631, exemplified the abuse of power and religious intolerance whose tragic consequences were so vividly portrayed in the drama. Vondel had maintained a close relationship with Grotius since the 1620s, and he greatly admired the sophisticated way in which the latter had imitated the ancients in his Latin poetry and plays. He published a Dutch translation of Grotius' drama on the Egyptian rule of the Old

Testament Joseph (Genesis 41: 46–7), *Sophompaneas* (1635; Dutch version *Sofompaneas*, 1635), as a token of this friendship and in gratitude for the steady counsel that Grotius had given him about classical literature. But Vondel was not only attracted to that work for personal reasons; he was also delighted with Grotius' depiction of Joseph's 'onwraeckgierige verzoenelijckheyd', for that virtue was so sorely lacking among contemporary rulers: 'Hy [Joseph] draeght zich als een degelijck vorst, en toont dat mogentheid en vromigheid wel kunnen vergezelschapt gaen, zonder dat de regeerder zich aenstelle, als een die van schellemstucken en booze geveinstheid t'zaemen hangt.'[33]

The drama itself provided a model for dealing with civil war that stands in sharp contrast to the self-aggrandising anger and vengeance that impels Gysbreght and the besiegers towards mutual destruction. In an episode of his own invention, Grotius demonstrated Joseph's pious political acumen in his handling of a popular revolt in the outlying city of Koptos.[34] There, with violence akin to the fury of Amsterdam's besiegers, the town's citizens, cheated by their wealthy governors of their allowance of grain, sack the city, desecrate the temples and overthrow their rulers. Informed of such chaos, Joseph prudently metes out justice: the hungry populace is fed, and the self-seeking aristocrats, who had deprived their subjects of food to increase their coffers, are condemned to the mines. Joseph's preference of peace and harmony to civil strife, a foreshadowing of his subsequent pardon of his brothers for their crimes against him, embodied the Grotean principle of virtuous government that Vondel likewise hoped all Christian rulers would acquire.[35]

Grotius' own treatment at the hands of his fellow citizens, especially in the early 1630s, demonstrated, however, that such ideals had yet to be realised. As is well known, Grotius had escaped from prison in 1621 where he had been sentenced in 1619 to life imprisonment for his part in the politically motivated religious dispute between the Remonstrant party of Oldenbarnevelt and the orthodox Counter-Remonstrant faction supported by Stadholder Maurice. Throughout the 1620s, during his exile in Paris, Grotius tried repeatedly to engineer, through political friends and relatives, his return to Holland, and in 1631 he grew impatient, defied his status as a *persona non grata* and returned. Many of Grotius's friends were delighted by this change of events. Vondel enthusiastically welcomed him back to the Netherlands with two poems in which he likened him to the phoenix arising from the ashes of death, an image that he would use again in Rafael's prophecy about the future greatness of Amsterdam.[36] But such optimism was short-lived: after lengthy deliberations in the States-General, Grotius

was again condemned in the spring of 1632 for his Remonstrant beliefs and a price of 2,000 guilders was placed on his head. He promptly fled Holland via Hamburg and eventually entered service to the Swedish crown.[37]

In dedicating his historical tragedy to Grotius, Vondel thus engaged in a controversial political act. The city council of Amsterdam where Grotius still had many friends was no doubt honoured rather than dismayed by Vondel's choice of dedicatee. But since Vondel established Gysbreght's Amsterdam as a metaphor for the Netherlands, if not Christian Europe, it is clear that he wanted to warn his fellow Dutchmen of the dangers of religious intolerance and the abuse of political authority. In Vondel's eyes, Grotius was a victim of the same religious conflicts that still wreaked havoc throughout Western Europe in the late 1630s and threatened the future of Christendom. The fact that Grotius like Gysbreght was condemned to a life of exile for a political crime thus reinforced Vondel's cyclical notion of history and reaffirmed his belief in its fundamentally tragic nature.

As we have seen, Vondel's efforts to remind his fellow Amsterdamers throughout this ceremonial work about the temporality of their existence and the moral dangers of political and economic success arose from his own pessimism in the late 1630s about the future of Holland and Christian Europe. The Amsterdamers may feel proud of their achievements, but Vondel does not wish them, nor does he permit them, to feel self-satisfied. To be sure, they have enjoyed much, but only because God has ordained it. Indeed, God may well grant them additional prosperity, but as the drama makes plain, only if they, like Gysbreght, desist from further internecine conflict. Unfortunately there is little indication that such strife will ever end: the continued instability and disunity of the Christian world threatens the security that the Amsterdamers hold so dear. In his 1640 tragedy *Joseph in Dothan*, the first of two Joseph plays written to complement Grotius' *Sophompaneas*, Vondel is still exhorting his fellow Christians, but with even greater fervour than in the 1630s, to cease hostilities lest they be overrun by the Turks.[38] As long as Christian men refuse to accept the Christmas message of humility and peace, or, to speak in theological terms, as long as this fallen temporal world exists, kingdoms such as Troy, Rome and Amsterdam will flourish and decline, and as Vondel's tragedy demonstrates, man's only solace will be his faith in God's providential direction of the world.

18
Seventeenth-century Dutch pamphlets as a source of political information

A. Agnes Sneller

Introduction

In the years 1988 and 1989 European nations celebrated several revolutions. First the Glorious Revolution of 1688, whereby Great Britain and the Netherlands were temporarily united in the person of the Dutch Stadtholder Willem III, who with his wife Mary Stuart became king and queen of Great Britain; and second, the French Revolution of 1789, which many historians and political philosophers consider the beginning of a new era.

In 1979 the Netherlands celebrated the Dutch revolution of 1579, to commemorate the Union of Utrecht which had made it possible for seven provinces of the Low Countries to maintain their independence from Spain. In comparison to the above-mentioned revolutions this celebration was a meagre one. The Dutch revolution seemed to be merely of national importance, whereas the Glorious and French Revolutions were of major relevance to the whole of Europe, even to the entire Western world. Yet we can look upon the Dutch Revolt as the first successful attempt of ordinary people to join battle with an almost omnipotent monarch. As a result of the Dutch Revolt the geographical borders of Europe changed profoundly.

In order to be able to assess the various revolutions, we have to determine first of all the meaning of the word ‘revolution’. According to Hannah Arendt[1] the word was originally an astronomical term which gained increasing importance in the natural sciences through Copernicus’ *De revolutionibus orbium coelestium*. The word clearly

indicates a recurring, cyclical movement. If used for the affairs of men on earth, it could only signify that the few known forms of government revolve among the mortals in eternal recurrence and with the same irresistible force which makes the stars follow their preordained paths in the skies. In the seventeenth century we find the word for the first time as a political term; the metaphoric content was even closer to the original meaning of the word, for it was used for a movement of revolving back to some pre-established point and of swinging back into a preordained order. For Arendt the word was used in this sense in 1688 when the Stuarts were expelled and the kingly power was transferred to William and Mary.[2] The change that took place in the French Revolution was of a different order; the demand for repair of old privileges unexpectedly led to the revolt of the masses.[3] Since that moment requirements of 'liberty' and 'equality' have become the leading principles when we use the term revolution (the demand for 'fraternity' was not introduced until later). In addition to this, there must be a new beginning in politics.

I would like to find the answer to the question: does the attitude of the population of the seven provinces warrant the term revolution or should we look upon it as a mere reformation? If the latter is true, we share Huizinga's view, who considers the revolt against the Spanish government to be 'a conservative revolution'.[4]

Philosophical entry

In 1960 the historian E. H. Kossmann published a study on the political attitudes of the inhabitants of the Low Countries in the Golden Age.[5] In his search for the basis on which the deviant structure in the Netherlands was founded Kossmann looked among the philosophers. Kossmann seemed rather disappointed with the outcome of his research. He had not found what he was looking for: the political attitude of the Dutch population during the Golden Age. University philosophers, especially those before 1650, supply us with nice reports about democracy, aristocracy and monarchy, but there seems to be no connection with the Dutch situation at the time. That the above-mentioned terms do not clarify anything is proved by the use of a term like 'monarchia-aristocratico-democratica'.

Against the general tendency of growing absolutism in Europe, the Low Countries fought with all their energy for preservation of the old privileges. I think that we have all learned that the sixteenth century was famous for its absolutism. It is believed that this tendency enabled

the rise of capitalism, and capitalism in its turn is thought to have stimulated absolutism. Yet this model is too simple. It may have worked in France, but the situation gives rise to a more complicated interpretation in other nations: in England there was the continual struggle for power between King and Parliament; in Germany the Electors were enormously powerful. Moreover, the Republic as a form of government in the Low Countries was less unique than has been suggested. Basle and the Cantons in Switzerland operated independently, and Venice was also a Republic. So, the existence of the Republic of the United Provinces was less idiosyncratic than we usually assume. Already with the conclusion of the Twelve Years Truce in 1609 this situation had been internationally accepted. On entering the conference hall, the Dutch delegation were walking right behind the representatives of Venice and in front of those of the Electors. Their position abroad was fixed. However, this position would have been an empty shell if a government had not put things right at home.

What I understood from Kossmann's study was that he was searching for a construction of the internal organisation of the Netherlands and how it was justified; he therefore studied the politico-philosophical texts, which led to a disappointing result. As one of the reasons for this, Kossmann mentions conservatism. Philosophers keep thinking in old stereotypes. This unexpected attitude almost irritates the twentieth-century student. At least, this happened to me, until I got hold of the cultural-historical works of Michel Foucault.

In his *Les Mots et les Choses* Foucault gives an interpretation of the humanist culture of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, which he calls the 'classical period'.[6] By 1650 this period comes to an end and there is a reversal.

In the Renaissance the Western world rediscovered antiquity, and with great care the newly found texts were published and the texts that were still known were carefully edited. Gradually it became clear that only a little remained of the known works, especially those by Aristotle. In the Middle Ages, particularly in scholasticism, people had added their ideas to his works. Humanists produced excellent studies, philologically unsurpassed. Yet we cannot bring our vision on *these* texts into line with the ideas of scholars of about 1600, Foucault claims. For us, modern readers, a text, a specimen of language, will always function as a mirror of reality. The appreciation will differ from linguist to linguist and from philosopher to philosopher, but the principle will hardly be worth discussing. This is not true of the earlier period, however. In those days the text itself was the ultimate thing. Looking for a world behind the text

was out of the question. The works of antiquity had the same reality as flowers, people, stones.

At the universities scholars investigated the texts with their students as objectives in themselves. One had to be familiar with the knowledge and the situation of the time in which the texts had been produced to be able to understand them. Therefore scholars, to stick to our field of interest, had to formulate as carefully as possible the differences between democracy, aristocracy and monarchy, but – and here lies the crucial point – there was no need for them to translate these concepts to their own time and situation.

Kossmann claims that the conservative attitude of the university philosophers was a political choice. In my opinion this was not a political issue at all, but a prerequisite for textual interpretation in the humanist sense. There are several texts in those years in which the contemporary situation was examined, for example by C. P. Hooft (the father of the poet, mayor of Amsterdam) and by Hugo de Groot. The latter is discussed only incidentally by Kossmann, because De Groot's main interest was foreign policy. These apparent exceptions prove my point: neither was a man of learning; they were not university men, but they looked for practical solutions in national conflicts and foreign affairs.

And what about Johan de la Court? Kossmann writes that Johan de la Court was perhaps inspired by Professor Boxhorn who told him to follow a road Boxhorn showed him, but on which Boxhorn himself did not set foot. This took place around 1650. Obviously the classical period had come to an end. The reversal had taken place.

Pamphlets

As the university philosophers do not give us the necessary answers, we must direct our attention to different sources. One of Foucault's other theses is that philosophers and theoreticians do not primarily affect the thinking and actions of ordinary people, but that on the contrary they might be able to give expression, in abstracto, to the mentality of their contemporaries.

Consequently I started my investigation somewhere else. If we want to know how people in our time react to important events in their environment, we turn to newspapers to understand not only what is going on, but also what the attitude of the people is towards these events. In the Golden Age the newspaper did not yet play an important

role; the subjects of the day were printed in pamphlets, mostly devoted to one subject only.

The pamphlets (or blue books) have been the subject of several studies. In 1987, a book by Craig E. Harline was published on this subject.[7] However, he devoted himself to quite a long period: 1565–1648. When such a lengthy period is described, we can see how the interest in and growth of the pamphlets occurred, but we still learn little about their content. My line of approach is quite different. I am philosophically interested in the mental world of the Dutch people, who proved their independence in the early modern European world, when, as a Republic, they became the negotiating partner of Spain and of other European kingdoms.

With the aid of about thirty pamphlets issued in the year of peace, 1648, and held in the Special Collections of the Library of the University of Amsterdam, I would like to retrieve the political attitude of the inhabitants of the Low Countries. At the beginning of the year the treaty of Westphalia concerning the Spanish King and the Dutch Republic was signed. Other treaties, such as those between Sweden and Germany, were passed at the same time; only France had not yet joined in. In the Republic the articles of the treaty were published by different publishers and in several languages. Whether this attracted a great deal of attention is difficult to gauge. The library of Amsterdam University possesses several copies of the treaty between Sweden and Germany,[8] even more than of the 'Instrumentum Pacis' between Spain and the Republic.[9] This larger amount of copies is likely to be due to the fact that there were so many unsold copies, rather than to a greater interest in it.

Reading the articles in the treaties confirms that the two nations, Spain and the Republic, regarded each other as equals, without any restriction. A problem that still had to be solved, and that led to several difficulties, was the ratification of the document by all the different States of the Republic. A number of pamphlets by the French ambassador and members of Provincial States demonstrate that the unity of the United Provinces was not an open-and-shut case,[10] but in the end the people were reconciled to the decision of the States-General.

It was not my intention to discover the exact historical course of events from the pamphlets. For this, other instruments have given us more information; there is no need for me to repeat the work done by historians. My aim is to unearth some of the attitudes of the inhabitants of the Republic towards their government and towards the way of governing.

Two aspects of society

Before we can search for these attitudes we have to consider two widely different principles on which governing is based. In one respect the apparatus must be suitable to maintain a social order, a whole of costs and benefits. We can speak of the economic structure of society here. On the other hand, or perhaps even as opposed to this, we must direct our attention to the individual human being, the unique person. He or she surely does not always benefit from a cost-benefit analysis but, whether economically useful or useless, has a value of his or her own. This is what I call the political structure. Every form of government is aware of the conflict between these two values. Seen from the economic principle the organisation must run as smoothly as possible. A hierarchical construction of society is the easiest way to fulfil this: one captain on the ship. It is the principle of power in *optima forma*. From the political principle however, where everyone is equal, the standard we have to apply is the position of the most vulnerable man and woman. We have to ask what level of protection a government offers the economically useless. What opportunities they have is the criterion for the social quality of a nation.

My investigation of the pamphlets was directed towards these two principles. Is attention only focused on a well-functioning state machine or can the simple individual rely on protection and respect?

The economic structure

The economic principle is hierarchical. A nation that wants to survive, as the Dutch Republic did, has to rule with great strength, or see to it that authority is naturally accepted. As the Provinces lacked a strict organisation they had to rely on a mentality of self-evident obedience on one side, authority on the other. This attitude is most clearly expressed in religious pamphlets. It was possible to oblige people (*gemeent*) to obedience by referring to the authority of God himself. Poppius for example is convinced of the value of a gradual authority to such an extent that he even placed Jesus beneath God the Father. The highness of God is 'uyt ende van hem selven' (out of and from himself), whereas Christ received this highness from God. That is why obedience is the first commandment for Christians and for citizens. This theme recurs in his work in various modes.[11]

It is not only a theologian like Poppius who is convinced of the value of a hierarchical order, with God at the top. The lawyer and philosopher Hugo de Groot[12] also demands obedience, but seen from the secular point of view:

> De bijen onder een als haren land-vorst staen
> End' eeren die gelyck de Turcken den Sultan.
>
> (The bees are subjected to one as their lord
> and give him honour like the Turks do the sultan.)

Perhaps De Groot takes the example of the Sultan because it was known that in the Ottoman Empire there was some kind of freedom of religion. Discipline is a fair principle, however unpleasant it may seem, and the authorities have the right to exercise it:

> Noch vaderlicke tucht/noch rechtelicke slagen
> En konnen eygenlick de naem van quaet niet dragen.
>
> (Neither paternal discipline nor judicial punishment
> can bear the name of evil.)

and

> Soo menigh kloeck rapier/soo menigh stout ghemoedt (...)
> Heeft schrick voor d'overheydt.
>
> (Many a sturdy rapier, many a firm character fears the authorities.)

As to the Republic, the first question to answer will be: who was seen as the figure at the top of the hierarchy: the Prince of Orange, or the States-General, or the Provincial States? When I read the blue books I came to the same conclusion as when I read history books: there is no common opinion, neither in the different pamphlets nor even within one and the same pamphlet. The French ambassador Servient could therefore slander the Dutch 'plenipotentiarissen' (representatives) in Munster, delegates of the States-General, but at the same time he could blame them for the execution of Oldenbarneveldt. This made the Prince for him the right person to enact the peace.[13] He had of course been influenced by the French situation:

> Als de koninck spreeckt, die de Souvereyn is, en dese souvereyniteit, niet als van Godt alleyn heeft; soo blijft voor

> alle de andere niet overich om te deilen: als het lof van ghehoorsaamheyt.
>
> (If the King (or the Crown), who is the sovereign, and who got this sovereignty from nobody but from God, speaks, there is nothing for them but to obey.)

Servient's idea did not work. Apparently his vision of the final power of the Prince was not accepted in general. More often the Prince was seen as 'Schildt ende Deeghen van desen Staet' (shield and sword of this nation) – only a military leader against foreign aggression.[14]

That the Peace of Munster was concluded between 'all people, citizens, kingdoms and nations under the obedience of the King of Spain', on the one hand, and 'under the obedience of the States-General of the United Netherlands', on the other, was more than an empty slogan.[15] It is not just to the advantage of the Republic, 'dat der Vorsten twist niet meer sal doen ontgelden d'Onnoosele Landsaet, die dick dan lijden moet'[16] (that the quarrel of princes no longer shall be paid for by the innocent inhabitant, who must often suffer then).

In one and the same poem, reflecting the whole history of the resistance, it is said of the Prince of Orange: 'Al hadd't een keyser oft koninck geweest Soo sterck quam hij te Velde' (as if he was an emperor or a king so strong he came to the battlefield), which describes the situation in 1569, but there is also the observation 'maer de Borghers kreghen d'overhant' (but the citizens gained the upper hand). Later on the course is clear:

> Soo hebben de Heeren staten raat
> Fredrick Hendrick aenghenomen
> Als Gouverneur en Generael
> Daer voor sij (= de vijanden) moeten schromen.[17]
>
> (In this way the council of the Lords of State have engaged Frederick Henry as a governor and general whom the enemies must fear.)

At home the structural conflict remained. When a quarrel between Groningen and the Ommelanden had to be resolved, there came a convention of the council of the States-General to settle the issue. However, 'de ongedecideerde poincten' (the undecided points) will be brought 'ter discussie van sijn Hoogheyt' (to the attention of His Highness). In the 'Inhuldinge' (inauguration) of the University of

Harderwijk Belcampius simply defines the ‘Overicheyt’ (authorities) as those who settled the peace, and rulers as ‘those who are at the helm’.[18]

The political structure

Beside the information of how the pamphlets suggested that the attitude of the citizens should be towards their government, we may also ask: what about the opposite: how far was the welfare of the individual important within the social structure? We cannot find much. In fact, the only plain evidence of the value of the individual is found in the speech of Belcampius[19] who wishes the university to be a palace of wisdom, where

> edele en onedele, groote en kleyne, als in een open hof, sullen konnen wetenschap verkrijgen.
>
> (honourable and common, great and humble people can receive knowledge as in an open garden.)

Here we notice the absence of social discrimination. It is striking, too, that Belcampius has changed the metaphor. Hierarchically the rulers are constantly seen as fathers, but now the province is compared with a mother

> om seifs in haer en uyt haar, kinderen der wysheyt te telen.
>
> (to produce in her and from her children of wisdom.)

However, there is yet one other field of individual possibilities: the freedom to form and express an opinion. The Calvinist doctrine of the equal value of every man’s soul and the right of personal investigation manifests a beginning of democratic thinking in a modern sense. Therefore Kossmann can speak of Calvinistic constitutionalism in practice, not in theory.

Horrified, a pamphlet writer observes about another nation:

> En den gemeenen man neemts’uyt de handt de Boecken Ja op de straf van’t lijf verbiedt sy t’ondersoecken.
>
> (And she takes the books out of the hands of the common man; under penalty of death she forbids them to be examined.)

This freedom of opinion, founded in respect for the individual, results in the mitigation of the assessment of power and violence. Hence Alting[20] can advocate the annihilation of violence with the words 'de gelijckheyt waer de beste moeder van ennicheyt' (equality should be the best mother of unity). Here again we find the metaphor of the mother. The effect of this principle probably made the maintenance of the Republic possible, for 'justice and authority' ('justitie en publique autoriteit') are both needed to 'voor het vastbinden van dien band die om de seven Vereenichde Pijlen gaet' (bind the string around the seven united arrows).

Conclusion

We may conclude that the hierarchical principle is far more evident in the pamphlets than the political principle. Yet it would be rash to take this conclusion as final. Although the common man and woman had to accept authority, he or she were not the only ones on whom demands were made. In records of foreign revolts (I read about one in Paris,[21] one in Moscow[22] and one in Scotland[23]) there is hardly any interest in the question of whether people are allowed to revolt against the ruler or rulers, but there is far more interest in a critical attitude to the ruler who does not grant his citizens freedom of opinion or who exploits them, for

> 'De gerechtigheid des konings is de vrede des volks'[24]
>
> (the justice of the king is the peace of the people).
>
> Duties are mutual:
> der Overigheden jegens de onderdanen, de onderdanen jehgens de overigheden
>
> the authorities towards the citizens, the citizens towards the authorities.

Is this enough to call the Dutch Revolt a revolution? I am afraid it is not. We must have great respect for the historian Johan Huizinga who in 1932 described a 'conservative revolution', by which he meant that the Union of Utrecht in 1579 did not aim at creating political liberty and independence, but that the foundations on which the union was based went back to the medieval idea of liberty, which lacked the potential on which a new nation could be built.[25] The investigation by a

modern, political thinker, Hannah Arendt, affirms his observation; the pamphlets lead to the same conclusion.

Yet I should like to conclude by referring to a remarkable point. In the eighteenth century Montesquieu formulated a new political scheme, based on a division of power, that founded the democratic, Western nations. Remarkably, the Dutch Republic had a division of power long before this, not because of political and philosophical reasoning, but in practice, caused by its complicated political structure. Therefore there was no need for the Netherlands to start revolutions and to fight civil wars. As a result, freedom of expression and the press, of which the pamphlets give us so many examples, existed long before a constitution made this a civil right. This freedom of the press was not only important for the Netherlands but gave Europeans of all nations the possibility to ventilate political ideas. Partly due to this fact, later revolutions could result in new beginnings.

19
The Revolt of Masaniello on stage: An international perspective

Marijke Meijer Drees

In July 1647 the Spanish kingdom of Naples was ravaged by a violent tax uprising. This revolt lasted for about nine months and soon became known as 'the revolt of Masaniello', so-called after the fisherman who led it for ten days and was then assassinated.[1]

The rapid rise and fall of the popular leader Masaniello made a strong impression in and outside Italy. Italian and Spanish eye-witnesses wrote up-to-the-minute narratives, which were soon translated into other languages.[2] In due course, Masaniello's actions also inspired poets and playwrights, for instance in the Netherlands. The Amsterdam playwright Thomas Asselijn (who lived from approximately 1620 until 1701), wrote a tragedy titled *Op- en ondergang van Mas Anjello, of Napelse beroerte*. In 1668 it was printed in Amsterdam, where it was also put on stage.[3]

Asselijn's tragedy will be the subject of my chapter. To bring out certain aspects more clearly, I shall compare it with a seventeenth-century German tragedy titled *Trauerspiel von dem Neapolitanischen Hauptrebellen Masaniello*. Its author, Christian Weise, a Latin school teacher and writer of school dramas, published it in 1683; a year earlier it had been performed, for the benefit of and possibly also by Weise's students.[4] But for the moment I shall let Weise's play rest and focus on Asselijn's tragedy.

The central theme of *Op- en ondergang van Mas Anjello* is resistance against tyranny. Within the dramatic tradition of the Netherlands this theme was a very current one. There are, for example, some tragedies by prominent predecessors of Asselijn. *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, written by P. C. Hooft (and dating from 1613), deals with a conspiracy of

aristocrats against their tyrannical sovereign; and *Batavische gebroeders, of onderdrukte vrijheid* by Vondel (from 1663), takes place just before the Batavian revolt of Claudius Civilis against Roman oppression (in AD 69). In these tragedies both Hooft and Vondel make it unmistakably clear that rebelling against a legitimate government is fundamentally wrong.[5]

The theme of resistance was not new, then. Asselijn's famous predecessors, however, would not have anything to do with popular uprisings. According to the current prescriptions for tragedy, they had always put on stage so-called *reges* and *principes* (highly placed characters) – never ordinary people, let alone ordinary people in revolt. At the very most they mentioned such people, evoking an image that was always in accordance with the one known from the ancient classics: the image of the politically unreliable, mindless and dangerous crowd, the many-headed monster.

Asselijn deviates considerably from these conventions. The subject of his tragedy is indeed a popular revolt. Asselijn actually shows us the resisting people on stage, and – as if all this wasn't enough already – he even has an eye for positive aspects of the popular revolt. The revolutionaries in his play use apparently legitimate arguments.

From the start of the play Anjello and his followers get free rein to emphasise the defensive character of their actions. As early as in the first act, which is entirely situated in the streets, they state that it is not their aim to attack established and legal structures, but to defend them. As a matter of fact, they want to defend the rights of the people ('rechten des volks') against violation. This is only one of the arguments they adduce. Furthermore they make it clear that it is not the sovereign who is to be blamed, but only his greedy advisers.

These arguments must have been familiar to Asselijn's audience, because they had played an important part in the past of the Netherlands.[6] The Dutch Revolt against Spain was justified for instance by means of an appeal to the defence of traditional rights and also to shield the sovereign, who was misguided by bad servants (e.g. the detested duke of Alva, who had dared to impose heavy taxes too, as Asselijn himself mentions in the dedication of his play[7]).

Also recognisable was the fact that the Neapolitans appealed to one privilege in particular, the privilege that Ferdinand of Aragon had given them long ago, on the occasion of his inauguration. On this particular privilege they base their right to resist. From the history of the Dutch Revolt a similar privilege was known: the so-called 'Blijde Inkomste' (Glorious Entry), which dated from the fourteenth century and was

solemnly confirmed by Philip II during his tour of the Netherlands in 1549. The Blijde Inkomste included a clause which implied that one was allowed to refuse obedience to the sovereign if he was not amenable to reason.[8]

In addition to the political arguments the Neapolitans use emotional arguments to justify their case – arguments that were also familiar to the Dutch audience. Thus they present themselves as extremely poor, emaciated slaves and the court is depicted as a breeding place of bloodthirsty tyrants, who deserve a just revenge ('geregte wraak'). The popular propaganda of the Dutch Revolt – Beggars' songs, pamphlets and the like – was often composed of emotional black-and-white impressions of this kind.[9]

It is also striking that part of the authorities at the court take the arguments of the people seriously. These authorities, two so-called 'Verkoorne[n] des volks' (representatives of the people), mostly argue in favour of the oppressed people. They are supported by the archbishop of Naples, who, being a reasonable arbitrator between the people in the streets and the government at the court, enjoys general confidence. Opposed to the representatives there are two harsh, selfish aristocrats. They want to put down the uprising the hard way and tax the people even more. The political course of the Spanish viceroy of Naples changes gradually. At first he relies on the advice of his aristocratic counsellors, but as the uprising breaks out, he takes more and more notice of the representatives and the archbishop.

And yet Asselijn shows a strong aversion to the revolutionaries too. Plundering and destruction, murder and manslaughter, the whole range of calamities is given ample treatment. The third act for example starts with a great fire[10] and in the next scene an army of militant women goes by, equipped with burning torches and faggots, and yelling for revenge.[11] These women distinguish themselves from their male colleagues by even greater fervour and brisker actions. By portraying them in this way, Asselijn was probably confirming the expectations of his audience. The behaviour of the women in his play is in line with what is known about Dutch female participants in seventeenth-century uprisings in the province of Holland, the accounts of which have been studied by the historian Rudolf Dekker.[12]

More emphasis, however, is laid on the outrageous behaviour of the leader of the revolt, Mas Anjello. Every now and then he acts extremely harshly and after the viceroy has officially proclaimed him the supreme commander of the people (a ceremonial scene in the fifth act), he loses his senses completely. Thus, Asselijn shows us, history has

proved that an ordinary fisherman is not capable of ruling. Anjello's tyranny in turn provokes resistance: his followers leave him and in the end he is killed – by noblemen. Everyone is relieved and in the last scene the archbishop thanks heaven for what is once again called a just revenge ('geregte wraak').

To put it briefly, then, Asselijn shows his audience the shocking outcome of a failing government. Tyranny causes a popular revolt that is basically legitimate, but at the same time reprehensible, since things go from bad to worse. Asselijn wants to warn against this declining spiral, a warning that is meant for political authorities in particular. That is why he makes a member of the moderate faction at the court, a representative of the people, put forward the following conclusion:

> Zoo bloeyt en Staat, daar 't regt der volkren werdt gehandthaaft.
>
> (Thus a State flourishes, if the rights of the people are maintained.)

Apparently Asselijn wants to give a warning against violation of the rights of the people. If the government violates these rights, the State is disrupted and the people themselves rise up, with disastrous consequences. Thus far Asselijn's tragedy, at least for now.

What impression does the German Weise give of the popular uprising in Naples and what was his message? Compared to Asselijn's tragedy Weise's *Trauerspiel* shows some interesting differences.[13]

To begin with the most remarkable one: Weise does not consider the people as a serious political power with a right to resist. On the contrary, he more or less holds them up to ridicule. A number of the Neapolitans bear names reminiscent of *Comedia dell'arte* characters (Truffaldino, Poltrone, Buffone, etc.); other names reduce their bearers to a comically meant quality (for instance Bravo and Saldo).[14] All in all Weise presents the people as a motley collection of rather comical characters, who quarrel a lot together, pursuing their own material profit and elevation of status. To a serious justification of the revolt they pay no attention.

Aniello, however, takes an exceptional position. He shows political shrewdness; he refers for instance to ancient rights and succeeds in making the whole court dance to his piping. In these respects he reminds us to some extent of the Mas Anjello of Asselijn's tragedy, but an important difference is that Weise's Aniello plays the part of the absolutist bourgeois-tyrant from beginning to end. His appeal to ancient rights is merely a strategy to get absolute power, power that is only built on terror.[15]

Weise's Aniello has no scruples. This unscrupulousness he shares with the faction of selfish aristocrats at the court, a faction that appears

in Asselijn's tragedy, as we have seen, as violators of the rights of the people. In Weise's play the people's rights are not discussed at the court. The other, moderate authorities are aristocrats too – except for the archbishop of course, but he supports their policy strongly. In fact, he, too, defends the power of the aristocracy, although he does not sympathise with the ruthless authorities.

The strategy of the moderate faction is to give in temporarily to the demands of the people and their tyrannical leader in order to keep 'Recht und Macht' (right and power) in place.[16] These politicians consider the uprising as a passing storm, caused by the wrong, absolutist policy of their colleagues; a storm to which the whole aristocracy has to submit temporarily in order to rise up undamaged afterwards. On these politicians Weise has apparently projected his own political ideal: the so-called 'Politische Klugheit', which means an ethically well-founded reason of State. Thanks to the 'Politische Klugheit' right and power can be maintained, even in tempestuous times.[17]

Obviously Weise rejects the uprising entirely. Looking down on the people of Naples, he identifies himself completely with the faction of the moderate authorities at the court, the politicians who succeed in preserving the power of the aristocracy. This power Weise underlines, but all the same he warns against a danger that threatens the aristocracy from the inside: the danger of absolutism. In Weise's view absolutism comes down to tyranny[18] and tyranny provokes a storm of protest.

Asselijn takes a more ambiguous position. To a certain extent his sympathies go out to the people, to their defence of ancient rights against violation. At the same time, however, he makes it perfectly clear that he disapproves of the uprising because of its calamitous consequences. So actually Asselijn, too, chooses the side of the Establishment, but the authorities supported by him are representatives of the people. The other authorities in his play, aristocrats, only look after their own interests; their behaviour is tyrannical, because, by ruthlessly imposing excessive taxes, they violate the people's rights. We might call Asselijn's political attitude basically anti-aristocratic, or perhaps even slightly democratic – always keeping in mind of course that the present-day conception of democracy was unthinkable in Asselijn's days.

Is it possible to elucidate and perhaps even to explain the differences we have considered between the two tragedies about Masaniello?

First, let us consider some other particulars about Weise's *Trauerspiel*. It was written in Zittau, a town in the province of Lausitz. During the Thirty Years War Lausitz had become a fief of the electorate of

Saxony, but nevertheless it had continued to be a relatively autonomous class-ridden state, where mainly aristocratic big landowners pulled the political strings. But although the Estates (nobility and towns) had been largely successful in maintaining their traditional position, they had to struggle against the growth of absolutism among the contemporary princes (Johann Georg II, III and IV).

Within this structure of power, the Latin school teacher Weise educated his pupils, children of rich citizens, who were for the greater part hoping for a political career. Weise himself has described their expectations: 'Alle Gelehrte werden nicht Staats-Leute: doch hoffen sie mehrenteils auf Aempter/da sie der Politischen Klugheit bedürffen.'[19] So his pupils, hoping to become politicians, should be taught 'Politische Klugheit' in order to protect the existing balance of power in Lausitz. In Weise's *Trauerspiel* they are shown how to use this political prudence. But Weise's play also underlines his objection to ideas of legitimate civilian resistance such as those formerly developed by the so-called Monarchomachs, during the religious wars in sixteenth-century France.

> Wenn ein rechtmässiger König in seiner Administration degeneriret und zum tyrannen wird
> so darff man den Unterthanen nich alsobald Recht geben dass sie sich widersetzen mögen.
> Denn sonst würde es nimmermehr an Leuten mangeln die an dem Regimente was zu tadeln hätten und ihr muthwilliges Recht gebrauchen könten.[20]

Weise rejected the theories of the Monarchomachs: in his opinion it was 'unrecht und absurd' to permit the people to resist an absolutist or tyrannical government. And it was dangerous, too, because 'ein Thier mit so viel Kopffen [wurde] allezeit etwas ungereimtes gegen die Obrigkeit einzuwenden haben'.[21] In this connection he criticised the two actual examples of successful resistance against tyranny, the popular revolts in the Netherlands and England.[22]

Asselijn's tragedy was also written in a class-ridden state, the province of Holland. In Holland, however, political power was held by a rather young aristocracy of civilian regents – the outcome of the Dutch Revolt against Spain. There was a yawning gap between the ordinary Amsterdam citizen Asselijn and the ruling aristocrats. Asselijn made a living in textile-dyeing, and considering what else is known about his (unprosperous) life[23] and about the social stratification of Amsterdam,

he may be placed in the middle class of the so-called petty bourgeoisie ('kleine burgerij').

In general these citizens felt great respect for their regents, but no matter how obedient they might be, they did harbour a certain grudge against the rich and powerful aristocracy.[24] These more or less anti-aristocratic feelings were associated with a strong devotion to the recent past of glorious resistance, when traditional rights and privileges had been ardently defended against the tyranny of Spanish rulers. This attachment to the revolutionary past was displayed especially during years in which the province of Holland was in turmoil (as well as the catastrophic year of 1672, known as 'het Rampjaar', there have been many such years[25]). But such democratic tendencies, as the sentiments of citizens like Asselijn have once been called,[26] did not have any revolutionary purpose at all. As these citizens always had something to lose, all things considered they would have nothing to do with popular revolts, because then the lower classes, too, would inevitably assert themselves. These sentiments Asselijn expresses in his tragedy about the revolt of Masaniello.

20
Seventeenth-century Low Countries jests in international perspective

Johan Verberckmoes

Stereotyping is one way of looking at other people and trying to understand them, or rather not to understand them. Jokes about others are a very efficient means of spreading these stereotypes. In the discipline of humorology, a whole field of research is devoted to ethnic jokes. There it is asked whether this ethnic stereotyping prevents or impedes integration of other people and nations or whether these jests relieve the tension and stimulate integration. The question is stimulating and the research is promising for a better understanding of the social and cultural functioning of laughter.

But many functional explanations of humour and laughter are not relevant for historical research because they exclude the factor of time. Psychological, sociological and anthropological evidence is indispensable for a better understanding of jests and how they work, but historical evidence points to the relativity of these explanations. Stereotypes are a legitimate subject of research, but should never be taken for granted. Laughter-provoking anecdotes about others are determined by factors of time, place and circumstances. Historians, as well as other social scientists, seek to detect these changes. Mahadev Apte in his book *Humor and Laughter: An Anthropological Approach* (1985) states that 'humor disparaging other groups is probably as old as contact between cultures'. Historians have to accept the challenge and try to discover how laughter presented itself in the past. As Apte points out, textual analysis of jests – the topics involved – and contextual analysis – measuring the effects of time and place – is required.[1] In this chapter I try to discover the cultural code of ethnic joking in the seventeenth-century Spanish Netherlands, an almost forgotten society in historiographical respects.

A German, sitting on a cart, sees his fellow travellers fall asleep. 'Hou', he cries, 'my brothers, the night and the time last too long, let us chat'. An Englishman answers: 'please feel free'. 'I travelled through many countries', the German begins his story, 'and wherever I came, I found that Lucifer's fall had taken place'. 'What do you mean?' the Englishman asks. The German replies: 'When Lucifer was thrown out of heaven, his arms fell in Italy, where people like embracing; his belly fell in Germany, where people scoff and soak; his head fell in Spain, where one finds the grandees; his hands fell in Holland, where scrabbling seems inherent; his legs fell in France, where people dance'. 'And', the impatient Englishman interrupts him, 'where did he leave his tail?' 'Hola', answers the German, 'I almost forgot that, his tail fell in England, and that nation still bears his name'.[2]

The joke is, of course, about the '*gestaarte Engelsman*', a common mock stereotype, frequently used by the Dutch in the Anglo-Dutch Wars of the seventeenth century. This was a mocking reference to the English dating from the twelfth century. It referred to the land of fallen angels or devils, which was supposed to be England.[3] The anecdote comes from Joan de Grieck's compilation *Den wysen gheck*, printed in Brussels in 1672. De Grieck merely plundered moralistic literature such as Adriaen Poirters' *Het Masker van de Wereldt Afghetrocken*, a Counter-Reformation version of the topos of the world turned upside down. In this joke we detect stereotypes about different nations. Oral circulation of anecdotes like this one seems likely, thus spreading images of other nations.

Other jestbooks, or *kluchtboeken*, printed in the Southern Netherlands from the mid-sixteenth until the early nineteenth century, contain anecdotes expressing ethnic stereotypes. The stories in these jestbooks are not always humorous, but many of them are indeed laughter-provoking. *Kluchtboek* is the term for a miscellaneous collection of anecdotes, witticisms, riddles, etc. I have selected anecdotes from five major jestbooks. The ones about national characteristics are rather scarce and other topics are far more popular in these jestbooks: the daily struggle between man and wife, the different social classes, etc. The large majority of these anecdotes are not original. Most of them are taken from German, French and Italian sources. Jokes crossed borders easily. But the fact that they were chosen, printed and reprinted reveals a public interested in them. Elfriede Moser-Rath pointed to the sentence 'translated from Dutch' as a good reference for seventeenth-century German jestbooks.[4]

A group which immediately jumps to mind when talking about stereotypes and jests is the Jews. The story from Johannes Pauli's

collection *Schimpff und Ernst* (1522) about a Jew who falls into a toilet and has to stay there for two days, because the first is his sabbath and the second the Christian Sunday, was printed from 1554 onwards and can still be found in a manuscript from the end of the eighteenth century.[5] In the nineteenth century the joke was modernised and civilised by letting him fall into a well. Another successful anecdote is the one about a Jew who is deceived at Frankfurt fair by a merchant who sells him faeces.[6] The sabbath not being on Christian Sunday, deceiving and usury, these are the main topics of jokes at the expense of Jewish people. These stereotypes already existed in the Middle Ages and were repeated over and over again. These are age-old prejudices which do not seem to have served any particular circumstances in the seventeenth-century history of the Spanish Netherlands, except to maintain a latent anti-Semitism.

Another category of people made fun of were the Dutch. In the context of the Counter-Reformation Richard Verstegen, Adriaen Poirters and many others popularised funny stories about predestination and Calvinist preaching, etc. But other jokes about the Dutch circulated also. Two Dutchmen went on a journey. In Antwerp they got no butter with their eggs and were amazed that not everybody ate like themselves. In Valenciennes it became worse. They knew no French, and became hungry. In a bakery shop one of them pointed with his finger to his mouth, but was brought to the dentist, who pulled a tooth. In panic they fled back to safe Holland. It is a jest which was very popular in the Spanish Netherlands because it was printed in 1554, 1576, 1627 and at the end of the seventeenth century.[7,8] It refers to the *botheid*, the attributed dullness or stupidity of the Dutch. This was a well-known stereotype in the sixteenth century. At the end of the sixteenth and in the beginning of the seventeenth century, the immigrants from the Southern Netherlands into the Dutch Republic used this stereotype to express their alleged superiority, as Briels, and recently Keersmaekers, have pointed out.

In *Den seer vermaeckelycken kluchtvertelder, a* collection of anecdotes from the end of the seventeenth century, a joke is printed about a Dutchman in Paris, who deceives people to earn some money. He dresses himself as a quack, collects some sawdust and tries to sell it on a bridge as powder to kill fleas. Because of his blethering and strange language, he seems a reliable man to the French, so the story tells us. He sells the whole stock and when people ask him how to use this powder, he answers: 'squeeze the flea between two fingers, in order that it is obliged to gape and then spread the powder in its mouth. It will surely die.' The final comment of the anecdote is that the Dutchman disappears

very quickly, because otherwise the furious public would have knocked him down.[9]

It seems that a jest like this one could have been taken from real life, for we have the report of a similar case which actually happened. Jacques Inbona from Bruges tells in his lively chronicle the following story. On 19 October 1675 a Dutchman came to Bruges and represented himself as an Indian from the East. He was naked except for a loincloth and with bow and arrow. For one 'stuiver' (stiver) he could be looked at. In the afternoon two Hollanders who knew him came to the show. They said to each other: 'well, isn't that Anthony?' The people who heard this became angry when they found out it was a fraud. They beat up the so-called Indian and the money collector and chased them off.[10] Although the story seems funny to us, it shows that the stereotype of the Dutchman as a fraud was a mental and sometimes even a material reality for the Flemings.

The stereotype of the quack, which the Dutch themselves used on the stage to poke fun at the Germans, was in this case mainly used to show that the Dutch were eager to earn money, and succeeded in it. In *Den wysen geck* Joan de Grieck quotes an anecdote from Poirters about a Dutchman who had gained an office by bribery. He became rich and wrote above the gate of this country house: 'favour causes envy'. Someone wrote next to it: 'and so the country loses its money'.[11] Seventeenth-century mockery and prejudice about the Dutch or Hollanders, as expressed in the Spanish Netherlands, consisted of two main topics: stupidity and greed. This pair was used frequently in the Counter-Reformation propaganda against the Dutch Calvinists, for example Richard Verstegen's farcical story about a predestined capon, or in the popular anecdotes about a company in a barge who poke fun at a Dutch Calvinist minister.

Two important collections of jests, from the end of the seventeenth century and the beginning of the eighteenth, show that Spain and France were the two main nations subject to anecdotes. *Den seer vermaeckelyken kluchtvertelder*, compiled by an unknown A. J. W. L., printed in Ypres and for sale in Antwerp, consists of anecdotes from various sources. The second one is a hitherto unknown collection, *Verdrijf des droefheyts ende melancolie*, preserved in manuscript form, and which I intend to publish.[12] The latter is particularly interesting because it draws from the written as well as from the oral tradition. The author, or rather the compiler, was apparently someone employed at the Council of Flanders (Raad van Vlaanderen). He tells anecdotes from his own or his family's experience and also quotes from a variety of literary sources.

As to the often funny stories about the Spanish and the French, a lot of politics is involved. Political events and stories about several kings, Philip IV, Henri IV, Louis XIV and so on, satirise human weaknesses. But also some 'national' characteristics are ridiculed. The Spanish grandees and their rodomontades, pride and swaggering are a recurrent topic in seventeenth-century society. The French, and especially the Gascons, are also known as braggarts. In the case of the Gascons it is even proverbial. Laughing at pride seems to have been the way the people of the Spanish Netherlands dealt with their political insignificance. The pride of political domination was being laughed at in order to deal with it. It was the same stereotype that the Dutch used against the immigrants from the Southern Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century – they were braggarts. By the middle of the seventeenth century this alleged superiority had disappeared and the Flemings had become an insignificant people. In *Roger Bontemps en bell humeur*, a French jestbook from 1670, we find twice the same mocking reference to Flemings. A man is very ill and sends his young son with his urine to the doctor. He examines the urine and sees in it 'filaments', fibres, which the boy understands as 'Flamands', Flemings.[13] In a mocking ordinance for beggars in the *Verdrijf des droefheyts ende mélancolie* several nations are enumerated along with their method of begging. The Germans are singing while begging, the French praying and imploring, the Flemings bending, the Egyptians or gipsies insisting, the Portuguese crying, the Italians talking, the Spaniards swaggering.[14] This list is not very consistent with characteristics mentioned before, but the social context has changed too. Whereas most jests concerning stereotypes of different nations deal with merchants or kings and noblemen, this ordinance refers to social outcasts.

It seems to me that ethnic jokes did not circulate in the seventeenth-century Spanish Netherlands, simply because there were no minority groups whose integration was at stake. Immigration was not the key factor for jokes about other nations in the seventeenth-century Spanish Netherlands. It was a society where many people and nations passed through, with political, military, religious or whatever motives, a transit society, with a very feeble awareness of its own identity. What did exist were stereotyped, joking images of the surrounding nations and people. As in a mirror, the weapon of the traditional fool, these jokes reflected the lack of nation-building symbols in the Spanish Netherlands, compared with the superiority of its neighbours.

In the history of social contact, conflict and friendship, laughter plays a large part. Jokes convey stereotypes of others, be it friendly or

not. A study of these jests tells us about the prejudices large groups of people share. Indeed, for a jest to be met with laughter, it is essential that the public recognises the stereotypes expressed. Thus we may be fairly sure that the comic mode is a reliable one for detecting images people share about others. On the other hand, it is often difficult to find the real events or thoughts behind these jests and anecdotes. Non-functional aspects are important too: jesting for its own sake, without explicit or implicit purposes, mere playing. When a list has been compiled of themes in the comic mode, found in jestbooks, comedies, etc., it will be easier to find humorous utterances in other sources as well, travel journals, memoirs, literary and iconographical evidence. Then it will be possible to draw a map of social relations and conflicts – at home, in the neighbourhood, in the country, internationally, within a certain society and, in my case, the seventeenth-century Spanish Netherlands.

21
Wily women? On sexual imagery in Dutch art of the seventeenth century

Wayne Franits

Sexual symbolism in Dutch art of the seventeenth century has been widely explored. Although there have been several important studies, others have been hampered by specific methodological problems of interpretation, including questions of sources, pictorial contexts and the identification of motifs laden with erotic significance. By way of introduction three comparatively recent analyses of seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings will be quoted. We begin with the painting by Nicolaes Maes of a *Woman Plucking a Duck* (Fig. 21.1), included in the 1984 exhibition *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*. In the catalogue, it was stated that the artist's contemporaries would have recognised this painting's veiled erotic message:

> The wine pitcher and glass in the far room evoke a second human presence, and the gaming bag and fowling piece suggest that it is a male. The ducks the hunter has shot introduce an explicit allusion to physical love. In seventeenth-century Dutch the verb *vogelen* (literally, 'to bird') meant both to hunt birds and, in vulgar usage, to copulate . . . The duck tenderly plucked by the kitchen maid in this painting alludes to the hunter's gift of love. It is characteristic of Maes that he eschewed the flagrantly bawdy approach preferred by some of his colleagues. Here the artist merely hinted at the man's presence and judiciously incorporated the birds, hunting paraphernalia, and the prowling cat, another metaphor for erotic desire, into a mundane scene in a tranquil bourgeois home.[1]

Fig. 21.1 Nicolaes Maes, *Woman Plucking a Duck*, c.1655–1656. Oil on canvas, 59.7 x 65.4 cm. Philadelphia Museum of Art, Gift of Mrs Gordon A. Hardwick and Mrs W. Newbold Ely in memory of Mr and Mrs Roland L. Taylor, 1944–9-4.

The other two analyses mentioned both come from a comparatively recent book on children in Dutch art. Here two paintings of domestic scenes by Pieter de Hooch (Figs. 21.2–21.3) were understood as follows:

> In the first work the maid holds a duck [Fig. 21.2]. The mother is once again seated in the open, wide-legged pose characterized by women of doubtful morals. Seated next to her is the symbolic cat. Dead birds are commonly used to refer to the *voluptas carnis* – fleshy lust, worldly and carnal desires. The duck, as a type of bird, has also been interpreted as a symbol of folly, and is associated with loose living . . . In the scene with the fish [Fig. 21.3] – although the pose of the woman is more proper, the action – the purchase

Fig. 21.2 Pieter de Hooch, *Woman with a Child and a Maid in an Interior*, 1675–1684. Oil on canvas, 56.2 x 65.7 cm. Worcester Art Museum, Worcester, Massachusetts. Image © Worcester Art Museum (1925.117)

> of fish – is often associated with the purchase of flesh. As with the duck scene, the connotations point to the world of the flesh – to the sensual life. As we observed in the nursing scenes the presence of the infant may be regarded as the end result of 'fruit' of the loose, immoral life.[2]

The cornerstone for two of these interpretations is Eddy de Jongh's influential article of 1969 on bird symbolism in Dutch seventeenth-century art and literature.[3] In that study, De Jongh convincingly demonstrated that, in Dutch art, birds were often associated with prurience. However, he identified the motif of the bird as an erotic metaphor in paintings that had entirely different visual contexts than those discussed here.

The larger issue raised by these challengeable readings is whether a constant, immutable symbolic value can be attached to the motif of

Fig. 21.3 Pieter de Hooch, *A Housewife Instructing her Maid,* 1644–1683. Oil on canvas, 91.5 x 83 cm. National Gallery of Denmark, Copenhagen. Photo © SMK

the bird or, for that matter, any motif, regardless of the context in which it appears. In the wake of De Jongh's important and influential studies of erotic imagery in Dutch art, there has been a propensity to over-read paintings, to detect sexual significance where in all likelihood it does not exist. The resulting interpretations are far too often anachronistic and have only served to distort our understanding of some Dutch paintings by myopically reducing them to illustrations of sexual arousal and pleasure or to billboards of moral condemnation. Hopefully, some of the methodological and interpretative issues raised by these images can be clarified by briefly re-examining the nature and role of sexual imagery in Dutch seventeenth-century art and culture.

The great contribution of the Netherlands to erotica in European culture during the seventeenth century was the depiction of bawdy subjects as well as subtly titillating ones in large numbers of genre paintings of extraordinarily high pictorial quality and sophistication. There is not only an abundance of raucous bordello scenes but we have less

boisterous pictures as well in which sexual content is conveyed in the subtlest manner possible.[4] At the risk of stating the obvious, it must be noted that paintings with this range of subject matter and this level of quality are quite rare in other European countries during this period. When one compares Dutch seventeenth-century genre paintings of erotic subjects to images produced in other countries, the differences can be truly astounding.[5] It would seem that the veritable uniqueness of Dutch paintings with erotic imagery has led to the tendency to overemphasise the sexual content of Dutch art in general.

While the quantity and quality of the paintings themselves may be virtually unique in Europe at this time, the erotic Dutch books and prints that are so frequently used as sources to interpret them are not. Yet this fact is frequently overlooked by historians of Dutch art. Far too often we view erotic prints and books as characteristically Dutch and in doing so overlook the international origins of so many of these works. Even more seriously, the original functions of these sources are frequently ignored. The erotic riddle book written by several students of Leiden University, the *Incogniti Scriptoris Nova Poemata* (hereafter cited as *Nova Poemata*), which was probably first published in 1618, offers a telling example of this problem.[6] This entertaining, little oblong tome contains several seemingly straightforward engravings of women engaged in a variety of tasks and games, sometimes accompanied by men (Fig. 21.4). Long riddles in Latin, French and Dutch are also included which have a dual function in combination with the illustrations: the riddles can be regarded either as double-entendre texts with the engravings providing the wholesome answer or as texts that point out the lewd meaning of the engravings.

The *Nova Poemata* has been cited by several authors of recent studies of Dutch seventeenth-century painting in order to support their hypotheses concerning the potential erotic content of Dutch art.[7] However, the citation of this book seems questionable, especially when one examines the origins and function of the *Nova Poemata*. The fact that the book contains Latin and French versions of the Dutch riddles suggests a possible international origin of the work. Indeed, as Jochen Becker has shown, the engravings for the *Nova Poemata* are based on those from Mathias Merian's series *La femme d'honneur* (Fig. 21.5), published in Paris at the turn of the century, while the riddles themselves ultimately derive from a sixteenth-century French translation of the popular, contemporary book of erotic tales by Giovanni Francesco Straparola, titled *Le piacevoli notti*.[8] The *Nova Poemata* has further links

Fig. 21.4 Illustration from *Incogniti Scriptoris Nova Poemata,* 3rd ed. N.p. 1624. Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague (28 E 34 [1]).

VERTVS D'VNE DAMOISELLE D'HONNEVR.

SONNET EMBLEMATIQVE.

LA Dame qui ſe plaiſt au bel art de Muſique
Diſſippe de l'eſprit mille & mille ſubjets,
Et au lieu d'enfanter des fantaſques objets
Elle apprend de l'honneur, & l'art & la pratique.

Tantoſt elle fera ſur vn nouueau Cantique
Dix mille alluſions, & dix mille projets;
Elle va s'exemptant d'vn nombre de caquets
Qui ſe font tous les ious dans le concert ruſtique.

Seulette, elle reçoit diuers contentements,
Accordant & ioüant de pluſieurs inſtruments,
Qui rauiſſent ſoudain l'entrée de l'aureille:

Et ſon plus grand deduit eſt d'auoir des chanſons
Bien faites, & qui ſoient pleines de beaux fredons
Auec leſquels ſa voix puiſſe faire merueille.

Fig. 21.5 *Vertus d'une damoiselle d'honneur.* Engraving by Matthäus Merian, 1611. Bibliothèque nationale de France, Paris

with European literature, namely to 'underground' student books circulated in other university centres, like the works of Peter Rollos.[9]

Although the erotic riddle book *Nova Poemata* was popular – one would imagine especially among students at Leiden University – its international origins indicate that it is not a distinctly Dutch book. Becker came to this conclusion as he observed that 'riddle books were not notably popular in Holland at this time'.[10] Therefore in light of its origins but even more importantly because of its structure, function and, owing to its lewd contents, somewhat limited circulation (notwithstanding its popularity), *Nova Poemata* should only be utilised with extreme caution as a source for interpreting Dutch art.

Such misunderstandings of sources, coupled with the presence of a significant number of truly erotic seventeenth-century Dutch paintings, has led to an overemphasis in scholarship upon the purported sexual content of Dutch art. Moreover, when such sources are applied to the analysis of individual works of art, the result has been the aforementioned tendency to attach a constant immutable symbolic value to particular motifs, regardless of the context in which they appear. Another unfortunate ramification of these problems is that the existence of works like the *Nova Poemata* and the close reliance upon them as sources for understanding Dutch art have made the search for alternative sources and meanings ostensibly fruitless.

There must be internal evidence in the paintings themselves to corroborate the interpretation of birds, shoes, spindles, etc. as sexual metaphors. Such evidence is completely lacking in the paintings that were cited at the beginning of this chapter. In the paintings by Maes, the artist has not included a man offering a bird to the woman nor one who embraces or fondles her as she works. In short, there is not the slightest trace of dissolute behaviour which often (though not always) characterises a scene where the motif of plucking or displaying fowl functions as an erotic metaphor.[11] The two pictures by De Hooch display this same lack of raucous behaviour and lascivious motifs. The emphasis in these paintings on warm domestic intimacy unequivocally bespeaks other, more virtuous values.

I will devote the rest of my chapter to an examination of a painting that has at least a partially proven erotic content, namely Gabriel Metsu's *The Hunter's Present* (Fig. 21.6). Here the intention is not to offer the 'definitive' interpretation of the picture – because in the end most Dutch paintings resist such interpretations – but rather to present a methodological test case that addresses such issues as sources and pictorial context. Metsu depicts an interior in which a man seated in a chair offers a

Fig. 21.6 Gabriel Metsu, *The Hunter's Present*, c.1658–c.1661. Oil on canvas, 51 x 48 cm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam

dead partridge to a young woman who has been sewing. Judging from his costume and the presence of a rifle, a hunting dog and a dead duck, the man has just returned from a successful hunt. The woman responds to his gesture by reaching for a book on the table.

De Jongh has convincingly explained the erotic meaning of the man's gesture by citing several contemporary prints and literary works in which birds were associated with lasciviousness and the Dutch verb *vogelen* (to bird) with sexual intercourse.[12] Thus by offering a bird to the woman the hunter is actually propositioning her, an action whose significance appears to be clarified by the statue of Cupid on the linen chest behind them. Less convincing, however, is De Jongh's hypothesis that the motifs of the shoes and sewing convey erotic associations as well, which in effect implies that the women welcomes the hunter's proposition.[13]

Again, questions of visual context must be raised, for this reading would seem inconsistent with her virtuous demeanour and action. In fact, later studies of this picture have not confirmed this hypothesis, focusing instead on the gesture of the woman reaching for the book, an action thought to underscore her 'moral dilemma' of whether to accept the man's 'offer'.[14]

In my opinion, the woman has already made her choice, if only for the fact that she is reaching for a prayer book or Bible.[15] Regardless of the book's precise content, the woman's gesture does not demonstrate her indecisiveness but rather her resistance to the man's proposition. Her resistance is probably emphasised by her sewing. The equation of the motif of sewing in seventeenth-century art and literature with diligence, domesticity and virtue was so widespread that such associations should only be disregarded in favour of its interpretation as an erotic metaphor in rare cases. Sewing does occasionally carry erotic connotations in literature and even in art.[16] However, the pictorial contexts in which the motif of sewing conveys these associations are often more raucous and lascivious, and – most importantly, because the motif of sewing is the principal agent of meaning – invariably contain females of dubious morals.[17]

In view of the virtuous connotations implicit in the woman's sewing and in her gesture of reaching for the book, the possibility that she is considering whether to accept the hunter's proposition seems remote. Her virtuous refusal is further confirmed by the shoes which Metsu has so carefully depicted in front of her. De Jongh cited several contemporary sources to buttress his suggestion that the shoes were sexual metaphors, thus underscoring the hunter's gesture.[18] However, because of their placement in front of the woman who virtuously resists him, the shoes should perhaps be understood in more upright terms.

Already in the literature of classical antiquity, shoes, when removed, were said to remind women that they belong in the home. This observation is found in a book that has hitherto received insufficient attention from historians of Dutch art: Plutarch's *Forty-Nine Laws of Marriage (Conjugalia praecepta)* from his *Moralia*.[19] As its title implies, this work is a collection of 'laws' which in essence contain the author's observations and advice about marriage. Plutarch's ideas are expounded with the aid of metaphorical imagery, an approach that was exceptionally appealing to later writers in virtually every country in Europe. Judging from the reprints and the frequency with which it is quoted by Dutch moralists – including Jacob Cats – Plutarch's

book must have been well-known in the Low Countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[20] Owing to its widespread circulation and function, *Forty-Nine Laws of Marriage* must be considered an important source for understanding domestic imagery in Dutch art. In one of his 'laws', Plutarch cites the custom among Egyptian women of not wearing shoes in the home, so that they will learn that they must remain there.[21] The implication is that, rather than venturing out into the world, females must fulfil their roles as overseers in the daily management of the household. This 'law' is quoted in several seventeenth-century treatises on women and marriage in order to justify the consensus that women remain in the home in order to administer the daily tasks of the household.[22]

Plutarch's account of the Egyptian custom might have influenced the visual arts, just as several other of his 'laws' had.[23] In the *pictura* to an emblem from a book by Dirck Coornhert, a virtuous couple is represented, who live soberly and piously, providing succour to the needy (Fig. 21.7).[24] The husband is at the table and he is being served by a woman, presumably his wife. She is barefoot, her shoes suspended from a belt around her waist. The motif of the dangling shoes most likely refers to her virtue and domesticity as a woman who remains in the home. Admittedly, conclusive evidence is lacking concerning whether Plutarch's 'law' was the direct source for this motif. Nevertheless, the very fact that Plutarch's book was known and quoted in family literature of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries confirms that, at that time, shoes were sometimes linked with domesticity. This leads to the question of how to interpret the presence of shoes depicted in the proximity of women in countless Dutch seventeenth-century paintings of domestic themes (Fig. 21.8). The deliberate placement of shoes in the compositions of so many paintings bespeaks their symbolic intention. Unfortunately, in the wake of De Jongh's influential studies, this motif is invariably understood as a sexual metaphor regardless of the context in which it appears. Yet such interpretations are often groundless; because this motif usually appears in a virtuous context, logic dictates that it too must convey like associations. Consequently, shoes in some Dutch paintings probably refer, like the ones in Coornhert's emblem, to domesticity.

Because the woman in the picture by Metsu reaches for a pious book and has been sewing, the shoes lying on the floor in front of her most likely refer to her virtue. Thus she is successfully resisting the advances of the hunter. An interesting parallel to this scene is found in the frontispiece to one of the books from *Pegasides pleyn* by the

23 Recht Ghebruyck ende Misbruyck

Recht ghebruyck der Rijckdommen.

2. Corinth. 9. 6.

Wie spaerlijck saeyt, die sal oock sparighlijck maeyen: ende wie mildelijck saeyt, die sal oock mildelijck maeyen.

De Christen bouwende op zijn Vaders woorden vast,
Leeft sober, gheeft weeldigh, vast dick uyt liefd voor een ghast.
VVant hy weet, dat een Vrou haer kindt eer vergheten zouw,
Dan die trouwe Vader zijn kinderen ghetrouw.

Fig. 21.7 Illustration from D. V. Cornhert, *Recht ghebruyck ende misbruyck van tijdlicke have*, 2nd ed., Amsterdam 1610. Special Collections, University of Amsterdam (O 80–791)

Brussels humanist and *rederijker* Johan Baptist Houwaert (Fig. 21.9).[25] According to Houwaert, its purpose was to teach young people, particularly women, to live honourable and virtuous lives. *Pegasides pleyn* consists of a series of long poems divided into sixteen books that discourse on the stages of a woman's life from adolescence to widowhood. The similarities in scope and purpose to works like Jacob Cats' *Houwelyck* should be immediately apparent, though Houwaert's use of classical history, mythology and allegorical figures, all of which reveal his

Fig. 21.8 Adriaen van Gaesbeeck, *Nähende Mutter mit zwei Knaben an der Wiege* (Mother sewing with two boys by the cradle), c.1645. Oil on canvas, 52 x 41 cm. Photo bpk/Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe/ Annette Fischer/Heike Kohler

background as a prominent Brussels rhetorician, is much more extensive than Cats's.[26]

The allegorical scene in question illustrates the contents of the second book, titled: 'T'cieraet van de deuchdelycke maechden'. A man enters the room holding a chain, his companion following with a large trunk. They approach three women, one of whom immediately reaches for a book located on the table above her sewing basket. The poem that

Fig. 21.9 Johan Baptista Houwaert, *Pegasides pleyn ofte den lust-hof der maechden*, 5th ed., 1623. British Library, London.

accompanies the illustration advises maidens to be virtuous and withstand all suitors who would enslave them.[27] The poem could very well be describing the painting by Metsu and the frontispiece is strikingly similar as well – note the sewing basket and the maiden who reaches for a book in order to resist the suitor's advances. It is unlikely that the print served as an artistic source for Metsu, although this possibility

cannot be excluded. The allegorical trappings of the former are as foreign to Metsu's style as Houwaert's subject matter is to Cats'. The frontispiece is simply cited as an example of the interpretative possibilities for such images at that time, interpretative possibilities that are far too frequently ignored.

The preceding interpretation, then, is not proposed as the 'definitive' one; no doubt it will arouse criticism. Its primary purpose is to demonstrate the complexities involved in interpreting paintings with reference to the problems of sources and pictorial context. If anything, this study once again proves that iconology can never be predicated on a *consensus eruditorum*.

22

Lodging pilgrims in early modern Rome: San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi, an example of 'national' solidarity?

Bart De Groof

Marguerite Yourcenar makes an aged emperor Hadrian muse: 'Rome n'est plus dans Rome'. Hadrian introduced an eternal Rome, so that 'elle ne périrait qu'avec la dernière cité des hommes'.[1] The idea of Rome persisted indeed, even after the fall of the Roman Empire, but its content had changed dramatically. It was the church who adopted the *aeternitas* of Rome and even the *imperium* concept. Rome, now centre of an ecclesiastical empire, would still largely dominate the world of classical antiquity. 'Ex ci vitas diaboli facta civitas Dei'.[2]

As early as the fourth century, Rome had the necessary infrastructure to accommodate those people who came to visit the Eternal City because of its new values: the pilgrims. Newly converted people founded in Rome their national hospitals (infirmaries, hospitia) where their compatriots could find shelter. These so-called *scholae* were mainly established near the basilica of St Peter. We can for instance distinguish a *Schola Saxonum* and a *Schola Francorum* in the ninth century.[3]

The importance of pilgrimages in medieval society is generally known. Devotion and penance as a result of either an ecclesiastical or secular punishment were the most prominent motives for undertaking the voyage to Rome. Next to these there were economic motives, for which it was often hard to distinguish between vagrancy, banditry and pilgrimage.[4]

Rome occupied a special place in this context. The city itself held a wealth of holy places and the nearby catacombs enabled as it were a mass production of relics. In addition, with the exception of the Avignon exile and be it often 'malgré Elle', Rome never ceased to be the capital

of Western Christianity. A great number of administrative and political matters could therefore be handled during a pilgrimage to Rome.

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, when the city flourished as a centre of the Renaissance and humanism, this blend between religious and worldly motives to visit Rome intensified considerably. For the spirit of the Catholic Reformation would make Rome expand into 'une cité physiquement impressionnante et moralement respectable que les pontifes, à partir du milieu du XVIe siècle, s'efforcèrent de présenter'.[5] Rome became a centre of studies and arts; and the splendour of the papal court made it an attractive place to many emigrants. There is in this period a clear increase in the relative importance of the foreign communities; and it would not be exaggerated to talk about Rome at this time as a 'communis patria'. Older hospitia developed into real centres where the members of a given nation could expect to find both material and spiritual assistance. Though the hospitia kept their traditional functions of receiving and accompanying poor, ill and dying pilgrims, they increasingly developed the character of a 'national centre', where all members of a given colony were welcome. One might in this context speak of 'national foundations'. The inhabitants of the seventeen Nederlandish provinces could apply to three such foundations: San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi, Santa Maria in Campo Santo, and Santa Maria dell'Anima.[6]

The functioning of the San Giuliano foundation may be exemplary for other similar centres. The name of this foundation, 'San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi', indicated a restriction of its solidarity in the geographical sense. In Italy, the word *Fiamminghi* was used for any person coming from the Low Countries, even after the political and religious separation of the late sixteenth century.[7] It will become clear though how in San Giuliano the term was narrowed down to 'those of Flanders', i.e. those of the county of Flanders. Other inhabitants of the seventeen Provinces had to get help from the other two above-mentioned centres, which were oriented to members of the Holy Roman Empire. Theoretically, the Netherlands, being in the Burgundian Kreis, were covered by this circumscription,[8] though it may be evident that such definitions could cause considerable anomalies in the seventeenth century.

Legend has it that San Giuliano was founded in 713, but the first historical indications of the hospital date from 1427, when its directors, the *gubernatores*, presented a request to Pope Martin V to establish two altars in the chapel of their centre. They also wished to obtain a cemetery to bury both the poor Flemish and the Flemish high functionaries of the Roman Curia. This request illustrates again the basic functions of

the Flemish foundation: a place where one could receive pilgrims and help the poor; a religious centre for the nation; a churchyard for influential as well as modest Flemish people. In 1444, statutes were written in Flemish for both the hospital and a brotherhood connected with it.[9]

A brotherhood can be seen as a group-organisation with both material (defending professional issues) and spiritual interests which is open to a limited number of members.[10] The main aim of the San Giuliano brotherhood was to collect support for the charitable functions of the hospital. In exchange, the brothers could count on the prayers of the pilgrims for the salvation of their souls.[11] The brotherhood was open to all members of the seventeen Provinces and it accepted both men and women. The members of the brotherhood, and later on the directors or *provisori* of the hospital, were recruited amongst functionaries of the papal court, amongst merchants which the Flemish (Antwerp) diaspora had brought to Rome, amongst artisans looking for better economic opportunities and amongst artists studying Rome's glorious past.

Each year, all Flemish people staying in Rome were invited to elect two masters (directors, *provisori*) who had to rule the hospital for a period of one year. These masters had to come from the county of Flanders, but in practice the seventeenth century saw quite a number of *provisori* from Antwerp, Namur, etc., the more because towards the end of the sixteenth century the distinction between the administrative board of the hospital and the brotherhood, which did accept all Netherlanders, had gradually disappeared.[12]

Originally the statutes prescribed a quasi common responsibility of the entire Flemish nation for the material possessions of the hospital.[13] Later on the influence of the nation was reduced and it was the members of the administrative board, all called *provisori*, who chose from their own ranks a *provisore regente* or *primo provisore* for the period of one year.[14] Other functions were: an *essatore* or paymaster, two *syndici deputati* who each year had to check the books (which according to the statutes had to be written in Flemish, though in practice everything was put in Italian here too), a secretary (mostly of Italian origin), an *ospitaliero* or caretaker, and a chaplain, a Flemish priest charged with the care of the souls.

The foundation had a great number of tasks. Its members had to visit sick compatriots, they asked for mercy for convicted members of the nation, they provided poor Flemish girls with a dowry.[15] Various sources were applied to finance the activities of the foundation. Initially, the major part of its resources came from personal gifts. Membership of the foundation cost a certain amount of money and during various

ceremonies collections were made among the brothers. Several Flemings left legacies or even their entire estate to the church.[16]

These private gifts made up the major part of the donations. One of the main benefactors was the Ypres pharmacist Van Haringhen. In his testament he founded some dowry gifts, limiting them however to poor girls coming from the Flemish-speaking country. It was Van Haringhen who bore the expenses for the embellishment of the church in 1681. Artists such as the Englishman William Kent contributed in 1717 on an almost free basis ('per elemosina') to the material maintenance of the church.[17] Gradually, however, the revenues of legated houses or vineyards became the most important permanent type of income for the foundation. Tenants who did not pay were mercilessly turned into the street or even sent to gaol.[18] Lodging poorer pilgrims was definitely San Giuliano's major activity. After the rather turbulent times of the Dutch Revolt, there was a new revival for the pilgrimages from the Southern Netherlands. This was due to the renewed élan of the Catholic Church. 'Redressement catholique et renouveau des pèlerinages à la ville etemelle furent liés'.[19]

The organisation of the San Giuliano foundation was reasonably efficient. The rules were strict and clear. Poor Flemish pilgrims could stay in San Giuliano for three days. Other Flemings, visiting Rome for some non-religious reasons, could stay for two nights, but care was taken not to accommodate vagabonds. Priority was given to pilgrims coming from the county of Flanders. If any rooms were still free, pilgrims from other parts of the Low Countries could be accepted as well, be it for one night only. Richer people were not accepted at all. Priests could stay for eight days, on the condition that they would say some masses. Men and women were put separately and only people who could prove they were married were allowed to sleep together.[20]

San Giuliano was equipped in a modest but convenient way to accommodate these pilgrims. The *Sacra Visita* of 1693 found six beds and pairs of bed-clothes in the pilgrims' dormitory. There was a separate room in use as a refectory.[21] Various purchases and works in the house show us that the care of the pilgrims was a permanent issue. We find expenses 'per carboni per li pelgherini', 'per la cugitura di para dodeci lenzuola per li pellegrini'.[22] In 1715, water was led from the Fontana di Trevi to the courtyard of the hospital, 'per publico beneficio di tutta la casa'.[23]

The 1444 statutes still foresaw the care of sick compatriots as a major task, but apparently this function was abolished later on.[24]

The majority of the guests were common pilgrims, 'parti de leur paijs, par le grand zele de pietez et amour quil ont eu de visiter en ce

paijs les saints lieux, reliques et monuments'.[25] In most cases the pilgrimage was the consequence of a vow, only rarely did it result from an imposed penance. There is one example of pilgrims coming to Rome (in their own words) 'per impararare la lingua et li costumi'.[26] Rome also was often only one stage in a longer pilgrimage programme. This was for instance the case in 1617 when two Brabantines 'byede nederlanders de welcke binnen deser stadt Roomen gearriveert syn vuer 14 daegen met intencie (midts de gratie godts) voorts te reysen naer het lant van Jerusalem'.[27] Other pilgrims came from Loreto[28] or they left Rome 'pour faire le voiage de St Nicolas de Bari et de Nre Dame de finibus terrae'.[29] Not uncommonly San Giuliano had to give help to someone who 'van den Turck is gevanghen gewest' and who returned home via Rome.[30]

Towards the end of the sixteenth century San Giuliano experienced a period of significant prosperity. A new register of the brotherhood was begun in 1575 and with a view to the 1625 Holy Year someone decided to enter the names of the pilgrims in the register.[31] This register was kept in a more or less systematic way until 1790 and it is the oldest still existing document of this nature in Rome. It shows us that the number of pilgrims in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was very considerable indeed. More than 21,000 names have been registered. We must note here, however, that the registration was not always that accurate. This partially explains the yearly fluctuations in the lists.

In the first year, 1624, a total of 392 pilgrims were entered. This amount decreased rather spectacularly to 298 registrations in 1625, although it was a Holy Year. Numbers diminished further to 152 in 1628 and a minimum of four entries was reached in 1631. For a sound interpretation of these figures, we must of course take into account various external circumstances: threat of war, bad weather conditions, economic crises and epidemic diseases. The main explanation for the heavy fluctuations in the figures must probably be sought in variations in bureaucratic accuracy. The number of registered pilgrims fluctuated in the 1640s around thirty-five, in 1650 it climbed up to 479 and until the 1690s the number was constantly around 300. In the early 1690s a spectacular recession was registered: 301 pilgrims in 1688, but in 1690 only seven were entered. From 1697 onwards a new attempt was apparently made to keep the books more precisely: 344 entries in 1698, up to 699 in 1699 (an absolute maximum), 424 in 1700 (Holy Year), seventy in 1701. The number of pilgrims plummeted in the eighteenth century, fluctuating around fifty annually. Exceptions were the years 1712 and 1713 (185 and 255 registrations respectively) and the Holy Years 1725 (237

registrations) and 1750 (103 registrations).[32] Even though these data should be interpreted with great caution, they are of very high value.

Some of the major differences are easy to explain. Peaks during the Holy Years can be considered as normal: e.g. 190 registrations in 1674, 430 registrations in 1675 and 226 in 1676. Whereas 1655 still mentions 222 pilgrims visiting San Giuliano, the figures drop down to 128 in 1656 and to 28 in 1657. This decline was due to the 1656 plague when the hospital was temporarily closed for fear of contagion.[33] The gap in the register from 1708 to 1710 might be explained by the internal difficulties in the foundation which emerged on the occasion of a *Sacra Visita Apostolica* (lasting from 1705 to 1715).[34]

The most interesting angle from which the register can be studied is the places of origin of the various pilgrims. In 1447 a bull of Pope Nicolas V mentioned the 'hospitium Sancti Juliani de Flandria de Urbe in quo pauperes et peregrini dominiorum et territorium dilecti filii nobilis viri Philippi Burgundiae et Brabantiae ducis gratiose colliguntur'.[35] Such a stipulation might give the impression that all subjects of the duke of Burgundy could be accommodated in San Giuliano as pilgrims or persons in need. The statutes from 1444 however made a distinction between 'pellegrinen . . . die vuyt vlaenderen zyn' and 'andere aerme lieden die vuyt vlaenderen niet en zyn'.[36] 'Vlaenderen' here did not refer as a pars pro toto to the entire Netherlands, but the term was strictly used in its meaning of 'county of Flanders'. This can be demonstrated by the formulation used in 1574 (when the 1444 statutes were being copied) in order to attract as many members as possible to the renewed brotherhood. The appeal for joining the brotherhood was directed to 'alle edel heeren ende onedel vander zelver natie [van vlaenderen] ofte heerlicheden ende goeden hebben int graefschap van vlaenderen Ende dierghelycken aen ander natien in Nederlant . . . om de aerme pellegrinen vander voorseyde natien [van vlaenderen] te helpen'.[37] So whereas the brotherhood was open to all Netherlanders, the lodging of pilgrims in San Giuliano was limited to the actual nation of Flanders, i.e. people coming from the county with the same name. Did this correspond to reality?

In most cases the register includes next to the pilgrim's name also his place of origin.[38] In the seventeenth century the larger part of the pilgrims came from Flanders, Artois, Cambrésis, Tournai and Hainaut. To a lesser extent, pilgrims also came from Namur and the principality of Liège. In addition, other Netherlandish regions as far as Antwerp and Roermond in the north were modestly represented. Let us have a look at the data ordered by diocese: the largest share is for the dioceses of Arras,

St Omer, Bruges, Cambrai, Ghent, Ypres, Tournai and Liège. Mechelen, Antwerp, Namur, Trier, Boulogne and Roermond follow at a considerable distance. Finally, there is the distribution by city which shows us a clear preponderance of people from Arras, Douai, St Omer, Ypres and most prominently from Lille. In spite of the fact that Brabanters and people from Liège had to apply to Santa Maria dell'Anima, they were occasionally accommodated in San Giuliano.[39]

This client profile did not change during the seventeenth century. The county of Flanders, however, suffered in the same period from a considerable loss of territory in the south (Peace of the Pyrénées 1659, Peace of Aachen 1668, Peace of Rijswijk 1679 and Peace of Nijmegen 1696). This, however, seemed to have only a minimal effect on the activities of the San Giuliano foundation. Flemish solidarity did not seem to be affected by the territorial split of the area and the transfer of a major part of the nation to another sovereign. This would change, though. Due, among other reasons, to internal differences of opinion, the non-Flemish *provisori* (i.e. those not originating from the county) were kept off the administrative board of the hospital in 1693. The active power of decision was from now on in exclusively Flemish hands. This was no more than a strict application and interpretation of the written regulations, but at the same time it was an indication that naturally evolved situations were no longer considered as self-evident.[40] For the time being this decision did not affect the accommodation of the pilgrims. Another element however would soon change this.

Though the national centres were generally founded in a spirit of *Universitas Christianorum*, they had always played the role of official representation of their princes at the Roman court. In other words, these foundations, in addition to their religious, cultural and social role, also played a political part, in spite of the private character of brotherhoods and administrative boards. The portraits of the counts of Flanders and the kings of Spain hung in the meeting rooms of San Giuliano. On the occasion of various festivities the coats of arms of the King and (under Albrecht and Isabella) of the ambassador of the Low Countries (*l'Imbassator di Fiandra*) were put above the church entrance gate.[41] Dynastic events in Spain and the Netherlands were followed very closely. The accounts in 1680 mention for instance the costs incurred for the celebration of the marriage of Charles II of Spain with Maria Ludovica di Bourbon. On this occasion the priests of San Lorenzo i Damaso were asked to celebrate the *Te Deum*.[42]

In the eighteenth century interferences by the dynasties with the foundations in Rome increased considerably. This evolution is

transparent in Santa Maria dell'Anima, where the emperor acted as patron of the foundation, in spite of a papal bull by Innocent III who in 1406 had exempted the church from every jurisdiction except the apostolic one.[43] This explains why 'German' feasts such as the liberation of Vienna from the Turkish threat were commemorated in Santa Maria.[44] One can easily imagine the delicate position of, for instance, the Brabantish members of the Santa Maria dell'Anima foundation, who at the end of the seventeenth century had to combine their being subjects of the Spanish crown (their territorial sovereigns) with the worldly patronage of the church by the Austrian Habsburg dynasty.[45]

The death of Charles II and the outbreak of the war of the Spanish succession forced the Emperor to assert his prerogatives in Rome even more strongly. By means of a new 'patronage letter' of 18 October 1699 Leopold I declared that the Santa Maria dell'Anima would be placed under his personal protection. In concrete terms, this meant that the Santa Maria dell'Anima no longer functioned as a German national church but that it became an organ of the Habsburg dynasty. The unifying element was no longer *Deutschtum*, but the imperial Habsburg dynasty. As such the Netherlands, not belonging to the Austrian hereditary countries, were excluded from the daily functioning of the Anima. It was only in 1713 that due to the quirks of the political game they were restored in their rights.[46] The 'Austrian court chapel in Rome' no longer corresponded in any way to the former definitions of the 'German nation'.

San Giuliano experienced a similar evolution. Under the Austrian government there was a steady growth of the influence of the imperial dynasty on the foundation. Just as in 1742 for Santa Maria dell'Anima the imperial protectorate was replaced by a hereditary protectorate of the Austrian dynasty, in 1743 San Giuliano was placed under the personal protection of Maria Theresia and from that moment onwards it was called the *Regia Chiesa*. These direct and straightforward interventions enabled the Habsburg dynasty to rule the foundation the way they wanted. This evolution was brought to an end when in 1755 new statutes were imposed on the foundation by Maria Theresia as 'Imperatrice Regina contessa di Fiandra'.[47]

Soon it became clear that the new Austrian protectors of San Giuliano had no intention of considering out of date notions about the Flemish nation and national solidarity. Moreover, the Austrian-French antagonism of the wars of succession had left its marks: for the first time the territorial losses to Louis XIV were taken into account. This had its impact on the working of the foundation, especially as far as the

lodging of the pilgrims was concerned. The reasoning was straightforward: solidarity was limited to those pilgrims who were inhabitants of the county of Flanders, or at least that part of the county dominated by the Austrians. Pilgrims from French Flanders, Artois and other French-speaking regions became the main victims of this regulation. On 7 April 1715 the board of administration decided 'che in avvenire i pellegrini Fiamenghi che non si ricevono altro che quelli li quali sono soggetti della Maestà di Francia nell' istesso modo che si prattica dalla Regia chiesa di San Luigi de Francesi dalla quale non si ricevono altri pellegrini Fiamenghi che quelli li quali sono sudditi della Francia'.[48] This put an end to the former solidarity and cohesion and it was modern nationality which, in terms of dependence on a dynasty, became the distinguishing element. It must however be noted that this structural evolution was to some extent influenced by internal and very personal rivalries, whereas the nationality problem merely served as a pretext.

From 1715 to 1718 the number of French-Flemish pilgrims was reduced to nearly zero, but afterwards their relative importance grew again. This evolution must be put down to the understandable reflex of the administrators to stick to their older habits because in their eyes the changes were merely of a theoretical nature. Under the influence of a number of 'provisori', the 1715 decision was even temporarily withdrawn,[49] but in 1718 things were restored for good: 'perché li pellegrini li quali sono sotto la giurisditione di Francia hanno altro recivimento nellachiesa di San Luigi de francesi, sudditi di Sua Maestà Christianissima'.[50] And yet the necessity of repeatedly affirming the decree proves the persistence of old customs.

In 1714 the minutes of the board meetings spoke of pilgrims coming 'della Provincia della Fiandra Impériale', Flanders under the Emperor.[51] This new and uncommon terminology clearly referred to the political division of the old Flemish territories. De facto the division coincided with the linguistic frontier. This constituted an identification of *Fiandra Impériale* with *Fiandra Fiammingante*, i.e. Dutch-speaking Flanders. The linguistic element had hardly provoked any controversies so far, but in this period it was increasingly used to restrict the rights of non-Flemings in other domains as well.[52]

The new situation was corroborated in a new statute imposed by Vienna in 1755. Although the Empress had thought of allowing all Southern Netherlandish pilgrims to use San Giuliano ('Indistinctement les sujets de toutes les Provinces de sa domination aux Païs-Bas'), she was finally persuaded by the argument that 'Il est assuré, qu'à l'exception des seuls sujets de la province de Flandre, ceux des autres provinces

Autrichiennes aux Païs-Bas sont réellement admis à Rome dans l'hôpital des Allemands de l'Anima'.[53] And so the article on the 'pelegrini da riceversi nelfospizio' ran as follows: 'tutti li pelegrini e chierici, che sono sudditi dell' Augustissima casa d'Austria come conte di Fiandra sono . . . ricevuti a dormire nelfospizio'.[54]

In this way the circle was closed. Medieval clauses had restricted lodging facilities in San Giuliano to people from the Flemish county. Later on, as the Netherlands were united in a more or less coherent political entity, restrictions almost completely gave way to a self-evident solidarity. Reversing this solidarity in the eighteenth century was not so much the emanation of the loss of the 'common origin' notion, it rather resulted from external factors. A financial crisis was partially solved by the restriction of the solidarity, but the principle of nationality served here as an excuse rather than forming the substantial problem. The crucial point was that a modern and rational state did not intend to take into consideration old sensitivities and uncodified situations.

23
Edward Richardson and the learning of English at the time of (Prince) William and Mary

Piet Loonen

Throughout the seventeenth century (and before) English was never an important language in the Low Countries, nor on the Continent as a whole for that matter. It was generally looked upon as useless and even ugly. As early as 1578 John Florio complained: 'English is a language that will do you good in England, but past Dover it is worth nothing.'[1] In 1586, when the earl of Leicester passed through Leyden, two local dignitaries had never seen an Englishman or English book before, but they felt the need to learn the unfamiliar language to be ready for the new times – which did not come, as we know, at least not under English rule. Later, in 1634, when Sir William Brereton was travelling in the Dutch Republic from The Hague to Loosduinen (where a woman was reported to have had 365 children), he overheard a small boy saying: 'The dogs bark, the cocks crow, cows bleat like English ones, and the men can speak no English'.[2] At the turn of the century the writer John Dennis is reported to have said that it was quite possible to travel through 'their islands' without meeting three persons with a moderate command of the English language.[3] And Willem Sewel, a Dutch Quaker with an English father, felt called upon to praise the richness and power of expression of the English language to a nation that had a low opinion of it.[4] Edward Richardson too, whose grammar is the topic of this short chapter, seems to give more credit to Dutch than to other languages including English when he writes (in 1677): 'and, if any heed may be given to some Prophetical rimes which I have seen of a 100. years standing, this Belgick is likely to be yet far more esteemed of, and useful than its Neighbour-Languages'.[5]

Although it would not be hard to find quotations expressing the opposite sentiment of admiration and liking for the English language – one ardent student professes himself to be 'entangled with love'[6] – the general command of English was poor and insignificant in comparison with, for example, French. This seems to conflict, however, with the widespread exposure to English in many fields of life during the greater part of the seventeenth century in the Dutch Republic. There were, and always had been, trade relations, which intensified during the Golden Age in friendship and rivalry. Politically too, the mutual interests had been considerable, from Leicester in the 1580s until Sir William Temple and after, which made E. C. Llewellyn observe, in his study *The Influence of Low Dutch on the English Vocabulary*, that 'of the last half of the [17th] century it would be true to say that there was hardly a leading man from Charles II downward, who had not had some experience of Dutch conditions'.[7] The majority of these leading men knew Dutch and similarly their opposite numbers in the Republic spoke English. Then there were the Houses of Orange and Stuart, which were related to one another by two marriages (1641: William, son of Frederick Henry, later William II, and Mary, daughter of Charles I; 1677: William III of Orange and Mary, daughter of James II). On the shop floor, so to speak, there were numerous English and Scottish regiments and garrisons roaming the country and often taking up residence for longer periods of time or even permanently. Lastly, and perhaps most relevant to our subject, the numerous English Protestant refugees pouring into the Dutch Republic in their tens of thousands guaranteed a continuing input of English for the average inhabitant of the Low Countries.

Any Dutchman interested in that strange and useless language could easily find a native speaker to help him, particularly in the western provinces of Holland and Zeeland, where most of the contacts took place. Private arrangements of this kind constituted the principal means for English-language learning until at least 1800. But from around 1640 onwards the English Protestants residing in the Republic began to set up schools for their children, and they began to feel a need to learn Dutch. Consequently, English and Dutch were taught and learned, and materials came to be developed to assist the learning process. The first few initiatives in this language learning process came from native speakers of English, and although Dutch materials and conditions were also instrumental, we shall ignore them here for the sake of brevity and turn to the example of one such native speaker whose contribution stands out in a number of ways.

Like so many other English refugees Edward Richardson (1617–77?) was a Presbyterian who left his country in search of religious tolerance and freedom. He had studied at Emmanuel College Cambridge and came to Delft in 1643 to be minister at the English church there. Two years later, when the political situation in England was beginning to change for the better, he returned to his native country, to be minister at the Collegiate Church of Ripon. He remained there until the end of the Commonwealth period, in peace it seems, but not for long after that: as a confirmed Puritan he was ejected in 1660, together with hundreds of others, under the first of the two Acts of Uniformity, which he refused to conform to. He translated his religious frustration into medical studies and also into political action by setting up the Yorkshire Plot of 1663 in an attempt to overthrow the new order. The attempt was a failure and he barely saved his skin by escaping to Rotterdam. From then until the end of his life he remained in the Dutch Republic, leading a restless and politically active life as a minister of the Presbyterian Church and as an activist for what he called the right cause. He was closely watched by English government agents at The Hague, who tried 'to get him back to England and obtain reversal of outlawry by turning King's evidence 1663'.[8] The same agents complained of 'our English Phanaticks in Amsterdam amongst whome some ought to be made examples of, which if once done would forwarne the rest'.[9] Richardson must have been one of them, but it was in Amsterdam, hotbed of licentiousness for orthodox Englishmen, that he turned to a most peaceful activity: the composition of a textbook for English and Dutch, at the request of the 'phanatick' bookseller Steven Swart.

This happened towards the end of his life, when he was in his late fifties; he had had no teaching experience that we know of, nor had he been previously engaged in any linguistic work. As a minister and medical doctor his interests would have been in different fields, and as a political activist his time was probably taken up by keeping tabs on recent developments. He may have been dispirited by the events of 1672, when all the major powers in Europe turned against the Republic and his hopes for a safe return to his home country were dashed, or he may have badly wanted some extra cash. At any rate, he accepted the challenge and wrote an unusual textbook, which was to have a more profound influence on teachers and linguists than any of his other publications (mostly religious ones). This influence extended not only to colleagues in the Dutch Republic but also to the German textbook writer Heinrich Offelen in his *Zweifache gründliche Sprachlehre* of 1687.

Why was Richardson's book so unusual? To answer this question I shall analyse its contents and set them against those of three other textbooks of a similar nature published in the Dutch Republic between 1646 and 1705. Between them these four books make up the canon of material in the initial stages of a long English language learning tradition in the Dutch Republic. The titles of these four books are: *The English Schole-Master* by an unknown Englishman (1646); *The English, and Low Dutch Instructer* by François Hillenius (1664); *Anglo-Belgica* by Edward Richardson (1677); and *A Compendious Guide to the English Language* by Willem Sewel (1705). As a preliminary remark it should be noted that the unusual quality was not only in the book itself but equally in its author: the average writer of English learning materials was an obscure private teacher, working in the background, apolitical, with few ambitions and without contacts in the world of learning. Edward Richardson, a medical doctor from Leyden – and often also referred to as DD (Doctor of Divinity), for which we have no confirmation – possessed few of these qualities, for which reason he may be said to stand out from his colleagues.

The first unusual quality is the Latin title *Anglo-Belgica* with the feminine ending to match the word 'academy' or *academia* further on in the title, unusual because it suggests scholarship and academic pretensions, unusual too because of the word *Belgic* as a denomination for 'Low Dutch' (although not impossible). The other three textbooks were written by practising teachers or at least by writers with a practical mind. Richardson set his sights considerably higher. He drew on the works by 'the Learned Professor Vossius', by 'the renowned Doctor Wallis a Theologue and Professor in Oxford' and by his successor at Ripon 'the famous Doctor Wilkins' (quotations from the preface). These were no mean names: they may be said to belong to some of the leading linguists of his days. Gerard Vossius' *Latina Grammatica* of 1626 was widely used in the Dutch Republic and not unknown in England;[10] and although Richardson could not crib from it literally, the book proved to be a source of some useful information. John Wallis' *Grammatica Linguae Anglicanae* of 1653 was clearly at his elbow when he wrote his English grammar – there are literal quotations from it in the *Anglo-Belgica*. The choice of this book was not an unreasonable one.

Wallis himself writes in his introduction 'I have undertaken to write a grammar of this language [i.e. English] because there is clearly a great demand for it from foreigners, who want to be able to understand the various important works which are written in our tongue'.[11] Why should Richardson not base his textbook partly on a work with similar

objectives? The idea of a universal character as put forward by John Wilkins in his *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* of 1668, although acknowledged by Richardson as unsuccessful – 'having proved abortive' (preface) – retained its attractions for him all the same and crops up in sundry places, for example in section 1 of the first part of the grammar in his discussion of the letters of the alphabet in a number of languages.

All these were Latin sources and throughout the *Anglo-Belgica* Richardson assumes a thorough familiarity with that language, so much so that his section on syntax is kept brief 'Because Most of the Rules hereof are known by the Latin Grammar, and that the same manner of Expression frequently prevails among the English as is usual with the Netherdutch. It is superfluous and wholy needless to run over the Method of the rules of Syntax'.[12] It must be admitted that the syntax was always short or virtually absent in textbooks of this kind (at least in the Low Countries) but never with such explicit reference to Latin: the argument for a brief section on syntax usually rested on the belief that its rules were best learned through a familiarity with idioms and texts – hence the dialogues.

This flirtation with Latin sources of a scholarly nature was rare among textbook writers of language learning material, even at the time: usually they based themselves upon, and copied lavishly from, practical schoolbooks written in the two target languages, not on monolingual Latin sources. Richardson did both: as a result *Anglo-Belgica* comes out as a curious and at times unbalanced mixture of scholarly Latinised elements and practical English–Dutch contrastive material. This is all the more curious in view of Wallis' criticism of some of his predecessors who

> forced English too rigidly into the mould of Latin (a mistake which nearly everyone makes in descriptions of other modern languages too), giving many useless rules about cases, genders and declensions of nouns and verbs, and other things of that kind, which have no bearing on our language, and which confuse and obscure matters instead of elucidating them.[13]

A second notable feature of the *Anglo-Belgica* is the length of its grammatical section. It takes up 349 pages, divided almost equally between the Dutch and the English grammar. This was a longer focus on English grammar than anything published in the seventeenth century: the *English Schole-Master* has only thirty-six pages of grammar,

Hillenius' *Low Dutch Instructer* spends some fifty-eight pages on both Dutch and English grammar, and the grammar section in Sewel's *Compendious Guide* is 107 pages long. As a result, the amount of detail given by Richardson is much more conspicuous than in the other textbooks and deserves more careful study than has been devoted to it so far. Some of this detail is to be found in the first section on spelling and pronunciation (seventy-two pages in all), where amongst other things he points to dialectical, i.e. Northern, features of spelling and vocabulary (pp. 220–1), in his interest in etymology both in the sense of 'parts of speech' (the common one at the time) and of 'origin of words' (as advocated in Wallis' grammar) (pp. 245ff.), and in some of the shorter sections at the end dealing with odds and ends like adverbs, interjections, syllable structure, stylistic features, abbreviations and punctuation – although much of this was copied from Hillenius (pp. 318–31).

A third unusual element is the idea of an *academy* incorporated in the second part of this textbook. Richardson himself explains in the preface:

> That we have presumed to entitle this book an Academy, may receive a favourable Interpretation, when the variety of its matter, relating to severall sorts of things worthy to be known in Morality, Laws, Medicin & Merchandise, shall be considered, together with the demonstration of the Harmony of these Languages with others, as Greek, Latin and French; especially when Books Stuffed with complements and toys assume the same Title.

More than a third of the 162 pages in this part II is taken up by these subjects of a rather specialised nature: *morality* is represented by some sayings out of the *Enchiridion* of Epictetus the philosopher and by other moral proverbs and sayings; *the laws* receive extensive coverage in two dialogues – one on 'commutative Iustice' and one 'Concerning the Laws', i.e. about the English legal system – and a peculiar section of extracts 'out of the Registry of the Arbitrary Laws of the City of Amsterdam'; two pages only are devoted to *medicine* (disappointingly few for a medical doctor!); and *merchandise* is dealt with, as in all the Dutch textbooks for English, in several dialogues, letters, bills of exchange etc., including a section detailing weights and measures for products like beer, wine, grain, iron and lead, fish, paper and parchment, and wool. Finally, a single page is spent on the style of the year, which in his days was still fixed according to the Julian calendar (the changeover to the Gregorian

calendar did not take place until 1752, long after Wallis had advised against it in 1692).

These sections give an element of richness and variety to the *Anglo-Belgica*, absent from the other three language learning manuals. On the other hand, the selection seems idiosyncratic and fairly unbalanced. And it should also be remembered that part II in these manuals – always immediately following the grammar sections – were meant as practice material to be read through and usually committed to memory; three times at least we are told by Richardson that this was also the case here: 'useful for general Instruction, and for the practising of the former Rules' (part II, p. 2), 'usefull for learning both the Languages' (part II, p. 23), 'whereby both the Languages may become more familiar' (part II, p. 40). It does not perhaps seem such a good thing to combine the idea of an academy – associated as it is with a scholarly interest in a wide range of topics – with the body of practice material for beginning learners, although generally the information content of many of the dialogues is high and of the utmost interest to scholars today. Possibly, Richardson was aiming at educated learners at university level much like Wallis (who wrote in Latin anyway); if he was, he aimed at the wrong market, for there were very few of those in the Dutch Republic of his days, when foreign language studies at academic level did not receive any serious attention. Not surprisingly, the second edition of the *Anglo-Belgica*, which appeared in 1689, was amended on this point: almost all the academy elements were removed and more than a hundred pages of traditional dialogues added, bringing the total number of pages in part II from 162 up to 263. The word 'academy' was retained, but without good purpose. However, this amended part II and the original part III were accepted by Sewel without changes into his influential *Compendious Guide to the English Language*, which was reprinted throughout most of the eighteenth century. Typically enough, in some copies of this second edition the English grammar precedes the Dutch:[14] this reversed order points to the growing importance of English language learning by speakers of Dutch and the diminishing need for Dutch among native speakers of English, whose numbers decreased rapidly at the end of the seventeenth century.

The three points discussed so far, which made Richardson's manual an unusual book, should not detract us from the many characteristics which made it a textbook in line with the tradition of its time. Although English language learning in the Low Countries did not amount to very much in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, some (multilingual)

materials had been developed even before 1600 and after it the amount had increased substantially. Before Richardson some fifteen works had been published, many of them in the thirty years preceding the *Anglo-Belgica*. It is not difficult to prove that the writers of these works were familiar with the products of their colleagues: there was no copyright law to prevent them from borrowing or even cannibalising existing texts, and so a tremendous amount of copying took place. In this way a tradition of what a complete textbook should look like was created, to which Richardson belonged. In the limited scope of this chapter it will not be possible to outline this tradition sufficiently. Let me briefly summarise some of its main points and leave the detailed discussion for another time. The division into three parts was a common one, part I being the grammar, part II the practice material (mainly dialogues) and part III a word list or *Vocabulary*. The grammar came, also traditionally, in four parts: spelling and pronunciation, etymology or the parts of speech, syntax and prosody. Richardson deviated partly from this pattern, as we have seen, but he made no essential changes. Much of his book was copied from other sources, often not acknowledged, as was the custom, so here too Richardson's case is no exception. Lastly, like many of his fellow writers, he did not hesitate to look to guarantee almost instant success: 'whereby men may, with a little pains, speedily attain to the complete knowledge of both the Languages' (title-page). This of course should be taken as a matter of publicity, as should be his angry comments about 'gross faults' in some other little books of this sort, 'in some of which I can compute about three thousand, in others more' (preface). These were usually spelling errors, and spelling, as we know, was no fixed matter in those days.

In conclusion, some of the characteristics of Edward Richardson's *Anglo-Belgica* make it an unusual book in the context of the early English language learning tradition in the Dutch Republic: its reliance on Latin sources, the academy elements in it, and the length of its grammar section. In other respects the manual is very much a product of its time: it had three parts, the grammar came in four sections, much of it was sheer copy work, and the author promised instant success (with the kind of optimism that we tend to associate nowadays with cheap language guides for holidaymakers: 'little pains', 'speedily', 'compleat knowledge'). On balance it is remarkable that someone with so little linguistic experience (as far as we know) could come up with such an ambitious piece of work, when he was in his late fifties and so much involved in political intrigues. Whatever the qualities of it, his efforts

were not in vain: his name and much of his practical material lived on into the eighteenth century and will in some way no doubt have contributed to the dissemination of English among speakers of Low Dutch. ''t Is not the lest advantage of my own that I hereby expect; but onely the Learners profit, whose diligence herein is required, with the Divine blessing, which I in all [t]hings humbly implore who am A Lover of Mankind, and of the publick good Edw. Richardson' (end of preface).

Notes

Preface to the new edition

1. First published in the occasional book series *Crossways* that accompanies *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies*, as Theo Hermans and Reinier Salverda (eds), *From Revolt to Riches: Culture and History of the Low Countries*, vol. 2 (London: Centre for Low Countries Studies, 1993).

Chapter 1

1. I would like to thank Paul Vincent of the Department of Dutch at UCL who took care of the linguistic correction of my English text.
2. On Agricola see F. Akkerman and A. J. Vanderjagt, *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius (1444–1485): Proceedings of the International Conference at the University of Groningen 28–30 October 1985* (Leiden: Brill, 1988).
3. T. Klaniezay, 'Lovanio, Roma, Padova, Ungheria: gli studi dell'umanista fiammingo Nicasio Ellebodio', in *Roma e l'Italia ne contesto della storia delle Università ungheresi*, Studi e fonti per la storia dell'Università di Roma, 5 (Rome: Università di Roma, 1985), 97–113.
4. I. Forro, 'Carmina gratulatorium studiosorum Hungarorum in Universitate Franequerana (1623–1794), Hollandia', in J. Cl. Margolin (ed.), *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini turonensis* (Paris, 1980), II, 1197–1205 (p. 1197).
5. See in general J. IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies* (Amsterdam: North-Holland Publishing Co., 1977; 2nd entirely rewritten edn, part I, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 1990).
6. From 1973 onwards parts of the archives of a *Cohors Batavorum* and a *Cohors Tungrorum* have been found at Vindolanda. See A. K. Bowman and J. D. Thomas, *Vindolanda: The Latin Writing Tablets* (vol. I, London: Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies, 1983; vol. II, London: British Museum Press, 1994; continued online at: www.vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk).
7. *Epistulae* 4.17.2: 'Sermonis pompa Romani . . . Belgicis olim sive Rhenanis abolita terris'.
8. Radbod's collected poems are published in the *Poetae Larini Aevi Carolini.* IV/1, ed. P. de Winterfeld (Hanover: Monumenta Germaniae Historica, 1899), 160–73.
9. F. J. E. Raby, *History of Secular Latin Literature in the Middle Ages*, I (Oxford: OUP, 1957, 2nd edn), 251.
10. See F. J. E. Raby, *A History of Christian-Latin Poetry from the Beginnings to the Close of the Middle Ages* (Oxford: OUP, 1953, 2nd edn), 440–1.
11. The critical edn of E. Voigt., *Ysengrimus. Herausgegeben und erklärt* (Halle a. S.: Waisenhaus, 1884) remains the fundament of every *Ysengrimus* study.
12. See Milivoj Solar, *Povijest sjvetske knjizevnosti* (= History of World Literature) (8 vols.; Zagreb: Golden Marketing/Tehnička knjiga, 1977), II, 382.
13. *Secular Latin Poetry,* II, 151.
14. Ibid., II, 82–3.
15. *Annales*, vv. 519–20 (ed. J. Vahlen, *Ennianae poesis reliqiae*; Leipzig: Teubner, 1928, 2nd edn).
16. General information on humanist literature in the Low Countries is provided by J. IJsewijn, 'Humanism in the Low Countries', in A. Rabil Jr. (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1988), II, 156–215.

17. On Secundus see A. M. M. Dekker, *Janus Secundus (1511–1536)* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1986).
18. Love poets who sing of their own wives, such as the Italian Pontanus and the Frenchman Salmonius Macrinus, are very rare indeed.
19. See Luciana Roberti, *Catalogo de los documentos latinos del Fondo Franciscano del Archivo del Museo Nacional de Antropologiade la Ciudad de Mexico* (Mexico: Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México, 1985), n. 401. The Catalan critic Matthaeus Aimerich (1715–99) mentions Hosschius as one of the greater Neo-Latin poets in his curious work *Q. Moderati Censorini De vita et morte Latinae Linguae Paradoxa philologica* (Ferrara, 1780), 26; the Swiss Neo-Latin poet Petrus Esseiva (Freiburg, 1823–99) sometimes put verses of Sidronius as a motto above his own poems, which are collected in the volume *Carmina Latina* (Freiburg, 1894).
20. Excellent modern edn by J. H. Waszink, *D. Erasmi Opera Onmia,* I/1 (Amsterdam, 1969), 193–359.
21. See the *Acolastus* edn of J. Bolte (Berlin: Speyer & Peters, 1891) and the notes in *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 34B (1985), 168 *sub* 8 and 36 (1987), 321 *sub nomine*.
22. H. van de Venne, ‘Cornelius Schonaeus 1541–1611: A Bibliography of his Printed Works’, *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 32 (1983), 367–433; 33 (1984), 206–314; 34b (1985), 1–113; 35 (1988), 219–83.
23. Modern edn together with an old German translation in F. Rädle, *Lateinische Ordensdramen des XVI. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin/New York: De Gruyter, 1979), 1–293.
24. *Comoediae ac Tragoediae . . . ex Novo et Vetere Testamento desumptae*.
25. An excellent survey of these edns is provided by L. Bakelants and R. Hoven, *Bibliographie de Nicolas Clénard, 1529–1700* (2 vols.; Verviers: Gason, 1981).
26. See Guillaume de Moerbeke, *Recueil d'études à l'occasion du 700 anniversaire de sa mort* (1286), ed. I. Brams and W. Vanhamel. Ancient and Medieval Philosophy, 1/7 (Louvain: De Wulf-Mansion Centre, 1989).
27. Georgius Haloinus, *De restauratione linguae Latinae libri III*, ed. C. Matheeussen (Leipzig: Teubner, 1978). See e.g. the passage I 9.14 and 15.4.
28. See the edn of A. Van den Wijngaert, ‘Itinerarium Willelmi de Rubruc’, *Sínica Franciscana* 1 (Florence: Ad Claras Aquas, 1929), (III), 145–332.
29. We badly need a critical edn of the four letters. I used the *Itinera Constantinopolitanum et Amasianum* (Antwerp: Plantin, 1581) and, for the last letters, the edns of Paris 1559 and Hanau 1605. See also Zweder R. W. M. von Martel, *Augerius Gislenius Busbequius: leven en werk van de keizerlijke gezant aan het hof van Süleyman de Grote, een biografische, literaire en historische studie met editie van onuitgegeven teksten* (Groningen: Universiteitsdrukkerij, 1989).
30. Ch. I 11 (edn cit., p. 170).
31. Epistola IV (ed. Paris, p. 137; ed. Hanau, p. 245): ‘Iussus ita numerabat: “Ita, tua, tria, fyder, fynf, seis, sevene”, prorsus ut nos Flandri. Nam vos, Brabanti, qui vos Germanice loqui facitis, hic magnifiée vos efferre et nos soloetis habere derisui, ac si islam vocem pronunciemus rancidius, quam vos “seven” effertis.’
32. Ch. XXI 6.
33. p. 97 of the Plantin edn.
34. Ch. XXXIV 7: ‘Si habuissem potestatem faciendi signa sicut Moysus, forte humiliasset se.’
35. In the epilogue par. 1 (edn cit., p. 330).
36. Plantin edn, p. 83.
37. At 38.23: ‘Pontem dedignatur Araxes’ (*Aen.* 8.728).
38. Plantin edn, p. 86: ‘Qui quidem fluvius qua in parte terrarum sit non dicunt, nisi si fortassis in Utopia collocari debet.’

Chapter 2

1. Marliani's letter was edited by B. Vulcanius, *Batavia sive de antiquo veroque eius insulae quam Rhenus in Hollandia facit situ, descriptione et laudibus, adversus Gerardum Noviomagum* (Antwerp, 1586), 7–17; and by P. Scriverius, *Batavia illustrata seu de Batavorum insula, Hollandia, Zelandia, Frisia, territorio Traiectensi et Gelria, scriptores varii notae melioris nunc primum collecti simulque editi* (Lugdunum Batavorum, 1609), 121–4, quotation p. 122:

'Ego enim eam Insulam satis admirari non possum, sive rerum novitate, sive pulchritudine, sive omnium rerum felicitate. Quid enim novum magis, quam videre Oceanum cum terris luctantem? Terrasque solo paleae intextae et nodatae scuto contra Oceanum tutas et victrices? Quid ventos, dum rotas agunt flatu suo cum aqis quotidie pugnantes, et quo velint aquas derivantes? Quid denique admirabilius videri potest, quam uno gelu totam concretam hyeme insulam cernere? Ultroque citroque huc illuc virorum, feminarum, puerorum examina ferreis nescio quibusdam pedibus tam rapide ferri, ut multos Icaros volantes putes et Daedalos?'

2. The *Epistola de situ Holandiae* of Chrysostomus appeared for the first time in Marinus Dorpius, *Dialogus in quo Venus et Cupido omnes adhibenl versutias* (Louvain, 1514), fos. F4–G3. Edited by Scriverius, *Batavia*, 129–35, quotation p. 132: 'Est ibi urbecula quaedam aprirne concinna, cui nomen est Roterodamo, in eam et proficiscens et rediens, duabus noctibus sum diversatus. Cumque miro quodam studio diligentius illam quam ceteras pertractarem, nescio quo pacto factum est, ut illius intuitu vix mihi oculi possent expleri. Cognoscebam sane illam, et magnitudine et opibus multis aliis cedere, occultioribus tamen nescio quibus causis et mihi placebat impensuis. Moenia, portae, strata viarum arridebant mihi. Parietes ipsi, tecta, aedificia omnia ultro mihi videbantur adulari, denique coelum illud nitere purius, et aura spirare nescio quid divinius. Vernare propinquus ager, tepere circumfusus aer, herbaeque ipsae ac salicta, quibus Olandinus ager maxime consitus est, olere nescio quid amabilius videbantur. Dum id stupeo mecum, et causam eius rei tacitus quaero atque vestigio, tandem cuiuspiam relatu cognovi ea in urbe auras primi hausisse luminis primum illud Latine atque Attiene linguae lumen Erasmus . . . Vah! quanto repente perusus sum gaudio, . . . cui fortunatum illud solum intueri contigerit . . . Veneratus igitur loci genium, urbis moenia ter et quater exosculor . . . '
3. C. P. H. M. Tilmans, 'Cornelius Aurelius, praeceptor Erasmi?' in F. Akkerman and A. J. Vanderjagt (eds), *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444–1485* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 200–10.
4. Karin Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiekroniek van 1517. Historiografie en humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1988), 27–33.
5. P. Joachimsen, 'Tacitus im deutschen Humanismus', in P. Joachimsen, *Gesammelte Aufsätze* (Aalen: Scientia, 1970), 697–717. K. C. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).
6. E. I. Etter, *Tacitus in der Geistesgeschichte des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Basel and Stuttgart: Helbing & Lichtenhahn, 1966), 115–40.
7. For an extensive discussion of this Batavian polemic see: Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiekroniek*, 121–63.
8. W. Zuidema, *Wilhelmus Frederici, persona van Sint Maarten te Groningen (1489–1525) en de Groninger staatkunde van zijn tijd* (Groningen: Wolters, 1888), 139–52.
9. Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiekroniek*, 131ff.
10. Cornelius Aurelius, *Cronycke van Holland Zeeland ende Vrieslant* (Leiden, 1517), fo. 13r.
11. Schellhase, *Tacitus in Renaissance Political Thought.*
12. Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, VII (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1972), 615 and 617.
13. Erasmus von Rotterdam, *Ausgewählte Schriften*, VII, 617.

Chapter 3

1. No copies of the first Flemish edition are extant, but Josef Raith assumes – on the basis of the English version of 1518 – that it appeared in 1517. Raith also concludes that there were probably no significant differences, either in form or in content, between the original edition and that of 1531 (Ghent University Library: van der Haegen I 10; Nijhoff-Kronenberg 1086) which will be quoted here in the edition by J. Raith, *Die Historie von den vier Kaufleuten (Frederyke of Jenuen); Die Geschichte der vertauschten Wiege (The Mylner of Abyngton)* (Leipzig: Noske, 1936) (= Vol. 4 in the series *Aus Schriftum und Sprache der Angelsachsen*, ed. R. Hittmair and R. Spindler).
2. For bibliographical information on the one English, two High German and three Low German versions see Raith, *Die Historie*. He also provides a summary of Gaston Paris' extensive account of the wager motif from Boccaccio to Shakespeare.

3. Herman Pleij, ‘De laatmiddeleeuwse rederijkersliteratuur als vroeghumanistische overtuigingskunst’, *Jaarboek De Fonteine* 34 (1984), 65–95.
4. ‘van heer Frederick van Jenuen in Lombaerdien een warachtige historic corteling gesciet, die een vrouwe was ende eens coopmans wijf en moeste doken achter lant en wert een groot heere bi den coninc van Alkaren dien si diende XIII iaren lanc als een man’ (27).
5. See especially W. M. H. van Hummelen, *Versdialogen in Prozaromans*. *Inaugural Lecture* (Nijmegen: Brakkenstein, 1971), for the dramatic action implied in many verse passages.
6. Luc Debaene, *De Nederlandse Volksboeken* (Antwerp: De Vlijt, 1951).
7. G. J. Boekenoogen, ‘De Nederlandsche volksboeken’, in A. A. van Rijnbach (ed.), *Verspreide Geschriften van dr G.J. Boekenoogen* (Leiden: Brill, 1949), 246. More recently, and with some greater sense of the complexity of the term, D. Coigneau also used ‘mode’ (fashion) in his discussion of rhymed passages in prose novels: ‘Rederijkersliteratuur’, in Marijke Spies (ed.), *Historische Letterkunde* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1984), 40.
8. R. J. Resoort, *Een schoone historiee vander borchgravinne van Vergi* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1988), 172.
9. GTB = *Geïntegreerde Taalbank* [at: gtb.inl.nl], The Online Collection of Digital Dictionaries of the Dutch Language.
10. Erich Maschke, ‘Das Berufsbewußtsein des mittelalterlichen Fernkaufmanns’, in P. Wilpert and W. P. Eckert (eds), *Beiträge zum Berufsbewußtsein des mittelalterlichen Menschen*, Miscellanea Mediaevalia, 3 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1964; reprint 2011), 306–35.
11. ‘. . . ick ben een juwelier ende een auentuerierende gae met costlijckeghesteenten ringen ander cleynoten ende iuweelen om ende bedriech menighe menschen vercopende den einen steen voer den anderen willens ende wetens’. *Rosemondt, Boecxken van den Biechten,* quoted in J. A. N. Knuttel and C. H. A. Kruyskamp (eds), *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal; Supplement* (The Hague and Leiden, 1956), col. 2259.
12. M. M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination*, ed. M. Holquist, tr. C. Emerson and M. Holquist (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 1985). See especially pp. 50, 271–3, 167, 320.
13. Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination*, 366.
14. See Wayne C. Booth, ‘Freedom of Interpretation: Bakhtin and the Challenge of Feminist Criticism’, *Critical Inquiry* 9/1 (Sept. 1982), 45–76.
15. Bakhtin, *Dialogic Imagination,* 84ff.

Chapter 4

I am very grateful to Richard K. Todd for his proofreading and suggestions.

1. Waldo S. Pratt, *The Music of the French Psalter* (New York: Columbia UP, 1974), 68–9.
2. See John W. Stage, *English Travellers Abroad 1604–1667: Their Influence in English Society and Politics* (London: Cape, 1952), 240ff.
3. M. E. Kronenberg, *Notes on English Printing in the Low Countries* (London: Bibliographical Society, 1928), 148.
4. The complete title is *Een deuoot en profitelijk boecxken, inhoudende veel ghestelijcke Liedekens en Leysenen/diemen tot deser tijt toe heeft connen gheuinden in prente oft in ghescrifte: wt diuersche steden en plaetsen bi een vergadert en bi malcandere ghevoeght . . . Gheprent in die triumphelike coopstadt van Antwerpen op die Lombaerden veste/tegen die gulden ham ouer. Bi mi Symon Cock*. Met. K. Priuilegie 11539. The two extant copies are now in the Public Library at Haarlem (an incomplete copy), and at the Royal Library in Brussels. D. F. Scheurleer produced a facsimile edition of this work at The Hague in 1889.
5. Samuel J. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen van de Souterliedekens tot Datheen* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1959; repr. Dordrecht: Van den Tol, 1983), 17, mentions *Die souter wel verduytscht wt die heylige oft Hebreeusche sprake* by Johan Bugenhagen, published in 1526. This was in fact a translation from the German original *Psalter wol uerteutscht auss der heyligen sprach* printed in 1526. Lenselink discusses both the *Deuoot ende profitelijck boecxken* and its earlier Dutch score.
6. Aart A. Van Schelven, *De opkomst en de idee der politieke tolerantie in de 16e eeuwsche Nederlanden* (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1931), pp. 3ff.
7. See also Keith Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 4–5.

8. Although the *Souterliedekens* were printed anonymously, tradition has ascribed them to the nobleman Van Zuylen van Nyevelt (Nievelt). Their complete title is *Souter Liedekens Ghemaect ter eeren Gods / op alle die Psalmen van Dauid: [. . .] Gheprent Thantwerpen / op die Lombaerde veste tegen die gulden hand ouer by my Symon Cock. Anno M. CCCCC ende XL den xij. in Junio Cum Gratia et Priuilegio.* One edition was fraudulently dated 1539. See D. F. Scheurleer, *De Souterliedekens: Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der oudste Nederlandsche Psalmberijming* (Leiden, 1898; repr. Utrecht, HES, 1977), 5–8 and 79, and Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen, 234ff.*
9. See Gerard Knuvelder, *Handboek tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde I* ('s-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg, 1957), 343ff.
10. See G. A. Van Es, *Geschiedenis van de letterkunde der Nederlanden, III: Hervorming en Calvinisme* (Antwerp and Brussels: Teulings, 1944), 188ff.
11. H. A. Bruinsma, 'The *Souterliedekens* and its Relation to Psalmody in the Netherlands', unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1948, 98ff.
12. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 198ff.
13. What is called here the *Walther'sche Gesangbuch* was in fact the tenor part of the *Geyslliche gesangk Buchleyn* by Johann Walther, printed at Wittemberg in 1524. Cf. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 189ff.
14. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 198.
15. H. Hasper, *Calvijns Beginsel voor den zang in de eredienst* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1955), II, 328.
16. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 213.
17. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 213–14.
18. Scheurleer, *De Souterliedekens*, 74, gives exact details with dates and place of publication.
19. See Bruinsma, 'The *Souterliedekens*', 24, who cites Scheurleer's argument that some of the 1540 printings may, on the evidence of wear in the woodcut of the title-page, date from the period 1540–5.
20. It is interesting to note that some years later, in 1544, theologians of the University of Louvain placed the *Antwerpsch Liedboecxken*, a song book in which melodies appeared that had also been used for the music of the *Souterliedekens*, on a list of forbidden books. Cf. Scheurleer, *De Souterliedekens*, 21.
21. Elizabeth Mincoff-Marriage, *Zestiende-eeuwsche Dietsche volksliedjes, de oorspronkelijke teksten met de in de Souterliedekens van 1540 bewaarde melodieën* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1939), p. xiv.
22. Scheurleer, *De Souterliedekens,* 15.
23. See K. P. Bernet Kempers (ed.), *Jacobus Clemens Non Papa Opera Omnia*, II (Rome, 1953).
24. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 246; cf. Richard Todd, 'Humanist Prosodic Theory, Dutch Synods, and the Poetics of the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 52 (1989), 273–93, in which he shows that Pettegree does not follow Lenselink in regarding the *Souterliedekens* as having provided Utenhove with some of his models. Cf. Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth-Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1987), 54–5.
25. We must remember, as Todd reminds us, that Donne insisted on the superiority of European over English psalm versifications; in his complimentary poem to the Sidneys' psalms Donne indirectly refers to psalm translations such as the *Souterliedekens* by expressing his appreciation for renderings produced for private use 'in Chambers'. See Richard Todd, '"So Well Attyr'd Abroad": A Background to the Sidney-Pembroke Psalter and its Implications for the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language* 29 (1987), 81.
26. See Todd, 'Well Attyr'd', 83.
27. Todd, 'Well Attyr'd', gives a detailed analysis of the comparison between the two psalters and argues that particular psalms in the Sidney-Pembroke psalter have an antecedent in the *Souterliedekens.* He shows that particular forms, which do not occur in the Marot-Beza psalter, such as the eight-line trimeter stanza, recur in no less than nine of the *Souterliedekens*, and that Sidney used this form in *Certain Sonnets* 23 which, as Sidney indicates, can be sung to the tune of a Dutch song, the 'Wilhelmus van Nassauwe', which later became the Dutch national anthem. This indicates that Sidney may have had some knowledge of Dutch prosody and made use of existing stanza forms. See Todd, 'Well Attyr'd', 87ff.
28. Todd, 'Humanist Prosodic Theory', 273–93.

29. Robin A. Leaver, '"Goostly Psalmes and Spiritual! Songes", English and Dutch Metrical Psalms from Coverdale to Utenhove 1535–1566', unpubl. Ph.D. diss., University of Groningen, 1988, 97.
30. Hasper mentions the cities where Utenhove stayed to escape persecution. His activities as actor were a reason for the Council of Flanders to condemn him and confiscate his belongings. From Louvain he went to Cologne and Aachen in 1544. The next year he moved to Strasburg where he met the Reformers mentioned above, and three years later, in 1548, he went to Canterbury for a period of nine months. He returned to Strasburg and then moved to Zurich, where he met Bullinger and Calvin. See Hasper, *Calvijns Beginsel*, II, 368.
31. In 1550 the congregation was allowed to take possession of the chapel at Austin Friars, where on 21 September of that year the first service took place. For further historical details see J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Hervormde gemeente te Londen 1550–1950* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1950).
32. See Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, 14ff.
33. For details on the educational and cultural background of the Dutch congregation at Austin Friars see O. P. Grell, 'The Schooling of the Dutch Calvinist Community in London, 1550 to 1650', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 2 (1986), 45–58.
34. These were Psalms 1, 2, 3, 10, 51, 120, 124, 125, 127 and 130.
35. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 252.
36. See W. J. Kooiman, *Luther's Kerklied in de Nederlanden* (Amsterdam: 't Koggeschip, 1943), 141.
37. Hasper, *Calvijns Beginsel,* II, 372; cf. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 253–5.
38. See Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 276.
39. Lenselink gives the exact details of sources and melodies. It appears that Utenhove preferred to remain as close as possible to the original Bible text. Apart from two instances that came from the Strasburg psalter from 1545 or 1548, the melodies were taken from the *Bonner Gesangbuch.* See Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 276.
40. For details see M. E. Kronenberg, *Verboden boeken en opstandige drukkers in de Hervormingstijd* (Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1948).
41. See Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 362ff.
42. See the comparisons by Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 371ff.
43. These were Psalms 16, 26, 27, 28, 31, 34, 39, 40, 41 and 119. The melodies were adopted as well.
44. See Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 401.
45. This was printed as *De Psalmen Davids, /ende Ander Lofsan-/chen, wt den Francoy-/ schen Dichte In Ne-/derlanschen ouerghesett, /Doer/Petrvm Dathenvm./Metgaders den Christelicken Ca-/techismo, Ceremonien ende/Ghebeden./Heydelbergh/M. D. Lxvi.*
46. By now the Marot-Beza psalms formed an integral part of Dutch religious life. After Christophe Plantin at Antwerp had obtained the right to print the psalms by Marot and Beza, other printers in the Low Countries followed. At Leiden, Amsterdam and The Hague publishers, who had a primarily French-speaking public, profited from the distribution of the psalms. In those countries where Huguenots took refuge, such as Switzerland, the German states, the Low Countries and England, the printing of the Genevan Psalter was soon an established practice. For Dathenus too this may well have been a reason to regard the Marot-Beza psalter as established.
47. Lenselink, *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 526.
48. Lenselink. *De Nederlandse Psalmberijmingen*, 561.
49. For more details on the reception of Marnix's 1580 psalm translation see J. J. van Toorenenbergen, *Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde, Godsdienstige en Kerkelijke Geschriften* (The Hague: Nijhoff, vol. 3, 1891), 19ff.
50. As an adviser to William the Silent and as a diplomat, Marnix found himself in the middle of the political situation at the time. Marnix took an important part in the disputes between the United Dutch Provinces against the oppression of the Spanish and papal authorities (Pope Gregory XIII and Philip II intended to collaborate in the war against the heretics). See for further details Alois Gerlo, *Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde 1540–1598* (Antwerp: Ontwikkeling, 1962), 10.
51. For details see Gerrit Kalff, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandse letterkunde* (Groningen: Wolters, 1907), 381 and Van Toorenenbergen, *Philips van Marnix* (vol. 4, 1878), 232.
52. The National Synod held in The Hague in June 1586 had publicly recommended Marnix's psalms. In their official acts they mention the fact that he had corrected and improved

the psalms and that he was requested to render all 150 psalms together. They leave open whether a congregation should use Dathenus or Marnix. Although the Synod agreed to introduce Marnix's psalms for liturgical purposes, the States-General never ratified the settings. Dathenus' settings would be used in the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands until 1773. See Van Toorenenbergen, *Philips van Marnix*, p. xlvii. Cf. Todd, 'Humanist Prosodic Theory', 285.

53. I am very grateful to Professor Paul R. Sellin (UCLA) for sharing with me the results of his research for a forthcoming publication. It is generally known that Marnix made a number of trips to London where he was introduced to various circles, but Sellin has shown that it was by way of his daughter Amelia that Marnix knew London court circles as well, and that his psalm translations had been further adapted by his son-in-law Rutger Wessel van den Boetzelaer, Baron van Asperen (1566–1632). Van Asperen had been introduced to diplomatic circles in London, as well as to John Donne. Thus we are justified in assuming that Marnix's literary work left its traces in England. See also Sellin, 'John Donne and the Huygens Family 1619–1621: Some Implications for Dutch Literature', *Dutch Quarterly Review* 12 (1982), 193–204. Alois Gerlo shows in his book *The Correspondence of Philip of Marnix, Lord of Saint Aldegonde: An Inventory* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1982), that there were also contacts between Marnix and the Earl of Leicester.

Chapter 5

1. J. M. Romein, B. W. Schaper, A. C. J. de Vrankrijker, R. E. J. Weber and J. W. Wijn, *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Amsterdam, 1941), 67. Under the pen name of B. W. Schaper, this was actually written by J. Presser; cf. E. O. G. Haitsma Mulier and A. E. M. Janssen (eds), *Willem van Oranje in de historie, 1574–1984. Vier eeuwen beeldvorming en geschiedschrijving* (Utrecht: HES, 1984).
2. Cf. K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (eds), *Britain and the Netherlands*, *V, Some Political Mythologies* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975), 36–57.
3. Henry Fletcher in his *Perfect Politician* as quoted in A. Fraser, *Oliver Cromwell* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1975), 702.
4. See e.g. L. J. Rogier, *Herdenken en herzien* (Bilthoven: AMBO, 1974), 271, and E. H. Waterbolk, *Verspreide opstellen* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1981), 84–93.
5. Some of these admirers are P. J. Blok, *Verspreide studiën op het gebied der geschiedenis* (Groningen: Wolters, 1903), 130–3; Henriette L. T. de Beaufort, *Willem de Zwijger* (Rotterdam: Donker, 1950), 195, 208, 214; Y. Cazaux, *Guillaume le Taciturne* (Paris: Albin Michel, 1970), 41.
6. G. Groen van Prinsterer (ed.), *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau*, first series (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1835–47), I (1552–1565), 47.
7. E. Poullet and Ch. Piot (eds), *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle* (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1877–96), II, 88.
8. Cf. K. W. Swart, 'Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje de strijd tegen de Spaanse overheersing aan te binden?', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 99 (1974), 559–63.
9. P. Bor, *Oorsprongk ende vervolgh der Nederlantsche oorlogen* (Amsterdam, 1679–84), I, 448.
10. *Nederlandsche historiën* (Amsterdam, 1642), 256.
11. Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, VIII, 347.
12. Cornelis Claes, 'Verhaal van het beleg van Zierikzee', *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 40 (1929), 113.
13. K. W. Swart, 'Oranje en de opkomst van het Statenbewind', *Spiegel Historiael* 19 (1984), 195–200.

Chapter 6

1. Public Record Office (PRO), State Papers (SP) 12/43/30. The PRO was amalgamated into The National Archives (NA) in Kew, Richmond, Surrey, in 2003. See: www.nationalarchives.gov.uk.
2. British Library, Cottonian MSS, Vespasian F IX, fo. 230.

3. These conclusions are discussed in detail in part 1 of my doctoral thesis, prepared at Southampton University, now published as *The French-Speaking Reformed Community and their Church in Southampton, 1567–c.1620* (London: Huguenot Society of Great Britain and Ireland, 1998). The library of the Huguenot Society is part of the Special Collections of University College London, and is now housed in the National Archives.
4. C. Rahlenbeck, 'Les Chanteries de Valenciennes. Episodes de l'histoire du seizième siècle', *Bulletin de la Commission de l'Histoire des Eglises Wallonnes,* 1st ser. 3 (1888), 164, 167, 168, 172, 173, 179, 183; 'Recueil du Besoigne de Commissaire du Roy notre sire à Valenciennes sur le faict des troubles et rébellion advenue en icelle ville', in P. Beuzart, *La Répression à Valenciennes après les troubles religieux de 1566* (Paris, 1930), 119, 130; P. J. Le Boucq, *Histoire des troubles advenues à Valenciennes à cause de hérésies 1562–1579*, ed. A. P. L. de Roublaux de Soumoy (Brussels, 1864), 27–8. A detailed examination of the backgrounds of members of the Southampton community appears in Part 1 of my thesis.
5. R. van Roosbroeck, *Het wonderjaar te Antwerpen 1566–1567: Inleiding tot de studie der godsdienstonlusten te Antwerpen van 1566 to 1585* (Antwerp, 1930), 502–3. For the involvement of the Sohier family and the Troubles see A. Spicer, 'The Sohiers of Valenciennes and Southampton: A Walloon family in the Diaspora', *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society* 25 (1990), 156–66.
6. M. F. Backhouse, 'The Official Start of Armed Resistance in the Low Countries. Boeschepe, 12 July 1562', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 71 (1980), 198–226; Backhouse, 'Guerilla War and Banditry in the Sixteenth Century: The Wood Beggars in the Westkwartier of Flanders (1567–1568)', *Archiv fur Reformationsgeschichte* 74 (1983), 198–226.
7. P. Bor, *Oorspronck, begin en vervolgh der Nederlandsche oorlogen* (9 vols.; Amsterdam, 1679–84), VI, 271; A. Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986), 254.
8. *Registre de l'Eglise Wallonne de Southampton*, ed. H. M. Godfray, Huguenot Society of London, Quarto Series 4 (Lymington: King, 1891), 125.
9. W. Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (c.1532–1613). Dutch Calvinist, First Reformed Defender of the English Episcopal Church Order on the Basis of the ius divinum*, Studies in the History of Christian Thought 21 (Leiden: Brill, 1980), 34–8, 270. In Orange's letter to Saravia he refers to 'Santone'; this is a corruption of 'S. Hampton', which frequently appears in the French archives of this time as 'anthone' or 'antone', rather than a reference to Sandown.
10. A. L. E. Verheyden, *Le Conseil de Troubles: Lisle de condamnés 1567–1573* (Brussels: Commission Royale d'Histoire, 1961), 292, no. 7284.
11. PRO, SP 12/71/54; SP 12/71/57.
12. PRO, Court of Star Chamber (STAC), 5/B102/18.
13. C. Read, 'Queen Elizabeth's Seizure of the Duke of Alva's Pay-Ships', *Journal of Modern History* 5 (1933), 445; G. D. Ramsay, *The End of the Antwerp Mart*, vol. 2: *The Queen's Merchants and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1986), 93; *Book of Examinations and Depositions 1570–1594*, ed. G. H. Hamilton (Southampton: Southampton Record Series, 1914), 7–8.
14. Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants*, 94.
15. *Select Pleas in the Court of Admiralty, II (A.D. 1547–1602)*, ed. R. G. Marsden (London: B. Quaritch, 1897), 148.
16. PRO, High Court of Admiralty (HCA), 13/19, fo. 33–33v.
17. O. G. S. Crawford, 'Mead Hole and Shoesflete', *Papers and Proceedings of the Hampshire Field Club and Archaeological Society* 17 (1952), 112–15; B. Dietz, 'Privateering in North-West European Waters 1568–1572', unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of London, 1959, 328.
18. PRO, HCA 13/18, fos. 254v–265v.
19. PRO, HCA 13–18, fos. 265v, 266v; HCA 13/19, fos. 59v, 70v. 73v.
20. Stadsarchief Antwerpen, Verzameling Autographes, no. 18, fo. 67. I am grateful to Dr G. Marnef of Antwerp University for supplying me with a copy of the original document.
21. K. R. Andrews, 'The Economic Aspects of Elizabethan Privateering', Ph.D. thesis, King's College London, 1952, 16. Online resource at the British Library.
22. F. Prims, *Beelden uit den cultuurstrijd der jaren 1577–1585,* Antwerpiensia, 15e reeks (Antwerp: Standaard-Boekhandel, 1942), 202.
23. PRO, HCA 13/18, fo. 317v; J. C. A. de Meij, *De watergeuzen en de Nederlanden 1568–1572* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgevers Maatschappij, 1972), 83–4.
24. Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants*, 158.

25. PRO, STAC 5/B102/18.
26. Ramsay, *The Queen's Merchants*, 162.

Chapter 7

1. This chapter is the summary of part of a chapter of my 1991 Ph.D. thesis for Southampton University, on 'The Flemish and Walloon Communities at Sandwich during the Reign of Elizabeth I, 1561–1603', available as e-resource from the British Library. I wish to thank my supervisor Dr A. C. Duke for his comments and advice on the original draft.
2. W. Page, *The Victorian History of the Counties of England. A History of Kent* (London: St Catherine Press, 1932), III, 403; see H. C. Bentwich, *History of Sandwich* (Sandwich: H. C. Bentwich, 1980, 3rd edn), 35–6; R. Brown, *Calendar of Stale Papers and Manuscripts, Relating to English Affairs. Venice* (London: PRO, 1864), I, 53–4, 61ff.; E. M. Carus Wilson and O. Coleman, *England's Export Trade 1275–1547* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 136–7, 154–5; E. Power, *The Wool Trade in English Medieval History* (Oxford: OUP, 1941), 101; L. F. Salzman, *English Trade in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931), 293, 324, 358.
3. For further details see D. M. Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the later Tudors 1547–1603* (London: Longman, 1985). The Flemish Westkwartier is to be situated between present-day Gravelines in northern France and the seaside resort Nieuwpoort in Belgium and the area south thereof as far as the river Lys.
4. Amongst them we find Peter Cooper, alias Maydenbleeck, a cobbler who arrived in Sandwich in 1551 and became a denizen. In 1571 he was listed as a member of the Flemish Refugee Church (see part II of my thesis which gives 'Detailed biographies of the identified strangers').
5. Bentwich, *Sandwich*, 43–6.
6. Public Record Office, SP12/18/9. Now in the National Archives at Kew.
7. Information collected from part II of my thesis.
8. D. C. Coleman, 'An Innovation and its Diffusion. The "New Draperies"', *Economic History Review* 22/2 (1969), 422; see M. Backhouse, 'Beeldenstorm and Bosgeuzen in het Westkwartier (1566–1568)', Kortrijk, *Handelingen van de Geschied- en Oudheidkundige kring Kortrijk* (1971), 57–9.
9. Kent Archives Office, Sa/Ac4, fo. 192.
10. Sa/Ac4, fo. 192.
11. Sa/Ac4, fo. 192
12. Sa/Ac4, fo. 204v.
13. D. Gardiner, *Historic Haven: The Story of Sandwich* (Derby: Pilgrim Press, 1954), 176.
14. Kent Archive Office, Sa/Ac4, fo. 209.
15. Sa/Ac4, fo. 232.
16. Sa/Ac4, fo. 250.
17. J. Strype, *The Life of Mathew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury* (London, 1711; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1821), 139.
18. P. Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978), 96.
19. M. Backhouse, 'Dokumenten betreffende de godsdiensttroebelen in het Westkwartier: Jan Camerlynck en tien zijner gezellen voor de Ieperse vierschaar (1568–1569)', *Handelingen van de Koninklijke Commissie voor Geschiedenis* 138 (1972), 112.
20. Kent Archives Office, Sa/Ac5, fo. 26v.
21. Sa/Ac5, fos. 41–2.
22. Sa/Ac5, fos. 166v, 179; see British Library, Manuscript Room, Additional 27, 462, fo. 1.
23. Sa/Ac5, fos. 266v–267; see fos. 1–1v.
24. Kent Archives Office, Sa/Ac6, fo. 20v.
25. Sa/Ac6, fo. 24v.
26. Sa/Ac6, fo. 26v.
27. Sa/Ac6, fo. 49v.
28. Sa/Ac6, fo. 50.
29. Page, *Kent*, II, 407.

Chapter 8

1. Marie Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les Estampes de Wierix conservées au Cabinet des Estampes de la Bibliothèque Royale Albert I*, vol. 2 (Brussels: Brepols, 1978), nos. 1663–6.
2. G. van Rijn, *Atlas van Stolk. Katalogus der Historie-, Spot- en Zinneprenten betrekkelijk de Geschiedenis van Nederland*, vol. 1 (Amsterdam: Muller, 1895), no. 719.
3. J. J. Mak, *De Rederijkers* (Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1944), 63–6, mentions Haecht's use of clothing for revelation of character. Prins and Van Duym had *sinnekens* dressed as Spanish in their plays, and the play *Het Spel van der siecke Staat* included Hypocrisy, Tyranny and the Catholic clergy.
4. Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1977), 194.
5. David Kunzle, 'World Upside Down: The Iconography of a European Broadsheet Type', in Barbara A. Babcock (ed.), *The Reversible World: Symbolic Inversion in Art and Society* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1972).
6. Tiziana Frati, *Bruegel Every Painting* (New York: Rizzoli, 1980), no. 49, *The Parable of the Blind*, signed and dated 1568 (Naples, Museo Capodimonte), and no. 45, *The Land Cockaigne*, signed and dated 1567 (Munich, Alte Pinakothek).
7. Ernst H. Gombrich, 'Das Arsenal der Karikaturisten', in Gerhard Langemeyer et al. (eds), *Bild als Waffe Mittel und Motive der Karikatur in fünf Jahrhunderten* (Munich: Prestel, 1984), 394. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les Estampes* (no. 1664), mentions that a 1612 version of this print included the words *Spanse Gul* by the wolf and *De 9 provin*. near the basket.
8. Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, 193–4.
9. Kunzle, 'World Upside Down', 77. Wolfgang Harms mentions the wolf's affiliation with the fable tradition as the king of animals in Marie de France's tales. See W. Harms (ed.), *Deutsche illustrierte Flugblätter des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts,* vol. 2, *Die Sammlung der Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel. Kommentierte Ausgabe*, part 2, *Historica* (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1980), no. II, 36.
10. This theme is also found in a series of twelve prints after Pieter Bruegel, see *Bruegel. Une dynastie de peintres* (Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts, 1980), 136.
11. Parker, *Dutch Revolt*, 192–5.
12. Werner Hofmann, *Luther und die Folgen für die Kunst* (Munich: Prestel, 1983).
13. John Landwehr, *Fable-Books Printed in the Low Countries: A Concise Bibliography until 1800* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1963), 6–13, 15, 34–6.
14. Pack Carnes, 'The Fable in Service to the Reformation', *Renaissance and Reformation* 8/3 (1984), 176–89.
15. Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen*, vol. 1 ('s-Gravenhage, 1723), 25.
16. For the designation of the Spanish soldiery as *spekken* see K. W. Swart, 'The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War', *Britain and the Netherlands* 5 (1975), 49.
17. Arno Dolders, *Philip Galle*, The Illustrated Bartsch. Netherlandish Artists, 56 (New York: Abaris Books, 1987), no. 104.24.
18. Francis Klingender, *Animals in Art and Thought to the End of the Middle Ages,* ed. Evelyn Antal and John Harthan (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971), chs. 10 and 12.
19. Willem van Oranje, *Om Vrijheid van Geweten* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1984), no. C23.
20. John Lothrop Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, vol. 3 (New York: Harper & Bros, 1899), 408 and 462.
21. Hoffmann, *Luther*, no. 108.
22. P. J. Meertens, *Letterkundig leven in Zeeland in de zestiende en de eerste helft der zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1943), 116.
23. Mak, *Rederijkers*, 68, and Walter Gibson, 'Artists and Rederijkers in the Age of Bruegel', *The Art Bulletin* 63 (Sept. 1981), 426–46, and fig. 23 where fools are accompanied by owls and cats in the engraving after Pieter Bruegel of c.1563.
24. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les Estampes,* nos. 1636–45.
25. Mauquoy-Hendrickx, *Les Estampes*, nos. 1650–4. See also Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer, 'Politieke prenten van Jacob de Gheyn de Oude', *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 26 (1978), 99–105.

Chapter 9

1. H. Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, 2nd edn by I. J. Brugmans, part 2 (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1972), 75–127. E. Ellerbroek-Fortuin, *Amsterdamse rederijkersspelen in de zestiende eeuw* (Groningen: Wolters, 1937), 11 and 30.
2. 'Een Nieuwe Jaar 1578', in H. L. Spieghel, *Hertspieghel en andere zedeschriften,* ed. P. Vlaming (Amsterdam, 1723), 203–5.
3. 'Balaeden gemaect op de satisfactie van Amsterdam anno 1578', in Laurens Jacobsz. Reael, 'Refereynen, Baladens, Epitafien, Historialen, en anderen Liedekens', UB-Ghent sign. HS 993, no. 16. I wish to thank Mrs A. Baneke who transcribed the manuscript and did some research into its contents.
4. 'Een liedeken . . . ghemaeecktbij L. J. vanden handel int corte vanden selven Egbert meijnertszoonenz', in Reael, 'Refereynen', no. 32.
5. 'Refereijn ghemaeckt op die vraege Wat sotheijt de mensche lang aen-hanct Gheleesen den 26en decembries 1580 to Amstelredam op die Camer In Liefd bloeiende', in Reael, 'Refereynen', no. 17.
6. 'Op 't Nieuwe Jaer 1580', in Spieghel, *Hertspieghel*, 206–8.
7. I analysed the following texts: Antonis de Roovere, *Referyn van Rethorica; Mariken van Nieumeghen* (c.1515), vv. 524–55; some texts in the collection by Jan van Stijevoort and Matthijs de Castelein, *Conste van Rhetoriken* (1555); and the plays written on the theme 'What induces man most to art' ('Dwelck den mensche aldermeest tot consten verweet') and published in Antwerp in 1562 as *Spelen van Sinne.* See also L. Roose, '"Dwelck den mensche aldermeest tot consten verweet". De poëtica der Brabantse rederijkers in 1561', in *Hulde-album J. F. Vanderheyden* (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1970), 91–108; L. Roose, 'Lof van Retorica. De poëtica der rederijkers, een verkenning', in *Liber alumnorum E. Rombauts* (Leuven: Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, 1968), 111–28; the edn of *Mariken van Nieumegen* by Dirk Coigneau (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1982), 162–4; and S. A. P. J. H. Lansen, *Verkenningen in Matthijs Casteleins Const van Rhetoriken* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1971).
8. See for the grammar (*Twe-spraack vande Nederduitsche Letterkunst*) L. Peeters, 'Auteurschap en tekst van "Spiegels" "Twe-spraack", (1584)', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 98 (1982), 117–30. His argumentation holds generally also for the other works (*Ruygh-bewerp vande Redekaveling, ofte Nederduytsche Dialectike* and *Rederijck-kunst*), in which moreover Spiegel's device 'duecht verhueght' figures several times.
9. G. Kuiper, *Orbis artium en renaissance I. Cornelius Valerius en Sebastianus Foxius Morzillus als bronnen van Coornhert* (Harderwijk: Flevo, 1941), 364–7. Harm Klifman, *Studies op het gebied van de vroegnieuwnederlandse triviumtraditie (ca. 1550–ca. 1640)* (Dordrecht: Foris, 1983), 159–63.
10. In Hendrik Laurensz. Spiegel, *Twe-spraack. Ruygh-bewerp. Kort Begrip. Rederijck-kunst,* ed. W. J. H. Caron (Groningen: Wolters, 1962), 182–3 (*Rederijck-kunst*), 65 (title-page *Redenkaveling*) and 7 (Coornhert in the *Twe-spraack*).
11. *'T Lof van Rethorica*, in N. van der Laan, *Uit Roemer Visscher's Brabbeling,* part 2 (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1923), 36–42.
12. See Lisa Jardine, 'Lorenzo Valla: Academic Skepticism and the New Humanist Dialectic', in M. Burnyeat (ed.), *The Skeptical Tradition* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1983), 253–86, esp. 268. Lisa Jardine, 'Distinctive Discipline: Rudolph Agricola's Influence on Methodical Thinking in the Humanities', in F. Akkerman and A. J. Vanderjagt (eds), *Rodolphus Agricola Phrisius 1444–1485* (Leiden: Brill, 1988), 38–57.
13. A. J. Kolker, *Alardus Aemstelredamus en Cornelius Crocus. Twee Amsterdamse priesterhumanisten. Hun leven, werken en theologische opvattingen* (Nijmegen: Dekker en Van de Vegt, 1963), 171–9. This means, by the way, that Jardine's rather pessimistic statement that 'Agricola's dialectical "method" was adopted . . . , but . . . not *practised*' ('Distinctive Discipline', 56) deserves correction.
14. I used: Aphthonius Sophista, *Progymnasmata*, tr. R. Agricola and I. M. Catanaeus, ed. R. Lorichius Hadamarius (Paris, 1573), 85–6. This edn appeared originally in 1542. An augmented edn appeared in 1546, and it was this one that grew famous in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. See Gerda C. Huisman, *Rudolf Agricola: A Bibliography of Printed Works and Translations* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1985), 140–1.

15. I used the translation in Dutch: *Polydorus Virgilius, Waerachtige Beschryvinghe. Inhoudende wie de eerste Autheuren ende Vinders aller verscheyden Consten... zijn gheweest*, tr. E. M. G. (Amsterdam, 1612), cap. 8, pp. 48–50.
16. Desiderius Erasmus, *Apophtegmatium... libri octo* (Antwerp, 1564), 342. In *Opera omnia*, part 4 (Leiden: Van der Aa, 1703), 227a.
17. Under the title *Strijdt tusschen Waerheyt en Schijn*, in Van der Laan, *Uit Roemer Visscher's Brabbeling,* II, 62–70. See J. C. Arens, 'P. Collenuccio's Alitheia berijmd door Roemer Visscher', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal- en letterkunde* 82 (1960), 154–6.
18. Heinz-Günter Schmitz, *Physiologie des Scherzes. Bedeutung und Rechtfertigung der Ars Iocandi im 16. Jahrhundert* (Hildesheim and New York: Olms, 1972), 24 and *passim*. With thanks to Mrs A. Sterk, who wrote a paper on Visscher's *'T Lof van Rhetorica*.

Chapter 10

1. This chapter is a summary of chapter 4 of my book *De wereld volgens Abel Eppens. Een ommelander boer uit de zestiende eeuw* (Groningen: Wolters/Noordhoff, 1988). A more detailed analysis can be found in W. Bergsma, 'Religious Diversity in the Netherlands of the Sixteenth Century: The Impression of a Northern Dutch Land-Owner', in J.-G. Rott and S. L. Verheus, *Anabaptistes et dissidents au XVIe siècle* (Baden-Baden: Koerner, 1987), 215–32. A. Pathuis, 'Het handschrift "Ommelands eer" van pater Franciscus Mijleman S. J., missionaris der Ommelanden 1639–1667', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de katholieke Kerk in Nederland* 7 (1965), 39–40.
2. Margaret Spufford, *Contrasting Communities: English Villagers in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 319.
3. Abel Eppens tho Equart, *Der Vresen Chronicon,* published as *De Kroniek van Abel Eppens tho Equart*, by J. A. Feith and H. Brugmans (2 vols.; Amsterdam: Muller, 1911, *Werken van het Historisch Genootschap Utrecht*, 3rd series, no. 27, 28).
4. A. Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldebarnevelt* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1974) and A. C. Duke, 'The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561–1618', in M. Prestwich (ed.), *International Calvinism 1541–1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), 109–35.
5. Cf. for a general survey W. Nijenhuis, 'Die Bedeutung Ostfrieslands für die Reformation in den Niederlanden', *Emder Jahrbuch* 62 (1982), 87–102.
6. Cf. Duke, 'Ambivalent Face'.

Chapter 11

1. In particular by C. P. Burger in E. W. Moes and C. P. Burger, *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers en uitgevers in de zestiende eeuw* (Utrecht: HES, 1988), II, nos. 481–9, and W. P. C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek* (Utrecht: HES, 1978), I/1, nos. 1038–42, 1047, 1050, 1068.
2. Cf. R. J. Fruin, *Tien jaren uit den Tachtigjarigen Oorlog 1588–1598*, etc. ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1899), 346–58, also P. C. A. Geyl, *The Revolt of the Netherlands (1555–1609),* 2nd edn (London: Ernest Benn, 1958), 239–42.
3. On Joannes Masius (Jan Maes) see A. Rouzet, *Dictionnaire des imprimeurs, libraires et éditeurs des XVe et XVIe siècles dans les limites géographiques de la Belgique actuelle* (Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1975), 143–4, s.v. *Masius, Joannes, le vieux*. Copies of the first *Aen Holland!* are recorded in E. Cockx-Indestege and G. Glorieux, *Belgica typographica 1541–1600* (henceforth BT), (Nieuwkoop: Bibliotheca Regia Bruxellensis, 1968), I, no. 2, and L. D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Verzamelingen van de Bibliotheek van Joannes Thysius en de Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Leiden,* I ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1882), no. 684.
4. Some random examples: *Aen Holland!,* st. 5, 1. 20: 'God waerschout ghemeenlijck eer hy comt ter wraken', *Antwoordt* 1, st. 5, 1. 20: 'Svoglaersfluyt als bedrieghen wil heeft soeteclanck', 2, st. 5, 1. 20: 'want Gods teeckenendreyghen meest Gods vyanden', 3, st. 5, 1. 20: 'Die een ander vervolcght, comt selfs dickwils in lyden'; *Aen Holland!*, final line: 'Hy is

dwaes die naer 'tleyden der blinde gaet', *Antwoordt*, final line: 'En die vyanden voor vrinden houdt een ellendich sot is'.

5. The privileges, solemnly affirmed at a new sovereign's 'joyful entry', had assumed the aura of sacred covenants, placing mutual obligations on ruler and ruled. No privileges were more highly regarded than those of Brabant, first published in Cologne in 1564 and frequently reprinted thereafter. One of the cornerstones in the defence of the United Provinces against the accusation of treason was that it had been Philip who had broken these agreements and thereby forfeited the loyalty of his subjects whose rebellion was in support of them. See H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'De Blijde Inkomste en de opstand tegen Philips II', in Fontaine Verwey, *Uit de wereld van het Boek*, I, 2nd edn (Amsterdam: Nico Israel, 1976), 113–32.
6. C. P. Burger (n. 1, above) postulates no fewer than sixty possible variations in the combination of text and plate, nine of which he describes from an autopsy of fifteen copies. Burger believed in a single edition from a single printer whom he does not name.
7. Laurens Jacobsz had no printing press of his own and regularly employed printers at Amsterdam, Haarlem and Leiden. At least two, if not three, Amsterdam printers worked for him on this pamphlet: Nicolaes Biestkens the Younger and Willem Jansz van Campen certainly among them. (My thanks to Mr Paul Valkema Blouw for his kindness in identifying them for me by their types.) See also: P. Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava 1541–1600: Repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600* (Nieuwkoop: de Graaf, 1998). Once the first printed sheet, signed A, had come in, it could go under the plate press to have the illustration added, then sheets A and B were ready for sale or distribution, to be assembled, folded, sewn. Such booklets were not normally bound, but were either kept as they were – and thus easily damaged – or given a protective wrapper or made part of a tract volume in which a number of pamphlets would be bound together. The last method has proved the best safeguard for their survival. The copies of the *Copie* which I have seen myself are listed in n. 16.
8. Anneke Utenhove (Uyt den Hove, Wttenhove, etc.) was not exactly a young girl, being then over 30 years old. She is sometimes described as 'jonge dochter', perhaps to make her fate even more pathetic. The title of the song no. 156 in *Het Geuzenliedboek* (n. 14, below), II, 47–51: 'Van een jonghe dochter, die binnen Brussel levendich gedolven is, om datse den Naem Jesu Christi heeft beleden, Anno 1597' (with a footnote calling her Anna van den Hove) seems to have been abridged for our illustration. One broadside, Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1002: 'Een nieu liedeken van een jonge Dochter', bearing the manuscript date '1597', addresses the city of Brussels in st. 4: 'Och Bruessel hoogh van namen/schoon princelijcke stadt/Ghy meught u 'tstuck wel schamen/daer ghy kleyn eer af hadt/Aen dees jonghe dochter ziet/Die Anneken wt den Hove hiet/'t Welck ghy brocht in swaer verdriet', and contrasts this in the last but one stanza with the assertion 'In dees Hollants Landouwen/Woont men seer excellent/Elc leeft zijn Conscienty vry' – which was only true up to a point. Another broadside, Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1048, 'De uyt-spraecke van Anna uyt den Hove', names its poet: 'Door Jacobum Viverium'. This poet had some of his works published by Cornelis Claesz, former master and still friend and colleague of Jacobsz. Viverius may also have been implicated in the pamphlet campaign. Yet another pamphlet on Anneke's death, Petit, *Bibliotheek*, no. 661, is dated 1610, showing how her memory was kept alive well into the next century.
9. Moes-Burger, *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers*, nos. 486–8; Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1048.
10. Moes-Burger, *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers*, no. 484; Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1039; Cockx-Indestege and Glorieux, *BT*, no. 704.
11. Moes-Burger, *De Amsterdamsche boekdrukkers*, nos. 481–3; Knuttel, *Catalogus*, nos. 1040, 1041; copy in the British Library.
12. For the original text see *Babrii mythiambi Aesopei*, ed. M. J. Luzzatto and A. La Penna (Leipzig: Teubner, 1986) in the Bibliotheca scriptorum *Graecorum et Romanorum Teubneriana*, 107. A famous Dutch edn in verse translation by Eduard de Dene had been published in Bruges in 1567 with illustrations after Marcus Gerards; another edn in French verse, *Les Fables de la vie d'Esope Nouvellement enrichiés de plusieurs figures & d'une Indice des matieres notables*, had been published by the Plantin press at Antwerp as recently as 1593. The text of the relevant fable, titled 'Du Lyon & du Rat', is there numbered 'XVI' and occurs on pp. 79–80, accompanied by a charming engraving in which the lion, caught in a net, is tied to a tree with the rat nibbling at the knot.

13. *Refereyn by de overheerde Provintien aen Hollant gesonden om haer te bewegen tot Vrede met den Spaengiaert: Met ooc der Hollanderen Antwoordt*, 'Refrein sent by the subjugated Provinces to Holland to persuade her towards peace with the Spaniard'. Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1043. The original *Aen Hollant* is here also reprinted, but the *Antwoordt* is shorter and kept to a less learned phraseology, e.g. there is no reference to Mars personifying war, nor are there marginal notes referring to scripture or historical events. Although less erudite, the style resembles that of the reply poem in the *Copie* and may either have been derived from it or from the same discussions preceding its composition.
14. The earliest extant edn of the Geuzenliedboek is *Een nieu Geusen lieden Boecxken* 1581, the only recorded copy of which is held by the Royal Library, The Hague. Other early edns still in existence were published 1588, 1592, 1598 and beyond. The modern standard edn is that by E. T. Kuiper and R. Leendertz, *Het Geuzenliedboek* (Zutphen: Thieme, 1924–5). The emblem incorporating the 'besace', begging bowl and clasped hands with the caption 'Vive le Gues' has often been reproduced and was revived in the resistance poetry of the 1940–5 Nazi occupation of the Netherlands for the title-page of *Geuzenliedboek. Derde vervolg* (Amsterdam: Van Veen, 1945). See A. E. C. Simoni, *Printing as Resistance* (Leiden: De Ammoniet, 1990), *passim*.
15. For the word 'goes' = 'gans' see *Woordenboek der Nederlandse Taal (WNT)*, V, col. 243 s.v. *Gans*, where the forms 'goz', 'gos' are described as North Frisian; W. Dijkstra, *Friesch woordenboek*, I/1 (Leeuwarden: Meijer en Schaafsma, 1900), 468 s.v. *Goes*, where it is localised as used on Schiermonnikoog and the forms 'gues', 'goezen' are listed with a number of 'goes'-derivatives (cf. *Woordenboek der Friese taal* (*WFT)*, Ljouwert: Fryske Akademy, 25 vols., 1984–2010); J. de Vries, *Nederlands etymologisch woordenboek* (Leiden, 1971), 182 s.v. *Gans*, where the form 'gôs' is said to belong to the 'kusttaal', i.e. the dialect of coastal areas. The fluidity of spelling and pronunciation of the word comes to the fore in the *Geuzenliedboek* (ed. Kuiper-Leendertz), where examples chosen at random offer 'Vive le Geus' as refrain (I, 28, nos. 15.11.5, 10, etc.), 'Dat heeft die Vivelegeus ghedaen' (I, 32–3, no. 17.1.18, etc.), 'Vivele Geus, is nu de Loes' (I, 35–6, no. 19.1.4), 'de Guezen waeren daer op verdacht' (I, 40–2, 22.1.21), 'Als de guesen dit vernamen' (22.1.25), 'De Goesen dit so haest vernaem' and 'Die Goesen waren in groter nood' (I, 43, nos. 29.11.12, 16); identification of Geus and Gans: 'Dat heeft de Gans ghedaen' (I, 101, no. 46.1.7), 'Dat de Gans dus swemmen leert' (no. 46.1.13), 'Soo weet de Gans wel raet' (no. 46.1.15), with the editorial note 5 stating that 'de Gans' signifies 'de Geus'! A less complimentary example of similar manipulation of the word is found in *Politieke balladen, refereinen, liederen en spotgedichten, der XVIe eeuw, naer een gelyktydig handschrift*, ed. Ph. Blommaert (Gent, 1845), 107: 'Der Guesenmaechscap wert hier ghebleken/Want een Gues ende een Luys commen overeen van treken', and this is only one among numerous contemptuous remarks on the Geuzen in these poems from the other side.
16. Of the copies I have seen, five were at the Royal Library, The Hague; five at Amsterdam University; four at Leiden University Library, including the Bibliotheca Thysiana and the Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde; three at Ghent University Library; one each at the library of the Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Amsterdam, the Royal Library Albert I, Brussels, Rotterdam Municipal Library, the Plantin-Moretus Museum, Antwerp, and the British Library, London; the title-page only is part of the Atlas van Stolk (no. 1005) at the Rotterdam Historisch Museum. I wish to record my sincere thanks to the librarians at all the institutions in Belgium and the Netherlands mentioned in this list for their kindness in letting me examine their copies and allowing photographs to be taken at my request.
17. As a poet David Mostaert is named on p. 74 of *Den Nederduytschen Helicon*, compiled by Karel van Mander (Haarlem, 1610), as is Jacob Viverius who is there classified as a 'Haeghdichter', i.e. a less learned poet. The motto, together with the initials 'D.M.', occurs as signature for a laudatory poem in Frederick de Houtman, *Spraeck ende woord-boeck, inde Maleysche ende Madagaskarsche talen* (Amsterdam, 1603). In 1598 Mostaert began his *Album amicorum* which bears the same motto on its elaborately decorated cover. 1598 also saw the first publication, by Cornelis Claesz at Amsterdam, of Mostaert's setting of the Psalms in the Dathenus translation, with a short treatise on music, especially melody and singing. Of this edn no copy has survived, but a 1614 edn is recorded in D. F. Scheurleer, *Nederlandsche liedboeken. Lijst der in Nederland tot 1800 uitgegeven liedboekenvoi* (Utrecht: HES, 1977), I, 14, col. 2. On Mostaert see E. W. Moes, 'David Mostaert en zijn album amicorum', *Amsterdamsch*

jaarboekje voor 1904 (1904), 29–41; J. G. C. A. Briels, 'Biografische aantekeningen betreffende Zuidnederlandse onderwijskrachten in Noordnederland 1570–1630', *Archief voor de geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland,* 15 (1973), 136; H. de la Fontaine Verwey, 'Amsterdamse uitgeversbanden van Cornelis Claesz en Laurens Jacobsz', in Fontaine Verwey, *Uit de wereld*, II, 33–48, especially p. 39.

18. The article by H. de la Fontaine Verwey mentions various associates of Laurens Jacobsz, linking him among others to David Mostaert and Cornelis Claesz and through the latter to J. H. Linschoten who in 1594 had signed the contract with Claesz for publication of his *Itinerario* with Mostaert acting as notary.
19. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland and of English Books Printed Abroad 1475–1640*, 2nd edn, rev. and enlarged, ed. A. W. Jackson and F. S. Ferguson, completed by F. K. Pantzer (London, 1976–86) (henceforth *STC*), no. 18465, where the printer is identified as John Windet; Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1042. See also W. P. C. Knuttel, 'Lijst van Engelsche vlugschriften, betrekking hebbende op de Nederlandsche geschiedenis tot het jaar 1640', *Bibliographische adversaria* 5 (1883/1886), 173–204, especially pp. 182–3 for this and other pieces translated by H. W.
20. On John Wolfe see G. Aldis et al., *A Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of Foreign Printers of English Books 1557–1640*, ed. R. B. McKerrow (London: Bibliographical Society, 1910), 296–8; J. R. Hoppee, 'John Wolfe, Printer and Publisher 1579–1601', *The Library*, 4th ser. 14 (1933), 241–88; D. B. Woodfield, *Surreptitious Printing in England 1550–1640* (New York: Bibliographical Society of America, 1973), 5–33. For the peace of Vervins, Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1005 records an edn in French published in the Netherlands, but without imprint; the Dutch translation of this is there no. 1006. The peace, concluded on 2 May, was not made public until later that month.
21. I.e. the copy in the Bibliotheca Thysiana, Leiden; Petit, *Bibliotheek*, no. 1024.
22. *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554–1640 A.D.*, ed. E. Arber (London, 1876), III, 39 records the date of submission of the text for approval by officers of the Company before printing as 12 July. The two pieces are there entered as separate titles, the *Articles* being named before the *True coppy.* The decision to publish them jointly appears therefore to have been taken only subsequently.
23. *STC*, no. 18466. On Robert Waldegrave see Aldis et al., *Dictionary of Printers*, 277–9. This edn is not listed in Knuttel's 'Lijst'.
24. Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1044.
25. Frans Hogenberg's series of engravings depicting events from the Dutch Revolt was published in Michael Aitzinger's *De Leone Belgico* (Coloniae Ubiorum, 1583) and its continuation and German translation in edns, all published at Cologne, until 1606. The plates were also issued separately and became collectors' pieces. Their influence persisted throughout the Eighty-Years War and beyond, inspiring another sequence of atrocity prints in accounts of the French invasion of 1672. Adapted for *Den spieghel der jeught* they were the standard image in Dutch education of Spanish domination in the sixteenth century. Dutch versions of Bartolomé de las Casas, *Brevissima relación de la destruycion de las Indias*, were published from 1578 onward, two edns by Nicolaes Biestkens the Younger at Amsterdam in 1596. Although Alva had nothing to do with events in the Caribbean, both he and the Archduke John of Austria, former regent of the Netherlands, became associated with these cruelties as well as those committed nearer home. Edns in both Dutch and French were published in connection with the negotiations leading, first, to the conclusion of the truce and later with those aimed at its renewal in 1620–1.
26. Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1047; copy in the British Library.
27. *STC*, no. 18467, again identifying the printer as John Windet, The *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, 43b, gives the date of submission for approval as 28 Oct. 1598.
28. The original edn of the Southern poem is recorded in Cockx-Indestege and Glorieux, *BT*, no. 1, and Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1050. A copy of the Northern edn of both this poem and the reply is described in Knuttel, *Catalogus*, no. 1068; copies of both in the British Library.
29. See Geyl, *Revolt*, 241–2.
30. This allegory is as constant in its application as is that of the bloodthirsty wolf lusting after the innocent sheep. A reference to the birdcatcher and his wiles was quoted in n. 4 from the *Copie*.

Chapter 12

1. P. N. M. Bot, *Humanisme en onderwijs in Nederland* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1955), and Marijke Spies, *Vondel en Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Espee, 1987).
2. Many of these statues seemed to have been installed in the later part of the fifteenth century, when the Burgundians (Philip the Good and Charles the Bold) expanded their personal, dynastic and bureaucratic powers in the Low Countries. With Charles' death in 1477 there started a long period of uncertainty through dynastic and territorial changes.
3. See also J. Romein, *Geschiedenis van de Noord-Nederlandsche geschiedschrijving in de Middeleeuwen* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1932), and B. Evels-Hoving, C. G. Santing and C. P. H. M. Tilmans (eds), *Genoechlicke ende lustige historiën. Laatmiddeleeuwse geschiedschrijving in Nederland* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1987).
4. See also H. Kampinga, *De opvattingen over onze oudere Vaderlandsche geschiedenis bij de Hollandsche historici der XVI en XVIIde eeuw* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1917; reprinted Utrecht: HES, 1980), and Karin Tilmans, 'Autentijck ende warachtig. Stedenstichtingen in de Hollandse geschiedschrijving: van Beke tot Aurelius', *Holland* 21/2 (Apr. 1989), 68–87. See also Chapter 2 by Karin Tilmans in the present volume.
5. Written around 1516 both works were only published in 1586 by Vulcanius in Antwerp. See Kampinga, *De opvattingen*, p. xvii.
6. See Kampinga, *De opvattingen*, p. xxix.
7. *De rebus Batavicis libri XIII* (Frankfurt, 1620). Also in Sweertius, *Rerum Belgicarum Annales*. See Kampinga, *De opvattingen*, pp. xxix, xxx.
8. Geertgen tot Sint Jans, *The Story of the Remains of St John the Baptist*, Vienna, Gemäldegalerie.
9. Rogier van der Weyden, *Bladelin Altarpiece*, Berlin, Kaiser Friedrich Museum.
10. This part was published separately many times, and translated into Dutch and English: e.g. A. Junius, *Een seer cort doch clare beschrijvinge van de voornaemste ghemuyrde ende ongemuyrde steden ende vlecken van Holland ende West-Vriesland* (Delft, 1609).
11. Parts of it were published by his son Janus Dousa Jr. starting from 1591 onwards. See Kampinga, *De opvattingen,* pp. xx and xxi.
12. S. P. Q. H./HANC SACRAM THEMIDIS/DOMUM SENATUS SEDEM/NE TEMERATO CIVIS UNQUAM/ANNO 1630.
13. See for an elaboration on this subject: Elisabeth de Bièvre, 'Violence and Virtue: History and Art in the City of Haarlem', *Art History* 11/3 (Sept. 1988), 303–34.

Chapter 13

I wish to thank the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO), which supported me financially in attending the Conference 'The Low Countries and the World', UCL, April 1989.

1. H. L. Spieghel, *Hart-Spieghel*, UB Amsterdam, 398F53^2.
2. See *Hart-Spieghel*, 1614, book VII, p. 121, l. 25–p. 122, l. 4.
3. A reproduction of this painting can be found in *Kunst voor de beeldenstorm*, with introductions by B. Dubbe, W. H. Vroom et al. (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1986), 320–2.
4. *Hart-Spieghel,* 1614, book VII, p. 122, ll. 1–28. The Dutch text runs as follows:

    Euterpes orghel schoon
    Stont an de Oostermuur: daar voren in ten toon Arion op en Dolfijn, vrolik zat en speelde;
    Euterpe zach op my: het orghel zweegh; zy queelde.
    Int midden vande zee, en schrylings op een vis
    Daar t'naaste schip te vyand, gheen lijfberghing is,
    Gherust en vrolik wel vernoeghtte zinghen meughen,
    Die moet, vast van ghemoed, in God, in dueghd verhueghen.
    Het bulderigh gheschut, pijl, blixem, donder, zwaard,
    Noch ghenerhandeschrik dien macken magh vervaerd,
    Diet al acht voor gheleent, en dankbaar ook zijn leven,
    Los hertelijk bezit, en willigh kan begheven

De dingen quellen niet: het is u wederwil,
In schauw Iiefds misverstand, dat God weerstreven wil.
Ziet hier in Platoos hol, qua anwenstydel wenschen
En twist omt schijnghoed valsch, eilaas hoe luttel menschen.
Zich en der dingen heil, door reen-lichts hulp, slaan gha Veel min, ghants beeld en willeloos, Christ volghen na.
Qua voorghangh misverstands anwenst, hout u gebonden
An schaduw heils onrust, dies waarheids heil-verkonden
U niet ter herten raakt: of looftment met ter praat?
Men looft in s'herten grond, gheld, wellust, eer, en staat.
Mits gingh de orghel op, an d'ene duer gheschildert Was Platoos hol: daar elk door schaduw liefd verwildert.
An d'ander duer, daar zachmen Kebes tafereel
T'een wees Melpomen u, Erato t'aar ten deel,
Zó ver de valsche schijn, en misverstand, doen dwalen.
Hoe ghy daar uyt tot heil moeght raken, hoort verhalen.

5. The distinction goes back to Boethius, but subsequently the idea became a commonplace, which we encounter in different forms throughout the Middle Ages and early Renaissance.
6. The text of the song: 'Ick heb ghesien de tijt, waer heen is zy gevaren?' may be found in *Veelderhande Liedekens, ghemaeckt uyt den Ouden ende Nieuwen Testaments, die voortijdts in Druckzijn uytghegaen*... (Amsterdam, 1593), fos. 164v–166v (UB Amsterdam: 976E49).
7. M. Spies, 'Arion-Amphion: Huygens en Hooft in de stormen van 1621–1622', in E. K. Grootes (ed.), *Uyt Liefde Geschreven. Studies over Hooft, 1581–16 maart 1981* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1981), 101–3.
8. *Hart-Spieghel*, 1614, book I, p. 7, lines 1–4:

   Ons Toeleg, waarheids kund, ook Zedevormingsdueghd Ind Zielgronderen is: wat zielstuert of verhueght.
   Dat ons dit onderzoek, een heil-trap magh verstrekken T's buyten-kans, kant and're ook tot dueghd verwekken.

9. *Hart-Spieghel,* 1614, book III, p. 45, lines 1–3:

   En voor mijn voeten berst een holle aarden spleet:
   Afbruekigh-eng den inghangh: onder vlak en breet.
   Van maxel was dit hol eens menschen hert gheleken.

10. See R. Schleier, *'Tabula Cebetis' oder, 'Spiegel des Menschlichen Lebens/darin Tugent and untugent abgemalet ist' : Studiën zur Rezeption einer antiken Bildbeschreibung im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert* (Berlin: Mann, 1973).
11. See e.g. P. Minderaa, 'Twee Hertspiegel-Problemen', in his *Opstellen en Voordrachten uit mijn Hoogleraarstijd (1948–1964)* (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1964), 51–62.
12. Andreas Ornithoparcus, *His Micrologus, or Introduction Containing The Art of Singing* (London, 1609; repr. Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, and New York: Da Capo Press, 1969), p. Clr. The first Latin edn appeared in 1517. The English translation is by John Dowland. UB Amsterdam: XA 1819:160.
13. English text cited from: G. L. Finney, *Musical Backgrounds for English Literature 1580–1650* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1961), 17. See also John Hollander, *The Untuning of the Sky: Ideas of Music in English Poetry 1500–1700 (*Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2nd edn 1966; 1st edn 1961), 144–5. In a Dutch edition of Du Bartas' text from 1621 the passage is as follows:

    Nu soomen lichtelijk kan speuren en bevinden,
    Dat eenderhande tocht van uytgeblase Winden Doorwandelt het secreet en door de klappen gaet,
    Als d'Organist met konst des Orgels stecken slaet,
    En door de Windelaedtverscheydenop sal trecken door d'een en d'ander pijp, en gaet alsoo verwecken Seer lieflijk te gelijck de Cimb'len scherp van klangh,

De fluyten soet van thoon, in allerhande sangh:
Also door Codes Geest die alles hier doet leven
Elck rond des hemels wordt op syne maet gedreven:
Also dat yder in ’t natrecken van zijn as
d’Een singht den boven-sangh en d’ander volgt den Bas.

W. S. heere van Bartas, *Wercken*, tr. Zacharias Heijns (Zwolle, 1621), part 1, pp. 263–4.

14. Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis, Sive Ars Magna Consoniet Dissoni in X Libros Digesta* (Haarlem, 1650), book X, part 1, ch. I, fo. 366. Sign. UB Amsterdam: 1193 A14.
15. S. K. Heninger Jr., *The Cosmographical Glass: Renaissance Diagrams of the Universe* (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library Press, 1977), 23.
16. Cited from: Hollander, *Untuning*, 134.
17. P. Vinken, ‘H. L. Spiegel’s Antrum Platonicum: A Contribution to the Iconology of the Heart’, *Oud-Holland* 75 (1960), 125–42.
18. See *Hart-Spieghel,* 1614, book III, p. 46, lines 11–14:

    En zelden, immer zelden, dees van beeld-liefd scheiden,
    On uyt (door hertshols engte) zich te laten leiden,
    Van lamplichts schaduw-beelds, vant donker valsch ghezicht,
    Tot warer dinghentoon, int Godlik Zonnen-licht.

19. This process is described in detail by J. Fernel in the first book of his *Universa Medicina*, called *De Partium Corporis Humani Descriptione*, from 1567. I have used the Dutch translation by Seb. Egbertsz.: D. Johannem Fernelium, *De beschrijvinge der Deelen des Lichaerns van den mensche:* . . . (Amsterdam, 1596). See p. 74. UB Amsterdam: 0 73–16.
20. See e.g. G. P. M. Knuvelder, *Handboek tot de Geschiedenis der Nedrlandse Letterkunde*, II (’s-Hertogenbosch: Malmberg, 1971), 150.

Chapter 14

1. N.S. signifies ‘New Style’, the reformed system of chronology introduced by Pope Gregory XIII.
2. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magie* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1971). Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1982, 255.
3. Thomas, *Religion*, 362–4.
4. Verkuyl, ‘Curieusegeomantie in *Keyser Otto den derden, en Galdrada* (1616–1617)’, *Zeventiende Eeuw* 5, no. 2 (1989), 1–32.

Chapter 15

1. Jacobus Kok, *Vaderlandsch geschied-, aardrijks-, geslacht- en staatkundig woordenboek . . . Bij een gebragt door den uitgever,* VII (Amsterdam: Bij Jacobus Kok, 1781), 660–5.
2. *Vertalinghe vande eerste Weeck der Scheppinghe des Werrelts. Ghedaen in’t Francois bij G. de Saluste, Heere van Bartas. Door den Heere Wessel vanden Boetseler [sic], Vryheere tot Asperen, &c.* (In ’s Graven-Haghe. Bij Aert Meuris, Boeckverkooper inde Papestraet, in den Bijbel, 1622. *Met Consent*). 4to. The ornamental title-page (engraved by W. Delft, printed by ‘Aert Meuris’ with Hebrews 11: 5 as motto) reads ‘De Weke der Scheppinghevan Willem de Saluste, Heere van Bartas, Vertaelt door Wessel vanden Boetzeler [MC], Vry-Heer van Asperen, &c.’ From the exemplar in the Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague, Poet: 347.
3. See under ‘Boetzelaer (Rutger Wessel, Baron van dén), Heer van Asperen’.
4. *De werken van Vondel: Volledige en geïllustreerde tekstuitgave in tien deelen* (Amsterdam: Maatschappij voor goede en goedkope lectuur, 1927–40), II, 429, note.
5. *Gedichten van P. C. Hooft: Volledige Uitgave. Tweede geheel herziene, opnieuw bewerkte en vermeerderde druk van de uitgave van P. Leendertz Wz.*, ed. F. A. Stoett (Amsterdam: Van Kampen, 1899–1900), 1, 144, note (l. 88); 184, note.

6. *Alle de gedichten van Anna Roemers Visscher vroeger bekend en gedrukt of eerst onlangs in handschrift ontdekt, naar tijdsorde en in verband met hare levensbijzonderheden*, ed. Nicolaas Beets (Utrecht, 1881), II, 107–8, quoting P. Leendertz.
7. *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens naar zijn handschrift uitgegeven*, ed. J. A. Worp, I, 1607–23 (Groningen, 1892), 242, note 4 (hereafter referred to as Worp), citing M. Beekman, *Beschrijving van... Asperen*, 258.
8. Worp, 242, note 4, gives the format as quarto.
9. J. W. des Tombe and Baron C. W. L. van Boetzelaer, *Het geslacht Van den Boetzelaer* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969), 202–3.
10. Cf. Huygens, 'Sur Les Pseaumes Meditez, du Baron d'Asperen', Worp, 242.
11. Des Tombe and van Boetzelaer, *Het geslacht*, 213.
12. Mary Arshagouni, 'John Donne's *Devotions Upon Emergent Occasions:* A Puritan Reading', UCLA dissertation, 1988, 17–34, 109–33.
13. He dated his commendatory poem 'Lond. Feb. [New Style]' (Worp, 243).
14. A. G. H. Bachrach, *Sir Constantine Huygens and Britain: 1596–1597. A Pattern of Cultural Exchange* (Oxford and Leiden: Leiden University Press, 1962), 138, 145, 219; Lodewijck Huygens, *The English Journal 1651–52*, ed. A. G. H. Bachrach and R. G. Collmer (Leiden: Brill/Leiden University Press, 1982), 57–61, 149–50, notes 90, 104, 278.
15. In both *So Doth, So Is Religion: John Donne and Diplomatic Contexts in the Reformed Netherlands, 1679–1620* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1968), 91, 133–34 and 144–5; and 'John Donne and the Huygens Family, 1619–1621: Some Implications for Dutch Literature', *Dutch Quarterly Review* 12 (1982–3), 193–204, I suggest that first acquaintance took place in 1619/20. R. C. Bald, *John Donne: A Life* (New York and Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 441–2; and A. G. H. Bachrach, 'Sir Constantijn Huygens's Acquaintance with Donne: A Note on Evidence and Conjecture', *Litterae textuales / Nederlandica manuscripta: Essays Presented to G. I. Lieftinck*, ed. J. P. Gumbert and M. J. M. de Haan (Amsterdam: Van Gendt, 1976), 113–15.
16. Worp, I, 242, note 4.
17. Des Tombe and van Boetzelaer, *Het geslacht*, 202–3, referring to Kok, *Vaderlandsch... woordenboek...* (2nd edn; Amsterdam: J. Allart, 1785–96), VII, 647.
18. Kok, *Vaderlandsch... woordenboek*, 647–8.
19. *The British Library General Catalogue of Printed Books to 1975*, XXXVI (London: British Library, 1980), 46–7.
20. Alexandre Cioranescu, *Bibliographie de la littérature française du dix-septième siècle* (Paris: Centre National de Recherche Scientifique, 1969), I, s.v. 'Asperen' and 'Boetzelaer'.
21. I am indebted to Dr A. J. Veenendaal, Jr., for his help in this matter.
22. Martinus Beekman, *Beschreiving van de stad en baronnie Asperen. Vertoonende haare oudheid, gebouen, hooge, en verdere regerring, ens* (Utrecht: Bij Mattheus Visch, 1745), 258:

    > Heer Rutger Wessel Baron van den Boetzelaer was in sijn teid een seer geleerd, dapper, weis, ja in staats saaken ervaren en bedreeven man, een liefhebber van de Dichtkunst, en een goed Dichter, so in de Fransse als Nederlandse taal, als uit sijne dichtkundige werken bleikt, en noch overig sijn als
    > *Méditations Christiennes...*
    >
    > *Vertaaling van de eerste week der Scheppinge...*

23. Kok, *Vaderlandsch... woordenboek*, VII (1781), 660–5; *Vaderlandsch... woordenboek* (2nd edn; Amsterdam: Allart, 1785–96), VII, 646–9.
24. On 1 September 2011, Dr Ad Leerintveld of the Dutch Royal Library in The Hague (ad.leerintveld@kb.nl) reported the discovery of a copy of Van Asperen´s 'Meditations Chrestiennes' in the Finsprong Collection at the Stadsbibliotek, Norrköping, Sweden. Cf. Paul R. Sellin, 'Bibliographical Ghosts, False Negatives, and Snares of Dialectic: The "Meditations Christiennes" of Rutger Wessel van den Boetzelaer, Baron van Asperen', in Margriet de Bruijn Lacy and Christine P. Sellin (eds), *Crossing Boundaries and Transforming Identities: New Perspectives in Netherlandic Studies* (Munster: Nodus Publikationen, 2011), 49–55.

Chapter 16

1. J. L. Guez de Balzac, *Discours sur l'état politique de Provinces Unies*, quoted by P. Watter, 'Jean Louis Guez de Balzac's Le prince. A Revaluation', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 20 (1957), 216. (I am grateful to my colleague Stuart Clark for drawing my attention to this passage.)
2. *Leviathan* (1651) in *Hobbes's English Works*, ed. W. Molesworth (11 vols.; London, 1839–45), III, 313–14.
3. There are of course exceptions to this generalisation. Particularly relevant to the subject of the present chapter are the brief but suggestive discussions of G. N. Clark, 'Dutch Influences in British History', *De Nieuwe Gids* 38 (1923), 505–15, and C. Hill, *Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 280–4.
4. K. L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of the English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 5.
5. J. J. Orlers and H. van Haestens, *The Triumphs of Nassau*, tr. W. Shute (London: Adam Islip, 1613), 5; N. E. Osselton, *The Dumb Linguists* (London: Oxford University Press, 1973), 10.
6. E.g. W. Prynne, *The Soveraigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes* (London: M. Sparke, 1643), part 3, esp. pp. 143–4.
7. J. Huizinga, 'Engelschen en Nederlanders in Shakespeare's tijd', *Verzamelde werken* (9 vols.; Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1948–53), ii. 350–81. The plays referred to are *A Larum for London or the siedge of Antwerp* (1602); C. Tourneur, *The Atheist's Tragedy* (1611), II, i, describing the overthrow of the Spanish at Ostend; and J. Fletcher and P. Massinger, *The Tragedy of Sir John van Olden Barneveldt* (1619).
8. *The Travels and Memoirs of Sir John Reresby, Bart* (London: E. Jeffery, 1813), 144.
9. The titles, respectively, of works by Thomas Churchyard (1578) and Sir Roger Williams (1618).
10. *A Briefe Discourse of Warre* (1590), urging reform of the English army along Spanish lines.
11. J. Bingham, *The tacticks of Aelian* (1616), sig. A2v.
12. Sir J. W. Fortescue, *A History of the British Army* (13 vols.; London: Macmillan, 1899–1930), I, 168–9; M. Ashley, *Cromwell's Generals* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1954), 14–15, 28–9, 157–8. James I's peace with Spain in 1604 did not lessen the number of English and Scottish troops in the Dutch army, who were by this time in the pay of the States-General. During the 1630s they numbered around 12,000. At the same time there were over 3,000 British soldiers serving in the Spanish army in the Netherlands.
13. Besides Bingham, *Tacticks of Aelian*, these included E. Davies, *The Art of War* (1616), J. Waymouth, *Low-Country trayning* (1617), H. Hexham, *Principles of the art militarie* (1637–40) and R. Ward, *Animadversions of warre* (1639).
14. C. H. Firth, *Cromwell's Army* (3rd edn; London: Methuen, 1921), 151–2.
15. The Dutch army's 'Lawes, Articles and Ordinances touching the Marshall Discipline' appeared first in English translation in the appendix to part I of Henry Hexham's *Principles of the art militarie*. Hexham reissued them as a separate volume in 1643 specifically in order to make them more accessible to 'Cheifs and Commanders' of the English Civil War: *An Appendix of the Lawes, Articles, & Ordinances, established... in the service of... the Stales Generali of the United Provinces* (The Hague, 1643).
16. Discussing the structure of infantry companies in the Dutch army, John Hexham suggests that 'gentlemen of quality' were expected to serve initially as private soldiers, with the opportunity for preferment 'when the Generali or Coronell shall find them worthy and deserving': *Principles*, I, 6–7; cf. Firth, *Cromwell's Army*, 40–53.
17. Verses by Thomas Scott, beginning 'The Campe'sa Schole', in Samuel Bachiler, *Miles Christianus* (1625), sig. Blv.; see also Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 198–9.
18. J. Quick, 'leones Sacrae Anglicanae' (MS), quoted by Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 285.
19. Quoted by Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 11.
20. See e.g. the favourable account of their Dutch experience given in the *Apologeticall Narration* (1644) of W. Bridge and his fellow Congregationalists: *Tracts on Liberty in the Puritan Revolution 1638–1647*, ed. W. Haller (3 vols.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), II, 305–39.
21. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, ch. 12; K. V. Thomas, 'Women and the Civil War Sects', in T. Aston (ed.), *Crisis in Europe 1560–1660* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1965), 321–4.
22. M. R. Watts, *The Dissenters* (London: Clarendon Press, 1977), I, 42–9.

23. *A Discourse upon the Nature of Episcopacy* (1641) in *Tracts on Liberty*, II, 135.
24. *Puritanism and Liberty*, ed. A. S. P. Woodhouse (2nd edn; London: J. M. Dent, 1974), 138.
25. R. Overton, *The Araignement of Mr. Persecution* (1645) and W. Walwyn, *The Compassionate Samaritane* (1644) in *Tracts on Liberty*, III, 222–3, 241, 86–8.
26. S. Groenveld, *Verlopend Getij. De Nederlandse Republiek en de Engelse Burgeroorlog 1640–1646* (Dieren: Bataafsche Leeuw, 1984), 39–42, 103–4. The proposed union was also to be economic, resting on the two states' common maritime interests, and it included a specific proposal for the establishment of an Anglo-Dutch West India Company.
27. P. Hunton, *A Treatise of Monarchy* (1643), 10; W. Prynne, *The Soveraigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdomes* (1643), part 3; J. Goodwing, *The Obstructours of Justice* (1649), 11–12 (quotation); J. Milton, *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*, in *Complete Prose Works* (8 vols.; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1953–82), III, 226–7.
28. J. H. M. Salmon, *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1959), 3–4.
29. *The Politics of Althusius*, tr. F. S. Carney (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1965), 10–11, 95–6, 101, 186–7; E. H. Kossmann, 'The Development of Dutch Political Theory in the Seventeenth Century', in J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann (eds), *Britain and the Netherlands* (London: Macmillan, 1969), 97–8; G. P. Gooch, *English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century*, ed. H. J. Laski (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1926), 47–8.
30. Kossmann, 'Dutch Political Theory', 94. From about 1630 on, however, political theory at the University of Leiden became much more monarchical in emphasis.
31. A 2nd edn followed in 1654. Other works of Grotius appeared in English in the course of the 1650s, including *Of the Law of War and Peace*, which in its original Latin had been cited frequently as an authority on the right of resistance.
32. Sit Thomas Overbury, *His Observations in His Travailes upon the State of the XVII Provinces* (1626, reprinted London, 1651), 8–10 (1651 edn).
33. Sir Francis Bacon, 'Of Nobility' (c.1610–12), in *Works*, ed. I. Spedding (14 vols.; London: Longmans, 1862–74), VI, 405; Thomas Mun, *England's Treasure by Forraign Trade* (written c.1625, published 1665) in J. R. McCulloch (ed.), *Early English Tracts on Commerce* (Cambridge: Economic History Society, 1952), 194–5; Henry Parker, *Of a Free Trade* (1648), quoted in W. K. Jordan, *Men of Substance* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1942), 215.
34. *Humble Proposal against Transporting Gold and Silver* (1661), quoted by J. P. Cooper, 'Social and Economic Policies under the Commonwealth', in G. E. Aylmer (ed.), *The Interregnum* (London: Macmillan, 1972), 122.
35. *A Declaration of the Parliament of England* (1649), 16. Cf. H. Robinson, *A Short Discourse between Monarchical and Aristocratical Government* (1649), 15; W. Cole, *A Rod for the Lawyers* (1659) in *The Harleian Miscellany* (10 vols.; London, 1808–13), IV, 310.
36. McCulloch, *Early English Tracts on Commerce*, 79–93; J. Thirsk and J. P. Cooper (eds), *Seventeenth-Century Economic Documents* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 509–10, 725; S. Lambe, *Seasonable Observations Humbly Offered to . . . the Lord Protector* (1659) in *Somers Tracts* (13 vols., 1809–15), VI, 446–65; Cooper, 'Social and Economic Policies', 125, 129–30, 136.
37. W. Goffe, *How to Advance the Trade of the Nation and Employ the Poor* (1641) in *Harleian Miscellany*, IV, 385–9; R. Bush, *The Poor Man's Friend* (1649).
38. D. Veall, *The Popular Movement for Law Reform 1640–1660* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), 206 (quoting H. Peter, *A Word for the Army*, 1647), 217–18, 219–22; N. L. Matthews, *William Sheppard, Cromwell's Law Reformer* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 173; McCulloch, *Early English Tracts on Commerce*, 81; Lambe, *Seasonable Observations*, 452–3.
39. H. Erskine-Hill and G. Storey (eds), *Revolutionary Prose of the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 224–7.
40. *The Advice of W[illiam] P[etty] to Mr. Samuel Hartlib for the Advancement of some Particular Parts of Learning* (1648) in *Harleian Miscellany*, VI, 1–14. Cf. *S. Hartlib and the Advancement of Learning* (1653), ed. C. Webster (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 171–2, 189; Hill, *Intellectual Origins*, 108–9, 123–4.
41. *Good Work for a Good Magistrate* (1651), 101–8.
42. One aspect of this subject has, in fact, now been investigated: see L. Williams, 'English Social Welfare and the Model of the Dutch Republic, *c*.1640–1800', unpublished MA thesis, Swansea, 1991.

Chapter 17

1. For an overview of *Gysbreght van Aemstel* productions from the seventeenth century to the 1930s, see Ben Albach, 'De tooneelloopbaan van den Gijsbreght', *Vondelkroniek* 6 (1935), 18–30; Albach, *Drie eeuwen Gijsbreght van Aemstel, Kroniek van de jaarlijksche opvoeringen* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1937). For a critique of some late nineteenth-century stagings, see L. Simons, 'Vertoonwaardigheid en vertooningswijze van Vondels *Gysbreght van Aemstel*', *Vondelkroniek* (1931), 49–56.
2. *Gysbreght* was sharply criticised in the early nineteenth century for falling short of the dramatic ideal established by the Greeks, e.g. L. G. Pareau and P. G. Huet, *Responsio ad quaestionem literariam ab ordine philosophiae theoreticae et literarum humaniorum propositam:* 'Disquiratur, quaenam universe fuerit Tragoediae Graecae ratio, ad eamque exigatur nobilissima Vondelii fabula, *Gysbrecht van Aemstel*', in *Annales Academicae Rheno-Traiectinae*, 1819–20 (Traiecti ad Rhenum [=Utrecht], 1821). For an analysis of these earlier views, see Theod. Jorissen, *Palamedes en Gysbrecht van Aemstel. Kritiesche Studien* (Amsterdam, 1879), pp. xi–xxxii. The typically Dutch qualities of the drama are discussed in Alfred Hermann, *Joost van den Vondels 'Gysbrecht van Aemstel' in seinem Verhältnis zum zweiten Buch von Vergils Aeneis*, Diss. Leipzig 1928, 96–104; L. Simons, 'Vondel's Gysbreght van Aemstel', in his *Studies en lezingen* (1893; repr. Amsterdam: Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkoope Lectuur, 1911), 236–8.
3. W. A. P. Smit, *Van Pascha to Noah. Een verkenning van Vondels drama's naar continuiteit en ontwikkeling in hun grondmotief en structuur,* I (Zwolle: Tjeenk Willink, 1956), 174–219; Anton van Duinkerken, 'De priesterfiguren in Gysbreght van Aemstel', *DW&B* [= *Dietsche Warande en Felfort*] 7 (1966), 519–27; Myra Scholz-Heerspink, 'Vondel's "Gijsbreght van Aemstel" as Emblematic and Figural Drama', *Spektator* 4 (1974–5), 570–81; G. van Eemeren, 'Nogmaals over schuld in "Gysbreght"', in S. F. Witstein and E. K. Grootes (eds), *Visies op Vondel na 300 jaar* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1979), 88–103. Similar views are espoused in John Prudhoe, 'Joost van den Vondel: The Dramatic Technique of "Gysbreght van Aemstel" and "Lucifer" Considered as a Contribution to World Tragedy', *MLR* [= *Modern Language Review*] 51 (1956), 555–9, without adding new material to the critical discussion.
4. 'Het is kennelijck dat d'aeloude dichters pooghden de ghedichten den volcke smaeckelijck to maecken met zaecken te ververschen, die hunne vorsten en voorouderen betroffen.' Vondel, *De werken* (10 vols.; Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1927–37), III, 520. All further citations from Vondel's works are based on this edn; references to *Gysbreght* are made directly in the text by act and line number.
5. For a discussion of the general characteristics of ceremonial historical dramas in European literature, see Herbert Lindenberger, *Historical Drama: The Relation of Literature and Reality* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1975), 78–86. Patriotic historical dramas, including those of Hooft and Vondel, have also recently been examined from a Marxist perspective: Walter Cohen, *Drama of a Nation: Public Theater in Renaissance England and Spain* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1985), 91–6. Cohen regards *Gysbreght* as an exemplification of Vondel's bourgeois ideology and his concomitant opposition [sic] to the House of Orange.
6. Smit (*Van Pascha to Noah*, 219) complained that Vondel introduced so many parallels, motifs and ideas into this play that the confused reader fails to perceive the most important aspects of the work. Cf. the imposition of a subjective, interpretive structure onto the drama by K. Langvik-Johannesen, 'Konfiguration und kompositionelle Einheit in Vondels "Gijsbreght van Aemstel"', in P. K. King and P. F. Vincent (eds), *European Context: Studies in the History and Literature of the Netherlands Presented to Theodoor Weevers* (Cambridge: Modern Humanities Research Association, 1971), 120–31.
7. For an example of the typically rhapsodic tone accompanying discussions of Badeloch, see Dorri Grosfeld-Van Balen, 'Vijf vrouwenfiguren uit Vondels drama's', *Vondelkroniek* 9 (1938), 189–93. The martyrdom of Gozewijn and the Klaerissen was especially appreciated by critics eager to read *Gysbreght* as an indication of Vondel's imminent conversion to Catholicism: e.g., A. Serrarens, 'Vondel's "Gysbreght" en "Maeghden" in 't licht der contrareformatie', *TNTL [= Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde]* 25 (1937), 239–44. Cf. Smit (*Van Pascha to Noah*, 207–11), who focused on the maryrdom as part of Vondel's Christianisation of Virgil.

8. Wereldbibliotheek-edition of *Vondels Werken* in 10 vols., 1927–40 = WB III, 523–4.
9. Smit, *Van Pascha to Noah*, 177–8, 214.
10. Smit, *Van Pascha to Noah*, 203–6.
11. WB III, 523.
12. WB III, 526.
13. WB III, 526.
14. For a historical discussion of the relationship between Vondel and the theatre's architect Jacob van Campen, see R. T. A. Swillens, 'Vondel en Jacob van Campen', *Vondelkroniek* 10 (1939), 165–85. Swillens ('Vondel', 170–2) also clarifies the small role that Nicolaes van Campen, Jacob's cousin and regent of the city orphanage that financed the building of the Schouwburg, played in the construction of the theatre.
15. WB III, 512. This motto was also printed, along with two other inscriptions by Vondel for the new theatre, at the end of the 1st edn (1637) of *Gysbreght*.
16. On the staging of this climactic scene, see Hans de Leeuwe, 'Der Erzengel Rafael in Vondels "Gysbreght van Aemstel": Wandlungen in der Darstellung des überirdischen auf dem Holländischen Theater', *MuK* [= *Maske und Kothurne, Vierteljahreschrift für Theaterwissenschaft*] 10 (1964), 385–95; and W. G. Hellinga, 'La representation de "Gijbreght van Aemstel" de Vondel', in Jean Jacquot et al. (eds), *Le Lieu théatral à la Renaissance (Colloque de Royaumont, 22 to 27 March, 1963)* (2nd edn; Paris: CNRS, 1978; 1964, 1st edn), 341–2.
17. Virgil, *Aeneid* 2.363. This half-line was printed on the title-page of the 1637 edn of *Gysbreght*.
18. After referring to the recent triumphant retaking of Breda (Oct. 1637) by Frederick Henry, Vondel continues: 'De bouwkunst bloeit in 't midden van 't gevecht,/En opent schouwburgh en tooneelen:/Daer strijckt de grijze Raed het voorhoofd slecht,/En word door droeve en blijde speelen/Verquickt: . . .' (WB III, 526). This sentiment, when taken in conjunction with the main lesson of the play ('d'opperste beleit zijn zaecken wonderbaer', V, 1831), typifies the *consolatio tragoediae* expressed by many seventeenth-century plays in the Low Countries and Germany. For a discussion of *consolatio* in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Renaissance dramatic theory, see Hans-Jürgen Schings, 'Consolatio tragoediae: Zur Theorie des barocken Trauerspiels', in Reinhold Grimm (ed.), *Deutsche Dramentheorien,* I (Frankfurt a. M.: Athenäum-Verlag, 1971), 1–44.
19. In a much debated passage, Gysbreght admits his error but absolves himself because of the innocence of his motives: 'Of zoo ick schuldigh ben, en heeft het my gemist,/'t Is uit onnozelheid, en zonder argh of list' (I, 31–2). His presumptuous desire to find confirmation of his innocence in God's eyes leads him to misinterpret the flight of the enemy as a sign of divine favour (Van Eemeren, 'Nogmaals', 93–5).
20. This connection has been observed by many critics, e.g. Simons, 'Vondel's Gysbreght van Aemstel', 239; Smit, *Van Pascha to Noah,* 197; Van Eemeren, 'Nogmaals', 91–3.
21. Hooft's river-spirit, Vecht, uses a typically Neo-Stoic mixture of Christian and ancient philosophical terms, evident in such lines as 'Want ghy onwetend zijt hoedaenich het besluyt is/Des Hemels ende waer het noodlodt over uyt is. /Niet schiet'er te vergheefs: veel min gheschiet 'er quaet: / Maer't soet met suyrheyt souwt de goddelijcke raedt' (*Geeraerdt van Velsen*, V, 1480–3). References to Hooft's play are based on the edition of A. J. J. De Witte, *Klassiek Letterkundig Pantheon*, 138–39, 2nd edn (Zutphen, 1976). The Neo-Stoic Hooft speaks here of revealing 'die verborgentheyt des noodlots' (V, 1498) and betrays a healthy confidence in man's ability to exercise 'Maeticheyt' (V, 1716), *moderatio*, as a means to ward off unexpected misfortune. For a comparative treatment of Hooft's ties to the influential Neo-Stoic handbook of Justus Lipsius, *De Constantia* (1584), see Fokke Veenstra, *Bijdrage tot de kennis van de invloeden op Hooft*, Diss. Groningen 1946 (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1946), 185–97. In contrast, Vondel places his prophecy in the mouth of an established messenger of God (V. 1865–71), who functions solely as a herald of Divine Providence. For a brief discussion of some of the obvious differences between the two writers' representation of the Dutch past and their use of Virgil, see J. Koopmans, *Letterkundige studiën: Hooft als allegorist / Vondel als christensymbolist* (Amsterdam: Versluys, 1906), 206–19.
22. This view was notably represented by Gijsbert (Gysbreght) in Hooft's play: *Geeraerdt van Velsen*, II, 452–61. For the classical and Renaissance background to Hooft's notion of the States, see Fokke Veenstra, *Ethiek en moraal bij P. C. Hooft* (Zwolle, 1968), 11–101.

23. In the prologue to the Amsterdam magistrates, Vondel hopes that the present 'oorlooghs onweer' (WB III, 524) will one day be dispelled and that Amsterdam will soon enjoy the economic benefits of peace.
24. In 'Maeghdeburghs Liickoffer' (1631), Vondel bitterly laments the unparalleled destruction that Christian princes have wrought: 'Wat gruwel trapt, met Christen hoofds banieren, /Op maeghdepalm, tot schennis van laurieren! / En schaeckt'er weeu en wees haer' roosekrans: / Op 't versche lyck van vaders en van mans!' (lines 85–88; WB III, 363).
25. Vondel's disapproval of the continued persecution of the Remonstants by the Counter-Remonstrants occasioned much of his satirical poetry in the late 1620s. For an ironical treatment of the 'martyrdom' of the conservative churchmen who incited a riot against the Remonstrants on 13 April 1626, see Vondel's 'Rommel pot vant Hane-kot' (1627), 115–23. The civil disruption in 1628, caused by the refusal of some Amsterdam militiamen (*schutters*) to take the oath of allegiance to their new captain on account of his Remonstrant beliefs, became so violent that order could only be restored by Frederick Henry and his troops. On this occasion, Vondel greeted the Stadholder with his 'Amsteldams Wellekomst aen… Frederick Henrick' (WB III, 182–86) and praised his ability as a peacemaker: 'Waerghe komt uw' treden setten/Krygen keuren en Stads wetten/Nieuwe kracht, en haet en twist/ Stuyven wegh als roock en mist:/En die ongetoomde tongen,/ Die soo stout en onbedwongen/Galmden oproer bloed en moord,/Swygen stil aen yeder oord' (lines 91–98). For historical background to these controversies, see Hajo Brugmans, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam,* vol. 3 (Amsterdam, 1930), 208–14.
26. The reaction of the *Kerkeraad* to these scenes has been exhaustively studied, and the effect of these changes on Vondel's text much debated, e.g., J. F. M. Sterck, 'De 'verthooninge vande superstitiën vande paperye als misse ende andere ceremonien' in Vondels *Gysbreght van Aemstel*', *Vondelkroniek* 3 (1932), 111–20. Cf. P. Maximilianus, 'Over den oorspronkelijken Gysbreght', *TNTL* 20 (1932), 5–12; idem, 'Over de H. Mis in den Gysbreght', *TNTL* 21 (1933), 36–41. For a recent discussion, see E. Oey-De Vita, 'De edities van *Gysbreght van Aemstel* gedrukt door Wilhelm Blaeu', *SpL* 15 (1973), 81–111, esp. 87–94.
27. For a general introduction to Vondel and Virgil, see A. M. F. B. Geerts, *Vondel als classicus bij de humanisten in de leer,* Diss. Utrecht 1932 (Tongerloo, 1932), pp. 37–40; 68–74.
28. WB II, 520, line 254 ('Begroetenis aen den doorluchtighsten en hooghgheboren Vorst Frederick Henrick' [1626]). Frederick Henry is portrayed as a peace-bringer in several other Vondel poems in the mid- and late 1620s: 'Princelied' (1625); 'Op de beeldenis van Vorst Frederick Henrick' (1625); 'Oranje May-lied' (1626); 'Geboortklock van Willem van Nassau' (1627); 'Amsteldams Wellekomst aen… Frederick Henrick' (1628). For a general discussion of the idea of peace in Vondel's writings and its relationship to freedom, see L. Rens, O *zoete vrijheid*[1]. *Vondel als strijder voor vrijheid en vrede* (Leiden, 1969), 24–9.
29. E.g., in the 1629 poem 'Zegesang ter eere van Frederick Henrick, Boschdwinger, etc.', Frederick Henry is spurred on to attack the Spaniards because he wishes to avenge his uncle Lodewijk's death at Mook near 's-Hertogenbosch in 1574: 'En wraeck opsiedend't edel bloed/ Verdobbelt sijnen oorloghsmoed' (WB III, 270, lines 93–94). Similar sentiments are found in the 'Stedekroon van Frederick Henrick' (1632), written in celebration of the Stadholder's successful siege of Maastricht: 'Die held is een beloofde FREDERICK,/Uw wreecker en beschermer in der nood' (WB III, 385, lines 31–32).
30. Vondel exhorts Huygens, the secretary of the Stadholder: ''t Is veilighst dat ghy den Nassauwer stuit,/Op synen toght: dies stel uw guide luit,/En streel den held, dat het gemoed bedaer,/En vre verkies voor oorlogh en gevaer' (WB III, 393, lines 17–20). For extensive critical discussions of this poem, see Mieke Smits-Veldt, 'Vondels *Vredewensch aen Constantyn Huigens* (1633) als bijdrage tot een aktuele diskussie', *Spektator* 7 (1977–78), 217–45, and L. Rens, 'Structuren in Vondels *Vredewensch aen Constantyn Huigens* (1633)', in *Vondel bij gelegenheid,* Leuvense Studiën en Tekstuitgaven, N. R., 1 (Middelburg, 1979), 92–102.
31. E.g., Vondel's epicedium for the Spanish regent of the southern Netherlands urging her to help achieve peace between the Low Countries and Spain: 'Op het overlyden van Isabella Klara Eugenia' (1633), WB III, 403–4, lines 45–56; and his hortatory poem 'Op de tweedraght der Christen Princen' (1634), imploring Christian Europe to desist from internecine conflict and confront the imminent Turkish threat (WB III, 418–19). See also the poem 'Bestand tusschen Polen en Sweden' (1635), WB III, 428–30, esp. lines 61–66.

32. E.g., Scholz-Heerspink, 'Vondel's "Gijsbreght van Aemstel"', 577. Vondel alludes to the exile parallel in the dedicatory letter to Grotius: 'Ick offer dan uwe Exc. in zijne ballingschapmijnen Gijsbreght van Aemstel, den godtvruchtigen en dapperen balling' (WB III, 522).
33. WB III, 435.
34. WB III, 457–62 (III, 653–824).
35. For an overview of Grotius's pacifist ideas and his utopian vision of a unified 'ecclesia Christiana', see Dieter Wolf, *Die Irenik des Hugo Grotius nach ihren Prinzipien und biographisch-geistesgeschichtlichen Perspektiven*, Schriften des Instituts für wissenschaftliche Irenik (Frankfurt a. M.), 9 (Marburg, 1969).
36. The phoenix image is implied in Vondel's 'Wellekomst van den Heer Huigh de Groot' (1631), WB III, 370, lines 29–32, and explicitly used in the poetic legend for a 1631 engraving of Grotius by J. Houbaken: 'Op den Heere Huigh de Groot', WB III, 371, lines 5–6. The phoenix also reappears in Vondel's dedicatory letter to Grotius: 'een fenix te voorschijn koomt, die ick nu met den vinger niet en hoef te wijzen, nadien de glans van zijn pennen alle de wereld in d'oogen schittert' (WB III, 521).
37. For a brief survey of the historical circumstances surrounding Grotius's return in 1631, see H. J. M. Nellen, *Hugo de Groot (1583–1645); De loopbaaan van een geleerd staatsman* (Weesp, 1985), 49–58. Grotius himself remained embittered by this mistreatment at the hands of his fellow countrymen, as he tells Vondel in a letter (28 May 1638) thanking him for the *Gysbreght* dedication: 'Ik houde my seer verplicht aan U E. beleeftheit en groote genegentheit tot my, dewelke schier alleene, immers nevens weinigen van die landen, zoekt te verzoeten myne geleden zwaarigheden, en te vergelden myne onbeloonde diensten.' *Vondelbrieven uit de XVIIe eeuw*, ed. J. F. M. Sterck (Amsterdam-Sloterdijk, 1635), 88.
38. WB IV, 75.

Chapter 18

The Library of Amsterdam University used to operate a special (though incomplete) pamphlet catalogue, classified by the year of publication. The pamphlet signatures and library codes given below were taken from that catalogue. Today, researchers should check the online STCN [Short Title Catalogue Netherlands], and contact the Special Collections of the Amsterdam University Library. Because of the lengthy titles of most of the pamphlets I will limit myself to mentioning author and/or signature of the pamphlets cited.

1. Hannah Arendt, *On Revolution (*Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979), 42.
2. Arendt, *On Revolution*, 43.
3. Arendt, *On Revolution*, 59.
4. J. Huizinga, 'Nederland's beschaving in de zeventiende eeuw', in *Verzamelde werken*, II (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1948), 430.
5. E. H. Kossmann, 'Politieke theorie in het zeventiende-eeuwse Nederland', *Verhandelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen*, afd. Letterkunde, N. R. dl. 67/2 (1960).
6. Michel Foucault, *Les mots et les choses* (Paris: Gallimard, 1966).
7. Craig E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Nijhoff, 1987).
8. a. o. sign E n 10.
9. a. o. sign E o 33.
10. f. i. sign. E 1 5 and E p 13.
11. Ed Poppius, sign. 411 E 15 and E Q 20.
12. Hugo de Groot, sign. 495 G 38.
13. sign. E p 13.
14. sign. E 1 5.
15. f. i. sign. E o 33.
16. sign. E p 6.
17. sign. E Q 18.
18. Belcampius, sign. E Q 27.

19. Belcampius, sign. E Q 27.
20. Alting, sign. E Q 16b.
21. sign. E Q 16.
22. sign. E n 6.
23. sign. E Q 22.
24. Belcampius, sign. E Q 27.
25. Huizinga, 'Nederland's beschaving', 430–4.

Chapter 19

1. Historical interpretations of the Neapolitan revolt are given by e.g. P. Burke, 'The Virgin of the Carmine and the Revolt of Masaniello', *Past and Present* 99 (1983), 3–21, and R. Villari, 'Masaniello: Contemporary and Recent Interpretations', *Past and Present* 108 (1985), 117–35, who disagrees with the complementary anthropological view suggested by Burke. Villari's objections are discussed in P. Burke, 'Masaniello: A Response [to Villari 1985]', *Past and Present* 114 (1987), 197–9.
2. The best known is a journal by Alessandro Giraffi, titled *Le rivolutioni di Napoli* (Venice, 1647). In 1650–2 it was translated into English (by James Howell, see Burke, 'Virgin of the Carmine', 5, and Villari, 'Masaniello', 125ff.) and into Dutch (by Vincent Casteleyn; his translation was probably pushed off the market by the one by Lambert van den Bosch – see J. Th. W. Clemens and J. W. Steenbeek, *Italiaanse boeken in het Nederlands vertaald (tot 1800). Bibliografie* (Groningen: Wolters, 1964), 40ff.
3. *Op- en ondergang van Mas Anjello of Napelse beroerte, (voorgevallen in 't jaar 1647), Treurspel*; Door T. A. Gespeelt of [played by T.A = Thomas Asselijn] d'Amsterdamsche Schouwburgh. t'Amsterdam, by Jacob Lescailje . . . 1668. I consulted a copy that is preserved in the Amsterdam University Library, shelf mark 1021 H3. *Mas Anjello* was reprinted in 1669, 1671, 1675, 1685, 1701 and 1725. There were several representations in the Amsterdam theatre. The dates are, according to J. A. Worp's *Repertoire 1638–1818* (Handschrift Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden, afdeling Westerse handschriften, Ltk 1730*):* 20, 23 and 27 Feb., 1 Mar., 31 May and 4 Oct. 1668; 31 Jan. 1669; 30 Jan. 1670; 23, 24 and 26 Feb., 13 Mar., 11 Nov. 1688; 15 Sept. 1689.
4. *Trauerspiel von den Neapolitanischen Haupt-Rebellen Masaniello*, praesentiret in *Zittau/Den 11. Febr. M DC LXXXII*. I used the text in C. Weise, *Sämtliche Werke*, I, Historische Dramen 1, ed. J. D. Lindberg (Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 1971), 152–373. A comparison between Asselijn's *Mas Anjello* and Weise's *Trauerspiel* is also made in M. Meijer Drees, *De treurspelen van Thomas Asselijn (ca. 1620–1701)* (Enschede: FeboDruk, 1989), 27–30.
5. This is argued in Meijer Drees, *De treurspelen*, 79ff.
6. See for instance A. C. J. de Vrankrijker, *De motiveering van onzen opstand. De theorieën van het verzet der Nederlandsche opstandelingen legen Spanjein de járen 1565–1581* (Nijmegen, 1933; reprint: Utrecht: HES, 1979) and M. E. H. N. Mout, *Het Plakkaat van Verlatinge 1581.* Facsimile-uitgave van de originele druk . . . Inleiding, transcriptie en vertaling in hedendaags Nederlands (The Hague: Staatsuitgeverij, 1979).
7. 'Toen Alba onzen geesel (aldus noemt hem den Drost Hooft) de Neederlanden bestont te prangen, met het invoeren van den thienden penning, scheen den gantschen Staat gedreyght te werden met een eeuwighduurigeslaverny, alzoo hy tegens alle Rechten, en zonder bewilliging der Algemene Staaten, (alleen maar met dien tijtel, dat zulks 't gemeene best vereyste) d'ingezeetenen des lants, zoodanigh heeft gedrukt, dat door 't afparssen der selve, een gedurige verwoesting, en 't afval der Landen is gevolght.' Asselijn dedicated his *Mas Anjello* to a budding young politician of the influential Amsterdam regent family Van Vlooswijk.
8. De Vrankrijker, *De motiveering*, 152; Mout, *Plakkaat*, 37, 38.
9. This kind of mythologisation is considered by P. A. M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse opstand in pamfletten 1566–1584* (Nijmegen, 1956; repr. Utrecht: HES, 1983), ch. 2, *passim*.
10. 'Daar werdt een brandt vertoont, en van binnen vreeselijk geroepen [. . .]' (stage direction, Act III).
11. 'Marionet. Majombe. Rey van gewapende Vrouwen. Alle met bussen stroo, takkebussen en brandende fakkels in de handt' (Stage direction, Act III, scene 2). Marionet is the name of Anjello's wife, Majombe his mother's name.

12. See R. M. Dekker, 'De rol van vrouwen in oproeren in de Republiek in de 17de en 18de eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor sociale geschiedenis* 12 (1978), 305–16, and Rudolf Dekker, *Holland in beroering. Oproeren in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Baarn: AMBO, 1982), 51–60.
13. The political meaning of Weise's *Trauerspiel* been discussed many times (see for instance M. Kaiser, *Mitternacht-Zeidler-Weise. Das protestantische Schultheater nach 1648 im Kampf gegen höfische Kultur und absolutistisches Regiment* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, (1972), 134–58; E. M. Szarota, 'Die Gesellschaft im protestantischen Schuldrama Christian Weises', in Szarota, *Geschichte, Politik und Gesellschaft im Drama des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Berne: Francke, 1976), 200–12, and K. Reichelt, *Barockdrama und Absolutismus. Studien zum deutschen Drama zwischen 1650 und 1700* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1981), 138–61. I subscribe to the opinion of Reichelt, who complements and modifies the view of Kaiser, *Mitternacht*.
14. See also H. Schlaffer, Dramenform und Klassenstruktur. *Eine Analyse der dramatis persona 'Volk'* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1972), 33.
15. Reichelt, *Barockdrama*, 147–56.
16. In the prologue it is said: 'Hier trotzt ein Fischer seinen Herren: Ein VICE-RE entsezet sich. Ein Knecht kan eine Stadt versperren; Der Adel fühlt den Hertzens-Stich. Jedoch am Ende wird gewiesen/ Wie Recht und Macht den Platz behält.'
17. The 'Nachredner' makes this clear by saying: 'Ein Tumult ist leicht angefangen / allein am Ende siehet man wie sich die Thorheit in ihrem Netze verwickelt; sonderlich da ein hocherleuchteter VICE-ROY, ein hochvernünfftiger Ertz-Bischof/und andere Personen von ungemeinen QUALITÄT mitten in dem Sturmwinde bezeugen/dass ihre Politische Klugheit nich auf einer Eiche/sondern auff einer Weide gewachsen sey: Ich wil sagen: Wenn das Eichen-Holtz von der grausamen Lufft zerschmettert wird/so bücket sich die Weide/biss ein stilles Wetter die sämtlichen Zweige von sich selber wiederum aufrichtet.'
18. Reichelt, *Barockdrama*, 158.
19. From the prologue of Weise's *Politische Fragen / Das ist: Gründliche Nachricht von der Politica* (Dresden, 1693), as quoted in Reichelt, *Barockdrama*, 123.
20. *Politische Fragen*, 110, as quoted in Kaiser, *Mitternacht*, 131.
21. *Politische Fragen*, 132, as quoted in Kaiser, *Mitternacht*, 132.
22. Kaiser, *Mitternacht*, 132.
23. For instance, in 1667 Asselijn had a debt of fl. 3000, while the value of his assets came only to fl. 5000. In 1678 he went bankrupt (Meijer Drees, *De treurspelen*, 91–2).
24. D. J. Roorda, *Partij en factie. De oproeren van 1672 in de steden van Holland en Zeeland, een krachtmeting tussen partijen en facties*, Historische studies, 38 (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1978), 54, 56. This section of my chapter is discussed in greater detail in Meijer Drees, *De treurspelen*, 89–94.
25. As has been proved by Rudolf Dekker, *Holland in beroering* (Baarn: AMBO, 1982). Dekker, '"Getrouwe broederschap": Organisatie en acties van arbeiders in pre-industrieel Holland', *Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 103/1 (1988), 1–19, discusses strikes and other actions of (for instance) textile-labourers in pre-industrial Holland.
26. P. Geyl, 'Democratische tendenties in 1672', in P. Geyl, *Pennestrijd over staat en historie: Opstellen over de vaderlandse geschiedenis, aangevuld met Geyl´s Levensverhaal (tot 1945) (*Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1971), 72–129.

Chapter 20

I am grateful to Dr G. Gleeson for a critical reading of my text. Any faults remain mine.

1. About humorology, see the journal *Humor. International Journal of Humor Research*, appearing since 1988. M. L. Apte, *Humor and Laughter: An Anthropological Approach* (Ithaca, NY, London: Cornell University Press, 1985), 108–48 (quote p. 108). Concerning stereotypes and ethnic humour, I only mention two titles: J. R. Nuttin, *Het stereotiep beeld van Walen, Vlamingen en Brusselaars; hun kijk op zichzelf en elkaar: een empirisch onderzoek bij universitairen,* Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België. Klasse der Letteren, 38/2 (Brussels: Koninklijke Academie, 1976) and J. Lowe, 'Theories of Ethnic Humor: How to Enter, Laughing', *American Quarterly* 88/3 (1986), 439–60.

2. *Den wysen gheck, uyt-deylende, soo oude, als nieuwe geestigheden. Voor alle Liefhebbers by-een ghebraght door I. D. G.* (Brussels, 1672), 131–2.
3. D. Th. Enklaar, 'De Gestaarte Engelsman', *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeeling Letterkunde*, Nieuwe reeks, 18/5 (1955), 105–39. I am indebted to Dr C. W. Schoneveld for this reference. See also G. Neilson, '*Caudatus Anglicus. A Mediaeval Slander*', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* (1895), 441–77, unknown to Enklaar.
4. E. Moser-Rath, '*Lustige Gesellschaft'. Schwank und Witz des 17. und 18. Jahrhunderts in kultur- und sozialgeschichtlichem Kontext* (Stuttgart: Metzler, 1984), 23. On jestbooks in the Low Countries, cf. P. P. Schmidt, *Zeventiende-eeuwse kluchtboeken uit de Nederlanden. Een descriptieve bibliografie* (Utrecht: HES, 1986); R. M. Dekker and H. Roodenburg, 'De "Anecdota" van Aernout van Overbeke als bron voor de sociale geschiedenis van de Republiek', *Croniek* 98 (1987), 82–91, and other articles by the same authors mentioned there; J. Verberckmoes, 'Lachen volgens het boekje. Zuidnederlandsekluchtboeken in de 16de en de 17de eeuw' *De Leiegouw* 28 (1986), 455–63.
5. J. Pauli, *Schimpff und Ernst*, ed. J. Bolte (Berlin: Stubenrauch, 1924), no. 389; *Een nyeuwe clucht boeck. Een zestiende-eeuwse anekdotenverzameling*, ed. H. Pleij et al. (Muiderberg: Coutinho, 1983), no. 183; *Clucht Boeck* (Antwerp, 1576), 10–11; *Ghenuechelijcke ende recreative exempelen* (Antwerp, 1627), no. 12, and *Eerlijck tydi verdryff*, MS in Antwerp, Stadsbibliotheek, dl. I, p. 96.
6. H. Bebel, *Facetien, drei Bücher*, ed. H. Bebermeyer (Leipzig: Hiersemann, 1931), no. II, 46; reprint: Hildesheim: Olms, 1967; *Een nyeuwe clucht boeck*, no. 247; *Clucht Boeck*, 70–1; *Ghenuechelijcke ende recreative exempelen*, no. 85; *Den seer vermaeckelijcken kluchtvertelder* (Ieper-Antwerp, [s.d.]), 156–8.
7. *Een nyeuwe clucht boeck*, no. 246; *Clucht Boeck,* 69–70; *Ghenuechelijcke ende recreative exempelen*, no. 84; *Den seer vermaeckelijcken kluchtvertelder,* 154–6; on Counter-Reformation literature, cf. E. Rombauts, *Leven en werken van pater Adrianus Poirtiers s.j. (1605–1674)* (Gent: Drukkerij Erasmus, 1930; Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor Taal – en Letterkunde, 6/46) and Rombauts, *Richard Verstegen; een polemist der Contra-Reformatie* (Brussels: Koninklijke Vlaamsche Academie voor taal – en Letterkunde, 1933), VI, 54.
8. J. G. C. A. Briels, 'Brabantse Blaaskaak en Hollandse botmuil. Cultuurontwikkelingen in Holland in het begin van de Gouden Eeuw', *De zeventiende eeuw* 1/1 (1985), 12–36, and A. Keersmaekers, 'Bredero en de Spaanse Nederlanden', *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Akademie voor Nederlandse Taal – en Letterkunde* (1987), 198–215.
9. *Den seer vermaeckelijcken kluchtvertelder*, 65–6.
10. J. Inbona, *Brugse kroniek 1645–1781*, Kortrijk, Stadsbibliotheek, fonds Goethals-Vercruysse, hs. 175, fo. 348.
11. *Den wysen gheck*, 51; about the stereotype of the quack, used for the Germans, cf. W. A. Ornee, *De 'Mof in de Nederlandse blij- en kluchtspelen uit de 17e en 18e eeuw*, Voordrachten gehouden voor de Gelderse Leergangen te Arnhem 27 (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1970).
12. Gent, Universiteitsbibliotheek, hs. 1816.
13. *Roger Bontemps en belle humeur* (Keulen, 1670), 27–8 and 390–1.
14. *'t Verdrijf des droefheyts ende mélancolie*, fos. 73–8.

Chapter 21

1. Exhib. cat. *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, Epping, Bowker, 1984), 240.
2. Mary Frances Durantini, *The Child in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1983), 43.
3. Eddy de Jongh, 'Erotica in vogelperspectief; de dubbelzinnigheid van een reeks 17de-eeuws-se genrevoorstellingen', *Simiolus 3* (1968–9), 22–74. The interpretation of the fish in De Hooch's painting in Copenhagen as a sexual symbol by Durantini, *Child*, 43, is based on her misreading of Jan Emmens, '"Eins aber ist nötig": Zu Inhalt und Bedeutung von Markt- und Küchenstücken des 16. Jahrhunderts', in J. Buryn (ed.), *Album Amicorum J. G. van Gelder* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1973), 95. Furthermore, the works that Emmens was

discussing – sixteenth-century market scenes with representations of biblical stories in their backgrounds – have entirely different visual contents than the painting by De Hooch.

4. For bordello scenes, see several of the works of art illustrated in the recent article by Lotte C. van de Pol, 'Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie in de zeventiende eeuw', in G. Hekma and H. Roodenburg (eds), *Soete minne en helsche boosheit; seksuele voorstellingen in Nederland 1300–1850* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1988), 109–44. See also Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Knopf, 1987), 464–80. As for paintings that convey sexual content in the subtlest possible manner, Gerard ter Borch was perhaps the greatest master of this genre; see e.g. *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, cat. nos. 9, 15.
5. See e.g. the crude seventeenth-century French print illustrated in Eduard Fuchs, *lllustrierte Sittengeschichte* (repr. Frankfurt aM: Fischer, 1985), I, 241.
6. *Incogniti Scriptoris Nova Poemata*, 3rd edn (Leiden, 1624). For this study I have used the 1972 reprint edn introduced by Jochen Becker. As Becker observes (pp. 3–4), the date that appears in the Latin preface to this now rare book, 30 June 1618, was probably the date of the first edition.
7. See e.g. Otto Naumann, *Frans van Mieris, the Elder (1635–1681)* (Doornspijk: Davaco, 1981), I, 188, 123; Linda A. Stone-Ferrier, *Images of Textiles: The Weave of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Society* (Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1985), 95.
8. See Becker, in *Nova Poemata*, 9–12. See further, Becker, '"De duystere sin van de geschilderde figueren". Zum Doppelsinn in Rätsel, Emblem and Genrestück', in H. W. Vekeman and J. Müller Hofstede (eds), *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts* (Erftstadt: Lukassen, 1984), 23–4.
9. Becker, in *Nova Poemata*, 12–13. See e.g. Peter Rollos, *Philotheca Corneliana*... (Frankfurt, 1619); Rollos, *Eulerpae Suboles*... (Berlin, 1635?).
10. Becker, in *Nova Poemata*, 13.
11. See e.g. Gabriel Metsu's *Bird Seller in Dresden*, reproduced and discussed by De Jongh, 'Erotica', 23–5, fig. 1.
12. See De Jongh, 'Erotica', 23–37.
13. De Jongh, 'Erotica', 36–7.
14. See Arthur Wheelock's review of Franklin W. Robinson, *Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667): A Study of his Place in Dutch Genre Painting of the Golden Age*, *Art Bulletin* 58 (1976), 458; Leonard J. Slatkes, *Vermeer and his Contemporaries* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1981), 145; Naumann, *Frans van Mieris*, 110–11; *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting,* cat. no. 71. See also David R. Smith, 'Irony and Civility: Notes on the Convergence of Genre and Portraiture in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting', *Art Bulletin* 69 (1987), 415.
15. The book is identified as a prayer book or a Bible by Wheelock, review of Robinson, 458; Naumann, *Frans van Mieris*, 111; Smith, 'Irony', 415.
16. See De Jongh, 'Erotica', 35–6. According to Stone-Ferrier, *Images of Textiles*, 95, figs. 40, 41, two emblems by Cats, whose *picturae* show fashionably dressed women sewing, present explicit references to lovemaking. The emblems in question are found in Jacob Cats, *Proteus ofte minnebeelden verändert in sinnebeelden* (Rotterdam, 1627), 50–1 no. 9, 224–5, no. 38. Stone-Ferrier's reading of the emblems is incorrect; they do not symbolise lovemaking but rather the conceit that only love can heal love's wounds.
17. See e.g. the painting by Jan Steen titled *The Red Stocking*, reproduced in exhib. cat. *Tot lering en vermaak; betekenissen van Hollandse genrevoorstellingen uit de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1976), 245, fig. 64b. For other examples, see De Jongh, 'Erotica', 40, fig. 12; S. J. Gudlaugsson, *The Comedians in the Work of Jan Steen and his Contemporaries*, tr. J. Brockway (first publ. in Dutch in 1945; Soest: Davaco, 1975), 59, fig. 63.
18. De Jongh, 'Erotica', 36–7; De Jongh's interpretation of the shoes is followed by Slatkes, *Vermeer and his Contemporaries*, 145; Naumann, *Frans van Mieris*, 11; Smith, 'Irony', 415. There are paintings in which shoes and especially slippers function as erotic metaphors, e.g. a work by Adriaen van de Venne discussed in exhib. cat. *Tot lering en vermaak*, cat. no. 68. See also De Jongh, 'Erotica', 36–7; B. P. J. Broos, 'De caers uit de schaemschoe uit, een vergeten erotisch symbool', *Vrij Nederland* (24 Apr. 1971), 25; *Tot lering en vermaak*, cat. no. 64.
19. In his exhib. cat. *Portretten van echt en trouw; huwelijk en gezin in de Nederlandse kunst van de zeventiende eeuw* (Haarlem: Frans HalsMuseum, 1986), 44, Eddy de Jongh cites a

seventeenth-century edition of the *Forty-Nine Laws of Marriage* (see n. 20, below). Up until this point, a few of Plutarch's 'laws' about marriage had been cited but always with Plutarch's *Moralia* itself as the source; it was not known that the *Forty-Nine Laws of Marriage* was published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries independently of the *Moralia*.

20. See e.g. Plutarch, *Den spieghel des houwelicks*... (n. pl., 1575). A reprint of Plutarch's book is appended to Jan van Marconvelle, *Van het geluck en on-geluck des houwelicks... hier achter is noch by-ghevoeght, 49. gheboden of wetten des houwelicks door Plutarchus* (Wormer-Veer, 1647), 200–45. Curiously, the 1575 reprint contains only forty-three 'laws' while Van Marconvelle and all other sources list forty-nine. For the frequent quotation of Plutarch's work by seventeenth-century authors, see the literature cited in n. 22.
21. Plutarch, *Den spieghel des houwelicks*, no. 25. The version of the 'law' recounted in Marconvelle, *Van het geluck*, 224–5, no. 31, is quoted here: 'De Egyptische Vrouwen/nae des landts wijse/en hadden geen gewoonte schoenen te dragen/op dat sy haer-lieder schamend barvoets te gaen/souden leeren t'huys te blijven...'
22. E.g. Johan Baptist Houwaert, *Pegasides pleyn. Ofte den lust-hof der maechden* (first published 1583; 5th edn Rotterdam, 1623), book 14, p. 651; Cornelius Hazart, *Het gheluckich en deughdelyck houwelyck*... (Antwerp, 1678), 259.
23. Exhib. cat. *Portretten van echt en trouw*, cat. no. 25, reproduces and discusses a drawing of a newly married woman in which a snail is depicted on the ground in front of her. Several contemporary sources are cited – including Van Marconvelle, *Van het geluck* – where the creature is interpreted as a metaphor of domesticity because it carries its house on its back. This idea is actually taken from Plutarch's book (*Den spieghel des houwelicks*, no. 27) and is perhaps the 'law' that was most frequently cited in seventeenth-century literature. In these later works, a snail or a turtle are used interchangeably to convey the same idea. See the works cited in *Portretten van echt en trouw*, 144. That catalogue (pp. 44–5) also cites Plutarch's book as an important source for interpreting portraits of families playing instruments. This is because one of Plutarch's 'laws' demonstrates that musical harmonies are metaphors for concord in the home. See Plutarch, *Den spieghel des houwelicks*, no. 8.
24. D. V. Coornhert, *Recht ghebruyck ende tmisbruyck van tijdlicke have* (first publ. in 1585; 2nd edn; Amsterdam, 1610), no. 23.
25. Houwaert, *Pegasides pleyn*, book 2, p. 107. Houwaert's book first appeared in Antwerp in 1583 and was republished in the Netherlands in four separate editions between 1611 and 1623.
26. For a comparison between Houwaert, *Pegasides pleyn*, and Jacob Cats, *Houwelyck*, *Dat is de gansche gelegentheyt des echten staets* (Middelburg, 1625), see Eug. de Bock, *Johan Baptist Houwaert* (Antwerp: De Sikkel, 1950), 48; H. C. H. Moquette, *De vrouw* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1915), I, 11. It is likely that Cats was familiar with *Pegasides pleyn* since it was published in the Netherlands in the early seventeenth century (see n. 25, above).
27. Houwaert, *Pegasides pleyn*, book 2, p. 107; 'Dit Boeck zal Poetelijck ontfouwen//Hoc Doubters cn Vrouwen/d'uytwendieh cieraet//Om zeker oorsaken behooren te schouwen// En hoe sy haer vercieren moeten na haren state//En hoe de vercierde Dochters delicate// Veel eer dan d'ander in't net ghetogen/worden//Hoe sy hen met deucht moeten vercieren vroech en laet//Eer sy van de schalcke Vrijers bedroghen/worden//Wert hen ooc ontdect/ waer door sy wijs mogen/worden.'

Chapter 22

1. M. Yourcenar, *Mémoires d'Hadrien* (n.pl., 1974), 124–5.
2. L. Salerno, *Roma communis patria* (Bologna: Cappelli, 1968), 9.
3. M. P. M. Muskens, *Op bedevaart, voorstudie, voor overleg in Rome* (Rome: Het Pauselijke Nederlands College, 1988), 16–25.
4. On medieval pilgrimage see for instance: R. Oursel, *Pèlerins du moyen âge* (Paris: Fayard, 1978); P. A. Sigal, *Les marcheurs de Dieu. Pèlerinages et pèlerins au moyen âge* (Paris: Armand Colin, 1974); J. van Herwaarden, *Opgelegde bedevaarten. Een studie over de praktijk van opleggen van bedevaarten (met name in de stede lijke rechtspraak) in de Nederlanden gedurende de late middeleeuwen (ca. 1300–ca. 1550)* (Assen and Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1978);

R. Stopani, *Le grandi vie di pellegrinaggio de medievo. Le strada per Roma* (Poggibonsi: Centro di studi romei, 1986).

5. J. Delumeau, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1985), 79. On sixteenth-century Rome see the same author: *Rome au XVIe siècle* (Paris: Hachette, 1975).
6. The most comprehensive survey of these foundations is the article by Mgr M. Vaes, 'Les fondations hospitalières flamandes à Rome du XVième et XVIième siècle', *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 1 (1919), 161–371. On Santa Maria dell'Anima the most complete publication still is J. Schmidlin, *Geschichte der deutschen Nationalkirche in Rom, Santa Maria dell'Anima* (Freiburg and Vienna: Herder, 1906).
7. See on this matter: G. J. Hoogewerff, 'Uit de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch nationaal besef', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 44 (1929), 113–34; B. De Groof, 'Natie en nationaliteit, Benamingspolitiek in San Giuliano dei Fiamminghi te Rome (17e–18e eeuw)', *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 58 (1988), 90–9.
8. L. J. Rogier, *Eenheid en scheiding: geschiedenis der Nederlanden 1677–1813* (Utrecht and Antwerp: Het Spectrum, 1980), 38–9.
9. See M. Vaes, 'Hospice de Saint-Julien de Flamands à Rome. Les statuts de 1444', *Annales de la société d'émulation de Bruges* 76 (1924), 65–96.
10. On the Roman brotherhoods in the early modern period: A. Monticene et al., 'La storiografia confraternitale e le confraternite romane', *Rivista per la storia religiosa di Roma* 5 (1984), 19–70.
11. Archivi San Giuliano (ASG) I, 2a, fo. 4: 'Item voort zo zullen zy (den aermen) ooc bidden voor alle degene die int broederscap zyn van S. Juliaen . . .'
12. De Groof, 'Natie en nationaliteit', 106.
13. Vaes, 'Hospice de Saint-Julien', 75.
14. This evolution became clear in 1672, when an Italian translation of the statutes was made. The sentence 'chosen by all Flemings' was replaced by 'chosen in the presence of all Flemings'. In this way the provisors distributed the functions among themselves. ASG 1, 3a fo. 3v.
15. Evidently, there was some nepotism involved in these interventions. In 1668 a Flemish pilgrim, in order to return to Flanders, received four times the normal alms, because he was married to the niece of the *primo provisore.* ASG IV, 3, fo. 25.
16. In 1756 a San Giuliano correspondent in Lisbon found someone who had bequeathed his house to the church, but who had disappeared since then. The man reassured the worried provisors: 'confermó essere (la chiesa) erede all di Lui morte della nota casa, conclusamo burlando lui sulia medesima, che subito morto me l'avrebbe fatto avvisare'. ASG I, 6, fo. 226.
17. ASG I, 5, fo. 81–81v. ASG I, 3, fo. 59–59v.
18. Cf. f. i.: ASG III, 2, fo. 1, 73. ASG III, 4, fo. 50. ASG IV, 6, fo. 204.
19. Delumeau, *Le catholicisme*, 79–80. The city, counting between 100,000 and 150,000 inhabitants in the seventeenth century, was overwhelmed by pilgrims, especially in the Holy Years. Estimations give 400,000 pilgrims in 1575; 500,000 in 1600 and an average of 500,000–600,000 pilgrims in the seventeenth-century Holy Years. See J. Delumeau, *Vie économique et sociale de Rome dans la seconde moitié du XVIe siècle*, I (Paris: Boccard, 1957), 172, and M. Romani, *Pellegrini e viaggiatori nell' economia di Roma dal XIV al XVI secolo* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 1948), 16–17.
20. Stipulations as formulated in the 1444 statutes, copied in 1574, and in force throughout the seventeenth century. See Vaes, 'Hospice de Saint-Julien', 89–93, and ASG I, 5, fo. 56.
21. '(Visita) Ecclesiae, et hospitalis Sancti Juliani ad Cesarinos tam in spiritualibus, quam in temporalibus . . . die 27 maii 1693', Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Santa Congregazione della Visita Apostolica, no. 13, fos. 16v–17.
22. ASG III, 1, fos. 20v, 95v.
23. ASG 1, 5, fo. 69v. In 1725 the *provisori* discovered that the fountain in the courtyard was used by the tenants as a wash-bowl and even as a bin to dump their garbage. ASG II, 2, fo. 81v.
24. In 1672 someone was paid to transport a sick pilgrim to the hospital of Santo Spirito in Sassia. Another guest of San Giuliano died in the same hospital. ASG IV, 7, fo. 226. ASG I, 9, fo. 36v.
25. ASG IV, 2, fo. 202.

26. This rather early example of 'tourism' is found in the Archivi Santa Maria dell'Anima (ASM), Elemosianae et espensae, vol. 3, fo. 11.
27. ASM, El. et Exp., vol. 5, fo. 23.
28. ASG IV, fo. 173: 'questa presente donna ha già sodisfatto alla madonna de Loreto, è qui en Roma a un certo voi suo'.
29. ASG IV, 2, fo. 225. ASG I, 9, fo. 127. 'Notre-Dame de Fin des Terres' is a sanctuary near Santiago de Compostella.
30. ASG IV, 2, fo. 227.
31. Before 1625, it was apparently the caretaker who registered the number of pilgrims, but no lists of this administration are preserved. See ASG III, 1, fo. 40.
32. Figures based on the register itself. ASG I, 9. The discrepancy between the register indications and reality is shown by two administrative measures. In June 1714, support to pilgrims was reduced because of the 'frequenza maggiore de Pellegrini nationali che oggi vengono' (ASG I, 5, fo. 57). Only nine months later, in March 1715, the measure was withdrawn, 'riconoscendosi venire presentamente in numero assai (!) minore li . . . pellegrini' (ASG 1, 5, fo. 62). Register data in these years however do not show this evolution at all; on the contrary, in 1713 there were 255 registrations, in 1714 143, in 1715 198.
33. The decision certainly was taken before 4 Mar. 1657: 'per la sospettarne dell conteggio no si alloggia alcum pellegrino' (ASG III, 1, fo. 191).
34. Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Santa Congregazione della Visita Aposolica, no. 115, int. 1.
35. Vaes, 'Hospice de Saint-Julien', 96.
36. ASG I, 2a, fos. 3v–4.
37. ASG I, 2a, fo. 2.
38. The register begins like this: 'Nomina Peregrinorum (de) Belgio qui in hie xenodochio hospitarunt ab anno MDCXXIIII . . . ' The word 'Belgio' is an Italianised Latin term normally referring to the entire Netherlands. Denomination of Netherlandish territories always caused problems in foreign countries. Belgica, Fiandra used as pars pro toto for the Netherlands or referring to the county of Flanders were frequently mixed. Moreover, the phenomenon of sticking to older titles no longer corresponding to reality hindered a clearly defined notion. In 1666 for instance, the Flemish agent at the Spanish embassy was still addressed as 'residens in Urbe pro Rege Catholico pro Belgio et Burgundia' (Archivio di Stato di Roma, Università di Roma, busta 248, 24 May 1666). Burgundia in this context might refer to Franche-Comté, but certainly no longer to Burgundy itself.
39. See note 32, above. Although Brabantish and other pilgrims were received, some minor remarks in the register indicate the non-conformity of such actions. In 1652 a certain Mattias Sterck, 'Limburgensis' (in the diocese of Liège) was lodged, clearly enrolled as 'comendatusa provisore' (ASG 1, 9, fo. 40). As a matter of fact, the other 'Netherlandish' hospitals applied the same rules. Though priority was given to people from the Holy Empire, Flemings from the county of Flanders were also supported by way of exception. See ASM, El. et Exp., vol. 5, fo. 290, when in 1617 an inhabitant of Dendermonde asked for some relief, 'niet teghenstaende dat hy suppliant gheboren is inde provincie van vlaenderen ende daerom weynighe oorsaecke heeft om myn E. H. hier in moyelyckte wesen'. He was paid 'non obstante quod sit dander'. On another occasion in 1589 a young man from Arras was paid as well, on the explicit condition 'quod S. Julianus (cum Flander sit) tantumdem elargiatur et rogabit Deum pro benefactoribus utriusque ecclesiae et hospitalis' (ASM, El. et Exp., vol. 2, fo. 389). Even the Spanish national hospital was concerned in this solidarity. In 1656 a Bergues pilgrim could not be lodged in San Giuliano because of the plague. He was, it seems without many problems, received by San Giacomo degli Spagnoli (ASG IV, 2, fo. 214).
40. De Groof, 'Natie en nationaliteit', 109–22.
41. G. J. Hoogewerff, *Bescheiden in Italië omtrent Nederlandsche kunstenaars en geleerden*, vol. 11, RGP, kleine serie, 12 ('s Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1913), 277, 287. The Sacra Visita in 1693 saw the portraits of the pope, of the counts of Flanders and of the Spanish kings, hanging in the congregation room. See note 21, fo. 17v and ASG III, 1, fo. 7 and ASG IV, 3, fo. 320.
42. ASG IV, 4, fo. 30–30v.
43. K. Rudolf, 'Santa Maria dell'Anima, il Campo Santo dei Teutonici e Fiamminghi e la questione delle nazioni', *Bulletin de l'institut historique belge de Rome* 50 (1980), 76, note 4.
44. F. Noack, *Das Deutschtum in Rom seit dem Ausgang des Mittelalters*, I (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlag-Anstalt, 1927), 149.

45. Rudolf, 'Santa Maria dell'Anima', 80. This reasoning however cannot be applied to the Liège territories, as the author wrongly asserts.
46. Noack, *Das Deutschtum in Rom*, 151.
47. ASG I, 3, fo. 51. The formulations of these new statutes did not leave the slightest doubt as to the new situation of the foundation: 'giacché essendo detta chiesa Regia, ed avendo dipendanza in tutto, e per tutto dall' Augustissima casa d'Austria . . . sovrana di Fiandra' (ASG I, 3, fos. 51v, 52v). As early as 1714, the Emperor's ambassador delegated a substitute to the meetings of the San Giuliano congregation (ASG I, 5, fos. 54–5).
48. ASG I, 5, fo. 64. See on this issue De Groof, 'Natie en nationaliteit', 124–7.
49. In Aug. 1717 the provisors decided to abolish the 1715 rule and to receive all pilgrims from Artesia, Hainaut, Namur, Cambrésis 'conforme si è sempre costumato per il passato'. To reconcile their decision with the new situation, the provisors did not hesitate to falsify the definition of the term 'Flanders'. As they saw it, Flanders consisted of five provinces on its own: the four just mentioned and Ghent (ASG I, 5, fos. 54–5).
50. ASG I, 5, fo. 80v.
51. ASG II, 3, fos. 45–45v.
52. See on the progressive limitations for everyone not belonging to the Dutch-speaking part of the province of Flanders, De Groof, 'Natie en nationaliteit', 127–46.
53. ASG I, 3, fos. 47v–48. Letter of Neny to Cardinal Albani, Vienna, 19 Nov. 1755.
54. ASG I, 3, fo. 52v.

Chapter 23

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7. E. C. Llewellyn, *The Influence of Low Dutch on the English Vocabulary* (London: Oxford University Press, 1936), 5.
8. A. G. Matthews, *Calamy Revised, being a revision of Edmund Calamy's 'Account of the Ministers and Others Ejected and Silenced'* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1934).
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10. See e.g. V. Salmon, 'Anglo-Dutch Linguistic Scholarship: A Survey of Seventeenth-Century Achievements', *Historiographia Linguistica* 15 (1988), 129–53.
11. Translation from J. A. Kemp, *John Wallis's Grammar of the English Language . . . A New Edition with Translation and Commentary . . .* (London, 1972), 105.
12. Richardson, *Anglo-Belgica* (1677), part 1, p. 165.
13. Kemp, *John Wallis's Grammar*, 109–11.
14. See G. Scheurweghs, 'English Grammars in Dutch and Dutch Grammars in English in the Netherlands before 1800', *English Studies* 41 (1960), 151–2.

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