CONTENDING REPRESENTATIONS I *The Dutch Republic and the Lure of Monarchy*

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The Dutch Republic and the Lure of Monarchy

Edited by *Joris Oddens, Alessandro Metlica and Gloria Moorman*

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REPRESENTING POWER IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY DUTCH REPUBLIC

In a 2008 volume devoted to *The Republican Alternative* in the early modern period, Michael North wondered whether early modern republican states can be said to have developed a 'republican art'. North concluded that while in monarchies 'art production and collecting fulfilled the task of glorifying the ruler or the dynasty and the splendour of their legacy', such 'motives were totally absent in [...] the Dutch Republic'.[1] This book about the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic reaches a very different conclusion. The Dutch may not have had a king during this century, but their society continued to be pervaded by monarchical modes of representation. We have reached this conclusion after posing a somewhat different question: how was power represented in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, and how did this polity compare to monarchical states in this respect?

In the present volume we have examined this question from the perspective of representation rather than by focusing on a specific domain such as politics, ritual, literature, or the visual arts. The contributions to this volume are guided by the conviction that studying cultural representations of power as a separate sphere of artistic production, somehow detached from the sphere of political representation, means missing the point of how these representations were intended and understood in the early modern period. In this introduction, which draws on a rich and multidisciplinary body of work, we show that power in the Dutch Republic was represented by a plethora of political actors, and that cultural representations were integral to their representative claims. These actors included collegial bodies, as one would expect in a republic, but they also included many individual power-holders, of whom the stadtholders constitute only the most obvious example. These individuals, despite living in a republican state, were faced with a constant temptation to present themselves (or allow others to present them) as the symbolic embodiment of a body politic, which in the seventeenth century became the very essence of monarchical representation.

The seventeenth-century Dutch Republic emerged as a republican state in a Europe of monarchies. The monarchical model was dominant, and on the international stage the Dutch Republic mostly encountered monarchical states. It is unsurprising that, in scholarly work on seventeenth-century cultural representations of power, monarchies have been the norm.[2] In his introduction to the classic study in this field, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV* (1994), Peter Burke discusses various understandings of the concept of representation in seventeenth-century France: Louis XIV represented kingship, he represented God, and he represented the French state, or the French body politic. The Sun King was in turn represented by ambassadors, provincial governors, local magistrates, and by the queen; he was represented by portraits and on medals; and he was represented by the symbols on his coat of arms, by the image of the sun, or by the table laid for his meal.[3]

While there seem to be considerable differences between these various forms of representation, they share a symbolic dimension, in the sense that they need to be believed in to work.[4] This is clear in the case of the sun or the royal table representing the king. It seems less obvious, perhaps, in the case of the king's portrait or that of the ambassador. A portrait is a form of representation based on likeness. Yet it remains an interpretation of reality; it is never

1.1
Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Company of Captain Frans Banninck Cocq and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburch*, commonly known as *The Nachtwacht* ('Night Watch') (detail of fig. 1.19).

DOI 10.1484/M.DUNAMIS-EB.5.134669

1.2

Joseph Werner, *Allegory of Louis XIV as Apollo*, Versailles, Château de Versailles. 1664. © RMN-Grand Palais (Château de Versailles). Reproduced with permission.

reality itself. An ambassador represents the king by virtue of having been authorized to substitute for him.[5] However, the ambassador chooses to represent his king in a certain way, so this representation too is an interpretation of reality. Moreover, the allegorical embedding of the image of the sun, the place where a portrait of the king is hung, or the diplomatic ceremonial in which the ambassador partakes all add symbolic meaning to representations of power. As Louis Marin has aptly put it, to represent power is to turn force into signs in order to have others believe in this force even if it is not exercised.[6]

The representational relationships introduced by Burke are multilayered: the ambassador represented the king, who in turn represented the body politic, but could also be seen representing Apollo on stage (fig. 1.2). Building on Burke's work, Edward Muir has extended the example of Louis XIV's stage performances to early modern monarchical states in general: in *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (1997), he wrote that '[i]t was this mutually reinforcing effect of multiple representations that constructed the regality of early modern princes'.[7] For Muir, the ways in which Louis XIV's kingship was represented marked the culmination of a process that had begun with the Reformation: under the influence of the Reformers' theological criticism on the doctrine of transubstantiation and other religious rituals, there had been a shift from 'rites of enactment' to 'rites of representation' also in political ritual. Whereas regal ceremonies had originally been performative acts, they now became propagandistic events. In Muir's view, coronation ceremonies remained important because they left a powerful impression on the people, but they no longer had any constitutional significance.[8] This echoes a point made ten years earlier by Peter Burke, who saw, in both Catholic and Protestant regions, a 'repudiation of ritual' in seventeenth-century Europe.[9]

The idea of such a 'revolution in ritual theory' has since been challenged. Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger has convincingly demonstrated that, in the Holy Roman Empire, symbolic representations and ritual enactments of the political order remained indispensable up until the introduction of written constitutions.[10] In a recent book about the visual culture of the English monarchy after the Glorious Revolution, Julie Farguson has argued that art and ceremony 'were both vital in the presentation of monarchy during the early modern period in Europe'.[11] Another recent volume evinces that in the Habsburg Monarchy ritual moments such as coronations and inaugurations continued to be 'more than mere spectacle' until well into the nineteenth century.[12] For France, Paul Friedland has shown that the belief that the representation of the body politic was a process analogous to transubstantiation persisted until the start of the French Revolution.[13]

Nonetheless, French thinking about representation did evolve in crucial ways around 1600. Before Bodin, the body politic was thought to be represented by the king *and* his estates: the king was the head, and the estates formed the body. This representation was concretely embodied at the convocation of the Estates General.[14] This understanding of representation has been called *repraesentatio identitatis* (identity representation).[15] The idea of identity representation is thought to have been first applied to the sphere of politics by the fourteenth-century thinker Marsilius of Padua. In Marsilius's understanding of representation, the body of the citizens was represented – embodied – by a smaller group of citizens, usually the more distinguished members of the citizenry. These representatives themselves always belonged to the body politic they represented, so this understanding of representation always entailed a *pars pro toto* relationship. The fact that Marsilius claimed that political authority needed to be founded on popular consent has led some scholars to see in him an advocate of popular sovereignty.[16] However, by the people Marsilius meant the distinguished members of society, who represented the total body of the citizens not by means of consent, but rather through a representational relationship based on the idea of corporate identity. The representatives and the represented belonged to the same corporation and therefore a unity of wills existed between them: in other words, the representatives *were* the represented.[17]

The notion of identity representation has enjoyed particular popularity as a way to consider the relationship between rulers and ruled in the sixteenth century. It was the dominant conception of representation also in the English idea of king-in-parliament, where the king and Parliament together were considered the symbolic representation of the realm. During the political crisis of the 1640s, this idea gave way to the idea that Parliament alone could represent the body politic.[18] In as early as the 1570s, in France authors such as François Hotman and Théodore de Bèze had also insisted on the primacy of the estates rather than of the king. In the seventeenth century, however, the opposite idea became dominant: the king was the representative of God on earth and could alone represent the body politic; as is well-known, the French Estates General were not summoned between 1614 and 1789.[19] The French king was now thought to embody the body politic. *L'état c'est moi*. This understanding of political representation as embodiment remained indebted to the older conception of identity representation: its success continued to depend on a suspension of disbelief, on the part of both the representatives and the represented, with respect to the symbolic nature of the representational relationship that connected them.

Sovereignty and representation

If seventeenth-century France is the model *par excellence* of an early modern European state in which cultural representations of power centred around the king, the Dutch Republic may at first instance seem the ideal counter model. Of course, the Dutch Republic was not the only republican state in seventeenth-century Europe. Just as France represents one monarchical model, there was no single republican model, as considerable differences existed in how states such as Venice, Genoa, the Swiss Confederacy, and the Dutch Republic were governed and how rule in these states was legitimized.[20] What the seventeenth-century republics seem to have had in common, however, was an institutionalized ambiguity about the *locus* of sovereignty, which created a discursive space in which representative claims always met with counter-claims.[21] This is exemplified by a text that is considered crucial for the way sovereignty and representation were understood in the Dutch Republic throughout its existence, usually known in Dutch as the *Corte Vertooninghe* ('Short Exposition').[22] Commissioned by the provincial States of Holland, this text was drawn up in 1587 by François Vranck, in his capacity as *pensionaris* (chief town clerk) of Gouda. It was written in the context of a difference of opinion between the States and the party of Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester, whom the States General had offered the position of governor-general.[23]

At the core of this quarrel lay the question as to whether sovereignty ultimately resided with Leicester, with the States, or more broadly with the people. Later commentators have often seen the *Short Exposition* as an outright defence of the supremacy of the States, but the argument of this text is actually more complex. Vranck did indeed assert that sovereignty rested with the States, but he clarified that: '[the] delegates who thus assemble [in the assembly of the States of Holland in The Hague], represent the States of their country, which is not to say that they are the States in person, or by virtue of their own authority, but only by virtue of the mandate of their principals'.[24]

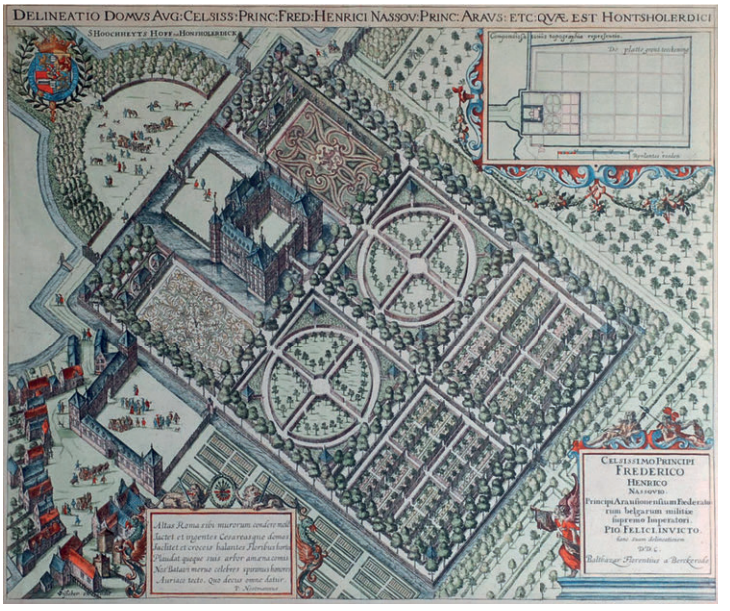
These principals consisted of the towns and the nobility, the two estates that were allowed to send delegates to the states assembly. By towns, Vranck referred more specifically to the town governments, which were in turn 'constituted by the most distinguished members of the citizenry'.[25] He stressed that these town governments not only had full authority to make decisions in matters of state, but that their decisions were always to be obeyed by the citizenry. This authority, according to Vranck, proved that '[the] city governments, together with the assembled nobility, indubitably represent the commonwealth and the entire body of the inhabitants.'[26]

Thus, we find in Vranck's *Short Exposition* two different conceptions of representation, even if for both of these conceptions the verb *representeren* is used. The type of representation by which the city governments and, to some extent, the nobles represented 'the commonwealth and the entire body of the inhabitants' is a form of identity representation.[27] Vranck's *Short Exposition* was a strongly rhetorical text, which therefore did not necessarily describe a political reality at the time of writing. It would help to shape, however, the political reality of the Dutch Republic for a long time to come. Until the late-eighteenth-century Dutch Revolution, the text was used to legitimize the oligarchic nature of the town governments. Some scholars have even argued that in Vranck's *Short Exposition*, absolutist state theory was for the first time applied in a non-monarchical state by attributing absolute power not to the monarch, but to local rulers.[28]

Perhaps it is more accurate to say that French absolutist theory and the oligarchic state theory of the Dutch Republic both built on the medieval conception of *repraesentatio identitatis*, but whereas Bodin combined this with the idea of indivisible sovereignty and concluded that the king alone could represent the body politic, Vranck remained more faithful to the original idea by asserting that the body politic was represented by the more distinguished members of the citizenry. The de facto outcome was indeed that in both states one level of government – be it the king or the local rulers – claimed absolute power.[29] In both states, this claim was upheld throughout the seventeenth century and in fact until the end of the eighteenth century, when the revolutionary idea was introduced that political representation was not possible without democratic elections. In this respect, the trajectories of France and the Dutch Republic shared more similarities than a crude monarchy-republic dichotomy would seem to suggest.

The type of representation by virtue of which, in Vranck's text, the delegates of the meeting of the States of Holland in The Hague represent the towns and nobles is what we may call representation as delegation.[30] The delegates of the cities and knighthoods (*ridderschappen*) in provincial states assemblies acted – in most matters – with an imperative mandate from their principals, and the same holds true for the delegates of the provincial states assembled in the States General. In most historical scholarship this type of representation is considered characteristic of the Dutch Republic's political system. While it may not at first seem so symbolically charged, the fact remains that in actual practice, despite the mandate, the delegates still had considerable agency when it came to exercising their representative role. Moreover, as Bert Drejer has recently shown, contemporary theorists did not always distinguish sharply between identity representation at the local level and the system of delegation at the supralocal level. Rather, advocates of the claim that sovereignty was vested in the provincial states – which became the dominant view after the mid-seventeenth century – underscored this claim by emphasizing that the provincial states themselves represented the entire body politic.[31] In this view, not the mechanism of delegation but a more symbolic understanding of representation prevailed after all. Firmly embedded in Vranck's formulation from its very outset, representation of the different provincial bodies politic could be fully realized only at the level of the provincial states assemblies, because only there did the constituent parts – the cities and the knighthoods (which in turn represented the inhabitants of the countryside) – come together, as happened in France in the figure of the king. Unlike in France, however, the interpretation that the nobility and especially the cities ultimately retained part of the sovereignty was never abandoned entirely.

A similar ambiguity persisted in the relation between the various provincial states assemblies and the States General. When the Dutch Republic was still *in statu nascendi*, the claim that sovereignty resided in the States General was not yet considered problematic; Holland and the 'Generality' (*Generaliteit*) were often considered one and the same. In 1587, around the time when Vranck wrote the *Short Exposition*, the *landsadvocaat* (chief civil servant) of Holland Johan van Oldenbarnevelt even went as far as to defend the supreme power of the States General over that of the States of Holland.[32] Only when the other provinces started to guard their autonomy more vigorously did this view become controversial. Meanwhile, until the end of the Dutch Republic, the States General continued to exert sovereignty over the so-called 'Generality Lands' - territories conquered by the Dutch Republic that did not belong to any of the provinces - as well as over overseas territories that fell under the authority of the East and West Indies Companies.[33] Moreover, the States General represented the external sovereignty of the Dutch Republic: the institution of the States General was presented to foreign powers as the equivalent of the prince in a monarchical state. Whereas ambassadors or diplomatic delegations of monarchical states represented the monarch, Dutch diplomats abroad were representatives of the States General. Temporary diplomatic missions, often with plenipotentiary status, were usually led by deputies (*gedeputeerden*) of the States General, who thus belonged to the sovereign body they represented.[34] Within the Dutch Republic, too, the States General could be represented by committees or delegations recruited from its own midst, which in some cases were authorized to take decisions in its name. In times of war, the States General appointed 'deputies-in-the-field' with plenipotentiary powers.[35]



1.3
Balthasar Florisz. van Berckenrode,
Bird's-eye View of Honselaarsdijk Palace near
The Hague, Van Sandick Archief. c. 1635–52.
Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.

Symbolic representation

Besides the cities, the knighthoods, the provincial states assemblies, and the States General, the stadtholders of the House of Orange-Nassau also held a claim to sovereignty. Since the fifteenth century, the title of *stedehouder* or *stadhouder* (literally 'place-holder' or 'lieu-tenant') had been given to those provincial officials who represented the overlords of the Netherlands in absentia, and served under the governor-general based in Brussels.[36] In 1559 the Habsburg Lord of the Netherlands Philip II had appointed William of Orange as Stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht. Soon after, William became the leader of the rebellion against his overlord. He fled to his ancestral castle in Dillenburg in 1567, but upon his subsequent return to the Netherlands (1572), an assembly of the rebelling Holland towns reappointed him as Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland, ignoring the claim of Philip's appointee, the Count of Bossu. The stadtholder thus effectively became a representative of the States. Theoretically, each province could have its own stadtholder, but in practice stadtholders were shared by multiple provinces. All stadtholders appointed after that belonged to two different branches of the Orange-Nassau dynasty (figs 5.11, 6.5, 7.5).

As sovereign princes of the French principality of Orange, the stadtholders of the Orange branch outranked their relatives, the counts (later princes) of Nassau-Dietz, who were stadtholders of the northern provinces of Friesland and Groningen (fig. 7.5).[37] Beyond their territories in France and the German lands, the Orange stadtholders held many titles and considerable territory in the Netherlands as well, which added to their status as the highest nobles in the Dutch Republic. In the 1580s the Oranges had moved their court to The Hague; initially this court was comparable in size to that of the medieval counts of Holland, but over the course of the seventeenth century it grew to match that of significant German principalities.

Of all the stadtholders, William of Orange came closest to being elevated to the status of sovereign of the Dutch provinces.[38] In the early 1580s, Holland and Zeeland planned to give him the title of count, but these plans were abandoned when William was murdered in 1584. William's successors were not exactly averse to the idea of assuming sovereignty over the provinces and at times actively aspired to it. Maurice

1.4
Willem Outgerszoon Akersloot
after Adriaen Pieterszoon van de Venne,
Portrait of Frederick Henry,
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. c. 1628.
Public domain.

1.5
Anthony van Dyck,
Portrait of William II and Maria Stuart,
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1641.
Public domain.

of Nassau, William of Orange's second son, came to combine the stadtholdership of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Overijssel with the military ranks of captain-general of the army and admiral-general of the fleet. Maurice and his successors called themselves captain-general of the Union ('kapitein-generaal der Unie'), in due reference to the political and military Union of Utrecht established by the rebellious provinces in 1579.[39]

Maurice's half-brother Frederick Henry, who became the third Orange-Nassau stadtholder in 1625, established a more ceremonial court culture, built palaces and gardens, acted as a patron of the arts, and arranged a marriage between his son William and Mary Henrietta Stuart, the daughter of Charles I (figs 1.3–5).[40] He procured from the various provinces the promise that William would succeed him as stadtholder, while the States General stipulated that his son was to inherit the military command. In the countless propagandistic prints and laudatory poems that appeared during Frederick Henry's stadtholdership, his military role of defender of the republic was emphasized alongside his princely virtues and the importance of the Orange dynasty.[41] The state portraits of Frederick Henry and his family, painted by their court painter Gerard van Honthorst and leading European portraitist Anthony van Dyck, resemble contemporary state portraits of the English royals, and reflect his monarchical allure (fig. 7.5).[42]

Born and raised in this courtlier atmosphere, Frederick Henry's son, who had succeeded his father in 1647 as William II, resorted to violent means to tilt the internal balance of power in his favour. This proved counter-effective. When in 1650 the fourth Orange-Nassau stadtholder tried - in vain - to subdue the city of Amsterdam and died shortly afterwards, the five provinces that he had served decided to leave the office of stadtholder vacant. Only in the 'Year

of Disaster' 1672, when the Dutch Republic faced armed attacks at all its borders, was his son William Henry reinstalled as Stadtholder William III (fig. 5.11). Two years later, the stadtholderate was declared hereditary in Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht, formalizing the bond between the office and the Orange dynasty. William III was even offered the position of sovereign by the province of Guelders, but he refused because the patricians of Holland would never have allowed this. Despite this he was to become, in everyday political practice, the most powerful stadtholder.[43]

Whereas the Oranges served individual provinces, they could as a result of their supreme command of the army – a position retained by the sovereign in monarchical states – nonetheless claim to represent the entire Republic of the Seven United Provinces. As Pauline Kiesow has recently emphasized, moreover, the Union of Utrecht also established the obligation of the stadtholders to act as mediator in the case of conflicts within and between the provinces, a responsibility that had equally fallen to the Habsburg stadtholders.[44] In the many popular representations of the Orange stadtholders in circulation, these themes were consistently underlined.[45] It is unsurprising, therefore, that to many inhabitants of the Dutch Republic the stadtholders, rather than the political assemblies, embodied the state, much as a sovereign would in a monarchy.

Political representation in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic retained an important symbolic dimension, as was the case in monarchical states. The power balance between the different institutions constantly oscillated over the course of the seventeenth century: no written constitution existed in the modern sense of the word, and constitution-like texts such as the treaty of the Union of Utrecht and Vranck's above-mentioned *Short Exposition* left considerable room for interpretation and could be cited in support of rivalling representative claims. As in monarchies, symbolic representation of power was performed through cultural representations. The degree to which institutions depended on the symbolic dimension was determined by the extent to which political representation was also legitimized in other ways, and by the expectations of those with whom they interacted.

The provincial states assemblies and the States General were made up of members of a patrician class (*regenten*), and they interacted, first and foremost, with other patricians through a regulated process of delegation, based on the principle of the imperative mandate. Compared to assemblies of estates elsewhere in Europe, these assemblies seem to have gone about their business with relatively little public ceremony, although this particular aspect certainly warrants more research.[46] The representative claim of local rulers had a stronger symbolic character inasmuch as it was directed to the urban and rural populations. The stadtholder was as powerful as he was believed to be by the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic and by the royal families and high nobility elsewhere in Europe. Envoys representing the States General on the international stage had no choice but to participate in a diplomatic theatre that revolved around the idea that ambassadors and other diplomats symbolically represented the magnificence of their prince.[47] This required that they present themselves with appropriate splendour (fig. 1.6). A stately embassy building at a prime location with luxurious furniture and tableware, good horses and coaches, generous dinners, a large staff, and fine clothes were all necessary, since an ambassador, as contemporaries put it, 'represents (the sovereignty of) the state'.[48]

1.6

Gerard ter Borch and Gerard van der Horst, *Entry of Envoy Adriaen Pauw and Anna van Ruytenburgh into Münster*, Münster, Stadtmuseum Münster. 1646. Wikidata. Public domain.

1.7
Pieter Post, 'City Hall of Maastricht', Maastricht. 1659–64. Photo by Michiel Verbeek. Wikipedia. Public domain.

The lure of monarchy

The ambiguity as to which power rested with whom led to internal instability. Yet, this ambiguity was also deemed necessary in a republican state faced with the fact that the monarchical model retained great appeal both at home and abroad. A defining characteristic of the Dutch Republic as a political entity was that its elites adopted a pragmatic approach in dealing with this ambiguity. There was, of course, clear anti-monarchical rhetoric in the representation of enemies of the Dutch Republic, which for some included the House of Orange.[49] However, as Marianne Klerk points out in her contribution to this volume, criticism of individual monarchs cannot be equated with republicanism. Few inhabitants of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic categorically rejected the paradigm of single-person rule. Moreover, noble rank, a type of distinction that is emphatically monarchical, never lost its appeal. It is true that in the province of Holland, the nobility had little formal power, but the noble class still dominated the political process in most of the provinces, and features of noble distinction, such as titles, manors, coats of arms, venerable lineages, and the right to hunt continued to be much sought after, also by non-noble urban elites.[50]

As Arthur Weststeijn shows in his chapter, in the Dutch colonial context stadtholders as well as other power-holders such as colonial governors-general were eagerly represented as monarchical figures. Back in the Dutch Republic, state portraits of Maurice of Nassau were mass-produced by the The Hague workshop of Michiel van Mierevelt, from where they came to adorn the walls of the States General and several city halls (fig. 6.6).[51] In these contexts Maurice was represented as military commander-in-chief and not as sovereign, but not every visitor will have sharply distinguished between these two capacities, and perhaps that was exactly the point. By contrast, in Dutch embassy buildings, the coat of arms of the States General graced the spot under the dais where, in other embassies, a portrait of the monarch was hung.[52] In this case, ambiguity about the constitutional relationship between the States and the stadtholder was undesirable: it had to be clear that the States General was ultimately the sole negotiating partner in diplomatic affairs. That said, diplomatic missions representing the States General were often led by nobles or seigneurial lords rather than by urban citizens without titles, as this was appreciated by the kings who received them.[53]

The States General did not altogether refrain from using the prestige of the Nassau family on the European diplomatic stage. When foreign envoys came to The Hague, they were received by the Prince of Orange in his capacity as Stadtholder of Holland. This remained customary until Frederick Henry no longer wished to fulfil this role. Whereas he felt that it placed too much emphasis on his subordinate position, the states had found this custom appealing precisely because it had allowed them to capitalize on the stadtholder's princely status.[54] As emerges from the contribution of Lidewij Nissen, political institutions in the Dutch Republic also played an active role in the dynastic family politics of the stadtholders. This shows that they considered it a matter of state importance that the House of Orange-Nassau could compete with royal dynasties.[55] Meanwhile, the states made sure the dynastic marriages did not become fully-fledged state affairs and reminded the stadtholders of their place within the internal political system of the Dutch Republic. A comparable attitude can be discerned in individual political actors, as becomes clear in the chapter by Lauren Lauret and Ida Nijenhuis. On the one hand, members of the ruling elite realized that a connection with the powerful princes of Orange could prove essential for the advancement of their political career. On the other hand, as members of local and supra-local political institutions, they saw the monarchical tendencies of the stadtholders as a potential liability.[56]

Urban government in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic came to rest with a patrician class that was convinced of its God-given authority, but nonetheless sought to consolidate the legitimacy of its rule through symbolic representation. As Peter Arnade demonstrates in his chapter, the cities held on to a civic tradition of representation that was deeply rooted in late medieval models. The power of the city and its rulers was expressed in visual arts and literature, and in public architecture, such as

1.8

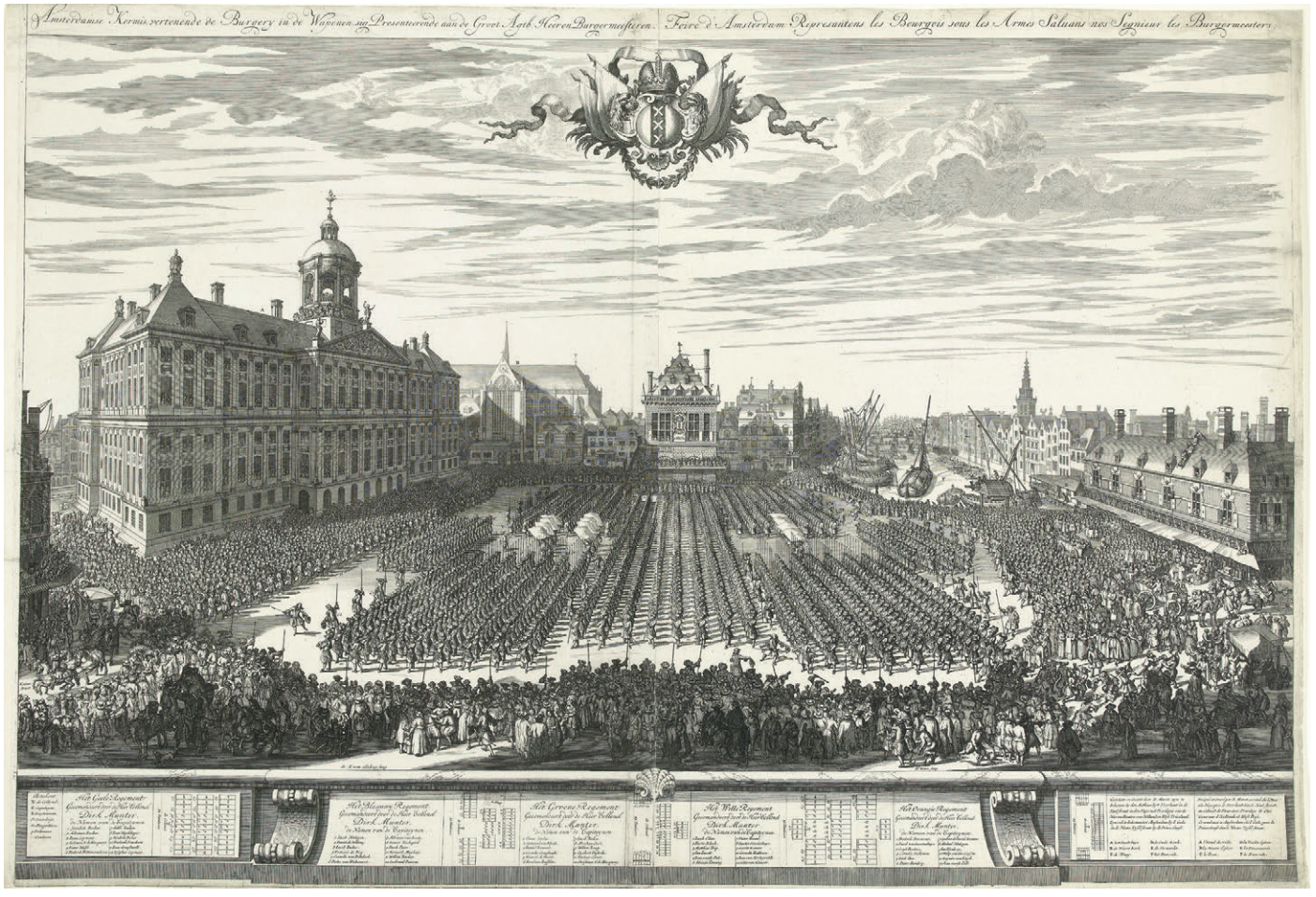
Romeyn de Hooghe, *The City of Alkmaar Pledges Loyalty to the Virgin of Holland*, Alkmaar, Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar. 1694. Beeldbank Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar.

1.9

'Council Room', City Hall of 's-Hertogenbosch, 's-Hertogenbosch. Featuring *Justice and Concord* (1646), by Theodoor van Thulden and Wall Tapestries (1679) by Maximiliaan van der Gucht. Courtesy of Margriet van Eikema-Hommes. Photo: Cultural Heritage Agency of the Netherlands. Reproduced with permission.

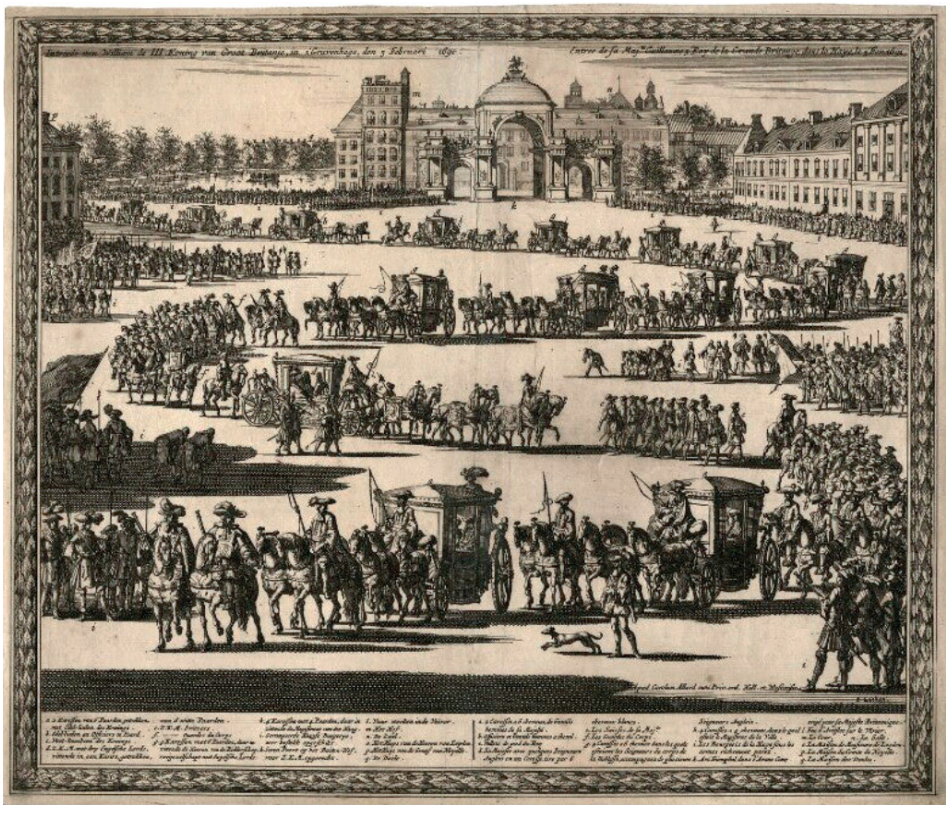
gates, weigh houses, and town halls (fig. 1.7).[57] Amsterdam, by far the largest and most powerful city of the Dutch Republic, presented itself as a proud city state.[58] Other towns shared that aspiration, but executed it on a somewhat more modest scale.[59] The town halls in particular functioned as symbolic spaces where the power of the urban rulers was made present. The buildings had impressive exteriors and were richly decorated. Their decoration schemes combined allegorical personifications and mythological, biblical, and historical elements (figs 1.8–9). Almost always present was the theme of the administration of justice, exemplified by the judgments of Solomon, Cambyses, or William III, Count of Holland. The emphasis on justice resonates with an older European tradition of the representation of civic rule. The same may, of course, be said of references to other classical virtues, such as moderation, harmony, sincerity, perseverance, prudence, and vigilance. Particularly popular in the Dutch context were references to the Roman Republic (often including variations on the abbreviation S.P.Q.R.), and to the importance of peace.[60]

The idea of the town hall as the locus of symbolic power was brought to new heights with the building of the new Town Hall of Amsterdam in the 1650s. As shown in chapters 4 and 5 of this volume, this event inspired numerous multimedial representations.[61] Civic and national pride culminated in the cultural construction of the Town Hall as one of the wonders of the world. By means of the persisting tradition of city praise, in which the particulars of the literary portrait of a city were now adjusted to the scale of a single building,



1.10

Daniel Marot, *Annual Parade of the Amsterdam Civic Guards*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1686. Public domain.



1.11

Jan Luyken, *Entry of William III into The Hague in 1691*, London, National Portrait Gallery. 1691. Reproduced under Academic License.

1.12

Entry of Frederick Henry into The Hague after Having Occupied the City of Groenlo. The Hague, Haags Gemeentearchief. 1627. © Collectie Haags Gemeentearchief. Reproduced with permission.

1.13

Hendrik Winter, *Inauguration of Johan Huydecoper as Lord of Maarsseveen and Neerdijk*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1641. Public domain.

the majestic Town Hall was turned into the personification *par excellence* of civic splendour.[62] As the crowning glory of the Dutch Republic, its most important city and that city's rulers, it gained a monarchical aura on a par with that of royal palaces across Europe.

A recurrent ritual in urban society was the annual march through town of its civic guard (fig. 1.10). On this occasion, the city proudly showed itself to inhabitants and visitors alike.[63] In the past, cities had also seen the ceremonial entries of the Lords of the Netherlands, but in a republican state there was no place for such symbolic negotiations of the constitutional relationship between sovereign and city.[64] This did not mean that the tradition of the joyous entry disappeared altogether. A particularly famous example of how it found renewed purpose in the seventeenth century is the royal visit to Amsterdam of the French Queen-Mother Marie de' Medici in 1638, discussed in several chapters of this volume. This visit gave rise to myriad representations, in the shape of waterborne spectacles, triumphal arches, *tableaux vivants*, fireworks, paintings, engravings, poems, and a festival book.[65] The celebratory reception provided Amsterdam's rulers with a perfect opportunity to display the city's pride and power. The city was presented as equal to its regal visitor, and as a centre of commerce that, connecting all corners of the world, had risen to a position of global eminence.

Yet the visits of the stadtholders or their family members were cloaked in ceremony as well. In her chapter, Suzanne van de Meerendonk discusses the entry of William of Orange into Amsterdam in 1580, when the city still saw William as their future sovereign. In 1691, William III was received in The Hague (fig. 1.11). This entry marked his first return to the Dutch Republic after he had left to accept the English crown. It would be the only time a Stadtholder-Prince of Orange could be celebrated as king on Dutch soil. The entry of William III into The Hague, which is the topic of a recent study by Alexander Dencher, was to become the grandest entrance in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. It was staged more like the triumphal entries of ancient Roman military victors than as the joyous entries the Low Countries had witnessed before. The entry was offered to the stadtholder-King by local rulers and the States of Holland. Initially, William III refused to accept the offer, but retrospectively this refusal appears to have been mostly strategic. His new royal status notwithstanding, William wanted to be seen as counter-image of the Sun King, and as a stadtholder who cared about the *res publica*. In triumphal arches, medals, prints, and poetry, William's recent military victories in Ireland and Scotland were emphasized. In this way, he anticipated foreseeable accusations of wanting to usurp the sovereignty of the Dutch Republic.[66]

In the long century that passed between these entries of William I and William III, stadtholders were most joyously received when they had won military victories in their capacity as captain-general (fig. 1.12).[67] Other important ceremonial moments were the entries of the future brides of the stadtholders and the ensuing urban celebrations of their marriages. In her chapter, Nissen discusses the marriage of William II and Mary Henrietta Stuart in Amsterdam in 1642 and that of William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz and Frederick Henry's daughter Albertine Agnes at the Frisian court in 1653. Sometimes entries took place at the request of urban rulers, who used them to make statements about their position in domestic and international politics. In Van de Meerendonk's contribution we for instance read about the visit to Amsterdam of Mary Stuart in 1660, this time as widow of William II and Princess Royal of England, and in the presence of her young son William Henry of Orange, the future William III. Even during this occasion, at the height of the stadtholderless period, the House of Orange-Nassau was a central theme in the customary procession of state carriages. The visit to the city of the then fifteen-year-old William Henry in 1666, the topic of Laura Plezier's chapter, did not pass unacknowledged either. In current scholarship visits to Amsterdam or The Hague often take centre stage, but ceremonial entries also took place in other towns.[68]

Meanwhile, as Arjan Nobel has recently pointed out, the tradition of the joyous entry also flourished in the Dutch countryside from the late sixteenth century onwards (fig. 1.13). The countryside was divided into seigneuries owned by lords and ladies of noble descent, by urban citizens, or by a city or a province. The stadtholder-princes of Orange-Nassau, too, were lords of many seigneuries. New lords ceremoniously entered their seigneury, swore an oath, and received gifts. Such entries in fact retained something of their earlier function of constitutional negotiation between ruler and subjects, as the lord was often presented with requests on the part of the villagers. If the 'lord' was a province, an entry could also be organized for officials representing the provincial states, such as the *schout* (sheriff) or the *baljuw* (steward), or for a provincial delegation.[69] The rural practice of the joyous entry, in which political actors from across Dutch society took part, shows the persistence of the monarchical model of representation. It also once again confirms that the individuals who represented collective political bodies were to be treated with the symbolic reverence that was due to their principals, blurring the boundaries between republican and monarchical forms of power.

1.14

Daniel Drappentier, 'Medal of Honor of the States General (as after 1661), featuring the Coats of Arms of the States General and the Seven Provinces and the Motto *Res Parvae Crescent Concordia* ("Unity makes Strength"),' Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1691–93. Public domain.

1.15

Jan de Baen, *Portrait of Gisbert Cuper, Former Burgomaster of Deventer and Deputy to the States General*, Deventer, Historisch Museum Deventer. c. 1681–89. Collection De Waag Deventer. Reproduced with permission.

Portraits of power

Whereas urban patricians actively contributed to the personality cult surrounding the princes of Orange, they initially seem to have been cautious about personalizing their own power. Rich citizens in the Dutch Republic displayed their wealth through conspicuous consumption, stately urban architecture, and sumptuous country estates.[70] This is not the same, though, as demonstrating political power. Urban citizens who remained outside the ruling elite (for instance because they did not belong to the Dutch Reformed Church) manifested themselves in similar ways. Unlike in Venice, another oligarchic republic, political office-holders in the Dutch Republic did not dress differently from other citizens.[71] The distinction between patricians and the rest of urban society was presumably expressed first and foremost in their day-to-day interaction and during ritual moments. The most common of such moments was the Reformed church service, in which the seating order – with special pews for members of the urban government, but also for members of higher colleges of state, officers of the army and the civic guards, board members of corporations, and university professors – reflected the socio-political order of the city.[72] Ceremonial entries, public weddings, and funerals, too, were moments in which this order could be staged.[73] More than four decades after the publication of Richard Trexler's groundbreaking work on renaissance Florence, an overarching study of the ritual aspects of public life in the Dutch cities still remains to be written.[74]

Much better served by scholars is the burgeoning business of seventeenth-century Dutch portraiture. Large numbers of men and women had themselves immortalized, be it in individual portraits, pendant pieces, family portraits, or as part of history paintings. Having a portrait painted was no prerogative of the ruling elite; portraits could therefore be cultural representations of many things, varying from marital bonds and professions to noble status or urban citizenship. The Dutch Republic did not develop a tradition of official portraits. Only occasionally do we find in portraits obvious references to political offices: in a portrait of the Deventer scholar and patrician Gisbert Cuper, for instance, a depiction of a city maiden symbolized his membership in the city government, while a medal of honour of the States General referred to the fact that he represented the province of Overijssel in that assembly (figs 1.14–15).[75] More often, the holding of offices, or membership in the patrician class, was expressed in subtler ways.[76]

It has often been remarked that notwithstanding the vivid tradition of group portraiture that emerged in the

Dutch Republic, official group portraits of local governing bodies were a rare phenomenon; the few extant examples, mostly produced in minor towns, are few and far between (fig. 1.16).[77] Of the provincial states assemblies and the States General, no official paintings are known at all. There were probably practical reasons for this. The most powerful office at the urban level, the college of burgomasters, rotated every year in most cities.[78] Deputies sent to the supralocal assemblies could be called back at any time. It has also been suggested that 'the seats of real political power remained unpictured' because seventeenth-century Dutch citizens were 'highly sensitive to the abuses of power in any form'.[79] An explanation more in line with the thrust of this volume is that it was deemed problematic to capture in painting the hierarchical relation between, for instance, the college of burgomasters and the city council, as each institution had its own views on this relationship.

The famed Dutch group portraits were not commissioned by political bodies, but in the context of the many urban corporations, such as philanthropic institutions, civic guards, and urban guilds, and incidentally also of supra-local corporations such as water boards.[80] Corporate institutions were characterized by a relatively straightforward internal hierarchy: charitable institutions had a board of governors (*regenten*), guilds were governed by a board of *overlieden* or *dekenen*, and civic guards had a military chain of command, with at the top a council of officers (*krijgsraad*) (fig. 1.17). Most group portraits depict these governing boards; only within the genre of civic guard paintings were compositions that included ordinary militiamen customary as well. Hence, the group portraits of the governing boards of almshouses, orphanages, old people's homes, correctional institutions, or guilds as well as those of the officers of the civic guard are all representations of power-holders of sorts. For many of these portraits, however, the representation of power as such does not seem to have been the primary goal. The group portraits that were hung on the walls of charitable institutions symbolized abstract principles such as mercy or civic duty. A popular type of militia painting was that of the banquet. Depictions of communal meals of the officers of the civic guard symbolize the friendship and unity of the militia, and by extension of the urban community at large. Bartholomeus van der Helst famously painted a banquet portrait of the company of Captain Cornelisz Jansz Witsen and Lieutenant Johan Oetgens van Waveren to celebrate the peace of Münster in 1648. This painting, one of the last militia paintings, symbolizes peace and reconciliation (fig. 2.10).[81]

Civic guard paintings, however, were not just about representing abstract principles. In many of these portraits, the internal hierarchy within the represented collective was made visible using attributes or choosing a certain composition: leading officers could be distinguished from ordinary militiamen. The captain and, to a lesser extent, the lieutenant stand out. As early as 1588, Cornelis Ketel completed the artistically groundbreaking piece now known as *Company of Captain Dirck Jacobsz Rosecrans and Lieutenant Pauw*, which is in fact a standing full-length state portrait of the three central figures in the painting, the two highest officers and the ensign, embedded in a group portrait of their company (fig. 1.18). Ketel seems to have been ahead of his time, as the full-length group portrait foregrounding the leading officers became the standard formula for civic guard paintings only during the 1630s and 1640s, when it was employed in now world-famous pieces such as Van der Helst's portrait of the company of Captain Roelof Bicker and Rembrandt's depiction of the company of Frans Banning Cocq, best known as *The Night Watch* (fig. 1.19).

The representation of captains in the civic guard portraits reflected their symbolic power in the urban communities of the Dutch Republic. They were the leading officers of a company; all companies in turn served under the command of one colonel, who was often a member of the city government, or acted as its representative in the *krijgsraad*. As Paul Knevel pointed out almost three decades ago in his landmark study of the civic guards in the province of Holland, the captains had a more autonomous position within urban society and enjoyed great prestige among the citizenry (figs 1.20–21). Both in public life and in the militia portraits, their self-fashioning was more flamboyant and their clothing more extravagant than that of members of the city government. During the civic guard's annual parade, or during ceremonial entries, the captains took centre stage.[82] In contrast to other institutional group portraits, the civic guard paintings in which they featured so prominently were hung in public spaces: the buildings of the civic guards were gathering places for the urban citizenry, but they also functioned as representative spaces where visitors to the cities were shown around.[83] It was often the captains themselves who took the initiative for a group portrait on the occasion of their promotion to the office of colonel or burgomaster.[84] It seems that in this way they hoped to preserve the prestige which they had enjoyed in their previous role by making it permanently present.

According to Knevel, the captains of the civic guard were regarded, even more so than the members of the city government, as embodying the civic community at large.[85] It is important to ask why it was, exactly, that the captains could – and did – perform this symbolic role, all the while being formally subservient to the cities' rulers. An interesting parallel may be drawn here with the position of the stadtholders at the supralocal level. Both figures derived their symbolic

1.16

Gerard ter Borch, *City Government of Deventer*, Raadhuis Deventer, Deventer. 1667. Collection Museum De Waag. Reproduced with permission.

1.17

Nicolaes Elias Pickenoy, *The Governors of the Spinhuis (House of Correction), Amsterdam*. Amsterdam Museum. 1628. Public domain.

1.18

Cornelis Ketel, *The Company of Captain Dirck Jacobsz Rosecrans and Lieutenant Pauw*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1588. Public domain.

1.19

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Company of Captain Frans Banninck Cocq and Lieutenant Willem van Ruytenburch,* commonly known as *The Nachtwacht* ('Night Watch'), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1642. Public domain.

1.20

Abraham Delfos after Joris van Schooten, *The Six Captains of the Leiden Civic Guards in 1650* (eighteenth-century drawing after a lost seventeenth-century painting). Leiden, Museum De Lakenhal. c. 1797. Public domain.

1.21

Jan Albertsz Rotius, *The Company of Captain Claes Willemsz Jager*, Hoorn, Westfries Museum. 1655. Reproduced with permission.

power not primarily from their constitutional position, but rather from their military status. Furthermore, in both cases, it could be in the interest of collegial governing bodies to allow them to take up this role, or even – within certain limits – to actively stimulate it. In the interaction with other states and with their own citizens, these governing bodies were faced with a need for power figures that could symbolically fill the void left by the Lords of the Netherlands. The political history of the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century may well be read as an ongoing debate about the extent to which this need was to be met.

True freedom

In this history, the mid-century marks a turning-point. After the signing of the Peace of Münster (1648) the significance of the civic guards declined. As a result, the captains of the guards lost some of their symbolic power. The death of William II gave rise to the stadtholderless regime of 'True Freedom' (1650–72). At the political centre in the Hague, the medieval Binnenhof complex, where building activity usually reflected changes in the balance of power, the States of Holland presented their plans for a grand new assembly hall for which part of the living quarters of the now-deceased

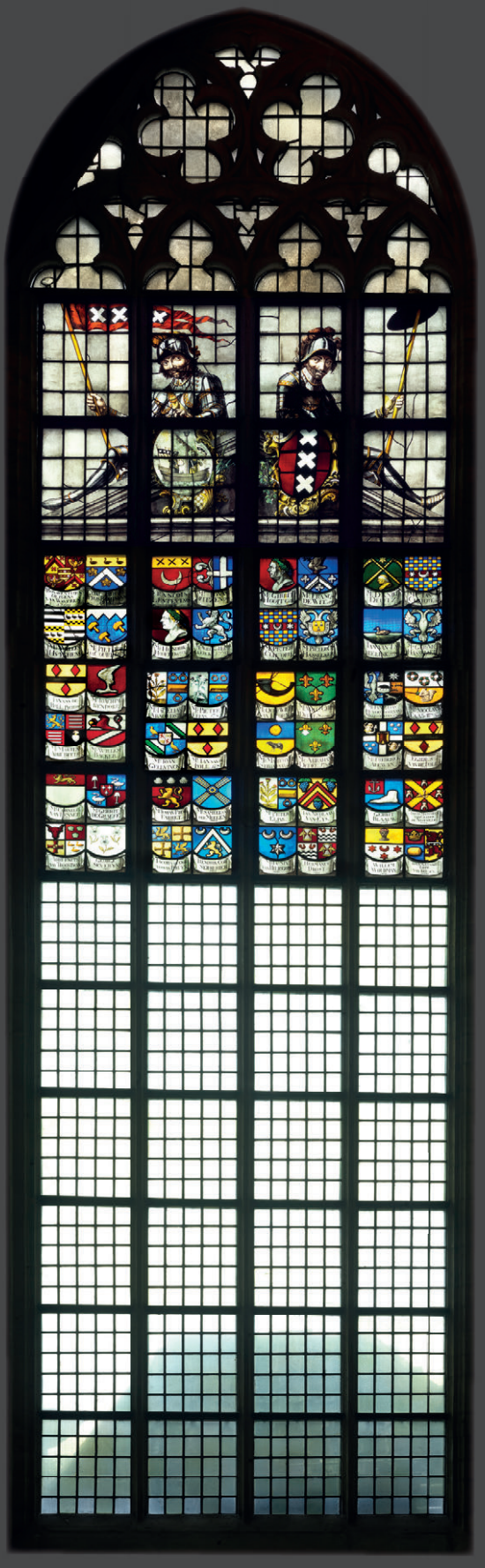
1.22
Anonymous after Hendrik Hondius, *View of the Binnenhof in the Hague Featuring the Recently Completed 'Stadtholderian Quarters' (Stadhouderlijk Kwartier)*, The Hague, Haags Gemeentearchief. c. 1640. Haagse Beeldbank. Reproduced with permission.

1.23
Pieter Post, Assembly Hall of the States of Holland and Westfriesland (current Assembly Hall of the Dutch Senate), The Hague, 1650–66. Wikipedia. Public domain.

1.24
Artus Quellinus, *Portrait Bust of Andries de Graeff*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1661. Public domain.

stadtholder had to make way (figs 1.22–23). This monumental space, as well as the new meeting hall of the *Gecommiteerde Raden*, one of the States' executive bodies, were decorated with an allegorical motif emphasizing the importance of adhering to the virtues of love, loyalty, concord, and peace.[86]

Yet during the stadtholderless period, too, the need for personified power continued to be felt. In Amsterdam, the (self-)representation of the rich and powerful burgomasters took on less circumspect forms. After the Peace of Münster, and even more after William II's failed siege, they commissioned works of art in which they were compared to the consuls of the Roman Republic, fighting against tyranny. They had poets and playwrights such as Gerard Brandt, Jan Vos, and Joost van den Vondel sing praise to them in poems or during their visits to the city theatre, a municipal institution that had been founded in 1638.[87] Artus Quellinus, a classicist sculptor originally from Antwerp, received several commissions for marble busts representing them (fig. 1.24).[88] These sculpted portraits seem to have been intended for the representative spaces of the burgomasters' private homes rather than for government buildings, but much public activity took place there as well. In the burgomasters' room of the new Town Hall, the ceiling was decorated with their coats of arms.[89] In The Old Church, a public space *par excellence*, a stained-glass window was installed with the coats of arms of all burgomasters who had served in the past, going back to the establishment of the Calvinist regime in 1578 (fig. 1.25).[90] This was done at the initiative of Cornelis de Graeff, who in the early 1650s held the so-called 'magnificat', the term contemporaries reserved for the most powerful burgomaster.[91]



1.25
Jan van Bronchorst and Pieter Jansz., Stained-Glass Window with the Coats of Arms of Amsterdam Burgomasters in Office since 1578, Amsterdam, Oude Kerk. 1650. © Oude Kerk Amsterdam. Photo: Gert Jan van Rooij. Reproduced with permission.

1.26
Ferdinand Bol, *Portrait of Lieutenant-Admiral Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1667. Public domain.

During the third quarter of the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic fought multiple naval wars with England. As there was no longer a stadtholder holding the office of admiral-general, the focus of personalized representation of military power shifted to the lieutenant-admirals of the Dutch Republic's five colleges of admiralty, and especially to the lieutenant-admiral who came to exercise the supreme command. This period saw the rise of the genre of the admiral's portrait (fig. 1.26).[92] These portraits depicted admirals in armour or – more commonly – in civilian clothes, armed with attributes such as a baton and a weapon, against the background of a seascape with one or more warships. Maritime painting had been a popular genre already in the first half of the seventeenth century, when it had served the purpose of symbolically representing the Dutch body politic and making claims about the position of the Dutch Republic in the sphere of international politics.[93] The formula of the admiral's portrait no doubt benefited from this local tradition, but it also seems to have taken inspiration from older portraits of Venetian fleet admirals.[94] Many of the admiral's portraits came to adorn the walls of the admiralties' buildings.[95] Moreover, the States General and the admiralties commissioned in these years a series of tombs for deceased admirals (fig. 1.27). These funerary monuments commemorated the admirals' heroic embodiment of the Union, but also added to the civic prestige of the cities where they were erected.[96] No admiral was admired more than Michiel Adriaenszoon de Ruyter, whose fame would reach its apex in 1673, when the military

1.27
Rombout Verhulst, 'Funerary Monument to Maarten Harpertsz. Tromp in the Old Church in Delft', Delft, Oude Kerk. 1655. © Oude Kerk Delft. Reproduced with permission.

status of lieutenant-admiral-general was created for him. The state funeral De Ruyter received after his death in 1676 rivalled the funerals of the stadtholders (fig. 1.28).[97]

History did not have a heroic ending in store for Johan and Cornelis de Witt.[98] The brothers De Witt hailed from a patrician dynasty native to Dordrecht, where their father had held the office of burgomaster multiple times. Cornelis followed in his father's footsteps by becoming first councillor and later burgomaster as well. As the oldest city of Holland, Dordrecht ranked first in the States assembly of this province. This meant that it had the right to provide candidates for the office of *raadpensionaris* (grand pensionary). From 1653 onwards, Johan de Witt held this position. In the absence of a stadtholder, he succeeded in using the position of grand pensionary – the province's highest-ranking civil servant, the office previously known as *landsadvocaat* – to become the most powerful statesman in the Dutch Republic. During the Second Anglo-Dutch War (1665–67), Johan got his brother Cornelis appointed as 'deputy-at-the-fleet', a prestigious new office with full plenipotentiary powers.[99] In that capacity Cornelis represented the States General at the Dutch fleet in the Spring of 1667, when – under the command of lieutenant-admiral De Ruyter – it sailed along the Thames and the Medway towards Chatham, the site of the most important English naval base. Here the Dutch fleet would, famously, destroy and capture so many warships that England was forced to end the war. De Ruyter and his officers had initially opposed this military operation because they deemed it too risky. But the De Witt brothers had insisted, and Cornelis was ultimately received as a hero upon returning to his hometown of Dordrecht.

Markedly, Dordrecht's city council also commissioned a large commemorative painting from the artist Jan de Baen (fig. 1.29). This work prominently features Cornelis, who is placed at the front, while the raid on the Medway is depicted in the background. Divine Fama sounds glory's trumpet and *putti* crown Cornelis with the laurel wreath, the Apollonian symbol reserved for victorious military commanders, which in the seventeenth century was often associated with Louis XIV and the stadtholders of the House of Orange, among other princes. Cornelis is pictured boasting the attributes of the military leader: he wears a breast-plate up front, and a harness stands next to him. In his right hand, Cornelis holds a baton of command with which he points towards himself in a self-conscious gesture, reconfirming that he is soon to be crowned the victor of the military operation. Of special significance, too, is the hat depicted just behind one arm. In seventeenth-century Dutch portraits, hats functioned as symbols of political office-holding.[100] In this painting, the hat seems to symbolize Cornelis's position as representative of the States General.

Besides this work, De Baen painted a portrait of Cornelis in the tradition of the admiral's portrait (fig. 1.30). This work came to serve as the pendant of a portrait of his brother. De Baen portrayed Johan de Witt with in the background the new assembly hall of the States of Holland,

1.28

Jan Luyken, *Funeral Procession for Michiel de Ruyter in Amsterdam in 1677*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1685. Public domain.

Lyk-Statie van den beroemden Zee-Held MICHIEL de RUYTER, Ridder, etc. Luytenant Admiraal Generaal der Vereenigde Nederlanden.

WAnneer het Lichaem in 't Vaderlandt was aengekomen, is dat eerst tot Rotterdam, van het Ed. Mog. Collegie ter Admiraliteyt aldaer, met hooge ftatigheyt ontfangen, en naderhandt met een koftelijk Jacht van daer tot Amfterdam in het huys van fijne Weduw gebracht.

De Heeren Staten Generael begeerden tot erkentenis der grote dienften van defen Heer, dat fijne Begraefenis met alle hooge pracht en ftatie gehouden fou worden, en fonden dierhalven, uyt het midden van haer, eenige Gedeputeerden aen de Weduw en Erfgenamen, om met de felve te overwegen, op wat dagh die Lichaem bequaemlijkft ter Aerden te beftellen: en als den 18 Maert daer toe was voorgeftegen, hebben hare Hoog-Mog. hen dien dag laten wel gevallen, en gelaft uyt-fchrijvingh te doen aen de Collegien van de Regeering, om door Gedeputeerden defe Lijkftatie by te woonen; als mede aen alle de Zee houden, om perfoonelijck alhier te verfchijnen; gelijck oock op den beftemdem dag is geftiert, in defer voegen.

1 Voor aen quamen de 4 fubftituyt Schouten, by haer hebbende het volck van de Ruyter en Ratel-wacht met ftocken, om door't gedrangh der onmallijcke menfchen plaets te maecken.

2 Hier op wierd een paerd gelevd, voor de Majoor van de Stad, den Heer Witfen, die voor het Krijgsvolck optrock, 3 gevolcht van twee Compagnien Soldaten, het Stadts Guarnifoen, ftaigh geskeedt, met Blancke ftormhoeden, de mufquetten onder den arm, en ftepende piecken. Sy hadden alle fwarte rouw ftricken in hare daffen, en aen haer geweer, en de trommelen waeren met fwart laecken bedeckt.

4 Achter de Soldaten volghden 12 Aenfprekers ter Begraeffenis.

5 Daer op gingen 4 Trompetters, met de Trompetten vol fwarte quifpels, en het Blafoen of wapen van den Admirael.

6 De groote Admiraels Vlagh van fwarte Syde, waer van het groot Wapen geſchildert was, wierdt gedragen door den Capiteyn *Jan Janſz. Bout*.

7 Hier aen volgde de Heer Bruinick, met een Standaert.

8, 9, 10, 11. De vier Quartieren fijnde de vier ftucken van 't geheel Wapen ſchilt, met Hertoghlijcke kroonen, wierden gedragen door de Heeren Teck, de Vlaming, de Hubert, en Steevens.

12 Het groot Blafoen droegh de Heer Roſeus.

13 Nae defe quam de Heer van Genderen met de Spooren.

14 De Heer Tellier droegh de Gantelet of Handſchoonen.

15 Het Rapier wiert gedragen van den Heer Bouwens.

16 De Heer Corlee droegh 't Caſquet.

17 De Luytenant Baeck volghde met den Wapen-rock.

18 Het Rouw-paerd, toeſtaende toe met fwart laecken bedeckt, en met vier Wapenſchilden behangen, wierdt geleydt door de Heeren Luytenanten de Swaen, en van Buſſen.

19 Daer achter ginghde Heer Manaert, met een Standaert.

Hier op quam een man geheel in 't Harnas, die den Regiment-ſtock voerde.

20 Het Lijck was behangen met acht volle Blafoenen, van achtien perſoonen onder het rouw-kleedt gedragen; die van 18 andere verpoolt werden.

21 De Admiralen van Nes.

22 Evertzen.

23 Schepels.

24 En de Vice Admirael Vlugh, in plaets van den Admirael Star, hielden de vier hoecken van 't Baer kleet.

25 En de Zee-Capiteynen, Schey, Tol, Eſſevier, Broeder, Minne, Uytterwijck, Boes, de Munnick, Swart, Schey de Jonge, van der Duſſen, van Zyl, Decker, Megang, Teyloos, en Aboude; gingen rontom het Lijck, 't Baer kleedt draegende.

26 Den Bedelen Heer Conſtantijn Huygens, Heere van Zuilichem, &c. Gedeputeert wegens ſijne Hoogheydt den Prins van Oranjen als Erf-Admirael Generael, volgde naeſt aen 't Lijck.

27 Daer na quamen de Gedeputeerden van de Reſpective Admiraliteyten, ter zijden Dienaers met ongedeckte hoofden.

28 Doen volghde den Edele Heer Baron Engel de Ruyter, des overledens eenighſte Soon, Ridder, &c. Vice Admirael, doen Schout by Nacht. Hy ging met een langh ſleepende rouw mantel, die ſomtijdts van een Dienaer opgeheven, gedragen wierd. Aen de rechter zijde ginck een knecht, dragende den degen van den voornoemden Heer.

29 Naer haen volgde het Soontje van den eerwaerden Heer D. Pots, door een Dienaer by de hand geleyd.

30 Daer na quamen de Heer Capiteyn de Witte.

31 Den eerwaerden Heer Pots.

32 En den eerwaerden Heer Somer, Swagers, Docters Mannen van den overleden.

33 En na deſelve quam de Heer Cornelis de Witte.

34 de Heer Michiel de Witte.

35 Met de Heer Mr. Abraham Schoorer.

36 Voorts eenige verdere Bloeds-vrienden en Vermaegſchapte.

37 Na deſe gingen de Gedeputeerden van de Hoogh Mog Heeren, mijne Heeren de Staten Generael.

38 Doen de Gecommitteerde van de Edele Mog. Heeren mijne Heeren de Raden van Staete, met Boden.

39 De Gedeputeerde van de Ed. Gr. Mog. Heeren de Staten van Hollandt.

40 De Edele, Groot Achtbare, Erentfeſte, Wijſe, Voorſienige Heeren, de Heeren regerende Magiſtraets perſoonen van Amſterdam.

41 De Heeren Profeſſoren van de Illuſtre School, &c.

42 De Heeren Predikanten en Ketckenraden, &c.

43 De Heeren de Bewinthebberen van de Geoct. Ooſt en Weſt Indiſche Compagnie.

44 De Heeren Directeuren van den Levantſchen Handel.

45 De Broeders van het Schoonevaers Gildt.

46 De hooge en lage Zee Officieren: en noch veele andere Heeren, Koopliden, ende voorname Borgeren, &c.

In de Nieuwe Kerck wierden alle de Genamenten in haer rangh geſtelt in 't Koor, dit rontom met fwarte baey was behangen. De Soldaten op den Dam gerangeert, hebben met hare muſquetten drie volle Chargen geſchooten, die door een Pregat met 24 ſtucken, daer toe voor de Stadt legeende, driemael beantwoordt wierden. De Oorlogh Scheepen in het hoek van de Admiraliteyts werf lieten de vlaggen hangen, en ruſſchen het ſchieten wierdt in de Kerck heerlijck op de Trompetten geblaeſen.

which at the time had recently been completed; it had in fact been De Witt who had put forward its architect Pieter Post (fig. 1.31).[101] De Baen represented the grand pensionary in his capacity as office-holder, following a Venetian tradition of official portraits.[102] Within the context of the Dutch Republic, however, the aspiration to present its sitter as the embodiment of the States assembly of the leading province of Holland makes this work unique. Equally exceptional was the fact that De Baen's painting glorifying Cornelis de Witt was hung in the official setting of Dordrecht's town hall.[103]

The year 1672 marks the fall of the brothers De Witt. Their anti-Orangist, pro-French politics turned against them when Louis XIV invaded the Dutch Republic. Cornelis was accused of having conspired to murder Prince William III of Orange. The brothers became the object of popular anger. Following several earlier assaults, they were lynched in The Hague on 20 August. Their corpses were mutilated, torn to pieces, and even partially eaten by the mob. Much has been written about what was, within the Dutch context, an exceptional political murder.[104] But one aspect has, so far, remained out of the limelight.

The tragic event had, in fact, been foreshadowed a few months prior to the lynching. A crowd broke into the town hall of Dordrecht and ripped to shreds De Baens's painting of Cornelis de Witt as victor of Chatham; Cornelis's painted head was nailed to a gallows. In The Hague, a crowd gathered at the studio of Jan de Baen and demanded that he hand over what must have been copies of the two state portraits of Johan and Cornelis.[105] Both these actions and the lynching itself indicate a fixation on the brothers' bodies. As early modern violence was, as a rule, charged with symbolic meaning, we may well assume that this fixation was more than mere coincidence.[106] This is confirmed by descriptions of the murder in contemporary pamphlets.[107] It does not seem far-fetched to assume that

1.29

Jan de Baen (copy after), *The Apotheosis of Cornelis de Witt*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. After 1667. Public domain.

1.30

Jan de Baen, *Portrait of Cornelis de Witt*, Dordrecht, Dordrechts Museum. 1667. On loan from the Cultural Heritage Agency, 2014. Reproduced with permission.

1.31

Jan de Baen, *Portrait of Johan de Witt*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. After 1667. Public domain.

the actions of the crowds were, at least in part, a response to the way in which the two statesmen had been represented.

It has been pointed out that, together, the paintings represent the brothers' claim to the political as well as the military primacy of the Dutch Republic, and that with this claim, they had symbolically put themselves in the place of the stadtholder.[108] The representative claim that emanates from the paintings, however, is even bolder than that. Johan is represented in his portrait as embodying the States of Holland. The representations of Cornelis can indeed be understood as a claim to surpass the military leadership of the stadtholder prior to the regime of True Freedom. Yet it is crucial to also consider Cornelis's role as deputy-at-the-fleet, and how this is equally expressed in his representation. In this capacity, Cornelis represented the States General; hence, he could symbolically claim to embody the body politic of the Dutch Republic at large. Together the brothers thus embodied the body politic at the level of the Dutch Republic and at that of its most powerful sovereign province, while they also presented themselves as successor of the stadtholder in his capacity as military commander of the Union.

In the chapter by Margriet van Eikema Hommes and Tatjana van Run, we read how the Amsterdam burgomaster

Andries de Graeff, an ally of the De Witts and the younger brother of the previously mentioned Cornelis de Graeff, also became the object of popular indignation in 1672. Technical analysis of the series of ceiling paintings in the reception room of his monumental canal house has revealed that throughout the Year of Disaster, De Graeff had the artist Gerard de Lairesse change the paintings multiple times, thus distancing himself from the regime of True Freedom and emphasizing his own heroic role as well as that of the city of Amsterdam in the ongoing war. As Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run write, it was, for a member of a patrician dynasty such as De Graeff, very important that the paintings conveyed the right message. In light of what happened to the De Witt brothers, he may even have perceived it as a matter of life and death.

Conclusion

The case of the De Witts epitomizes the thrust of this volume. If cultural production and political thought and practice are brought into direct conversation with one another, this leads to sharper insights into the political culture of a particular period. This volume shows that throughout the seventeenth century symbolic representation retained a crucial role in establishing, affirming, and challenging the political order of the Dutch Republic. Whereas this point has been made for monarchical states, cultural representations in the Dutch context are still relatively often considered as mere illustrations of constitutionally predefined power. The latter view is possible only if the status of written constitutions is projected onto canonical political texts such as the treaty of the Union of Utrecht; while it is true that these texts served constitutional functions, they were also enigmatic and open to multiple interpretations.

In the Dutch Republic, no less so than in a monarchical state like France, power had to be enacted by way of symbolic representation. Not only did political institutions uphold rivalling claims to sovereignty, but the power struggle amongst these institutions created opportunities to concentrate power in offices that on paper were subservient, and imbued these offices with a monarchical aura. The most obvious candidate for this was the office of stadtholder, but, as we see in this introduction and elsewhere in this volume, it also happened to positions as diverse as governor-general in the colonies, seigneurial lord, captain of the civic guard, lieutenant-admiral, grand pensionary, and deputy-at-the-fleet. Collegial governing bodies such as the Amsterdam college of burgomasters established a practice of recognizing a primus inter pares, which also opened doors to representations of power more along the lines of those traditionally adopted for single rulers. As much of the power of individual office-holders in the Dutch Republic was informal rather than vested in them by a constitution or granted by God, symbolic representation was essential to consolidate it.

Political actors in the Republic therefore took symbolic representation extremely seriously. In their mutual interactions, but also in diplomatic encounters with other states, they rigidly observed practices of seating order and préséance.[109] A second key insight of this volume, however, is that the political establishment of the Dutch Republic did, at the same time, have a pragmatic attitude towards using symbolic representation. The Dutch Republic had to hold its own in a world of monarchies. On the international stage, monarchical representation was very much the standard, in Europe but even more so beyond the confines of Europe, where the republican form of government met with little understanding. Meanwhile, the inhabitants of the Dutch Republic never quite lost their zest for single-person rule. The collegial governing bodies of the Dutch Republic gave in to these demands by allowing personality cults to form around individual power-holders. In popular prints, *tableaux vivants*, processions, and theatrical performances, such contemporary power-holders were freely compared to historical and mythological kings.[110]

This happened especially in wartime and preferably around military leaders, but it was inevitable that such leaders also gained political authority. What this could lead to became clear, notably (though by no means exclusively), in 1618, when Stadtholder Maurice of Nassau, during the year in which he inherited the title of Prince of Orange, ended a religious and political conflict with Holland's powerful *landsadvocaat* Johan van Oldenbarnevelt by having him sentenced to death. The example of the De Witt brothers shows that there were also limits to how far such personality cults could be taken. Ultimately, the princes of Orange were aware of these limits. It is certainly no coincidence that the most extravagant representation of the Orange dynasty produced in the seventeenth century, the decoration programme commemorating the life and military deeds of Stadtholder Frederick Henry in the reception room of Amalia of Solms's summer residence near The Hague, was not the prince's own doing but a posthumous tribute by Amalia to her late husband (fig. 10.5).[111]

If we return, in sum, to how the representation of power in the Dutch Republic compares to that in monarchical states, a nuanced answer has now become possible. The idea that power was constructed by a 'mutually reinforcing effect of multiple representations', as Muir put it, is also applicable to the Dutch Republic.[112] There was an almost infinite number of representatives at all levels of government, and their representative claims were reinforced by symbolic representation. On this level, the Dutch Republic markedly resembled

the monarchies that surrounded it, even if power flowed in different directions. On another level, compared to monarchies, there was more ambiguity in the power structures of the Dutch Republic. This drove artists to seek creative solutions when producing cultural representations of power. This very creativity, then, must certainly be part of the reason why, nowadays, we think of the seventeenth century as a golden age of Dutch cultural production. On a third level, there turns out to be more similarity with monarchical states than some students of cultural representations have been ready to acknowledge. Individual leadership and notions of dynasty continued to have great symbolic value in the Dutch Republic, and the idea that individual rulers could embody communities, which was the guiding principle of monarchical states, never quite lost its alluring appeal.

1 North, 'Republican Art?', p. 205. In a similar vein, see Scheller, 'Art of the State'.
2 See for instance Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*; Ellenius, ed., *Iconography, Propaganda, and Legitimation*; as well as Sharpe's trilogy *Selling the Tudor Monarchy*; *Image Wars*; and *Rebranding Rule*; and Farguson, *Visualising Protestant Monarchy*.
3 Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, pp. 8–10.
4 Stokke and Selboe, 'Symbolic Representation', p. 59.
5 Theorists of representation have called this representation as substitution: Hofmann, *Repräsentation*, pp. 116–90; Mulieri, 'Hasso Hofmann', pp. 135–38.
6 Marin, *Politiques de la représentation*, p. 74.
7 Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, p. 273.
8 Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*, pp. 163–90, 272–79.
9 Burke, *The Historical Anthropology*, pp. 223–38.
10 Stollberg-Rillinger, *Des Kaisers alte Kleider*.
11 Farguson, *Visualising Protestant Monarchy*, p. 5.
12 Van Gelder, ed., *More than Mere Spectacle*.
13 Friedland, *Political Actors*, pp. 8–9 and *passim*.
14 Friedland, *Political Actors*, pp. 32–38.
15 Hofmann, *Repräsentation*, pp. 191–285; Mulieri, 'Hasso Hofmann', pp. 138–40; Weller, 'Political Representation', pp. 107–08.
16 See Mulieri, 'Marsilius of Padua', p. 624. Ernst Kossmann has made a similar point about the concept of popular sovereignty in the political thought of the Dutch Revolt: Kossmann, 'Volkssouvereiniteit', p. 5.
17 Mulieri, 'Hasso Hofmann', p. 139; Mulieri, 'Marsilius of Padua'.
18 Brito Vieira and Runciman, *Representation*, pp. 20–22; Manow, *Im Schatten des Königs*, pp. 37–38; Seaward, 'Representation and Personation'.
19 Friedland, *Political Actors*, pp. 46–51.
20 See for instance Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republic*; Viggiano, 'Politics and Constitution'; Bitossi, 'Governing in a Republican State'; and Onnekink, 'The Body Politic'. Cf. also *Contending Representations* volumes 2 and 3, on the Republics of Venice and Genoa respectively.
21 Cf. also Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, pp. 218–19; Zucchi, 'Republics in Comparison', p. 369; Weeber, *Republiken als Blaupause*, pp. 11–12. About the idea of representative claim-making, see Saward, *The Representative Claim*.
22 The full title is *Corte verthooninge van het recht byden ridderschap, edelen ende steden van Hollandt ende Westvrieslant van allen ouden tyde in den voorschreven Lande gebruyckt tot behoudenisse vande vryheden, gerechticheden, privilegien ende loffelicke gebruycken vanden zelve Lande*. A modern English edition is 'Short Exposition'. References are to the text as printed in Bor, *Vervolgh der Nederlandsche Oorlogen*.
23 See Geyl, 'An Interpretation of Vrancken's deduction'; Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, pp. 204–12.
24 [Vranck], 'Corte Vertoninge', p. 57: '[de] ghecommitteerde alsulcx by den anderen vergaderende, representeren de Staten vanden selve lande, niet dat syluyden in hare persoonen, oft uyt hare autoriteyt de Staten zijn, maer alleen uyt crachte vande commissie van hare principalen'.
25 [Vranck], 'Corte Vertoninge', p. 56: 'gheconstitueert zijnde vande notablste wten midde vande gantsche burgerye'.
26 [Vranck], 'Corte Vertoninge', p. 57: '[de] collegien van de Magistraten ende Raden vanden steden ghevoecht by de vergaderinghe van den Edelen, ontwijfelijcken representeren den gantschen staet ende 't gehele lichaem vande lantsaten'.
27 See also Pollmann, 'Eendracht maakt macht', pp. 146–47.
28 Secretan, *Les privilèges*, p. 110; Maissen, *Die Geburt der Republic*, p. 116.
29 It should be clear that, in both cases, claiming absolute power was not the same as having it. The literature on the limits of French absolutism is vast. See for instance Collins, *The State in Early Modern France*. See for forms of political participation in Dutch cities: Van Nierop, 'Popular Participation'; Prak, 'Corporate Politics'.
30 Mulieri, 'Marsilius of Padua', pp. 631–36.
31 Drejer, 'Representative Government', p. 80.
32 De Bruin, 'De soevereiniteit in de Republiek', p. 28.
33 Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht*, 1, p. 151.
34 Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht*, 1, p. 282.
35 Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht*, 1, pp. 162–69.
36 See about the office of stadtholder: Rowen, 'Neither Fish nor Fowl'; Rowen, *The Princes of Orange*; Prak, 'Republiek en vorst'; Mörke, *'Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'?*; Kiesow, *The Office of Stadholder*.
37 William I had inherited the principality of Orange from his cousin René of Chalon. After William's death in 1584, the title of Prince of Orange went to his oldest son, the Catholic Philip William. Only in 1618, when Philip William died, could his half-brother Maurice, who had succeeded his father as stadtholder, call himself Prince of Orange. The dynasty of Nassau-Dietz was formed in 1606, when John VI of Nassau-Dillenburg died and his titles and estates were distributed among his five sons. Ernest Casimir thus became the first Count of Nassau-Dietz.
38 Van Stipriaan, *De Zwijger*, p. 605
39 The States General did not formally approve of the title captain-general of the Union in the case of Maurice, but it did for his successor Frederick Henry.
40 Keblusek and Zijlmans, eds, *Vorstelijk vertoon*. The marital union between the Houses of Orange and Stuart also resulted in considerable support for the royalist cause during the English Civil War. See Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*.
41 Kolfin, 'Voor eenheid, victorie'.
42 Tiethoff-Spliethoff, 'Representatie en rollenspel'.
43 De Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad*, pp. 341–46.
44 Kiesow, 'The Office of Stadholder', pp. 38–39.
45 Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic*; Craft-Giepmans and others, eds, *Stadhouders in beeld*; Kiesow, 'The Office of Stadholder', chapters 4 and 5.
46 See for now De Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad*; and Nijenhuis, 'Republikanische Repräsentation?'. For a comparative perspective: Neu, Sikora, and Weller, eds, *Zelebrieren und verhandeln*; and Stollberg-Rillinger, 'Les assemblées des états'.
47 See about this challenge: Helmers and Lamal, 'Dutch Diplomacy'.
48 Heringa, *De eer en hoogheid*, pp. 85–88.
49 See for instance Geyl, 'Het stadhouderschap'; Velema, '"That a Republic is better"'; Sawyer, 'Medium and Message'; Warren, ed., *Paper Knives*.
50 On nobility in the Dutch Republic, see: Van Nierop, *Van ridders tot regenten*; Streng, 'De adel in de Republiek'; Gietman, *Republiek van adel*; Van der Laarse, *Arcadiërs van de Republiek*. See about the process of 'aristocratization' among urban elites: Kooijmans, 'Patriciaat en aristocratisering'; Roorda, 'Het onderzoek'; De Jong, 'De regenten'.
51 Ekkart, De Oranjeportretten; Verhave and Jansen, 'De portretten van prins Maurits', pp. 110–16.
52 Ebben, 'Het Staatse ambassadegebouw', p. 49.
53 Heringa, *De eer en hoogheid*, p. 78.
54 Heringa, *De eer en hoogheid*, pp. 391–92; Mörke, 'Het hof van Oranje', p. 71.
55 On the convergence of dynastic and provincial interests, also see Nissen, 'Staging the Nassau-Dietz Identity'.
56 See for the Frisian branch of stadtholders: Janssen, *Princely Power*.
57 Ottenheym, 'Tot roem en sier'; Van der Ploeg, 'Representatieve aspecten'; Ottenheym, 'The Mediaeval Prestige'.
58 Spies, 'Kunsten en wetenschappen'.

[59] See for instance Bedaux, Groot, and Hagen, 'Allegorieën van goed bestuur'; and Van de Meerendonk and others, 'Striving for Unity'.
[60] De Jong, 'Visible Power?'; Brenninkmeijer-De Rooij, '"Ansien doet ghedencken"'.
[61] See Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall*; Goossens, *Treasure wrought*; Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek*; Bussels, Van Eck, and Van Oostveldt, eds, *The Amsterdam Town Hall*.
[62] On seventeenth-century city praise, see Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*.
[63] Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, p. 277.
[64] See for instance Hurlbut, 'Symbols for Authority'; Van Bruaene, 'Vorstelijk onthaald'; Damen and Overlaet, 'Weg van de staat'.
[65] See also Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda*, pp. 39–76; Blocksom, 'Procession, Pride and Politics'; Van de Meerendonk, 'Public Displays of Affection', pp. 77–132.
[66] Dencher, 'Commemorating Conquest'. See also Dencher's contribution to this volume.
[67] Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, p. 282; Kolfin, 'Voor eenheid, victorie', p. 94.
[68] Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, pp. 280–83.
[69] Nobel, 'Heerlijkheden in Holland', pp. 38–41.
[70] See for instance Burke, *Venice and Amsterdam*; De Jong, *Een deftig bestaan*; Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*; Zandvliet and Lesger, *De 250 rijksten*; Kuiper, 'Onderzoek naar de buitenplaats'.
[71] Groeneweg, 'Regenten in het zwart'.
[72] Van Swigchem, Brouwer, and Van Os, *Een huis voor het woord*, p. 227; De Jong, *Een deftig bestaan*, p. 126.
[73] See about funerals: Janssen, 'Political Ambiguity'; Hollewand, 'Funeral Consumption', pp. 13–15; Snoep, *Dood en begraven*, p. 15; Stoter, '"Soo Godt belieft"'; Nissen, 'Staging the Nassau-Dietz Identity'.
[74] Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence*.
[75] Veenendaal, 'Bijdrage'; Sanders, *Het present van staat*, p. 217.
[76] On portraits serving political functions, see Dudok van Heel, 'Toen hingen er burgers'; Woodall, 'Sovereign Bodies'; Adams, *Public Faces*; Oddens, 'You can Leave your Hat On'. For a general overview, see Ekkart, 'Het portret in de Gouden Eeuw'.
[77] Middelkoop, 'Schutters, gildebroeders', 33, n. 120.
[78] Middelkoop, 'Schutters, gildebroeders', p. 28.
[79] Adams, *Public Faces and Private Identities*, p. 256.
[80] See Riegl, *Das holländische Gruppenporträt*; Haak, *Regenten en regentessen*; Carasso-Kok and J. Levy-Van Halm, eds, *Schutters in Holland*; Jonker, 'Public or Private Portraits'; Middelkoop, 'Schutters, gildebroeders'. In fact, there is only one extant group portrait of a water board, dating from 1644: Busch, *Vergaard-bewaard-beheerd*, pp. 60–61. We would like to thank Milja van Tielhof for pointing this out to us.
[81] Knevel, 'Armed Citizens', pp. 95–97; Levy-Van Halm, 'De Haarlemse schuttersstukken', p. 105.
[82] Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, pp. 132–33.
[83] Knevel, 'Armed Citizens', p. 91.
[84] Tümpel, 'De Amsterdamse schuttersstukken', p. 92.
[85] Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer*, p. 133.
[86] Ebben, 'De Staten-Generaal', pp. 46–52; Knevel, 'Het Binnenhof', pp. 80–81; Bolten, 'Interieur van betekenis', pp. 96–106.
[87] Geerdink, *De sociale verankering*; Frijhoff and Spies, *1650*, p. 447. See on the city theatre of Amsterdam: Worp, *Geschiedenis*; Oey-de Vita, *Academie en schouwburg*.
[88] Scholten, 'Quellinus's Burgomasters'.
[89] Faber, Huisken, and Lammertse, *Van Heeren, die hunn' stoel*, p. 19; Middelkoop, 'Schutters, gildebroeders', p. 30.
[90] Middelkoop, 'Schutters, gildebroeders', p. 31.
[91] Dudok van Heel, 'Amsterdamse burgemeesters', p. 145.
[92] Souren, 'Verfraaide zeehelden in opdracht', p. 20.
[93] Onnekink, 'The Language of the Sea'.
[94] Casini, 'Immagini di capitani generali'.
[95] Souren, 'Verfraaide zeehelden in opdracht'.
[96] Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories*, pp. 169–177.
[97] Prud'homme van Reine, *Rechterhand van Nederland*, pp. 332–37.
[98] See about the De Witt brothers: Rowen, *John de Witt*; Panhuysen, *De ware vrijheid*.
[99] De Bruin, *Geheimhouding en verraad*, pp. 262.
[100] Oddens, 'You can Leave your Hat On'.
[101] Ebben, 'De Staten-Generaal', p. 46.
[102] On the Venetian tradition of depicting office-holders see Chambers, 'Merit and Money'; Nichols, *Tintoretto*, pp. 139–59.
[103] Ekkart, 'De portretten', p. 27.
[104] See for instance Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium*; Prud'homme van Reine, *Moordenaars van Jan de Witt*.
[105] Ekkart, 'De portretten', p. 27.
[106] Cf. Zemon Davis, 'The Rites of Violence', and for the Dutch Republic, Rudolf Dekker, *Holland in beroering*; Oddens, 'Restoring the Moral Order'.
[107] Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium*, chapter 6.
[108] Panhuysen, *De ware vrijheid*, pp. 344–45.
[109] Heringa, *De eer en hoogheid*; Cafagna, 'Il potere dei gesti'; Nijenhuis, 'Republikanische Repräsentation?'; Gerritse, 'De aanzienlijkheid der Republiek'.
[110] See on such comparisons in plays: Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse opstand*.
[111] Peter-Raupp, *Die Ikonographie des Oranjezaal*; Van Eikema Hommes and Kolfin, eds, *De Oranjezaal*.
[112] See note 7.

2

Peter Arnade

THE ROYAL AND THE REPUBLICAN IN THE LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN LOW COUNTRIES

Joost van den Vondel's 1620 *Jerusalem Destroyed (Hierusalem verwoest)* was his second play yet never well regarded.[1] Vondel was early in his career and indebted to the historical weight of the *rederijker* ('rhetorician') tradition, authoring a play more about theological considerations than action and plot. The setting takes place entirely after Jerusalem's demise at the hands of the Roman emperor Vespasian and his son Titus, focusing on the religious and moral consequences of Jewish defiance. Its timing – only a year after Oldenbarnevelt's execution and the political and religious turbulence besetting the young United Provinces – is noteworthy, even if there is no explicit reference to such events, apart from turbulent times. Vondel clearly understood his urban audience, made evident by his dedication to C. P. Hooft, former burgomaster of 'the globally famous merchant city of Amsterdam'.

Even though Vondel's family originally hailed from Antwerp, he probably only dimly knew his play's subject, the punishment of Jerusalem, had been popular in the world of civic theatre in the late medieval southern Low Countries.[2] The key text in this genre was Eustache Marcadé's *La Vengeance de Nostre Seigneur*, a late medieval play focused on exactly the same subject as Vondel's, though differently staged.[3] *La Vengeance* was long, emphatically about action and less about dialogue, and it had an epic-like *son et lumière* quality, especially around the actual destruction of Jerusalem itself, which the play stages vividly as a prelude to Titus's triumphal entry. Among the many patrons of Marcadé's text was the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good, who commissioned an illuminated manuscript of it in 1467 for his library.[4]

What is it about the Low Countries that made Jerusalem's destruction appealing to dramatists from small cities to 'globally famous' ones like Amsterdam over the course of three centuries? After all, according to Vondel, the play was meant for an audience of citizens – artisans and merchants not particularly concerned with first-century Roman history. The theological answer to this question might be the enduring appeal of jeremiads against unbelief allied to fairly predictable anti-Judaism too, but neither is sufficient to explain the focus on this theme, especially in the seventeenth-century Netherlands, where Portuguese Jews, alongside a smaller Ashkenazi community, had a safe haven.[5] Perhaps it is the civic elements of the Jerusalem tale itself – the triumph over a capital city, its siege and sack, and its exemplary destruction at the hands of a victor – that should draw our attention. This would help to explain the 1467 date of the Burgundian Duke Philip the Good's commissioning of the Marcadé manuscript, the precise year in which he punished the city of Liège's rebellion with its near destruction, only to have it repeated again by Charles the Bold the next year.[6] A century and a half later, Vondel's performance in Amsterdam came near the end of the Twelve Years' Truce with Spain, with the war about to recommence, and memory of the sieges and sacks of Dutch cities in the sixteenth century still fresh and put to use in nascent histories of the Revolt (fig. 2.3).[7] Indeed, one of the most popular plays in the seventeenth-century United Provinces was Reinier Bontius's commemoration of the famous siege and relief of Leiden in 1574.[8]

The Jerusalem motif, therefore, had more than theological appeal. It was also the story of sovereign triumph over urban rebellion, one whose memory was as strongly etched

2.1
'Philip the Good's Joyous Entry into Ghent', Vienna, Osterreichische Nationalbibliotheek, Cod 2583 (*Privileges et Statuts de Gand et Flandre*), fol. 120v. 1453–1499. Reproduced with permission.

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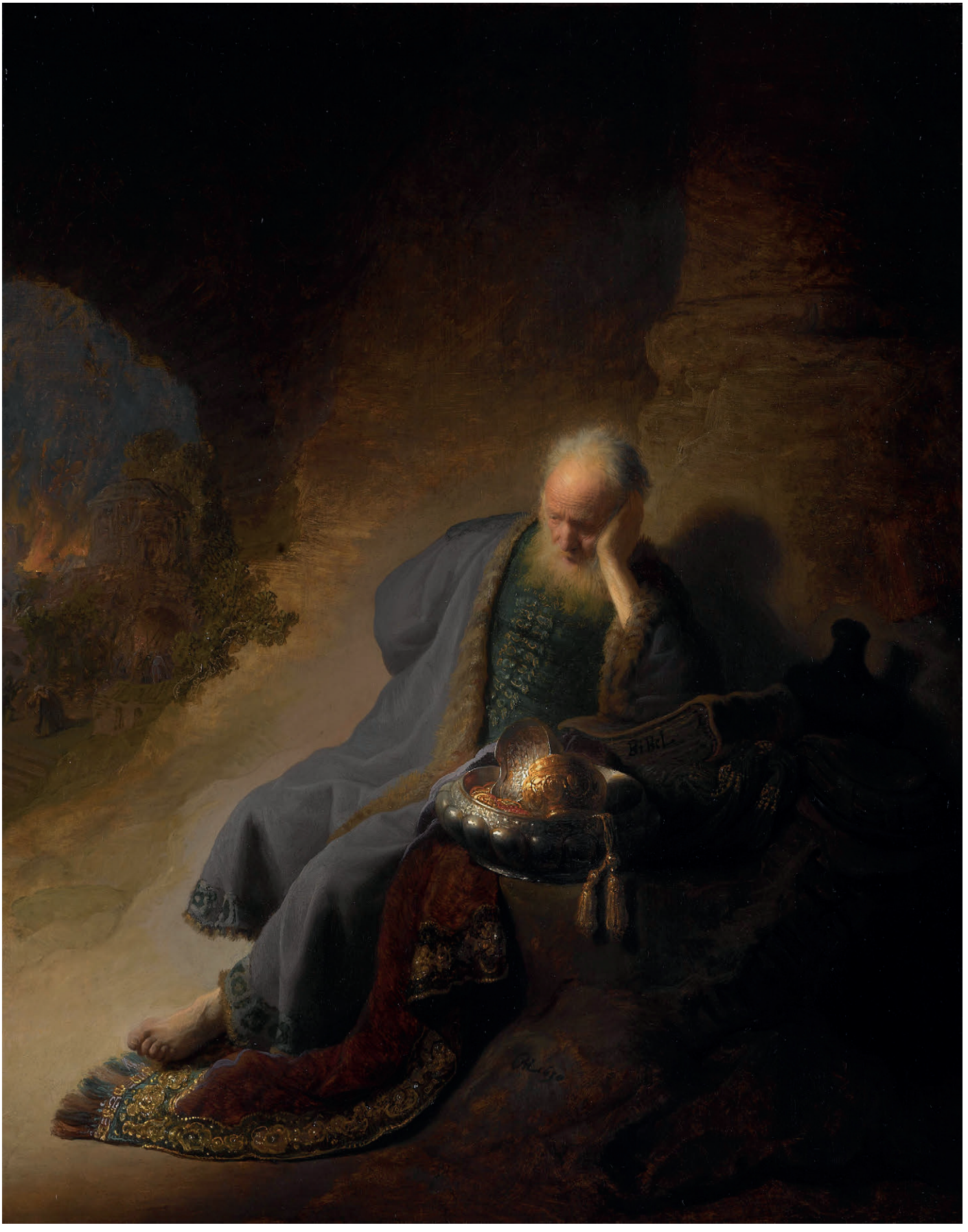
De vino comitis.

Balduinus flandrie et hanonie comes, dilectis suis scabinis burgensibus salutem et sinceram dilectionem. Cum antecessores mei comites flandrie a longinquis retroactis temporibus ad quemcumque locum venerint per comitatum flandrie sive gandavum · sive ad aliud oppidum vel villam · totum vini acceperint pro tribus denariis · Quomodocumque vinum carius emptum fuerit et sex fecerint quasi de iure et consuetudine ego iherosolimam pro


Bibel

in the premodern Western imagination as those of Troy and Carthage (fig. 2.2). The dynamic it encapsulated – princely triumph and urban defiance – spoke directly to a fundamental reality of political culture in the Low Countries. While there are many continuities in the history of these territories over the late medieval and early modern periods, none exceeded the tensions between princely and royal conceptions of sovereignty and governance and regional and local ones. These I want to consider, but in doing so, acknowledging the context of rapid, often turbulent, change between the fifteenth and seventeenth centuries is paramount. Of all the Western European principalities and states, the Low Countries were among the most notable for their dramatic political evolution – and not merely the tempo of these changes but their very nature. These were a loosely jointed series of provinces without common identity or standard geographical nomenclature – *Belgica*, *landen van herwarts over* ('lands over there'), and *Flandria* were among the most popular designations.[9] They were banded together by Burgundian rulership, then yoked to the international Habsburg composite monarchy, next subjected to intense confessionalization during the Reformation, and finally underwent early modern Europe's most prolonged upheaval during which de facto independence was secured for the northern provinces (formalized by 1648), whose elites by the seventeenth century aggressively pursued commercial and territorial opportunities from the Atlantic to the Pacific.[10]

In this hothouse of historical developments, violence, and plenty of it, was a common leitmotif of the political life of the Low Countries, much of it vertical, and most of it between prince and city over princely conceptions of sovereignty and rule and long-established civic traditions of local autonomy. It is this tension – and not merely the fact that the Low Countries were a grid of cities, an urban zone – that coloured the political dynamics over the *longue durée* of three centuries. Yet the civic is too unspecific a concept to fully capture the region's political culture; while it is usefully descriptive, it also is analytically insufficient. It is less the concept of the civic than the particular cultural and political configuration of the urban zone that drove politics, none more important than a political culture of incessant bargaining and porous boundaries, both within cities among social and political cohorts, and between cities themselves and their interlocutors, namely noblemen, provincial governors, and princely authorities. Because there were no autonomous city states as elsewhere in Europe, there was something messier: a sliding scale of zones of independence and dependence, never stable, always rumbling, forever plural. The civic was such a fundamental marker of identity

2.3

Romeyn de Hooghe after Don Juan de Ledesma, *Start of the Siege of Antwerp, 1548,* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1670–99. Public domain.

2.2

Rembrandt van Rijn, *Jeremiah Mourns the Destruction of Jerusalem*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1630. Public domain.

2.4
'Margaret of York is Introduced to her Future Husband, Charles the Bold on 27th June, 1468, at Damme', Reims, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms. 335, fol. 1. Fifteenth century. Reproduced with permission. Courtesy of Frédéric Mongin.

precisely because its parameters were never secured. To claim the rights associated with city charters was to act upon them in often an uncertain, oppositional environment.

In the political order of the Low Countries, the legitimacy of princely rule per se was uncontested, even if its boundaries were not. Likewise, civic political rule was regularly a source of conflict over authority but not necessarily over legitimacy. Its vocabulary, as I shall review, was not explicitly republican, the word too imprecise in this period to have a crisp definition. *Res publica* was good government, non-tyrannical, and could refer as much to monarchy as anything else.[11] Yet even if princely and civic authority were both understood as legitimate, the Burgundian dukes of the fifteenth-century Low Countries confronted a central dilemma: they were a cadet branch of the French monarchy, cherished royalty, performed its essential elements in private and public, acquired one Low Country territory after another, yet were limited by the titles which accompanied these: dukeships, countships, and the like. Forced to govern like regional leaders with circumscribed authority, they nevertheless acted like French royalty – and therein lay the political dilemma. They built a culture of royalism that was deeply performative, the famed theatre state.[12] Charles the Bold even sought an imperial title at Trier in 1473, capping decades of his predecessors' movement in this direction, though failing through overeagerness. As Elodie Lecuppre-Desjardin has recently explored, this central pursuit of royal legitimacy and a state – the 'royaume inachevé' – consumed the Burgundian princes, though, as she argues, to read this period of Low Country history as either a pre-state or a failed state because a kingdom was not secured is wrongheaded, because it is the processes of such efforts and consequences that matter.[13]

Through vehicles like banquets, marriage and funeral celebrations, art patronage, and elite voluntary associations, above all the chivalric Order of the Golden Fleece, the Burgundian dukes secured prestige through its ceremonial enactments, much like their royal brethren in the fifteenth century.[14] And yet this dramaturgy of rulership with its peak events – the Feast of the Pheasant with elaborate *entremets* in 1454 or the marriage ceremony of Charles the Bold and Marguerite of York in 1468 (fig. 2.4) – could not translate into what their royal peers had achieved. The single best example of this gap between the glitzy – and expensive – display of power and essential political reality is the entry ceremony in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. An *Entrée Joyeuse* (*Blijde Inkomst*) was a favoured vehicle of princely claims to sovereignty and authority (fig. 2.1). Yet in the Low Countries, the term *Blijde Inkomst* carried deep constitutional resonances that endowed it with a contrary meaning for townspeople. It originally referred to the charter of rights secured by the Estates of Brabant in 1356 from Duchess Jeanne and Duke Wencelas, which codified a grab bag of urban and duchy rights into thirty-three articles. The charter granted the towns legal priority in their relationship with the duke, with all important acts, financial, legal, and monetary most notably, requiring the stamp of urban approval. So while Burgundian princes looked jealously at their French peers and their ceremonial triumphal entries, they wrangled with something more vexing. To give one example, Charles the Bold attended his rival Louis XI's dazzling coronation at Rheims with Philip the Good in 1461, but when he succeeded his father in 1467 as duke, what he got instead was a fistful of problems at his various inaugural entry ceremonies, famously at Ghent, where a riot occurred, but also at Mechelen and Antwerp. Louis XI was proclaimed *rex Christianissimus* in a solemn ceremony. By contrast, Charles the Bold upon his succession confronted protests, upheavals, and constitutional demands.

2.5
Simon Bening, 'Crossbowmen's Guild', Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Ms. II 158 (Hennessy Hours), fol. 111v. c. 1535. Image in public domain.

In a nutshell, while the basic legitimacy of princely rule was uncontested in the pre-Revolt Low Countries, it was blunted, hemmed in by constitutional limits. Even as the Low Countries transitioned to Habsburg rulership in the sixteenth century, where imperial and monarchical titles abounded, political reality stubbornly endured. The princely and the royal in the Low Countries were conditional, often frustrated, even if richly dressed up. As I will take up later, the residue of this dynamic was felt in the seventeenth-century United Provinces, with conflicts over the stadtholdership, the provinces, and their states.

Civic republicanism and its enactments

If the princely and royal faced a gulf between particular assertions of sovereignty and reality on the ground, what about the civic traditions in the cities? While a mature republicanism in the writings of such figures as Johan and Pieter de la Court crested in the seventeenth-century United Provines, what Heinz Schilling has called the civic republicanism of the late Middle Ages primed it.[15] Civic republicanism was not the product of formal treatises and university-educated high learning, as Maarten Prak and others have observed, but instead the fruit of practical, on-the-ground politics.[16] It was rooted in a body of political and legal writings that insisted on the legitimacy of civic rule and the authority of local institutions and bodies – guilds, militia groups, neighbourhood societies, aldermen – to govern (fig. 2.5). Fixed tirelessly in the language of rights and privileges, civic republicanism was vernacular, forged in the throes of lived politics – from the Middle Ages to the turbulent decades of the Dutch Revolt. Its vocabulary was at once legalistic, enumerated in charters and privileges, and political and moral, as made evident in political claims justifying civic rule.

Jan Dumolyn has explored key words in routine civic records to reimburse delegate travel of representatives dispatched from the Flemish cities (and the rural district of the Franc) in the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries to the Estates of Flanders meetings.[17] Among themselves, delegates spoke of mutual aid (*verbant ende beloefte; hulpe ende troost*), accord, unity, and agreement (*acoort, eendrachtichede, overeendraghene*) and importantly, common good (*den ghemeenen oorbore van dezer stede*). With respect to their prince, no surprise is the defence of civic privileges as paramount, and so too concern over 'novelties', that is, perceived or real curtailments or alterations of them. Key political terms were similarly rooted in notions of freedom (*vrijhede*), rights (*rechte*) and custom (*costume*) and related terms.

The resiliency of these keywords over the following centuries is remarkable, as they served as the seedbed for countless early modern Dutch political pamphlets and treatises.[18] One can trace a direct line from them to notions of freedom as a singular noun (in lieu of 'freedoms' or 'privileges') in the Dutch Revolt and the later political philosophy of such thinkers as Johan de Witt and his *ware vrijheid* – stadtholderless and therefore truly republican – in the United Provinces.[19] One can trace the same straight line from the defence of civic privileges against princely intrusion in the late medieval Low Country cities to such canonical texts as the Abjuration of Philip II, as Wim Blockmans underscored in his study

of precedents to the events of 1581, especially the Grand Privilege secured by the States General in 1477 after the death of Charles the Bold.[20] But less-well-known examples, because they more commonly occur, even better underscore how deep-rooted was such urban constitutionalism. Take for example the pensionary of Ghent Guillaume Zoete's formal presentation before the States General, gathered there during the crisis of Maximilian of Austria's misrule and temporary imprisonment, on 28 April 1488. Zoete argued for Maximilian's abjuration as regent for his flagrant violation of privileges secured in 1477 and his tyrannical imposition of 'rape, theft, calumny'.[21] Here is a text calling for the removal of a sovereign for misrule and violation of privileges a century earlier than the 1581 States General's famed brief against Philip II, surely remarkable, but hardly known because it is not as significant an event, and that is my point.

Along with impressively durable political concepts, a basic repertoire of political behaviour also shaped civic republicanism. What I mean here is that republicanism, much like monarchy, royalism, or, in the religious realm, Catholicism, was not merely a textual tradition, even though that tradition – which ran from formal treatises, pamphlets to *schuitpraatjes* ('barge talk') – was fundamental. In a short 1975 essay, J.J. Woltjer wrote about Dutch privileges as both real and imaginary.[22] I want to dwell on this binary for a moment because it was during the heat of frequent civic and princely upheavals before the Dutch Revolt that both mattered. People acted upon claims to charters of rights and privileges in public, and the texts in turn took on immediate, tactile importance. Their reality, their materiality, their location, and their very language – words to be read aloud in excerpts – became urgent political matters. An obvious example is the importance to citizens of the municipal archives, the somewhat mysterious – the 'secret' as it was referred to in the city of Ghent – storehouse of records. During the Ghent Revolt of 1452–53 against Duke Philip the Good, for example, the short-lived regime of the three captains conducted processions of the aldermen and guilds under their banners to the archives housed in the Belfry, carrying out privileges to be read aloud on the marketplace as a proclamation of specific rights they asserted the duke was curtailing (fig. 2.1).[23] Compare Ghent in 1452 to Woltjer's example of the Estates of Holland in revolutionary 1572. William of Orange's right-hand man Philippe de Marnix, Lord of Aldegonde, had called for a search for the privileges upon which this nascent rebellion rested. A decision was made to make a compilation of them, and the newly conquered castle of Gouda chosen as a place to start. But it was not until 1575, when there was a break in fighting between the Beggars and the Spanish, that a delegation visited the archives; damp old manuscripts were found, many of which, disappointingly, were not precisely what the rebels had thought was there.

In both instances, more than a century apart, privileges and their physical location, the archives, mattered, so much that the effort to find them, touch them, read them, and rally with them was essential political work. The references to privileges, their archival management, their strategic retrieval in political conflicts, their recitation aloud, and their materiality became synonymous with late medieval urban communalism and early modern republicanism more generally. During the English Revolution, for example, on the cusp of the execution of Charles I, the short-lived Rump Parliament's republican rule made seized royal letters public, established a parliamentary archive, and visited the Tower and the Records Office in it to retrieve privileges, the sanctified Magna Carta especially.[24]

Sometimes in peak moments of political upheaval, as Woltjer hinted, privileges and the imaginary entirely coalesced. In the case of Gouda, what was found failed to match expectations around which assertions had been made. In another earlier case in Ghent, during the upheaval against Charles V's administration in 1539, a single privilege assumed outsized importance. The inconvenient fact was that it did not actually exist, though some rebels used its absence to assert that it had been secretly removed by aldermen complicit with the emperor and his regent's regime.[25] The so-called Purchase of Flanders supposedly secured the county's fiscal independence after a Count of Flanders had gambled away in a dice game his right to tax without unanimous support to a Ghent patrician. By late July 1539, under pressure from the loudest dissenters, the Grand Council of Ghent consented to find this privilege in the city archives; when it was not located, they exacted revenge on former city officials they believed had whisked it away – mostly to cover their own skin. The emperor's regent Mary of Hungary reacted with bewilderment, denouncing these efforts as sheer folly by 'gens de mauvais esprits', in other words, in today's parlance, peddlers of fake news.[26]

Texts – charters and privileges – and their ordering in archives legitimated civic republicanism. But these also had to be seen, read, touched, and paraded – much as did relics and religious images. Fact and imagination could sometimes merge to supercharge political momentum, as in the case of Ghent or Gouda. Equally important, charters and privileges could be revoked and, with flourish, destroyed. From the fourteenth century on, princes and urban rebels relished this tactic, sometimes colourfully. Early examples include a revolt of craftsmen in Leuven in 1378, when sixteen aldermen were dramatically thrown from the window of the *stadhuis* (townhall) in a violent crescendo to a wider set of public actions by craft guilds which included mustering under their banners on marketplaces and the tolling of city bells. Alongside this violent attack on political leaders was the shredding of

a 1306 charter granted by the Duke of Brabant that gave Leuven's urban elites the monopoly on the appointment of aldermen, thereby denying representation to the guilds. The charter was not merely tossed aside, but publicly lacerated in front of the city hall.[27]

The ceremonial discarding of loathed charters, whether by their destruction or removal, became a set piece in the political theatre of conflict. In Bruges in 1411, not only was a hated princely charter dubbed the *Calfvel* (calf skin for its parchment) shredded during a civic uprising, rebels reportedly chewed its pieces and in some instances ate them. Fast forward to Ghent in 1539, Charles V's hated charter restricting the city's cherished political liberties, also called the *Calfvel*, was likewise torn up publicly, as in Leuven and Bruges more than a century earlier. This time, rebels chose to tuck pieces of the charter into their hats as they paraded around.[28] All these examples had an implicit political logic in the pre-print and early print era predicated on the materiality of the text. If destroyed, the privilege simply no longer was in effect, because the parchment recording it was obliterated.

Violence visited upon documents was not a tactic merely of civic rebels. Both the Burgundian and Habsburg rulers resorted to the same behaviour after moments of particularly heated insurrections. Of course, like rulers elsewhere, they often revoked privileges by simply confiscating them, but sometimes, they did more, insisting on formal acts of destruction. The Burgundian chronicler Georges Chastelain referred to one such moment in January 1469 to punish yet another uprising eighteen months earlier in tallying what he described as Duke Charles the Bold's eleven major 'magnificences', or great acts:

> The first [magnificence] was at Brussels, where, seated on his throne, his sword unsheathed and held by his Marshall, he gathered the men of Ghent arranged kneeling before him and at his pleasure and in their presence cut and tore up the political charters they bore. Done for permanent record, this action was without parallel.[29]

Civic republicanism before the Dutch Revolt, in sum, anchored itself in the vernacular language of politics, in the vocabulary of rights and privileges, in the public affirmation of these texts through their display and recitation, and in a repertoire of political acts that foregrounded the merchant and guild culture of the principal cities. Princely or royal authority, whose legitimacy per se was never explicitly questioned (though its exercise monitored), nested uncomfortably beside this urban political culture, burdened with a persistent frustration that even as rulers' authority grew to imperial stature under Charles V and Philip II, governance was restricted to regional titles of rulership.

This fundamental tension between royalism and republicanism *avant la lettre* in the pre-modern southern Low Countries sparked the frequent urban rebellions in the Burgundian and early Habsburg eras, prequels to the Dutch Revolt itself. In Ghent alone, there were rebellions in 1401, 1404, 1406, 1411, 1414, 1423, 1437, 1440, and 1449–53, the last expanding to a full-scale war with Duke Philip the Good. Bruges witnessed rebellions in 1411 and 1436–38.[30] The late fifteenth century was consumed with a new cycle of conflict and warfare, especially the testy period between 1477 and 1482, when antagonism and war between southern Low Country cities and regent princes were incessant.

Other parts of Europe also weathered such city-state convulsions but none resorted, as far as I have found, to the same degree to yet another kind of destruction – violent reprisals against cities and their built environments. For much of the fifteenth century, Burgundian punishments against rebellious cities included, after hefty financial penalties, laser-specific requirements to dismantle gates, walls, and related urban sites.[31] The Burgundian dukes even threatened to destroy wholesale a rebellious city, as they did with Bruges in 1438 and Ghent in 1452, but opted instead for penitential ceremonies imposed on the vanquished, and the sealing up of key gates or sections of a wall with annual memorial masses ordered to commemorate defeat. These actions stung, as they inscribed defeat as perpetual commemoration, but were nothing in comparison to what befell Dinant in 1466 and its ally Liège in 1467 and 1468, when Philip the Good and Charles the Bold ordered their troops to pillage and sack both cities, destroying much of the urban core. Such wholesale destruction of one's own or adjacent cities (Liège was a prince bishopric under Burgundian hegemony) did not happen so much elsewhere, not in England, not in France, and not in the German territories. Nor did the destruction-of-Jerusalem trope take on such political valence as it did in the Low Countries, nor did it bleed into related political theatre. Where else, for example, would a city celebrate the destruction of another with a play about it, as Béthune did concerning Liège in 1469?[32]

The best example of political defeat as spatial disciplining prior to the outbreak of the Dutch Revolt was Charles V's punishment of his natal city Ghent in 1540. His actions followed the city's nettlesome revolt in which he lorded triumphantly over the city, imposed the famed honourable amend – a public penitential rite – upon its political and guild leaders, stripped the city's guilds of much of their political autonomy, confiscated privileges and scaled back local autonomy, tore down the abbey of Sint-Baafs, and built in its place one of the first of what became a series of urban citadels across the landscape.[33] That he did so for a single revolt, and that he

2.6
Frans Hogenberg, *Spanish Fury*,
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1577.
Public domain.

traveled with his military entourage all the way from Castile to do so, was remarkable, especially since the much broader revolt of cities against him upon his succession to the Castilian throne in 1521, the revolt of the *comuneros*, did not result in any similar reprisal. His was clearly a performance of exemplary punishment, one imposed after more than a century of city-state skirmishes, and an unyielding cycle of revolt and retribution grew in tandem and fed off one another.

The political culture of the Dutch revolt and urban constitutionalism

The late medieval Low Countries failed to resolve the gulf between the royal and the republican; to the contrary, it widened, and considerably so, under the Habsburg composite monarchies of Charles V and Philip II, even if they were absent rulers with regents and governor-generals as fill-ins for them on the ground. In fact, their absence became consequential, for what buoyed royalist pretensions in the fifteenth-century Low Countries were their repeated ceremonial enactments foregrounding the public figure of the prince, as I have stressed. Absent the sovereign prince, a representational vacuum opened up, even as real governing power grew. Authority was heavier under the Habsburgs, but there were fewer public affirmations of it. Protestantism introduced a new, intransigent burden, and by the 1560s, the famed Time of Troubles had set in.[34]

The Dutch Revolt supercharged the civic republicanism of the late Middle Ages and birthed the United Province's federated union. By abjuring Philip II in 1581, the States General of the rebellious provinces removed a sovereign considered tyrannical, but did not solve the problem of the place of princely rule in Low Country political life even as it displaced the Habsburg monarchy. This said, the vernacular civic republicanism of the fifteenth century, shaped by political reprisals against cities, deepened considerably in the sixteenth century, in large measure a cumulative result of the sieges and sacks of Low Country cities by the hated Spanish-led Army of Flanders. The irony is that at the outset of the Revolt these civic matters were not at the forefront of the upheaval because much of the conflict was fought at court and in clubby aristocratic haunts, and not by townspeople, but by the hereditary aristocracy, who between 1561 and 1566 spoke against governmental policy, raising a hue and cry in particular against the hated heresy edicts for the way they trampled upon local rights and jurisdictions – and the fact that since 1520 they had produced over 1300 victims. The nobility in dissent were a mixed group, Lutheran and Calvinists in the main, but Catholics too, most famously Egmont, Horne, and Orange, the most strident of whom in 1566 united in a party affiliation dubbed the Beggars, a loose group of around 300–400 mid-level aristocrats whose party outfit and public campaign drew on political satire and anti-clericalism for its electric charge. All changed, of course, after the *wonderjaar* of 1566–67 and the violent shock of the widespread iconoclasm riots and subsequent short-lived Calvinist rebellion . By 1568, the incipient Revolt's future was in real trouble: the Beggars' movement had been overshadowed – and seriously discredited – by radical iconoclasm, and the Low Countries had come under the governorship of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alba, armed with a royal mandate to restore authority through exemplary punishment backed up by a force of some 10,000 men. Egmont and Horne were executed, Brederode, the most radical Beggar, died, and Orange was in exile, and his early efforts to raise troops to wage war were failures. How then did the Revolt gain traction anew? How did it then also re-introduce the civic and the communal back into its lifeblood?

It took the Duke of Alba's and his successors' authoritarian reprisals against cities, starting with Mechelen in 1572 and culminating in the siege of Leiden in 1573–74 and the spectacular sack of Antwerp in 1576 to reset the Revolt (fig. 2.6) – and gird it firmly anew around civic constitutionalism, urban privileges, and the sanctity of the city – old, hallowed subjects. The violence visited against cities recalled earlier Burgundian reprisals, underscoring the message that princely sovereignty was a constant menace to the civic community. Cities besieged by the Army of Flanders between 1572 and 1577 became the stuff of legend, consecrated sites of unspeakable violence and heroic resistance made famous by the Revolt's earliest historians, Emmanuel van Meteren and Pieter Bor, by playwrights like Botius, and by the local chroniclers and balladeers who preceded them.[35] Sieges and plunderings of cities in Brabant, Holland, and Zeeland gave story to tales of heroic actions by emboldened citizens defending home, turf, and the precious urban heritage. These were discourses and representations, but ones rooted in the very real experience of violence, military plunder, and rape. The urban patriot – the

male head of household, the small master of his civic family – became the indispensable foot soldier of the Orangist cause.[36]

This formulation worked so well because it not only replicated the conceptual vocabulary of a centuries-deep tradition of urban dissent I have discussed, but also because it played to the cultural conceits and legal realities of the urban patricians, guild masters, and small craftsmen who bulked large in the political and economic life of the cities of the Netherlands. Their fight against tyranny was rendered direct, personal, and visceral by the use of domestic analogies and metaphors: these heads of households, masters of home and *ateliers*, took up the fight to protect children, women, property, and family against a king who had forfeited his paternal duties. The domestic rendering of an urban sack or siege tapped into established artistic genres and gender hierarchies: the pictorial legacy whose subject was the biblical story of the Massacre of Innocents (Matthew 2, 16–18) and classical lore such as the rape of Cassandra in the Trojan war or the rape of Lucretia as metaphor for military conquest, to name a few. The tropes about domestic disorder and rape Dutch memorialists invoked in decrying urban pillage and the very real violence that occurred were put to rhetorical work at a defining moment in the Revolt when such exhortations were pertinent. The now problematic trademarks of the Beggars and the iconoclasts could be set aside in favour of the most enduring political symbol in the Netherlands: the civic patriot fighting on behalf of the commune. Not only did this representation draw on urban valour, civic virtue, and the defence of privileges, the richest source of political identity in Netherlands political culture, it gained concrete footing and symbolic heft by its reference to the family and household, master images both to the Protestant social ethic and to the guild governments of the late medieval cities

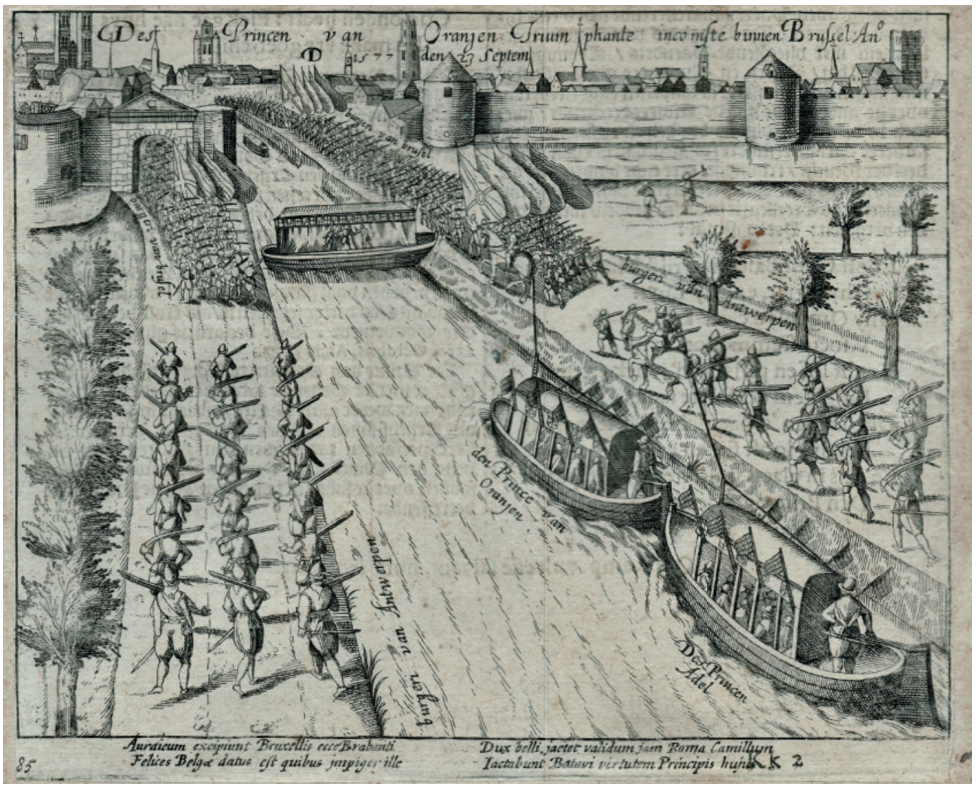
whose political legacy and cultural vocabulary were the source of inspiration to Dutch writers.

The indebtedness of this nascent political culture of revolt to the fifteenth century was obvious – from the legal assertion of privileges to the violence visited against cities in princely reprisals. In the case of Antwerp, violent soldiers poured out of the hated citadel, ransacking the city and burning the fabled *stadhuis*. The new town hall and Alba's citadel had been Antwerp's two great public works in the 1560s, and the two functioned as opposites to many Antwerpeners: the town hall, the seat of government and monument to urban independence; the citadel, the hated 'murderers' nest' (in the words of one popular ballad) that stood as a sore testament to Antwerp's submission to Spanish authorities. The fact that it was mutinous forces from the citadel who rained destruction upon the town hall made the sting of its burning all the worse. The town hall was Antwerp's architectural distillation of its former secretary Jacob Wesembeeke's holy troika of liberty, freedoms, and privileges that so came to define the Dutch rebels' political platform. As such, the attack upon the building and its archives rendered concrete all the complaints popularized by Wesenbeeke and his successors in the pamphlet literature about Spanish hatred of Dutch privileges. These legal rights were inviolate, and the 'temple' of justice, their repository. In a letter about the attack upon Antwerp to the States General, city magistrates railed against the damage done to their beloved town hall:

> Not even that temple and holy office of justice, the very magnificent town hall of the aldermen, escaped the flames, an edifice so sumptuous that it numbers among the miracles of the world, a ruin compounded by the loss of its charters, books, registers, seals, legal cases, and countless other documents concerning kings, potentates, princes, republics, and nations of the world, even the estates and instructions of poor orphans and other private persons, now reduced to ash and cinders.[37]

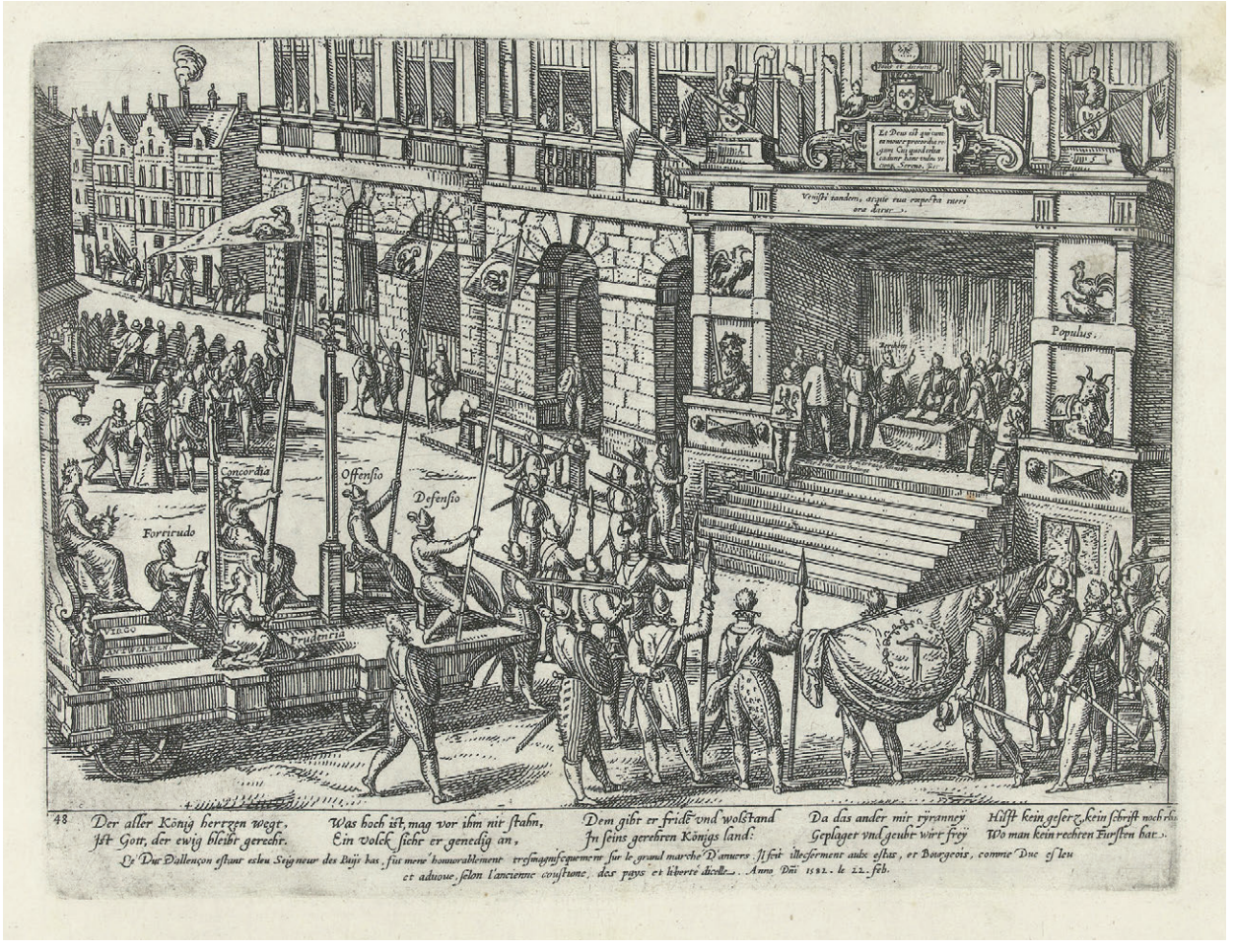
What is more, the generous references in accounts of sieges and sacks from Mechelen to Antwerp to sexual and domestic tropes of rape and families torn asunder came at a critical juncture. They occurred just as the king was in the process of being discredited – the States of Holland was actively considering Philip II's repudiation by October 1575 – and as some in

2.7
Mathis Zündt, *William of Orange as a Military Commander, Compared to Joshua*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1569. Public domain.



2.8

Anonymous, *The Triumphal Entry of the Prince of Orange in Brussels on 23 September 1577.* In Baudartius, *De Nassausche Oorloghen*. Wikimedia Commons. Public domain.



2.9

Frans Hogenberg, *The Duke of Anjou Swears his Oath as the Newly Inaugurated Duke of Brabant Before Antwerp's Town Hall*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1582. Public domain.

Reformed political circles were touting William of Orange as a new *pater patriae* to fill the vacuum left by the removal of the paternal sovereign (fig. 2.7). The city besieged became a symbol of a world gone awry, of a political order overturned. As the States General inched towards its repudiation of Philip II, Orange was more and more valorized as *vader des vaderlands*, patriot extraordinaire who fights with his band of brothers – four of them! – on behalf of urban privileges, freedom, and liberty of conscience to protect the public and domestic order. Orange assumed the status of good father of virtuous citizens fighting for the preservation of liberty and privileges as contrasted against the violent tyranny of Philip II.[38]

The rhetoric against Philip II grew heated – Orange famously accused him of both incest and the murder of his own son – in tandem with the valorization of Orange himself as civic patriot and righteous prince – twinning both his urban credentials and, as sovereign of the minuscule principality of Orange, his princely stature, a key asset. In an entry ceremony Orange made into Brussels on 23 September 1577 (fig. 2.8), among the *tableaux vivants* mounted was one featuring four young women allegorized as Love, Reason, Peace, and Justice rescued by Orange in the garb of a soldier-hero brandishing a sword in one hand but a book of privileges in the other.[39] Here was Orange feted like a sovereign in a formal ceremony that had no constitutional purpose since it was not an inauguration, but unlike Burgundian or Habsburg princes, he affirmed that what mattered to Brussels was the statutory obligation of *Blijde Inkomst* in the duchy of Brabant, namely, the protection of civic rights and privileges.

The States General, however, was not yet ready to repudiate princely rule altogether, but instead a sovereign like Philip II whom its members deemed tyrannical. Orange himself agreed, and actively searched before the Abjuration of 1581 to find the right princely 'defender of liberty', even as the title of Count of Holland was being dangled before him in an effort to elevate his political status. The fact that Orange and his allies desired royal legitimacy while sympathetic political pamphleteers rejected outright a 'Swiss model' of self-rule underscores the enduring legacy of late medieval Burgundian political culture, particularly the compatibility of urban particularism with royal or princely rule, despite the legacy of failures to manage a workable alignment between the two.[40]

The effort to secure a legitimate replacement for Philip II led Orange and the regional states still in rebellion to the Duke of Anjou, fourth son of Henry IV of France (fig. 2.9). The efforts were sincere, the negotiations sustained, and the result nothing short of a disaster, with Anjou fleeing the Low Countries after a failed, desperate assault on Antwerp on 17 January 1583 when he found himself short of funds and fully boxed in by the States General. As a witness to events Jean Bodin shrewdly observed that the effort to replace Philip II was doomed from the start because the States General insisted on a sovereignty so hemmed in by constitutional checks no royal figure would accept such limits. Indeed, in a well-known incident, when the States General was in negotiations with Anjou to replace Philip II, they insisted dishonestly that a title of sovereign could not be offered to him because there was no such word in Dutch, never mind that in the 1575 preparations for the union between Holland and Zeeland William of Orange was offered the title of 'sovereign and supreme head' (*sovereign ende overhooft*) as stadtholder and captain-general.[41] This did not prevent lavish welcomes for Anjou upon his assumption of sovereignty following Philip II's abjuration.[42] After all, he was the first new ruling prince inaugurated since Philip in 1549, and cities like Antwerp, Bruges, and Ghent put serious effort into mounting formal entry ceremonies. Antwerp's was the fullest, befitting the constitutional legacy of the 1356 *blijde inkomst* charter for Brabant, with the one difference that Antwerp rather than Leuven served as the entry's site, as Leuven had been conquered by the Spanish in 1578. Christopher Plantin published a handsomely illustrated commemorative book of it, and Hans Vredeman de Vries headed the design committee for Antwerp.[43] What stands out about both the entry ceremony and its commemorative book is the degree civic monuments were foregrounded and the attempt made to link Anjou to the Burgundian rulers of the past, in part to render his French, Catholic commitments more palatable, and in part to resurrect, improbably, the idea that the Burgundian era was a golden age. The entry concluded on its third day when Anjou paraded from the traditional royal residence of the abbey of Sint-Michiels to the central market to swear his oath of lordship in front of a crowd of citizens beneath the central bay of the restored town hall (fig. 2.10). In an illustration in Plantin's book, the figure of the prince is dwarfed by a fully restored town hall, an illustration that spoke loudly about the triumph of a renewed city over Spanish tyranny, and the secondary stature of the new prince in relation to it.

After Anjou's pathetic demise, and Parma's rapid-fire reconquest of the south, the aperture narrowed considerably for the rebellious provinces still trying to wrestle with the age-old relationship of royal sovereignty and civic communalism. The Treaty of Nonsuch with Elizabeth I on 20 August 1585 became the final attempt to scout for a royal replacement for Philip II. The States General, now relocated to The Hague after the reconciliation with Habsburg rule of the south, accepted Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, as Governor-General of the Netherlands after attempts to entice Henry III of France and the English queen herself to assume rulership went nowhere. Leicester's arrival in Vlissingen on 20 December 1585 began a

series of triumphal entries that culminated with his welcome by the States during a spectacular torch-lit nighttime entry into The Hague on 6 January of the new year.[44] This was not an inaugural entry of a new governing prince as had been Anjou's but rather of a governor-general. Despite the welcome, Leicester's governorship too fared poorly. After serious conflicts with the States of Holland, its deputies, and Oldenbarnevelt, and despite his support from stricter Calvinists and regions hostile to Holland's power, he abandoned the Netherlands in 1587. The short English interlude, like the French Anjou one before Parma's victories and Orange's assassination, proved failures, spurring the political ascension of Holland and federalism as a political reality. As Thomas Wilkes noted in July 1590 about the fledgling United Provinces, 'they hate to be subject not only to a Spaniard but, tasting the sweetness of their own liberty, to any kingly government'.[45]

The United Provinces: local and global

Wilkes's observation was shrewd but not entirely true. The United Provinces, through a series of unintended consequences, did not become a full-blown republic inimical to royalty. After all, a year after the foundational 1579 Union of Utrecht the States General concluded that 'the republican state form is not adapted to the Netherlands'.[46] The lure of royalism as a wellspring of political legitimacy was still heavily felt in the nascent United Provinces in a seventeenth-century sea of monarchies, which is why the House of Orange ended up comingling with the Stuarts, and which is why also the rulers of the United Provinces, oddly, did not support the English Revolution, even as Protestant allies.[47] Yet one need not declare oneself a republic of so many patriot-citizens to practise many of its principles. As noted, late medieval civic republicanism was not a body of theoretical work but a set of political and legal practices matured over time. The age-old tension between the royal and the republican reverberated throughout the seventeenth-century United Provinces, even after it was clear monarchy was no longer a genuine option as it remained – indeed flourished – in the Habsburg south. The Orange-Nassau stadtholders developed a fairly robust court culture in The Hague – a dynastic princely household, though not at the level of their larger monarchical neighbours.[48] When William III joined the English court at Whitehall in 1688, he entered a household whose scale and ceremonial protocols were far greater than what he had previously experienced.[49] It is telling that the most lavish ceremonial entries of a ruler in the seventeenth-century United Provinces were Marie de' Medici's in Amsterdam in 1638 and William III's in The Hague in February 1691, both royal figures, and the latter, still stadtholder but crucially also king.[50]

The urban patricians, city regimes, and States General of the seventeenth-century United Provinces drew heavily on tradition and innovation to forge a unique civic republicanism in its political culture – one inherited from the late Middle Ages, but distinct to these northern provinces. This was no easy task amid the monarchies and princely enclaves of the seventeenth century both in Europe and in the burgeoning overseas territories and empires into which the Netherlands aggressively joined the fray. Early efforts to endow the United Provinces with political legitimacy without a clear monarchical figure were necessarily improvised and tellingly developed along parallel tracks both within Europe and in the new colonial context. For among the many pertinent attributes of the fledgling United Provinces is that independence was birthed in conjunction with an astonishingly aggressive push for global expansion. Of all the new European colonial powers, the Netherlands was near unique as a political formation which itself had been subjected to imperial rule by the Habsburgs, a matter which its political and commercial elites put to use as a means to justify expansion in part as a defensive set of actions.[51] Securing political legitimacy as an independent federation of provinces and pursuing overseas hegemony were intertwined efforts, with sometimes overlapping challenges stemming from the absence of royal legitimacy, not to mention the lack of official recognition of sovereign independence from Habsburg Spain until 1648 (fig. 2.10). From the end of the sixteenth century, and in the aftermath of the failures of Anjou and Leicester that proved that substitute sovereigns were unworkable, the deputies of the States General struggled with asserting the legitimacy of their political project given the confusing and protean relationship between their governing body and the princely figure of the stadtholder.

In the realm of international diplomacy, the States General's attempts to assert international authority and legitimacy bumped up against diplomatic protocols that had no conceptual space for their self-designation as 'esteemed and powerful gentlemen' (*hooge en mogende heeren*).[52] What precisely did such designations mean in a diplomatic world of ambassadors and royal emissaries? Who represented the Netherlands in the hallowed world of international diplomacy and at European courts: deputies of the States General in The Hague or the Orange stadtholders, especially if they were not necessarily on the same page? To the States General, the answer was simple: its members did, and they were to be considered much like representatives from the Republic of Venice, namely, legitimate political representatives of state power. Yet it took several decades for France, England, and the German territories to acknowledge fully the diplomatic legitimacy of representatives of the States General. Much to their chagrin, the

States General's diplomats were not received at the French royal court with the same level of diplomatic protocol as those from Venice, whom they considered their equals.

In response to these challenges, in 1639 the States General laid out a set of preferred diplomatic titles and ranking for themselves. Their designation as 'Hooge en mogende heeren', or 'Hauts et Puissants Seigneurs', was meant to confer high political status, but it did not yet to their monarchical peers, as in France, where the Prince of Orange was acknowledged as 'his excellence' but the men of the States General as only 'très chers et bons amys', that is respectful friends and not diplomatic equals.

In 1653, the States General reissued the 1639 protocols after the independence of the United Provinces had been fully secured, and it is telling that in both sets of ceremonials prepared, part of the justification for this representative body's sovereign authority is linked to the expansion of Dutch interests in the West and East Indies, and the need for the commonwealth to negotiate with 'kings, princes and republics in and outside of Europe'.[53] That Dutch republican liberty, and the Revolt itself, was now of global consequence and became a feature of the United Provinces' political ethos. As Caspar van Baerle put it in his *History of Brazil under the Governorship of Count Johan Maurits of Nassau*, after suffering 'the siege of our towns and castles' at the brutal hands of the Spanish – note the theme of the heroic city yet again in the Dutch Revolt – 'we sent our ships under our flags to Spain, to Africa, to the Orient and the Occident' so that 'the name of the States General became known over vast regions'.[54] 'Today', he wrote in this 1647 Latin text, 'the power of the United Provinces extends to almost all parts of the world'.

While these colonial pretensions were put to rhetorical work to bolster the United Provinces' standing among their monarchical peers, officials of the VOC and WIC (East and West Indies Companies) confronted similar challenges outside of Europe as the States General did with their neighbours around issues of political standing, especially in the endlessly complex world of Asian kingdoms and principalities. The rapid-fire commercial expansion of the Dutch into the Atlantic and Pacific entailed the acquisition of trading rights, forts, enclaves, and settlements from the Americas to South and Southeast Asia even before formal independence

2.10
Bartholomeus van der Helst,
Banquet of the Civic Guard of the Crossbowmen in Celebration of the Peace of Münster,
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1648.
Public domain.

in 1648. Even afterwards, the Dutch squared off against their royal rivals – the Portuguese, Spanish, and English in particular, and later the French, Danish, and Swedish – still lacking the political legitimacy the States General's diplomatic titles were supposed to secure.[55]

Both the earlier trade companies and then the VOC opted to rectify this problem by essentially designating the stadtholder – Maurice of Nassau at first – as the equivalent of king, ironically enough, since it was precisely the royal pretensions of the Orange stadtholders that bedeviled their relationships to the States General, and led to the stadtholderless interludes. Presumably, far away from Europe in the vast Pacific, the finer details of such contradictions would be lost in translation anyways. VOC vessels carried letters and gifts in Maurice's name. In the case of Tokugawa Japan, with its intricate political rituals and shogunate, VOC merchants were quick to declare Maurice the King of Holland both to flatter the Japanese court at Edo and bolster their case that they could be allies against the nefarious Portuguese Catholics. This is not surprising, and was a tactic used elsewhere, including in Southeast Asia in the Indonesian archipelago, where Chinese merchants dominated, steeped in a diplomatic culture in which only monarchs negotiated with other monarchs. European rivals scoffed at this tactic, so much so that King James I scolded a Dutch delegation before his court that 'your people over there represent your Prince of Orange as a great King and Lord, and hold me up as a little kinglet, as if I stood under him, thus misleading the barbarian kings'.[56] Eventually, when a VOC governor-general was established at Batavia in Java, his office assumed much of the ceremonial protocols – welcoming embassies, negotiating treaties, and so forth – for the United Provinces with royal and princely Asian courts.[57]

In the seventeenth-century Atlantic and Pacific, even as the Dutch vaunted their status as liberty-affirming victims of Spanish imperial hegemony, they nevertheless took on specific political attributes they had both engaged in and railed against during the halcyon days of the Revolt against Habsburg Spain. In the familiar realm, they undertook acts of iconoclasm, ransacking the cathedral in San Juan, Puerto Rico in 1626 to take one example. They also looted cites, such as Bahia in 1624 and Luanda in 1641, engaging in the very behaviours they accused the hated Army of Flanders of

inflicting upon their cherished cities. They even destroyed towns as conquerors, most notably, Jayakarta in 1619, establishing Batavia upon its ruins, with its imposing castle-citadel as a focal point, even if the hated military citadels of the Habsburgs had been a source of political antagonism during the early decades of the Dutch Revolt.[58]

The problem of political legitimacy of the United Provinces, therefore, was both a domestic and international one, though quickly enough the issue was largely put to bed in the colonial world, as the VOC in particular soared to prominence. It never, however, went away. On the West Coast of Africa, to take one example, where the WIC had gained a preeminent foothold on the Gold Coast with its key forts, horning in on trade in products and human slaves both, Portuguese fighting the Dutch in São Tomé in the 1640s convinced several of their soldiers to switch sides because it 'was better to serve the king than common merchants'.[59] The VOC and WIC officials and merchants grew accustomed, as did the political class of the United Provinces more generally, to enduring the insult of being merchants without honour. It became a seventeenth-century trope flung at them both in Europe and elsewhere, sometimes with biting effect, as when Thomas Lynch, Governor of Jamaica, mocking the Dutch, quipped that their ethos was 'Jesus Christ was good, but trade was better'.[60]

In the colonial world, whether Dutch territories were territorial possessions or trading posts unleashed a vigorous debate about free trade, settlements, and sovereignty as overseas activity simply did not mirror the monarchical empires of Portugal or Spain, with viceregal capitals, imperial rituals, and large populations of metropolitan settlers. Within the European sphere, there was no mistaking the United Provinces as an urban commercial powerhouse of cities and towns, and the citizen, the merchant, and the patrician were its prideful hallmarks. As the Dutch Revolt faded in reality, patriotic lore took shape which valorized free citizens and their cities and the triumph over Spanish tyranny. No surprise that the trauma of cities under siege and sacked became an essential element of the seventeenth-century political liturgy of remembrance. As early as 1604, the city of Naarden, site of the one of the Duke of Alba's most violent sackings in 1572, featured a painting in its town hall commemorating the near destruction of the city and its adult male inhabitants. In 1615, the city's Gasthuis church where many of the men were killed had three gable stones installed in memory of their loss. Paintings and other commemorative artwork memorializing the endurance of cities in the wake of princely terror grew elsewhere as a genre – from Haarlem to Leiden.[61] Bontius's play on the siege of Leiden – and numerous Beggars ballads in the great song repertoire of the Dutch Revolt – likewise celebrated urban martyrdom and political redemption, connecting the fresher memories of urban trauma from the Revolt to the Burgundian-era tales of violent punishments of southern Low Country cities.[62] The effect of such cultural output was both specific commemorations in cities like Naarden, Haarlem, and Antwerp of past atrocities or theological meditations on moral culpability and princely triumph embedded in the Destruction-of-Jerusalem theme, with which I began this essay. The United Provinces was the triumph of cities despite centuries of violence visited against them. In the words of the English observer William Temple, in his celebrated account of the seventeenth-century United Provinces, the 'freedom of cities' was one of the essential 'ingredients of the composition of this State'.[63]

More generally, the language of patriots and liberty became a hallmark of early modern republicanism and other revolts in the Atlantic tradition of upheavals – from the English Revolution to the French and American ones, an often-unacknowledged legacy of the Burgundian-Habsburg Netherlands and the vocabulary of the Dutch Revolt. But the perception that the United Provinces was a weak framework politically and lacked adequate centralized government bedeviled the hoary tensions between the republican and the royal. Even in the eighteenth-century American Federalist Papers written in support of the American constitutional model before its ratification, James Madison and Alexander Hamilton might praise the Netherlands as a 'confederacy of republics' of a 'remarkable texture', yet found it both weak and impractical.[64] No one, not even later republicans whose conceptual vocabulary borrowed heavily from the Revolt's political language, seemed to fully comprehend the decentralized urban ecosystem of the United Provinces, nor the precise relationship of the stadtholder, with its princely origins, and the States General, with its late medieval constitutional grounding.

1 Pieters, 'New Historicism'.
2 Doudet, 'Théâtre du désastre'.
3 *La Venjance Nostre Seigneur*. On the prose and verse traditions of Jerusalem's destruction, see Wright, *The Vengeance of Our Lord*.
4 Arnade, 'Carthage or Jerusalem?'.
5 Bodian, *Hebrews of the Portuguese Nation*.
6 Marchandisse, Vrancken-Pirson, and Kupper, 'Destruction de la ville de Liège'.
7 Pollmann and Kuijpers, 'Why Remember Terror?'.
8 Bontius, *Belegering ende het ontset der stadt Leyden*.
9 Duke, 'The Elusive Netherlands'.
10 Israel, *Dutch Republic*; and Van Deursen, *Last van veel geluk*.
11 Hankins, 'Modern Republicanism'.
12 Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*; for the southern Low Countries, Lecuppre-Desjardin, *Villes des cérémonies*.
13 Lecuppre-Desjardin, *Royaume inachevé*.
14 A welcome addition to the established literature on Burgundian ceremony is recent work on banquets, especially Normore, *Feast for the Eyes*.
15 On the La Court brothers and republicanism, Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*; Schilling, 'Gab es in späten Mittelalter'.
16 Most recently in summary form, Prak, *Citizens without Nations*.
17 Dumolyn, 'Privileges and Novelties'.
18 Harline, *Pamphlets. Printing, and Political Culture*.
19 The literature on this subject is ample, but still fundamental is Secretan, *Privileges*.
20 Blockmans, 'Du contrat féodal à la souveraineté du peuple'.
21 Dumolyn and Haemers, '*Bonnes causes*'.
22 Woltjer, 'Dutch Privileges'.
23 Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*.
24 Kelsey, *Inventing a Republic*.
25 Arnade, 'Privileges'.
26 Arnade, 'Privileges', p. 114.
27 Haemers, 'Bloed en inkt'.
28 Fris, 'Brugsche Calfvel'; Gachard, *Relation*.
29 Chastelain, *Oeuvres*, V, pp. 505–06.
30 Dumolyn and Haemers, 'Patterns'.
31 Boone, '"Civitas mori potest"'; Arnade, 'Carthage or Jerusalem'.
32 De La Fons de Mélicocq, 'De l'art dramatique'.
33 Boone, '"Le dict mal"'. On the construction of Ghent's citadel, and sixteenth-century citadels in the Netherlands in general, see Lombaerde, 'Herrschaftsarchitektur'.
34 Especially pertinent on the early decades of the Revolt, Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog*.
35 On historical memory and early histories of the Revolt in both the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands, see Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*.
36 Arnade, 'Spanish Furies'.
37 On the attack and damage to the town hall, see the documents in Génard, *Furie espagnole*.
38 On Orange, Swart, *William of Orange*; Mörke, *Wilhelm von Oranien*; Van Stipriaan, *De Zwijger*.
39 Houwaert, *Declaratie*.
40 On the Swiss model and Dutch political pamphlet debates, Van Gelderen, *Political Thought*.
41 Muller and Diegerick, *Documents*, pp. 408–14.
42 For an outstanding analysis, see Van Bruaene, 'Spectacle and Spin'; See also Rowen, *Princes of Orange*, p. 19.
43 Plantin, *Joyeuse & magnifique entrée*.
44 Oosterhoff, *Leicester*, pp. 61–66; A review of Leicester's ceremonial entries, based on printed and archival accounts, is in Strong and Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*.
45 Wernham, 'Mission of Thomas Wilkes', p. 452.
46 Rowen, *Princes of Orange*, pp. 23, 30.
47 Helmers, *Royalist Republic*.
48 The best summary is Israel, 'Courts' and Schilling, 'Orange Court'.
49 Jasper van der Steen, '"This Nation"'.
50 Snoep, *Praal en Propaganda*, pp. 39–62, 91–153.
51 Best explored in relationship to the Atlantic world by Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*, and more generally, Emmer and Gommans, *Rijk*. Arthur Weststeijn's publications have explored this matter in considerable depth. See, for example, 'Republican Empire'.
52 For the following see Heringa, *Eer en Hoogheid*.
53 Heringa, *Eer en Hoogheid*, p. 552: 'is deselve boorder verbreyt over veel landen en volckeren in Oost en West-Indien and andere gedeelten van de werelt, staende daerneffens in alliantie, verbintenis end vrientschap door onderlinghe tractaten, handel ende commercie te water ende te lande met de voornaamste koningen, prince ende republijcken in ende buyten Europa'. Transcribed from *Groote Placaet-Boek*, III, fol. 78v.
54 Van Baerle, *History of Brazil*, p. 7.
55 Van Goor, *Nederlandse koloniën*; Emmer and Gommans, *Rijk*.
56 An excellent consideration of this issue is in Clulow, *Company*, p. 38.
57 Blussé, *Geveinsde vrunden*.
58 Klooster, 'Marteling, muiterij, en beeldenstorm'. On Batavia, see the social history in Niemeijer, *Batavia*, and on the castle and built environment, Kehoe, 'Dutch Bavaria'. On Dutch colonial city planning more broadly, Van Oers, *Dutch Town Planning Overseas*.
59 Klooster, *Dutch Moment*, p. 74, n. 3.
60 Goslinga, *Dutch in the Caribbean*, p. 369.
61 Eekhout, 'Material Memories', pp. 86, 114.
62 Van Bentum, *Nieuw Geuzenlied-Boek*.
63 Temple, *Observations*, p. 92.
64 Kesler, 'Federalist no 20', in *Federalist Papers*, pp. 129–34.

3

Suzanne van de Meerendonk

TREATED LIKE ROYALTY

Ceremonial Entries into Amsterdam in 1580, 1638, and 1660

On 2 October 1549, Philip II entered Amsterdam as the city's future sovereign ruler.[1] Unbeknownst both to Philip and the city that had carefully crafted public displays to welcome him, the young prince would, in fact, be the last figure to enter Amsterdam as a sovereign monarch until the arrival of Louis Bonaparte in 1808. Ceremonial entries by other notable visitors, however, would continue without significant hiatus in the period that ensued, while their decorative programmes grew both in size and complexity. Arguably the most spectacular of these in the Northern Netherlands were commissioned by the city of Amsterdam, the fast-developing centre of the Dutch Republic's economic as well as political power.

This chapter analyses select components of three ceremonial entries that took place in Amsterdam during this time: the entry of Stadtholder William of Orange in 1580, exiled Queen-Mother of France Marie de' Medici in 1638, and Royal Princess Mary Stuart along with her son, the young William III of Orange, in 1660.[2] For their visits, an inherited ritual tradition of monarchy was adapted and implemented in a new republican context. One of the key issues debated in scholarly discourse on joyous entry ceremonial – its efficacy to either promote or negotiate power relations between sovereign rulers and their cities – seems contrary to the underlying principles of a republican government. As the following case studies make clear, however, Dutch Republican ceremonial elucidates the continued political significance of such events, in particular for an early modern state marked by shifting attitudes towards power, tradition, and media.

The Dutch republican joyous entry

Urban ceremonial receptions featuring elaborate decoration schemes and pageantry formed a longstanding tradition in medieval and early modern Europe. Yet the nature and emphases of the programmes and ritual structures of these festivities evolved over time and varied in different regions.[3] For centuries, however, royal entries formed key ritual moments during which the relationship between ruler and city was negotiated, reconfirmed, or contested – at times violently so.[4] Following the Dutch Revolt, the tradition in Northern Netherlandish cities such as Amsterdam took on a character that was remarkably different from either the period preceding it or from entries taking place elsewhere in Europe. In the early years after the anti-Catholic 'Alteration' (regime change) of 1578, receptions were held for the figures who now represented the emerging state's new leadership, such as stadtholders and governors-general. Later on, receptions were more often organized for foreign royalty, both before and after the Republic's recognition as an independent state in 1648. How to reunite the entry ritual's guiding principle of power negotiations, customarily between monarch and city, given the absence of a sovereign ruler in this new context?

The study of Dutch republican ceremonial is particularly compelling when considered in the context of perceived historical shifts in the function and ritual significance of entry ceremonies in the Netherlands and Europe more broadly. Referencing various historical contexts and factors, scholars have described a decline in the true ritual function of entries during the late medieval and early modern periods. In this vision, entries devolved from spaces for dialogue and negotiation into a largely empty form of ceremony that worked increasingly in the interest of rising absolutism and centralization.[5]

3.1
Salomon Savery after Jan Martszen de Jonge, *Procession of Marie de' Medici Arriving at the Triumphal Arch Erected at the Varkenssluis*. Detail of fig. 3.3.

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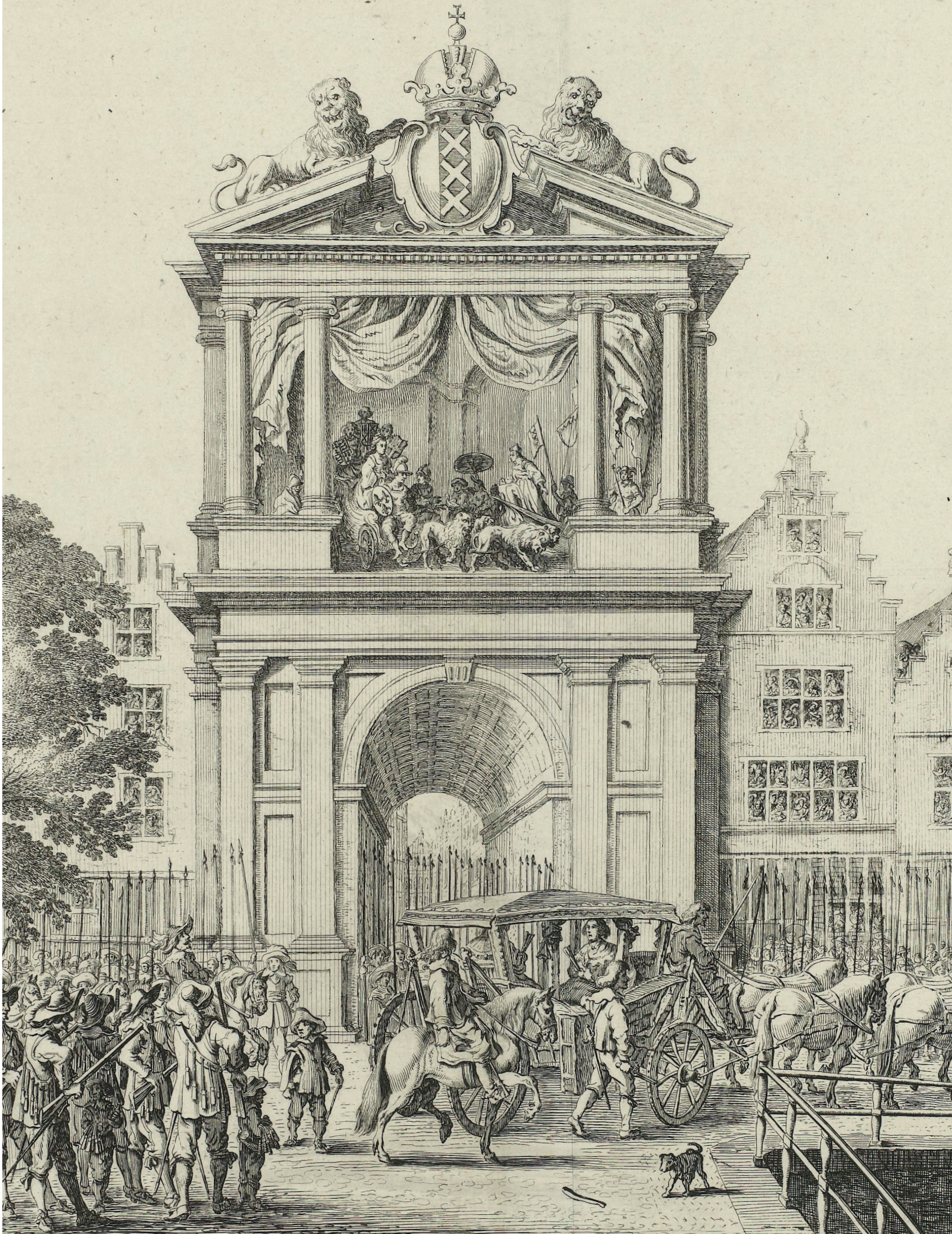


A recent surge of scholarly interest, predominantly focused on the Southern Netherlands, has expanded our understanding of the political function of entry ceremonial by shifting attention in particular to its important communal potential, as well as the significance and rhetorical construction of diverse festival publications.[6] The tradition in the Northern Netherlands, by contrast, remains understudied due to a perceived lack in both splendour and political significance. The most prominent publication on the subject remains art historian Derk Snoep's *Praal en Propaganda* of 1975. While exemplary in its careful study of primary sources, the approach in this publication was predominantly that of (art) historical description to facilitate iconographic and formal analysis. I believe, however, that it is the entries' function as a peculiar node within the political and cultural contexts of their day that makes them such a fruitful field of research; until recently, their analysis in this sense has been virtually non-existent.[7]

Rather than serving as examples of a supposed loss of (ritual) impact, I believe that the entries taking place in Amsterdam after the Alteration, as well as their reproduction in print, can similarly demonstrate the adaptability of this *longue-durée* monarchical tradition to serve unexpected political purposes. More precisely, they functioned in this context as platforms for the assertion of competing identities, histories, and political hierarchies in the context of an emerging Dutch autonomous state.

William of Orange, 1580

William of Orange was received by Amsterdam in his capacity as stadtholder on 17 March 1580, only two years after the city had officially joined the Revolt. On the day of the entry, the city dispatched an honorary fleet to collect William from the town of Muiden.[8] Upon his arrival in Amsterdam, the heavy artillery placed on the city's fortified walls was fired to announce his ritual entry by ship.[9] Entrance via the IJ river and the Damrak, the city's inner harbour, which had become the custom for ceremonial receptions in Amsterdam, allowed direct entry into the heart of the city's centre while emphasizing the city's maritime identity.[10]

This theme was further amplified through waterborne pageants that were likely realized using modified ships featuring painted decorations.[11] Placed in between the Nieuwe Brug and the Oude Brug (New and Old Bridge), one represented Neptune on a whale, and the other featured a City Maiden surrounded by merchandise.[12] The latter in particular highlighted the city's trade in the Baltic region, as her 'house of commerce' featured both *oostersche waeren* ('eastern merchandise') and corner columns decorated with the princely coats of arms of the four *oosterschen hoofdsteden* ('principal cities of the east'), presumably the four *kontors* of the Hanze.[13] An important model for these pageants must have been the spectacle of Arion and the Dolphin performed on the occasion of William of Orange's entry into Brussels in 1577, which was described and depicted in Johan Baptist Houwaert's account of the event in 1579 (fig. 3.2).[14]

In addition to these pageants, which served as an allegorized welcome on behalf of the city and as a proclamation of its reputation as a sea-faring nation, entertainments in the form of water jousting were organized in 1580 between the Oude Brug and Papenbrug.[15] After disembarking near the fish market, William I followed a processional route that passed the town hall, where he was formally welcomed by the city's burgomasters, and that ended at his place of lodging.[16] The evening concluded with a banquet, the presentation of gifts, and bonfires, while the steeple of the Oude Kerk ('Old Church') was illuminated with paper lanterns.[17]

More notable, however, were two firework spectacles performed between the Papenbrug and the fish market two days after the entry. An analysis of this part of the decoration programme will show that it responded to the practical and theoretical frameworks which were being developed for the emerging republic's governmental apparatus, and in particular discussions regarding the necessity for an eminent head to sustain a healthy body politic. Although ultimate authority belonged to the decentralized States General, in this period proposals for authority to be fully invested in a princely governor were debated.[18]

In contrast to the Damrak pageants on the day of the entry, the firework spectacles addressed the Prince of Orange directly in his role as military and political leader of the Revolt. This is not surprising, since the entry was dedicated to William I, yet becomes increasingly significant when considering the more nuanced political functioning of his visit. Archival documents make clear that the Stadholder, in fact, sought to lobby the city leadership to support the establishment of a centralized Council of State (*Landsraad*, or *Raad van State*), as well as a proposal to promote the Duke of Anjou as the Netherlands' lord and protector.[19] The Amsterdam *vroedschap*, however, had previously resolved on 2 March to not only reject the idea of Anjou as governor, but that it would instead prefer to offer the 'high governance and sovereignty' to William of Orange, 'a prince proven faithful to Christ', who should thus be provided with the same authority that had formerly been enjoyed by the Count of Holland.[20]

The city government would, however, significantly soften its position regarding Anjou on 19 March, as evidenced by a resolution inscribed in the margins of the original deliberations.[21] In this new resolution, composed on the day of the

3.2
Anonymous, *Arion on the Dolphin*. In Houwaert, *Declaratie van die triumphante Incompst vanden* […] *Prince van Oraignien*. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden Bijzondere Collecties. 1579. Photo by the author.

firework displays, the city agrees that if Orange could not be persuaded, its delegates should vote on this matter in concordance with the majority of Holland and other provinces. In the context of these discussions, the city clearly endeavoured to demonstrate to the Prince of Orange a distinct show of support during his visit – not only as stadtholder, but as the potential sovereign head of the union.

The first firework spectacle included two structures that represented the Castle of Breda, William of Orange's former residence (1551–67), and the house of 'Duck d'Aluens […] op de manier van thuys t'Antwerpen' ('Duke Alba's house […] in the style of the house in Antwerp').[22] The latter possibly referred to the Antwerp Citadel, which was built between 1567 and 1572 by order of the Duke of Alba, and had housed a statue of Alba standing triumphantly over a figure representing heresy. In an act of secular iconoclasm following the Spanish Fury of 1576, the citizens of Antwerp had, in fact, partially demolished this fort and destroyed the statue of Alba contained within it. It is important to note, also, that the Duke had resigned from his position in 1573 and Antwerp, an early centre of the Revolt, had entered into the Pacification of Ghent two years before Amsterdam did.

Nonetheless, both buildings became symbols for the prince and the hated Spanish general, who in turn functioned as the main protagonists in a narrative that referenced the ongoing war between the Spanish and Dutch forces. Given the concerns raised by the Amsterdam *vroedschap* in this exact period, however, the choice to conflate the Spanish oppressor with a rival city is both strategic and significant. As part of ongoing discussions regarding proposed general taxes and embargoes, for instance, the city councilors tellingly, and somewhat bitterly, had stated that on this matter they wished that 'those of Antwerp will not be permitted preeminence, authority, or cause for deceit, to which they have always attempted'.[23]

The two houses, armed with fireworks, 'attacked' each other over the course of an hour, leading up to the spectacular conclusion in which the house of Alba (and Antwerp) went up in flames. Both buildings were likely decorated with painted scenes as well as four 'letters' explaining their iconography, which are also included in the *Incomste* pamphlet.[24] The houses juxtaposed William, presented as a true Christian prince guided by God, patience, and humility, on the one hand, and Alba, on the other, as a ruthless tyrant driven by deceit and greed. While the first led his people to victory and peace, triumphing over enemies 'outside of the garden of Holland' and re-establishing trade, the latter causing a mass exodus of men and women after the brutal murder of Protestant innocents who had been falsely promised a pardon. This juxtaposition was a familiar one and had been propagated in print since the early 1570s.[25] Like such polemical prints, these scenes quite unequivocally sought to equate the Prince of Orange with the ideal virtuous prince. Orange was presented as temperate but ultimately serving as a protector of Holland's interests above other provinces, and perhaps especially those of Brabant and Antwerp.

This message was further reinforced by the second pyrotechnic display at the fish market, consisting of an illuminated structure in the shape of a crown decorated with oranges. Adjacent to this, rhetoricians had placed their blazon along with texts in which William of Orange was again portrayed as a victorious and princely liberator, while Amsterdam was cast in the role of grateful and ever-loyal recipient of his noble efforts.[26] The firework spectacles thus addressed William of Orange as an alternative governor and 'virtuous Prince', who was called on to protect the city and its interests above those of other cities. In return William would receive

the support of a joyous and obedient people. The reciprocal design of the spectacles therefore evoked the basic principle of the traditional oath ceremony in which joyous entry rituals in the Low Countries typically culminated.[27] The visit evidently formed part of a mutual process of negotiation that had its roots in a tradition where ceremonial entries performed such a function.[28] But in contrast to the pre-Revolt period, such negotiations now concerned the relative status of Amsterdam within a constellation of cities and provinces that formerly had moved in slightly different orbits. In this context, Amsterdam's leadership recognized Orange as an important intermediary figure, and his presence in the city as an opportunity to advocate for its interests.

Marie de' Medici, 1638

More than half a century later, the city would utilize public entry ceremonial in a markedly different way, which reveals a quite different attitude towards authority and autonomy. Marie de' Medici, widow of Henry IV of France and mother of then French King Louis XIII, visited Amsterdam in September 1638, having spent seven years in exile as the result of a dispute with her son. As Queen-Mother and former Queen Regent of France (1610–1614), she was the first royal figure to personally visit, and thereby explicitly acknowledge the Republic as a sovereign state. The circumstances and conditions of her visit were nonetheless extremely controversial, and the Republic's States General initially warned its cities not to support Marie at the Generality's expense.[29] Given this situation, the splendour with which she was welcomed in Amsterdam was notable. Ephemeral triumphal arches with *tableaux vivants* decorated Marie's processional entry into the city, where she was escorted by civic militia companies (figs 3.1 and 3.3). A floating theatre erected in the Rokin staged additional *tableaux vivants* on the third day of her visit, and she was treated to an elaborate banquet by the East India Company as well as tours of the city.

In addition to these extravagant festivities, the reception was also commemorated in the form of a lavishly illustrated festival book. Such publications had long become the standard in the Southern Netherlands and France, but had not been produced in the Republic before this time. The *Medicea Hospes* was written in Latin by the city's most prominent scholar, Caspar Barlaeus, and appeared in 1638, alongside a French edition (1638) and Dutch translation the following year (1639).[30]

This grand gesture, as a documented resolution on the matter states, was desired firstly because of 'Her Majesty's high pedigree, alliances and merit', and secondly, 'because the city is particularly keen, that a person who is a mother to those Kingdoms and countries receiving much commerce from here, of which the merchants and other inhabitants of this city often receive much favour, will be treated properly and honourably'.[31] In stressing the perceived value of the queen's visit to relations with neighbouring nations, Amsterdam's burgomasters echoed Marie de' Medici's own propaganda strategy, which emphasized her status as mother to royal offspring.[32]

Like Marie, Amsterdam and the United Provinces took up uncertain positions within the diplomatic fabrics of early modern Europe's tapestry of monarchy and empire.[33] Taking place a decade before the conclusion of the Peace of Münster (1648), the event can be situated in a period characterized by an increasingly prominent role of the Dutch Republic in international trade, warfare, and politics, which was accompanied by a growing assertion of Dutch sovereign powers. Its main aim, therefore, primarily concerned visibility on the public stage of international diplomacy – to create a precedent in protocol that would elevate both the city and Republic in standing.

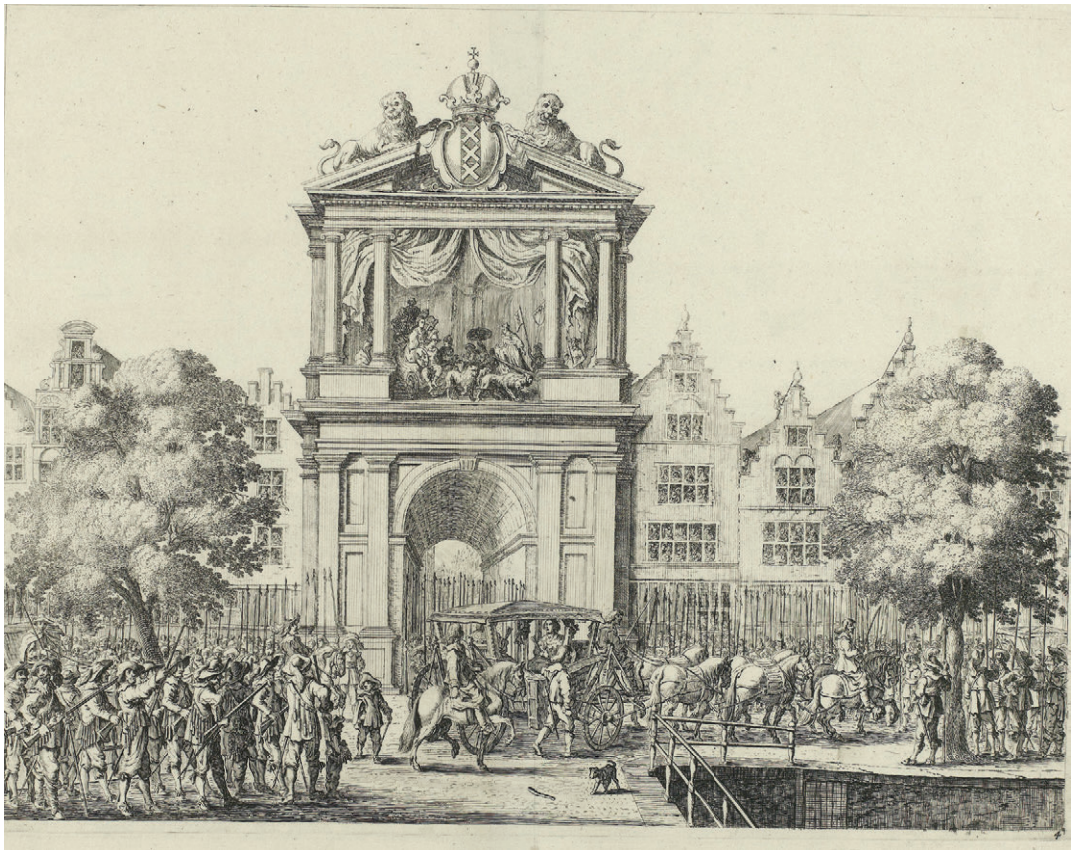
That the event itself, but also its commemoration, served to clarify the status of Amsterdam both at home and abroad, becomes particularly clear in Barlaeus's book. In his dedication and introduction, he sets up a direct comparison between monarch and city, starting with the assertion in his dedication that a monarch's power, majesty, and popular appeal are derived directly from God.[34] He then remarks in the introduction that Amsterdam's excellence, too, has been willed by God and speaks about their status on equal terms: 'Certainly a woman this great was indeed worthy to be received in such a great city, and such a great city not unworthy to receive such a great woman'.[35]

The comparison does not end there. Through a series of juxtapositions, Barlaeus makes the case that both the queen and the city's power had far geographical reach, and that both enjoyed strong popular appeal. He argues that while Marie exerts international influence through the realms of her children, spanning both the old and the new worlds, Amsterdam can boast a similar reach through its mercantile activities.[36] Barlaeus further claims that while Marie's appeal is one of lineage and intrinsic majesty, Amsterdam attracts scores of people in pursuit of profit.[37] Barlaeus asks the reader to imagine the comparison: 'If we look at the Queen, we see standing in front of us someone who had rule and authority over all of France. If we look at the city, we see a marketplace of the entire world' (*Koopstadt van de gansche weereld*).[38] The ascension to power of the city, and the importance of the East and West India Companies in particular, was discernible in the iconography of the *tableaux vivants* and pageants, noticeable in the tastes and smells of the products offered during the banquet at the Oost-Indisch Huis ('East India House'), and visible in the numbers and varieties of ships collected in the IJ.

That a maritime theme was of great interest to the city can be learned from its efforts to stage the queen's arrival, albeit unsuccessfully, in a manner that showcased its impressive harbour. City pensionary Willem Boreel travelled to Haarlem one day before the entry to inquire whether Marie wished to arrive in the city via land or by sea. Though Boreel emphasized the convenience and beautiful sights provided by an arrival in the city's vessel-filled harbour 'of which strangers are very curious' as 'most fitting for such a *Koopstad*', Marie decided to take the advice of the stadtholder instead and travel by land.[39] The trip to Amsterdam therefore followed the towpath along the newly dug barge canal called Nieuwevaert, which had been in operation since 1632. At the midpoint between Haarlem and Amsterdam along the IJ river, called Halfweg, Marie was met by a multitude of yachts, including a large West India Company ship decorated with tapestries, which had been reserved to transport the queen should she opt to travel by water for the remainder of her trip. Decorated with silk flags, painted and metal ornaments, and under full sail, the ships provided a precursory introduction to the city. This impressive view, according to Barlaeus orchestrated by the city's burgomasters, would remain a spectacle to behold only, as Marie still chose to continue her travel by carriage – thus becoming the first prominent guest since at least 1549 to not have arrived in the city by ship.[40]

Per existing custom, the entry was announced with the firing of heavy artillery and the sounding of bells throughout the city.[41] Barlaeus writes that waterborne spectacles were planned at the Damrak, where in anticipation of the arrival all ships had been cleared while theatrical structures were stored underneath the bridges.[42] The performances that were planned in this location had to be cancelled due to the queen's arrival by land, and Barlaeus adds that the apparati 'rested that day, as well as the following'.[43] The spectacles can therefore almost certainly be identified as the Neptune, Mercury, and Maiden of Amsterdam pageants, which he records as appearing on the third day of the visit, and which, if performed at the Damrak, would have served a similar function to the water pageants that were present in that location during William's entry of 1580.[44]

A more direct iteration of the theme of comparative power can be found in the second of three *tableaux vivants* Marie encountered during her entry procession. Here Marie de' Medici saw herself represented as the mother of gods Berecynthia, seated on a triumphal chariot drawn by lions.[45] As a mirror-image to this scene, a cog ship carrying a personification of Amsterdam was placed at the opposite end of the stage, 'as if to come greet her'.[46] The theme, as we know from correspondence between Barlaeus and poet Pieter Cornelisz



3.3

Salomon Savery after Jan Martszen de Jonge, *Procession of Marie de' Medici Arriving at the Triumphal Arch Erected at the Varkenssluis* (plate 4 in Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes*). Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1638.

3.4

Pieter Nolpe after Claes Moeyaert, *Marie de' Medici as Berecynthia Welcomed by the Maid of Amsterdam* (plate 5 in Caspar Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomste* […]). New York, Public Library, Shelf-mark Neth. 1639, copy 2. 1639. Reproduced with the permission of The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations, Spencer Collection.

Hooft, was meant to call attention to Marie's continued political influence through her children, who were also personified on stage. Figures representing the four continents are furthermore described as having appeared around her chariot, to allude to the rule of her children 'throughout all parts of the world'.[47] But the description also makes clear that this particular *tableau vivant* was meant to represent a symbolic meeting between the queen and the city.[48] The poem that accompanied the scene was likely read by the figure of Amsterdam, and thus addressed simultaneously the Berecynthia figure on stage as well as the queen she was meant to represent, who was beholding the scene.

In the poem, Amsterdam encourages Marie to recognize the city's equal claims to international influence, saying:

> O great Queen, let your eye wonder everywhere.
> My churches, my buildings, and towers standing proud,
> my harbours densely occupied, testify to my capacity.
> I wander the globe, by water and by land.
> Both worlds send me their gifts,
> And both the old and the new are valued here.[49]

The city's global influence is further underlined in the illustration of the scene, done by Pieter Nolpe after designs by Claes Moeyaert (fig. 3.4).[50] Instead of surrounding Berecynthia's chariot, as they are described in the text, the four continents can be found to the side of Amsterdam's ship in Nolpe's print. The placement of chariot and ship, certainly in the image, but likely also in the performed *tableau*, furthermore prompts direct comparison between Marie and Amsterdam.

The banquet at the Oost-Indisch Huis took place on the second day of Marie's visit. Given the strategy to present the city's power and prosperity based on its trade – the far reaches of its overseas trade in particular – the sights, smells, and tastes the French queen was presented with on this occasion can arguably be considered to have formed part of the festival programme that was devised for her over the course of her visit. As with his descriptions of the *tableaux vivants* and the triumphal arches a day prior, Barlaeus notably included poems on both the Oost-Indisch Huis itself and the banquet that was prepared within its walls.[51]

Barlaeus describes the building's interior as dense with exotic ornaments in the form of paintings from China and Japan, foreign weapons, and turtle shells, as well as colonial markers such as maps and images of Dutch possessions. This included images of Batavia, site of the company's headquarters in Asia, as well as the Moluccan Islands and other unnamed cities, harbours, and plants.[52] One of these works Maria de' Medici would have seen in the Great Hall was the painting *View of Ambon* (c. 1617), now preserved in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 3.5).[53] The representations of Batavia and Ambon, which had been the place of residence for the VOC Governor-General from 1611 to 1619, thus visualized the company's history of conquest and possession in the East Indies. From these decorative elements, Barlaeus makes an uninterrupted transition to a description of the spectacle provided by the spices, fabrics, porcelain, and other goods stored within the building. He emphasizes the riches that these goods have brought the city, and significantly stresses the ability of the

East India Company to raise armies and its great military capacities 'to do and cause things, which do not differ much from the power of the greatest monarchs and kings.'[54]

The banquet was held in the building's Great Hall and was, according to Barlaeus, a feast of the senses.[55] The company, as he again states by way of comparison, was able to treat the queen just as well as any king or prince. In addition to more traditional fare such as pheasant, partridge, and boar meat, the banquet included a broad selection of spices and other products from a wide variety of geographical regions, including pepper, mace, nutmeg, cinnamon, but also non-edible items such as incense, silk, and indigo. All these items were presented in large porcelain serving dishes which appeared to form part of the banquet. They were not, as Barlaeus admits, per se meant for consumption, but served primarily to entertain and entice the royal guest.

Elaborate presentations such as the one described can be placed in a long tradition of the preparation and display of festival foods with a primary purpose of providing visual spectacle, rather than to indulge the sense of taste.[56] Yet there was an important political and commercial undertone to the East India Company's presentation. By creating a feast that rivalled those the queen undoubtedly experienced in other, specifically courtly, settings, the company showed it could take on a role traditionally reserved for princely hosts. Barlaeus emphasized the ease with which they were able to do so, by remarking that none of the goods displayed were especially created or obtained for the occasion, but rather 'without excess and waste' formed part of the supplies that were readily available in the company's warehouses on a permanent basis.[57] The capacity of such exotic goods to represent the far-reaching power of those able to get their hands on them was thus employed here to help the city to define its status relative to other global powers in a European diplomatic and courtly context – likely including the Orange court.

These select examples echo the larger argument presented by the decoration programme and Barlaeus's account of the visit, that Amsterdam, as the centre of a maritime empire, could receive and host royal visitors on an equal footing. It is significant that in diplomatic matters, the Republic during this period endeavoured to be treated equal to Venice: a free republic that ranked directly below the European kingdoms, based on the inclusion of the kingdoms of Cyprus and Crete within its territories. The Dutch Republic, following this reasoning, argued for a similar rank due to its own possessions in the East and West Indies.[58] Using the internationally accepted language of ceremony, Amsterdam recognized the relatively weak position of the queen as an opportunity to display, and by way of publication legitimize, the forms of power through which it had achieved a hegemonic position. In this role, the event served not only to broadcast the Republic's relative status among Europe's leadership of kings and princes, but also to affirm Amsterdam's political and economic supremacy at home. This is underscored in particular by customized copies of the festival book's Dutch edition, which include carefully hand-coloured prints, or, presentation copies with additionally inserted prints (fig. 3.6).[59]

3.5

Anonymous, *View of Ambon*.
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. c. 1617.

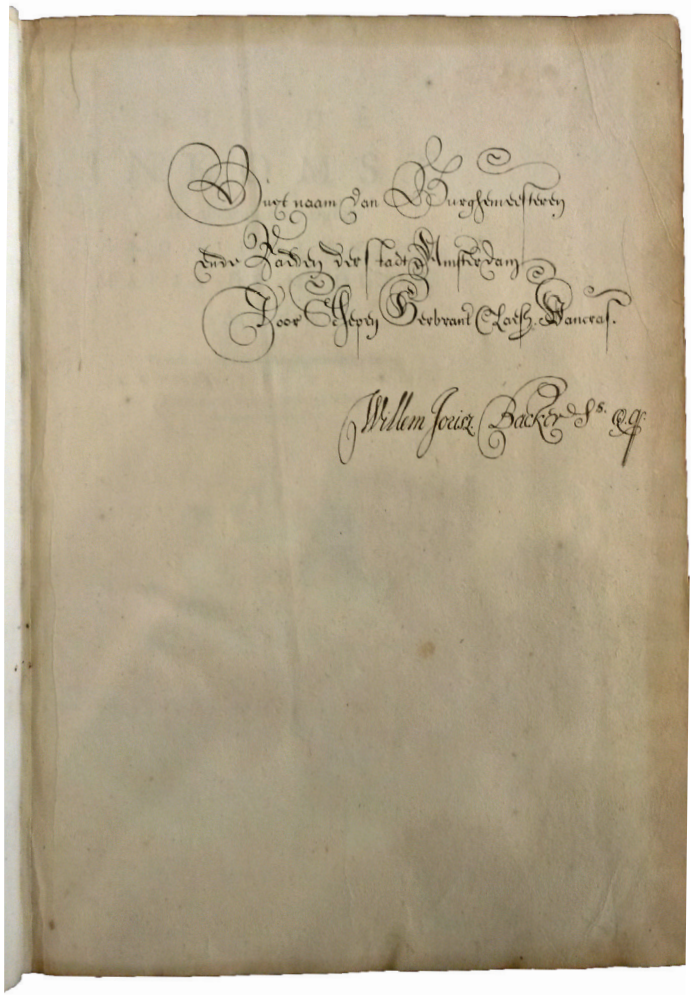
Mary Stuart and William Henry of Orange, 1660

Finally, I will discuss the reception of Mary I Stuart, Royal Princess and widow of Stadtholder William II, and their young son William Henry, Prince of Orange, the future William III. Their entry took place on 15 June 1660, shortly after Mary's brother Charles II had been restored to power by the English Parliament, and ten years into the First Stadtholderless Era (1650–72) in the Dutch Republic. Perhaps surprising in that context, the main visual component of the festival programme was a parade celebrating the Houses of Orange and Stuart, which was devised by poet Jan Vos and took place on 17 June.[60] This included several floats on which the former Orange stadtholders, as well as the young William Henry, were triumphantly impersonated by actors.

As we know from archival sources, the reception took place at the urgent request of the city, which had hoped to receive the soon-to-be restored Charles Stuart, and Mary was clearly received as a representative of her brother.[61] While the intent of the city was thus to utilize the reception as a public platform for international diplomacy, the iconography of the programme, along with the presence of the young Prince William Henry, inevitably entangled the festival's programme and reception in domestic politics. Due to its contents, the programme touched on an ideological rupture between those who envisioned a future of autonomous provinces ruled by a republican elite of merchants, and those who wished to reserve a prominent political and military role for the House of Orange – and in particular, of course, for William Henry.[62] Coming only a decade after an attempted siege of Amsterdam by his father, William II, the manner in which the young prince was represented in the parade had to be carefully conceived in light of the recent past.

The parade consisted of twenty floats carrying *tableaux vivants*, many of which repeated ones that had been devised by Vos one year prior on the occasion of a visit of Stadtholder Frederick Henry's widow Amalia of Solms and their daughters, including Louise Henriette, the Electress of Brandenburg. In 1660 the parade opened with a so-called *Staatcywagen* representing the Dutch Republic, as well as ten floats that highlighted the recent events surrounding the House of Stuart, including a float dedicated to Mary herself. The remainder of the parade consisted of carts also used in the previous year: one representing Concord, six carts focusing on the Orange Nassau family, and finally one dedicated to Gratitude and one to Amsterdam.[63]

The float dedicated to William Henry featured Orangist attributes, like an orange tree, as well as a young phoenix rising from the ashes.[64] A phoenix burning in his nest was present on the float devoted to Frederick Henry: thus presenting



3.6

Large format presentation copy (44 cm) of Barlaeus, *Blijde Inkomste*, with handwritten dedication from Willem Jorisz. Backer to alderman Gerbrand Nicolaesz. Pancras, New York, Public Library, Shelf-mark Neth. 1639, copy 1. 1639. Photo by the author.

William III as a resurrection of his grandfather. The depiction of William as a rising phoenix was a well-known trope in Orangist literature and print culture of the 1650s, but in this capacity he was typically seen as a resurrection of his father, who had died just before his birth.[65] William II, in this case, was subtly passed over. The weight that Vos placed on pedigree in the case of William Henry is furthermore significant because illustrious lineage was a common argument in the contemporary discussion surrounding the future political role of the young prince. While used in Orangist literature as an argument for the demonstrated fitness of the family to serve the country, Vos used the theme here instead as an aid to avoid specific controversies associated with William Henry's father, and instead point specifically to his temperate grandfather as a more suitable model.

While this detail shows that such arguments were crafted very carefully, the 'afterlife' of the event was not as easily mediated. A warning prefacing the 1660 publication of Vos's explicatory verses states that the Amsterdam burgomasters had given publisher Jacob Lescaille a privilege that prohibited others from printing the description, or even woodcuts or engravings

of the parade.[66] It is important to note, then, that in addition to Lescaille's publication, various printed materials describing and picturing the parade started circulating shortly after the reception took place. These materials ranged from cheap prints and pamphlets marketed towards broad segments of the population to songbooks most likely destined for the middle class. The great majority of these materials, however, seem to have catered to local audiences with strong Orangist sympathies. Vos's dramatic programme, which engaged directly with themes and topics derived from such circles, thus seemed to have elicited a strong response from these groups.

A woodblock print, published in Amsterdam by bookseller Michiel de Groot following the visit of Amalia of Solms and her daughters in 1659, provides a schematic overview of the various floats and their iconographic contents.[67] The floats, represented in crude outlines only, are depicted separately in four rows of four framed illustrations. Titles cut within the images, as well as captions based on Vos's published poems printed in moveable type below them, communicate the subject matter in a direct and intuitive manner, making it very suitable to be marketed towards a broad audience. In fact, such characteristics are comparable to the highly affordable genre of catchpenny prints, which would later become an important stock category for the De Groot publishing house.[68]

The images, as well as Vos's descriptions and verses, also appear in a pocket-sized booklet with the title *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtriomfe*, published by De Groot in 1660.[69] Some of De Groot's woodcut blocks of the 1659 *Staatcywagens* were still in use a century later, at which point they had transferred into the possession of the Amsterdam publisher Johannes Kannewet, many of the images at this time replaced by close copies.[70] Comparison furthermore shows that over the span of roughly a century the blocks had been worn down substantially. Especially the image of William I of Orange, which may still be one of the original 1659 blocks, has been damaged almost beyond recognition due to apparent excessive use – revealing the popularity of this figure in particular (figs 3.7–8).[71]

Another set of copies after the images of the sixteen *Staatcywagens* by De Groot can be found in a 1660 anonymous publication with the title *Vreugde Sangh, Ofte verhael vande Stacy-Wagens, Vertoont op den Dam, voor Me-Vrouw de Princesse van Orangje, en haer Soon zijn Hoogheyt de Prince van Orangjen: Op den 17 Iuny, 1660* ('Song of Joy, or the story of the *Staatcywagens*, shown on the Dam Square, before Madame the Princess of Orange, and her Son his Highness the Prince of Orange: On the 17th of June, 1660') (fig. 3.9).[72] The *Vreugde Sangh*, not unlike the *Vreugdtriomfe*, seems to have been intended as a songbook. The occurrence of at least two sets of copies after the *Staatcywagens* woodcuts means that the prints circulated by De Groot were popular enough not only to worry Lescaille, but also to catch the attention of yet other publishers who were willing to invest in the production of counterfeited images.

3.7

Anonymous, *Sixteen Floats Used for the Visit of Amalia of Solms and Louise Henriette to Amsterdam* (detail of float William I), Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1659. Reproduced with the permission of Rijksmuseum Amsterdam.

3.8

Anonymous, *Een yder pronkt alhier op zijne Staten Wagen, de helden van Nassau worde hier ten toon gedragen* […] (detail of float William I), Amsterdam: Johannes Kannewet. Amsterdam, Universiteit van Amsterdam, Bijzondere Collecties. Before 1780. Photo by the author.

But not all responses to the event were celebratory. Vos, who had previously been critical of the stadtholders, was heavily criticized by his more Orangist colleagues. His appropriation of Orangist iconography and language invited scornful responses from authors such as Jan Zoet, who had fostered this form of rhetoric in support of the prince for years.[73] As already pointed out by scholars in the early twentieth century, Vos was ridiculed in several anonymous pamphlets for his apparently wavering attitude towards the princes of Orange, as well as for his inclusion in the 1660 parade of a float that indecorously re-enacted the beheading of Charles I.[74]

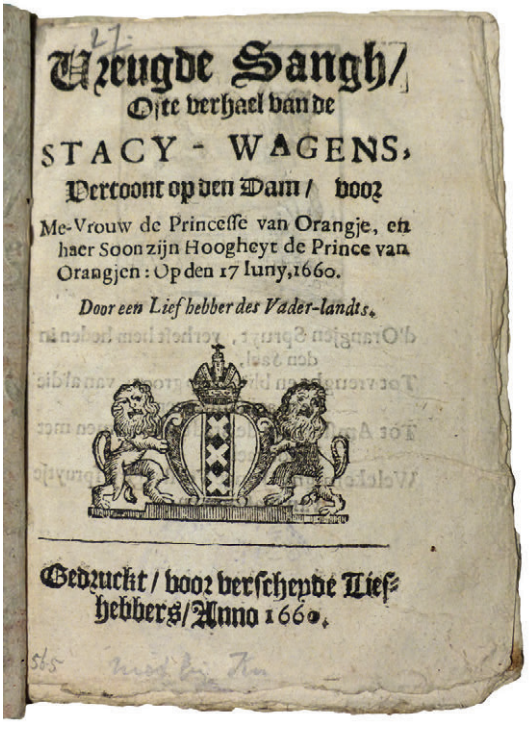
The public sphere of print culture in this case therefore not only informed the content of the ephemeral performances but, as part of an ongoing process of intermedial exchange, also affected their later reception. The public ceremony, as such, while predominantly organized to strengthen the relationship between the city and the restored Stuart monarchy, had the unintended effect of engaging the city in domestic political debates. In this regard, public ceremonial was able to function as a continued platform for the Orange-Nassau dynasty to sustain support for the Orangist cause.

Conclusion

The political purpose of ceremonial entries into Amsterdam during the time of the Republic varied greatly. Initially, entry ceremonial continued to legitimize political leaders, such as William of Orange. During the early stages of the Revolt, this was not surprising. Although republican ideals were present in this period, the reception of governors and stadtholders took place in the context of their (albeit limited) sovereignty and authority. As the seventeenth century progressed, magnificent receptions were increasingly reserved for foreign royalty. These reveal increased considerations of the benefit that such events had for the city's international relations. Such receptions, therefore, should be understood rather as localized iterations of a transnational lexicon of decorum and power, by which the Dutch Republic and Amsterdam articulated their positions and alliances. The importance of Dutch expansionism and its colonial presence in the East and West Indies played an important role in Amsterdam's self-fashioning as a global power.

Another distinguishing feature of Dutch republican ceremonial is its increasingly significant correlation with print culture. With the exception of Barlaeus's *Medicea Hospes* (1638), no elaborate festival publications were commissioned. But artists and publishers recognized the commercial potential of printed depictions of the parades and processions in a market that was eager to revisit such events. The decorative programmes themselves were also increasingly developed in dialogue with print culture, in particular political propaganda and newsprints, as evidenced perhaps most clearly by the 'Orangist' parades organized by Amsterdam in 1659 and 1660.

The decorative programmes, their representation in print, and relevant texts and images circulating in the market, thus participated in a shared visual culture that could both create and dispute narratives about the ideal state and body politic. The hierarchies and power structures that the public displays helped negotiate were derived from materials quite different from the established themes and iconographies that had surrounded the construction of kingship in the context of monarchy. Throughout the period under discussion, however, Amsterdam entries show that the cultural appeal of kingship and royal courtly custom, magnificence, and splendour, remained of great importance – even when adapted and transformed to serve evolving republican interests.


Vreugde Sangh/
Ofte verhael van de
STACY-WAGENS,
Vertoont op den Dam/ voor
Me-Vrouw de Princesse van Orangje, en
haer Soon zijn Hoogheyt de Prince van
Orangjen: Op den 17 Iuny, 1660.
Door een Lief hebber des Vader-landts.
Gedruckt/ voor verschepde Lief-
hebbers/ Anno 1660.

3.9
Anonymous, *Vreugde Sangh, Ofte verhael vande Stacy-Wagens* […] (Title page and floats of William I and Maurice). Amsterdam, Stadsarchief. 1660. Photo by the author.

1 Snoep, *Praal en propaganda*, p. 19; Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan*, p. 258, pp. 263–355 and *passim*.

2 The decoration programmes and political contexts of these and other entries are discussed more fully in Van de Meerendonk, 'Public Displays of Affection'.

3 Kipling, *Enter the King*.

4 Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*; Thøfner, *A Common Art*.

5 Huizinga saw the medieval festival culture at the Burgundian court as having lost its primary meaning already in the fifteenth century: Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages*. Later authors, including Gordon Kipling and Peter Arnade, likewise signalled a change in the ritualistic significance and functioning of such events, but placed this development rather in the first half of the sixteenth century: Kipling, *Enter the King*; Arnade, *Realms of Ritual*. Roy Strong and Derk Snoep, at least in the case of the Southern Netherlands, trace a similar change as late as the first half of the seventeenth century: Strong, *Art and Power*; Snoep, *Praal en propaganda*, p. 14. Strong differentiates between the developments in southern and northern Europe. While he argues the shift towards absolutism was completed in Italy and France by the late sixteenth century, he identifies the 1635 entry of Ferdinand into Antwerp as the last in a long tradition of *Blijde Inkomste*, ceremonies that still constituted a meaningful moment of dialogue between the ruler and cities above the Alps. Edward Muir also distinguishes between the localized interpretations of various ritual models in Europe's monarchies and principalities, but identifies a more overarching development of a rational critique of ritual in the sixteenth century that sets the stage for a deritualization process in the eighteenth century that responds to the 'empty' rituals of absolutism: Muir, *Ritual*, pp. 294–301.

6 Peters, 'Den gheheelen loop des weerelts'; Thøfner, *A Common Art*; Bussels, *Rhetoric, Performance and Power*; Knaap and Putnam, *Art, Music, and Spectacle*; Cholcman, *Art on Paper*. For a broader consideration of the various forms and functions of festival publications, see: Canova-Green and others, *Writing Royal Entries*.

7 A brief synopsis is provided by Becker, 'Entries, fireworks and religious festivities'. See also Uitman, 'Les fêtes baroques'. Public diplomacy is a central consideration in Bram van Leuveren's ongoing research project 'Public Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Theatrical Entertainments for the State Journeys of English and French Royals into the Low Countries, 1577-1642'.

8 The arrival in this manner is described in an unillustrated account, *Incomste* (Knuttel pamphlet no. 530).

9 *Incomste*; The manner of entry can also be deduced from decrees issued, which demand the relocation of ships and market stalls from the Damrak and inner harbour area, as well as restricted access to the bridges and streets that would form part of the processional route: Stadsarchief Amsterdam (SAA) 5020, inv. no. 10, fol. 210r, decrees dated 9 March 1580 and 14 March 1580.

10 In 1549 large ships that were anchored in the outer IJ harbour were ordered to stay there until after the entry had been concluded: Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan*, p. 270.

11 The whale was painted by an artist listed in city ledgers as Jacob Lenaertsz: SAA 5039, inv. no. 74, fol. 183r. This same vessel, or at least a very similar one, appears to have been repeatedly used in the following decades during subsequent entries into the city: Van de Meerendonk, 'Public Displays of Affection', p. 26, note 44.

12 *Incomste* 1580.

13 *Incomste* 1580.

14 Houwaert, *Declaratie*, pp. 34–36. Houwaert describes that additional sea gods and goddesses, including Neptune, were planned but not finished in time for the prince's arrival two days ahead of schedule.

15 Water jousts had also been organized during the 1521 visit of Christian II of Denmark, and were also held in 1638 on the third day of festivities for Marie de' Medici's reception of 1638: Breen, 'Het eerste bezoek', pp. 63–81, esp. p. 71. See also Van de Meerendonk, 'Public Displays of Affection', pp. 118–19.

16 William of Orange stayed at the residence of the wealthy merchant and burgomaster Dirck Jansz. Graeff, located in the Warmoesstraat across from the Papenbrugsteeg: Breen, 'Het eerste bezoek', pp. 71–72. The reception by burgomasters at the town hall was furthermore followed by a muster of city troops: *Incomste*.

17 For the gifts of moose skins, shields, and hats presented to William of Orange and his halberds in 1580, see SAA 5039, inv. no. 74, fols. 117v, 185r; also Breen, 'Het eerste bezoek', pp. 65–66. The illumination is mentioned in the *Incomste*. Lantern maker Mouris Harmensz was paid 11 guilders and 5 stuivers for 160 lanterns: SAA 5039, inv. no. 74, fols. 186r-v.

18 Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, pp. 166–212.

19 Swart discusses these as important motivations for Orange's trip to the northern provinces in the spring of 1580: Swart, *Willem van Oranje*, pp. 206–07, pp. 210–11.

20 SAA 5025, inv. no. 4, fol. 103v: 'the councilors advise in the interest of the defence of the provinces that his Excellence, as a prince proven faithful to Christ, will quickly be offered the authority & sovereignty over the united provinces […] and also that his princely Count in Holland will be entrusted with all the domains & the same obedience as was given to the Count of Holland' ('duncken den Raeden Raetsaem ter defensie vanden Landen dat men zyn Ex.e als een Christen getrouwen versocht furst die hoocheyt & Souveraniteijt vande geunieerde provincien zall daedelick aenbyeden […] Mitsgaders dat zyne f. G.in Holl[an]t allen den domeynen toegevoucht & zulcke obedientie gedaen zal worden als den Grave van Holl[an]t is gedaen').

21 SAA 5025, inv. no. 4, fol. 103v: 'and in case his Excellence refuses, the aforementioned councilors amended the aforementioned resolution, understanding that the delegates of this city in the session in The Hague will be allowed to conform with the majority of the most prominent cities of the States of Holland' ('ende zoo zyne Ex.e die refuseert den voorn Raeden veranderen had de voorn Resolutie verstaen dat den Gecomitteerde deser stede inden haeghe ter dachvaert reysen[de] hen zullen mogen accomoderen mette meerder stemen van machtichste provincien & vanden Staten van Hollt').

22 *Incomste*. Gherrit Henrycksz Vos, artillery master of the city, was paid 300 guilders and 5 stuivers for his work during the entry festivities, which included the 'devising & decorating of the two castles at the Papenbrug' ('het opmacken & stoffieren van de twe Casteelen op die papenbrugh': SAA 5039, inv. no. 74, fol. 181v).

23 SAA 5025, inv. no. 4, fol. 102v: 'Item en zall oick die van Antwerpen geen preeminentie off authoriteyt & oirseacke van bedroch toegelaten worden daertoe zy altyt hebben getracht'.

24 *Incomste*. The total of eight scenes, four each for the likely rectangular houses, are described in verses that provide cues for a visual interpretation, such as a repeated introductory 'here one sees' addressing and alerting the reader in several verses as a potential viewer. The first verse of the four scenes of the tyranny of Alba explicitly states that 'in this painting all can see clearly' ('In dese schilderije mach elck claer sien […]').

25 Horst, 'The Duke of Alva,' pp. 25–37 and cat. nos 17, 18, and 19 in Horst and Tanis, eds, *Images of Discord*; Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit*, pp. 137–39, 182–85, 193–97.

26 This was particularly true for the text framed as an 'advice' from the city of Amsterdam to William, *Incomste*. See also Van de Meerendonk, 'Public Displays of Affection', pp. 36–38.

27 Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan*.

28 For the development of a significant negotiation process regarding (new) rights and privileges in exchange for monetary support, held between the States of Holland and Zeeland and the Counts both preceding and surrounding joyous entries during the pre-Revolt era, see Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan*, pp. 356–67.

29 Often cited, this anecdote however deserves to be treated in a more nuanced manner. It is reported in Aitzema, *Saken van staet*, II, p. 540. See also Snoep, *Praal en propaganda*, p. 40. The decision, however, was revisited on 17 August, following the intervention of Stadtholder Frederick Henry, who suggested through two friendly delegates, Johan van der Camer of Holland and Johan de Knuyt of Zeeland, that Marie and the most esteemed members of her entourage would be provided with a daily meal at the costs of the Generality, given that the country 'had received much favour, benefit and courtesy' from the queen: Aitzema, *Saken van staet*, II, p. 541. In addition, a ranked list of her entourage would be created and sent to guide the appropriate level of accommodations for various parties. The States of Holland, in their own resolution of 28 August, instructed the cities of Haarlem, Amsterdam, and Leiden, to receive, lodge, and treat the queen 'as the dignity of the land [Holland] required' ('Soo vinden wij goet uwe E. daer van advertentie te geven ten eijnde de selve verdacht mogen sijn om haer sulcx te ontfangen, ende doen logeren ende tracteren, als hare digniteijt ende d'ere van 't Landt vereijst'): Nationaal Archief (NA) 3.01.04.01, inv. no. 1389, fol. 64v. Amsterdam Burgomasters had already agreed to joyously receive and host Marie de' Medici in a resolution dated 18 August, while acknowledging instructions from the States General were forthcoming, see note 31.

30 Barlaeus, *Medicea hospes*; Barlaeus, *Marie de Medicis entrant*; Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*.

31 SAA 5024 *Burgomasters Resolutions*, inv. no. 1, fol. 188r: '[…] soo ten insichte van hare Mts hooge afkomste alliantien en merite, als om dat dese stadt int' particulier daer aen gelegen is, dat een personagie de welcks moeder is in die Coninckrijcken ende landen, daer groots commercis van hier op valt, ende alwaer de coopluyden ende ander ingesetenen van dese Stadt dickwils groot faveur vandoen hebben, betamelyck en eerbiedich wert bejegent'. The strategy to honour (foreign) queens with a ceremonial entry in order to persuade them to use their intercessory power and political influence in the interests of the city had precedents for instance in France, where in 1548 Anna d'Este, Duchess of Ferrara, was received in this way: Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries*, pp. 173–74.

32 McCartney, 'A Widow's Tears'; Osborne, 'A Queen Mother in Exile'.

33 Heringa, *De eer en hoogheid van staat*.

34 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, 'Toe-Eigeninge', unpag.

35 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 2: '[…] de Stadt, die door Gods genade groot en uitsteeckende is […] Voorwaer zoo groot een Vrouw was wel waerdigh in zoo groot een Stadt onthaelt te worden, en zoo groot een Stadt niet onwaerdigh om zoo groot een Vrouw t'onthaelen'.

36 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 2.

37 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 2.

38 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 2: 'Slaen wy onze oogen op de Koningin, zoo zien wy eene die gebod en gezagh over heel Vranckrijck hadde, voor ons staen. Slaen wy onze oogen op de Stadt, zoo zien wy een Koopstadt van de gansche weereld'. For an in-depth analysis of the 'Koopstadt' trope in regards to Amsterdam, see Swan, *Rarities*, pp. 31–57.

39 Barlaeus cites Boreel, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 7. According to Jean Puget de la Serre 'The Queen submitted herself to the judgment of His *Altesse*, who considered it opportune to make use of the carriage, to avoid the nuisance of the wind which one could encounter in the boat' ('La Reyne se remit au jugement de son Altesse, qui trouvant a propos de se server du carrosse, pour évitter l'incommodité du vent qu'on pourroit rencontrer dans la chaloupe'): Puget de La Serre, *Histoire De L'entrée*, unpag.

40 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 8. At least since the entry of Philip II in 1549 all ceremonial entries into the city had taken place by water. See Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan*, pp. 270, 285; Van de Meerendonk, 'Public Displays of Affection', p. 24.

41 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 15. See also Van de Meerendonk, 'Public Displays of Affection', p. 25.

42 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 13.

43 Barlaeus, *Blyde* inkomst, p. 14: 'Maer al dit toestel ruste dien dagh, en den dagh daer aen, om dat de Koningin voorgenomen hadde langs eenen anderen wegh in Stad te komen'.

44 For the repeated use of the Neptune and Maiden of Amsterdam pageants, see Van de Meerendonk, 'Public Displays of Affection', pp. 25–27, 116.

45 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, pp. 29–30. While Berecynthia, or Cybele, was often depicted with lions, the scene also recalls Peter Paul Rubens's painting in the Medici cycle depicting the Meeting at Lyon in the Louvre, Paris.

46 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 31.

47 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 30.

48 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 31.

49 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*: 'O groote Koningin, sla overal uw oogen. Mijn kercken, mijn gebouw, en torens trots van stand, mijn havens dicht bezet getuigen mijn vermogen. Ick zwerf den aerboom om, te water en te land. De beide weerelden my haer schenckagien stieren, en d'oude, en nieuwe word hier op haer prijs gestelt'.

50 As indicated on the prints. The preparatory drawings by Moeyaert's hand have been preserved, and are in the collection of the Hermitage, St Petersburg.

51 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, pp. 39–40, 42–43.

52 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, pp. 37–38.

53 Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, pp. 270–71. For the important representational function of the *View of Ambon* in particular, see Glickman, 'The Company One Keeps'.

54 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, pp. 38–39: 'die niet veel verscheelen van de maght der allergrootste Vorsten en Koningen'.

55 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, pp. 40–43. Barlaeus also wrote to Joachim Wicquefort on 16 September 1638 that 'The directors of the East India Company treated her in a remarkable and extraordinary manner. As a dish, she was served all the kinds of spices that the Orient produces, some of which were pleasant for their taste, others for their smell, others for their color, and yet others for all these qualities together.' ('Excepere eam rariore convivio Praefecti Societatis Indiae, quae ad Orientem mercatur. Pro ferculis fuere omnis generis aromata, quae Aurora mittit, quorum alia sapore, alia odore, alia colore, alia omnibus simul placer poterant.') Barlaeus, *Epistolarum liber*, p. 240.

56 On this topic see Reed, *The Edible Monument*, esp. pp. 13–14 for the use of less than tasty, but visually spectacular food items, such as peacocks.

57 Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst*, p. 42: 'zonder overdaed en verquisting'.

58 The conquests of territories from kingdoms and sultanates in the East Indies, including the Sultanates of Mataram, Banten, and Ternate, were evidently deemed of great importance to arguments constructed to appeal for higher diplomatic ranking of the Dutch republic. In correspondence and resolutions, state officials refer to the sovereignty and authority of the King of Spain as having transferred to the States General following the Revolt, and since then 'spread out over many lands and peoples in the East and West Indies' ('verder verbreyt over veele Landen ende Volckeren in Oost en West-Indien'). Heringa cites communications of 1621, 1634, 1635 as well as the 'Ceremoniaal' of 26 November 1639 (see also Aitzema, *Saken van staet*, II, p. 624) and a letter to Johan de Witt dated 1667 in which this argument is made explicitly. Heringa, *De eer en hoogheid van staat*, pp. 263–64.

59 New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, Neth. 1639 c. 1 on large format with Muller no. 1790 inserted, and c. 2 (Avery copy) with hand-coloured etchings. Getty Research Institute, acc. no. 95-B963 cop. 1 with hand-coloured prints.

60 A detailed account of the visit is preserved in manuscript form: Universiteitsbibliotheek Amsterdam Hs. 114, 'Journaal van de Reijsen naar Amst& op het inhalen van haar Hoogheden aldaar', n.d. [1660]. Previously unidentified, the journal can be attributed to William's council and secretary Laurens Buijsero. Koninklijk Huisarchief inv. no. A16-V-18, correspondence of Laurens Buijsero 1650–1667, contains many letters in the same handwriting, letters nos 34, 42, 67, 70, 75, 78, 84, 88, 98, 107–09, 115, 121–23, 149, 173, 180, 188, 189.

61 Amsterdam delegates on 21 May proposed a reception in their city of Charles II, his brother the Duke of York, his sister Mary Stuart, and his nine-year-old son William III: SAA 2025 inv. no. 23: *Vroedschapsresoluties* 1660 February 18–1663 April 6, fol. 25r. In preparation for the king's visit, Jan Vos designed a programme consisting of four *tableaux vivants*, which were to be staged on triumphal arches: Vos, *Alle de Gedichten*, II, pp. 636–39. An anonymous pamphlet reports these ephemeral structures ('Triumphstellagien of vierkante bogen') had even been erected: Naeranus, *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout*, p. 5. The far-advanced plans on behalf of the city are also mentioned by Joan Huydecoper Jr., writing in a letter dated 27 May of that year (1660) that 'we are expecting him here, and to this end great preparations have been made, various triumphal arches, [and] he will be lodged in the town hall.' UA 67: *Inventaris van het archief van de familie Huydecoper 1459–1956*, inv. no. 56. The English monarch, however, ended up leaving the Republic on 2 June without paying the anticipated visit to Amsterdam, a course of events that he blamed afterwards on the pressing affairs of his kingdom: SAA 2026 Archive of the Burgomasters: Missives, inv. no. 26: England. Letter dated 16 August 1660. On 4 June, two days after Charles II had taken leave from the Republic, the Amsterdam *vroedschap* once more convened to discuss the matter of a formal reception, but this time of Mary Stuart and her son. The council agreed to urgently invite Mary and William to visit Amsterdam on their way to France, with the assurance that their welcome to the city would be 'utmost pleasing': SAA 2025 inv. no. 23: *Vroedschapsresoluties* 1660 February 18 – 1663 April 6, fol. 26v.

62 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 748–66; Troost 2005, 8–10; Stern, *Orangism*, pp. 1–29. For a good summary of the scholarly debate regarding the structures of Orangist and States parties and/or factions, see also: Groenveld, *Regeren in de Republiek*. For the political and popular sentiments during 1659–60 in particular, see Broekman and Helmers, 'Het hart des offraers'; also Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*.

63 Vos, *Beschrijving der vertooningen*.

64 See Vos, *Alle de Gedichten*, I, p. 620 (description of the float dedicated to Frederick Henry): '[The twelfth chariot] is constructed on the lower part of all sorts of weaponry; in the back Hercules' club, from which a hat is hanging; in the front a phoenix, that is burning on its nest' ('[De twaalfde wagen] is het onderste deel van allerleie wapentuig; achter vertoont zich Herkules knots, daar een hoedt op hangt; voor een fenix, die op zijn nest verbrandt').

65 Stern, *Orangism*, p. 75.

66 'The […] Burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam have given Jacob Lescaille a special consent, that no one may print this Description […], nor cut the same displays in wood or copper, at risk of prosecution' ('De Wel-Eed. Eed. Gr. Achtb. Heeren Burgemeesteren der stadt Amsterdam, hebben aan Jacob Lescaille speciaal consent gegeven, dat niemant dese Beschrijving der Vertooningen op de Staatcywagens sal mogen drukken, noch de selve Vertooningen in hout of koper snijden, op pene van arbitrale correctie. Actum 9 Junii, 1660': Vos, *Beschrijving der vertooningen*, unp. page following frontispiece. The registers of temporary ordinances, or *Keurboeken*, have not been preserved for this period.

67 Van der Stolk no. 2266, Muller no. 2144.

68 Jongema, 'Honderd jaar uitgeven', pp. 33–38; Boerma and others, *Kinderprenten*, pp. 187–88.

69 *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtriomfe*.

70 A catchpenny print with the title *Een yder pronkt alhier op zijne Staten Wagen, de helden van Nassau worde hier ten toon gedragen*, Johannes Kannewet, Amsterdam. The print is not dated, but this publisher was active from 1723 to 1780. See Boerma and others, *Kinderprenten*, pp. 203–05, 767–72, esp. p. 769 cat. no. *K42. On the processes for copying woodblock designs with preservation of orientation, see Landau and Parshall, *The Renaissance Print*, pp. 22–23.

71 That both prints can be traced back to the same block can be established by a close visual comparison, showing similarities in the shadows and clouds of the prints despite differences in appearance that could be explained by damages and repairs to the block. It is further supported by the observation by Boerma that Kannewet seems to have come into possession of much of the De Groot stock. For this see Boerma and others, *Kinderprenten*, p. 188. The Kannewet print shows clear differences compared with the images in the 1660 *Vreugde Sangh* pamphlet, discussed below.

72 SAA 15030, Library, inv. no. 152205.

73 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, pp. 414–15, 419–23, 433–36.

74 For an overview of the various critical pamphlets following the 1660 *Staatcywagens*, see Kossmann, 'De polemiek'; Worp, 'Nog iets angaande de polemiek'; Smits-Veldt, '17 juni 1660'; Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, pp. 438–41; Geerdink, *Dichters en Verdiensten*, pp. 64–65, 202–03.

4

Stijn Bussels
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ANIMATING THE AMSTERDAM TOWN HALL

The Amsterdam Town Hall is frequently discussed as the ultimate showcase for the prosperity and the prestige of the seventeenth-century city of commerce, as well as for the excellence of its rulers. Over the course of the previous two centuries, town halls across the Low Countries had indeed established their role as tokens of republicanism through which rich cities expressed themselves as city states. This chapter will clarify that the Amsterdam Town Hall continued this tradition, but developed new means of persuasion to proclaim the power of the city and her burgomasters. To do this, we shift focus beyond the building itself, investigating instead a considerable number of the hundred laudatory poems and the hundreds of images of the building that had started to appear even earlier than its construction works (initiated in 1648), going on until long after its inauguration in 1655. By emphasizing the visual and textual representations of the building we want to point out that through these different media the building's overwhelming impact not only became a topic of discussion, but was given additional power and meaning. Texts and images presented the building as a living being. Thus, the Town Hall was more than a mere showcase: artists and writers presented it as a supernatural force that supported the city and the municipality in acquiring eternal fame.

By looking at texts and images praising the Town Hall in order to 'construct' the building even further, so going beyond the actual construction, we follow Louis Marin's idea of the 'composite portrait' as he discusses it in his *Portrait du Roi*.[1] Marin is essentially concerned with texts and images which despite their variety can be brought together to study how Louis XIV was defined as the King of France. Marin concentrates on medals designed by the Petite Académie and links these to diverse texts, such as La Fontaine's fables, Pascal's *Pensées*, Louis's memoirs, as well as Félibien's description of Versailles.[2] By bringing these sources together a portrait of the king can be brought to the fore, of course not a real painted portrait, but a construction of texts and images that create a multifaceted, powerful image of the king. Similarly, an ensemble of texts and images of the Town Hall can be studied together to construct the portrait of that building which at the same time serves as a portrait of Amsterdam and the municipality. To put it more concretely, in what follows we will show just how poems, drawings, prints, and paintings construct the building as a living being in order to concisely and powerfully define the rich city and its government.

In the beginning

Historians and architectural historians have for decades devoted attention to historical predecessors of the Amsterdam Town Hall. Thomas Fröschl, for example, pointed to the fact that the town halls in the late medieval and early modern cities of the Low Countries have to be seen 'als Sinnzeichen eines wie immer gearteten "republikanische" Inhalts, einer republikanischen Idee'.[3] The town halls were eminent means for the cities to present themselves as sovereign city states and to minimize or even neglect the importance of higher political structures, from the Burgundian-Habsburg rule to the political embedding in the provinces and the States General. Recently, Nathan van Kleij has clarified in his dissertation that we also have to look beyond the facades of

4.1
Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, *The Dam in Amsterdam*, Antwerp, KMSK. 1668. Courtesy of the KMSK Antwerp. Detail of fig. 4.3.

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4.2
Jacob van der Ulft, *Idealized View on Dam Square*, Amsterdam, Collection Atlas Splitgerber, City Archives. 1653. Public domain.

the buildings. He showed that fifteenth-century town halls functioned as public spaces that were not only utilitarian, but also carried symbolic meaning to underline the *res publica* of the city.[4]

In line with such findings, scholars concentrating on the Amsterdam Town Hall have put forward that the building was more than a series of rooms to execute political, juridical, and administrative responsibilities.[5] Katharine Fremantle's monograph on the building, *The Baroque Town Hall*, retains – more than sixty years after its publication – its relevance. She emphasizes that the building was designed as a statement, made in visual terms but comparable to a vast oration, concerning the city's history and status, its civic life, and the ideals of its government. It was to testify to the city's glory and to its civic virtues, and in doing so was to confirm and encourage them. This statement was expressed — more completely than its makers can have realized — by means of the relation of the building to its surroundings and of its arrangement and use, and in terms of its symbolic decoration, of its architectural and sculptural forms, and of the baroque design of its decorative scheme, in which the citizens who visited the building or did business or worked there were themselves included.[6]

Pieter Vlaardingerbroek elaborates on the idea of the building as a public statement by scrutinizing how step by step the burgomasters and the architect van Campen constructed 'the Palace of the Republic'.[7] The further the plans and the

actual construction evolved, the more the burgomasters grew in confidence, as the building strengthened their position and the status of the city. If we look at the years before the laying of the foundation stone in 1648, Vlaardingerbroek points out that they made an increasing budget available and expropriated more and more houses to enlarge the building plot, all in order to reinforce their building's palatial grandeur. Moreover, at the very start, the proposed designs show that the burgomasters had the choice of what statements the building would make. One of the proposals, by Philips Vingboons, for example, was inspired by Michelangelo's Palazzo Senatorio on the Capitoline Hill, thus emphasizing republican Rome as a predecessor of the city's rule. However, this reference faded into the background in favour of allusions to the Bible. In the design of Van Campen and in the actual construction, an aura of biblical rule prevailed over republican references by expressing characteristics of the Temple and especially the Palace of King Solomon, as found in the imaginative, but influential reconstructions by the Spanish Jesuit Juan Bautista Villalpando. Van Campen himself makes this reference explicit in his preface to a publication on the sculpted interior of the Town Hall by writing that just as once the Queen of Sheba was overwhelmed by the wisdom and grandeur of the biblical ruler as expressed in his magnificent Temple and Royal Palace, all visitors to the Town Hall are filled with awe for the extraordinary accomplishments of the Amsterdam burgomasters.[8]

Next to the church

If we take the references to the Temple and Palace of King Solomon into further consideration, new light can be shed on a drawing by Jacob van der Ulft dated 1653 upon which many later drawings, prints, and paintings were to be based (fig. 4.2). In the drawing we see the building in a finished state, which was far from reality in that year. Next to the Town Hall we see that the New Church has a high tower. Thus, Van der Ulft shows the plans that were made after a fire in the church in 1645, but were never carried further than the foundation and the first ten metres of the tower. The drawing is often used as an illustration of the fierce fight between the advocates of a grand Town Hall and the so-called 'religious faction' in the city government, headed by Burgomaster Willem Cornelis Backer, which was in favour of crowning the New Church with the highest tower in the Dutch Republic.[9] On the surface the fight was about how to spend the financial means available, but the real conflict was about whether Calvinism or the commercial spirit was the most important characteristic of the city.

However, Van der Ulft made the drawing a year after Backer's death, which was also the year when the construction work on the tower stopped. We can see the drawing as an attempt to promote the restart of the construction, but also to avoid placing the tower in immediate competition with the Town Hall. Just as with Solomon's Royal Palace and Temple, 'the Palace of the Republic' and the highest church tower in the Republic reinforce each other in supporting a harmonious society in an ideal future. The draughtsman presents the planned tower shoulder to shoulder with the Town Hall, both in full completion, to show how religion and civic rule go hand in hand. The style of the two drawn buildings is different, as would have been the style of the actual buildings, reflecting the difference in their functions, a religious and a governmental one.[10] However, van der Ulft uses the same colours for both buildings and brings the two together as a perfect match.

Since other draughtsmen, as well as printmakers and painters copied and adapted this drawing time and again for over a century, it has profoundly marked the 'composite portrait' of the building. In most of these images the tower has disappeared, as the plans were increasingly covered with dust.[11] But van der Ulft is influential in connecting the Town Hall with its direct environment, Dam Square. The square was named after the legendary dam in the river Amstel where fishermen once settled, thus founding Amstel-dam. On this respectable place, van der Ulft and his followers stage Amsterdam citizens, as well as people from foreign countries, involved in trade. Merchandise is supplied by boat. It is sold on the market stands or weighed in the Weigh House and then carried in all directions. Further, the square is populated by patricians (*regenten*) in their traditional white collars, black cloaks, and black hats immersed in peaceful conversation.

So, on the very spot where it had all started for Amsterdam, Van der Ulft shows people involved in governing and trading. They are harmoniously shown together with the Town Hall to be, as if the building were indeed guarding their very activities. Many artists have followed Van der Ulft in visualizing the Town Hall as the guardian of an idealized, harmonious Amsterdam society. However, as we will indicate, more was going on than mere spectatorship: artists in

4.3
Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde,
The Dam in Amsterdam, Antwerp, KMSK.
1668. Courtesy of the KMSK Antwerp.

fact experimented in showing the building as the embodiment of civic rule. In what follows, we will discuss how artists created images of the building that contemporary viewers could see as a grand living being closely related to the power of the city and its rulers.

A portrait by Berckheyde

Amongst the most famous examples of Van der Ulft's influence are several paintings by Gerrit Berckheyde. No fewer than thirty-six works by him depicting the Town Hall are preserved.[12] One of the earliest of these, now in the Royal Museum of Fine Arts in Antwerp, dates from 1668 (figs 4.1 and 4.3).[13] Like Van der Ulft, this painter shows the vivacity of groups of people immersed in conversation and trade on Dam square. Berckheyde uses painterly techniques to the full in order to visuaize the palatial allures of the Town Hall. Just as in the drawing of Van der Ulft, the viewpoint is chosen in such a way that the Weigh House blocks most of the New Church. But due to the fact that the tower has disappeared, Berckheyde gives full prominence to the Town Hall. Further in contrast with Van der Ulft, he places the Weigh House in deep shadow while throwing full light and a lighter, more varied shadow on the Town Hall. He makes the most of the whiteness of the latter's facade by contrasting it with the dark stone of the former. Berckheyde enhances the prominence of the corner and middle bays by bringing them further forward than they are in the actual building. He also carefully represents the colossal composite columns running over two floors, as well as the splendid festoons in between the floors. This all results in a rich play of chiaroscuro. Besides, the painter pays attention to the fact that the pediment is sculpted in stone whiter than the rest of the facade. In this way, the building is monumentalized into a palace.

Besides the emphasis on the building's monumentality, the building is 'portrayed', as it seems to have characteristics

similar to those of human sitters. Thanks to the perspective used, the Town Hall appears to recline a little. Thus, the central bay and the carillon suggest a human head that is proudly held high. It is also remarkable that the vanishing point of the perspective is not in the middle, but has moved slightly to the left. Due to this shift away from the centre, the building seems to turn a little in order to look in a certain direction. The idea of the Town Hall being portrayed as a person is certainly not new; it was suggested in the laudatory poem *On the Town Hall of Amsterdam painted by the illustrious Painter Gerrit Berckheyden of Haarlem* (*Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam, Geschildert door den vermaerden Schilder Gerrit Berckheyden van Haerlem*). The poem was written by Pieter Rixtel, a townsman of the painter, and published in 1669, just a year after the painting was done.[14] Only a few modern art and literary historians have read the poem, and if they have done so, they have labelled it 'a long verse full of clichés' ('een lang en clichématig vers').[15] However, in our opinion Rixtel's laudatory poem is totally the opposite: it is a clever play in which architecture, portraiture, and poetry are closely connected.

At the very start of the poem, Rixtel observes that in Berckheyde's painting the building is painted from the 'shoulders' and writes that this is done precisely in the same way as persons might lift up their head proudly, since in the painting the Town Hall raises 'bravely the Marble Crown of His Head, on Shoulders of White Freestone' ('moediger zijn Marm're Kruyn, op Schouderen van Witte Arduyn').[16] By accentuating these materials, Rixtel brings not only painted portraits to mind, but marble portrait busts as well. The seventeenth-century reader could have thought of the busts of the burgomasters by the sculptor of the decorations of the Town Hall, Artus Quellinus, or by sculptors from his studio. Frits Scholten and Michael Hoyle have shown that in the 1660s the burgomasters appropriated more and more aristocratic and even royal trappings with their busts, coming closer and closer to examples by Bernini.[17]

A phoenix

After a few introductory verses, Rixtel uses a prominent means of his own medium, the stylistic device of personification, to the full to animate the building. The poet transforms the Town Hall into a living being directly addressing the reader to speak about his portrait. The speaking building praises Berckheyde for – among other qualities – showing how 'the Sun caresses my Brow' ('de Zon my 't Voorhooft streelt'). However, it is far from easy to grasp what kind of living being is actually speaking here. It is not evident if the reader is listening to an animated object, a living human, or a supernatural being. This ambiguity comes directly to the fore when the personification of the Town Hall presents himself to the reader:

> I am, from the Ashes of my Predecessor,
> Risen up like a Phoenix,
> When he, while the Dam was being roasted,
> Stormed and devoured by the Flame,
> Saw how his Sparks filled the Air,
> The Roof, and the Tower, faltered,
> And crashed, as a Thunder,
> With Wall, and Facades, down,
> On the street, while the Stones,
> Bewail his glowing Downfall
> And groan for the heavy thud,
> That broke even the hardest Rocks.
>
> Ik ben, uyt Voorzaets rokende Asschen,
> Gelyck een Phaenix, op-gewasschen,
> Toen hy, by t' roosten van de Dam,
> Bestormt, verslonden, door de Vlam,
> Zyn Vonken zagh de Lught vervollen,
> Het Dak, en Tooren, suysse-bollen,
> En storten, als een Donder, neer,
> Met Muur, en Gevelen, om-veer,
> Op Straet geploft, terwijl de Steenen,
> Zyn gloeyende ondergangh beweenen,
> En steenen om dien swaren smak,
> Die selfs de hartse Keyen brak.[18]

In a direct address to the reader, the Town Hall describes himself as a phoenix. In Christian theology, the phoenix served to symbolize Christ's resurrection. In a similar vein, Rixtel interprets the ashes of the old Town Hall in 1652. Its burning down became part of Amsterdam's collective memory, as it had been eternalized in countless descriptions and images by, among other writers and artists, Joost van de Vondel and Rembrandt van Rijn (fig. 4.4).[19] In his comparison with the phoenix, however, Rixtel has to deal with the fact that the old Town Hall is not a living body that dies to give life to his new body, but inanimate architecture that is destroyed. He has to animate the old building and even uses this to his advantage. The speaking Town Hall places himself explicitly in a direct

4.4

Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Old Town Hall after the Fire*, Amsterdam, Museum Het Rembrandthuis. 1652.

4.5

Pieter Jansz. Saenredam, *The Old Town Hall of Amsterdam,* Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum. 1657. Public domain.

4.6
Gerrit Adriaensz Berckheyde, *The Dam in Amsterdam*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1672. Public domain.

sequence with his so-called 'Voorzaet', which means 'ancestor', as well as the 'predecessor in an office, in a government'.[20] So, by using this word, the new building and the old are animated as living bodies that hold an office.

Directly after his reference to the phoenix, Rixtel lets the Town Hall speak about a second portrait, not of his current body, like the one by Berckheyde, but of his previous body, the medieval building. The portrait of the old Town Hall to which the poet refers is by Pieter Saenredam and is now on display in the Gallery of Honour at the Rijksmuseum, but was in the seventeenth century prominently hung in the Burgomasters' Chamber of the new Town Hall (fig. 4.5).[21] He lets the speaking Town Hall discuss this painting:

> That old Building, demolished by Fire,
> Laid for a long time in Ashes and Debris,
> And was no longer mentioned, if
> Its view would not have been visible on Panel
> With Saenredam's Brush and Paint:
> This Saving-Spirit, let him, before he died,
> Reborn, and before he was subjected,
> He took him from the Death, who destroys it all.
>
> Dat oudt Gebouw, gesloopt aen Vonken,
> Lagh langh in Assche, en Puyn, versonken,
> En wiert niet meer genoemt, indien
> Het sigh niet op 't Paneel liet zien,
> Door Saenredams Pençeel en Verven:
> Die Spaer-Geest, heeft het, voor zyn sterven,
> Herbooren, en, eer 't lagh gebukt,
> De Doodt, die 't al vernielt, ontrukt.[22]

Just as a deceased person is kept alive thanks to his or her portrait, the speaking Town Hall holds that Saenredam has successfully kept the old Town Hall alive. Thanks to the painting hanging in the chamber of the burgomasters, the respectability of the old Town Hall is physically incorporated in the succeeding embodiment of civic rule, the new Town Hall. The old phoenix had to die for a resurrection to be possible, but – by virtue of the painting – the honour attached to the old building is transferred to his new body. The portrait of the old Town Hall makes sure that the room of the Burgomasters can 'still shine, thanks to the old splendour' ('nogh glans trekt, uyt dien ouden prael').

Varied experiments

Thanks to Rixtel's poem, we get a precious view of the multilayered ideas regarding the impact of paintings of the new Town Hall. Moreover, it shows how a text and an image contribute together to the 'portrait of the building', in a way comparable to the 'composite portrait' of the king as constructed under Louis XIV. In the case of the French king, as well as that of the Town Hall, the sitter is idealized. Reality is not negated, but transcended to create a supernatural body strengthening political rule. Whereas Rixtel offers us a privileged insight into this mechanism by making an explicit link between the locus of the phoenix, and a portrait of the old and one of the new Town Hall, other images cannot be straightforwardly linked to specific texts. Nevertheless, these images make it evident that artists could experiment in portraying the building. This varies from emphasizing the Town Hall's dignity and virtuousness, just as expressed in portraits of honourable men and women, to turning the building into a divine presence. But we can still speak of a composite 'portrait of the building', because together these images 'construct' the building, going beyond the actual architectural construction. They reinforce the building's identity by visualizing it as a living being closely connected to civic rule.

We can begin to show this with another painting by Berckheyde, one that he made in 1672 and where the portrayal of the Town Hall is taken a step further by manipulating perspective and colour, as well as the size of the figures even more (fig. 4.6). Compared to the 1668 painting, the artist has chosen a viewpoint closer to the building. The Town Hall here gets full attention, with only a small part of the Weigh House and the transept of the New Church noticeable and the houses on the Dam left aside. The patricians, citizens, and foreigners on Dam Square are still there, but the crowd is less individualized. The dominant dark group on the left seems to topple into a dark puddle of water, falling into nothingness in front of the building. Thus, the focus is completely put on the Town Hall: Berckheyde indeed seems to have taken Rixtel's idea of a portrait into further consideration. Moreover, the building is twisted more than in the 1668 painting and seems to lean slightly backwards. This brings to mind the many portraits in three-quarters profile with the sitter's head fiercely held upright. The size of this work, too, not even a fifth of the 1668 painting, raises the idea of an individual portrait far more than its predecessor does.

By looking at the 'composite portrait' of the Town Hall, we have to be careful not to be misled by that term, as more than portraiture *stricto sensu* was involved in creating this portrait. It did certainly not restrict itself to paintings of the building that have close correspondences with portraits. Other artists contributed to the 'composite portrait' without producing portraiture, as they experimented in other ways to create the impression that the building was a living being embodying civic rule. They could bring the building to life by suggesting a supernatural presence.

For this, we can look at the work of another Haarlem painter, Hendrick Mommers, who was inspired by van der Ulft's drawing as well, but went a different way than Berckheyde. His view of Dam Square dating from c. 1665 is now in Dyrham Park (fig. 4.7). Three variants are still preserved; all four paintings have large formats.[23] In comparison with Berckheyde, Mommers plays in a different way with the rendering of light. With the exception of a ray of sunshine on some figures in the foreground, only the Town Hall receives full light, much more than the New Church behind the sombre Weigh House. The facade of the Weigh House that faces the viewer is in the shade. The Town Hall is pointed in the same direction, but it seems to radiate a sharp white light, strangely illuminating a rectangular space right in front of the building. The artist may have wanted to emphasize the use of white stone for the facade or to suggest that the space in front of the building was paved with white stones. A similar strangeness can be found in paintings of the Town Hall by Jan van Kessel (fig. 4.8). In a work of 1668, now in the collection of De Nederlandsche Bank, we see how the brightness of the Town Hall is emphasized by putting it in contrast with thunderclouds behind it.[24] The dark water of the Damrak in the front lights up thanks to the reflection of the radiant Town Hall which surpasses in brightness the sun shining on the boats. As in Mommers's paintings, the grey Weigh House blocks the Town Hall, and the former does not get the same lighting as the latter, although oriented towards the same direction.

Were Mommers and Van Kessel clumsy in the rendering of light, unable to get coherent lighting on all the facades, or was something else going on? A laudatory poem on the Town Hall by Constantijn Huygens suggests the latter. In his congratulations of 1657 addressed to the Amsterdam burgomasters, Huygens writes:

> God, who ordered you to combine Power and Splendour
> with Reason,
> God may give you that you can show in the Building
> Who you are with Reason and Pleasure.
>
> God, die u Macht en Pracht met Reden gaf te voeghen,
> God gev' u in 't Gebouw met Reden en Genoeghen
> Te thoonen wie ghij zijt.[25]

In the eyes of Huygens, then, the Town Hall is more than the embodiment of civic rule: the building is the actual proof that God allows the rulers of Amsterdam to present their power in

4.7

Hendrick Mommers, *Market Scene before the Dam,* Gloucestershire, Dyrham Park. c. 1665. National Trust. Reproduced here by non-exclusive, non-transferable, revocable license.

4.8

Jan van Kessel, *View of the Dam and the Town Hall,* Amsterdam, Collection De Nederlandsche Bank. 1668. Courtesy of Collection De Nederlandsche Bank.

4.9
Elias Noski, 'Stone engraved with Huygens's poem', Amsterdam, Koninklijk Paleis. 1660. Photo courtesy Stichting Koninklijk Paleis Amsterdam. Photograph: Tom Haartsen.

full magnificence, as He once did with biblical kings by letting them build their royal palaces. Thus, the building can be seen as the embodiment of the direct connection between the burgomasters' splendid rule and God's grace. The burgomasters themselves must have been receptive to this view, as they displayed the poem beautifully engraved in black marble in their chamber in the Town Hall, opposite Saenredam's portrait of the old Town Hall (fig. 4.9).[26]

The connection between this poem and the paintings of Mommers and van Kessel is less direct than that between the works of Berckheyde and Rixtel. It seems, however, that the artists and the poet had a similar message to convey, and that the strange, bright light radiating from the building in the paintings equally expressed the idea that the Town Hall was the embodiment of the supernatural involvement of God blessing the excellent rulers of Amsterdam and their position of dominance in the Dutch Republic and beyond.

Conclusion

By giving their new Town Hall a palatial allure, the burgomasters of Amsterdam sought to express and strengthen the high status of the city and her government. Their endeavours were further reinforced by texts and images of the building. We have clarified that these representations worked in a way similar to Marin's concept of the 'portrait du roi'. Where medallions and a rich diversity of texts constructed a composite portrait of Louis XIV, we saw how texts and images of the Town Hall further constructed the building, even before the actual construction had been accomplished. Texts and images of the Town Hall were easily reproduced and disseminated, thus trumpeting to the world the fame and prestige of the new building and its founders. Moreover, the burgomasters conceived the new Town Hall as the embodiment of Amsterdam's dominant position on the national and international stage.

We saw how Jacob van der Ulft started a tradition in which the Town Hall was presented as guarding regional and international trade on Dam Square, as well as the governance of the patricians. Pieter Rixtel's discussion of Gerrit Berckheyde's 1668 painting allowed us to go beyond this tradition and grasp how the building could be seen as a living being. By making reference to a painting rather than to the architecture of the new Town Hall itself, the poet could present the old and new Town Halls as two living beings consecutively embodying Amsterdam's rule. This idea of embodiment continues in diverse experiments in the visual arts from the 1660s onwards. In a 1672 painting, Berckheyde excelled in presenting the Town Hall as a human being portrayed in its full dignity. Painters such as Hendrick Mommers and Jan van Kessel went a step further and presented the building as an entity radiating a bright light. By again relying on a laudatory poem, this time by Constantijn Huygens, we have advanced the hypothesis that the light was intended to create the suggestion of a divine blessing of civic rule. Thus, the animated building strengthening the political position of Amsterdam and its rulers is emphasized as being a supernatural body.

1 Marin, *Le portrait du Roi*.
2 For a review of Marin's *Le portrait du Roi*, see Burke, 'Flattery'.
3 Fröschl, 'Selbstdarstellung und Staatssymbolik in den europäischen Republiken der frühen Neuzeit an Beispielen der Architektur und bildenden Kunst'. Cf. Van der Ploeg, 'Representatieve aspecten van het raadhuis in de Nederlanden' and De Jong, 'Visible Power? Town Halls and Political Values'.
4 Van Kleij, 'Beyond the Façade: Town Halls, Publicity, and Urban Society in the Fifteenth-Century Low Countires'.
5 For the latest book on the subject with extensive bibliography, see Bussels, Van Eck, and Van Oostveldt, *The Amsterdam Town Hall in Words and Images*.
6 Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, p. 21.
7 Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek*. Cf. Vlaardingerbroek, 'The Palace of the Republic'.
8 Vlaardingerbroek, 'The Palace of the Republic', p. 72.
9 Von der Dunk, *Toren versus traditie*, and Van Tussenbroek, *De toren van de Gouden Eeuw*.
10 Ottenheym, 'The Attractive Flavour of the Past'.
11 Nevertheless, images of the plans for the highest church tower of the Republic next to the Town Hall still turn up in the eighteenth century, e.g. in a compilation of images of the seats of power, *Les forces de l'Europe, Asie, Afrique et Amerique*, XIII, plate 292.
12 Giltaij and Jansen, *Perspectieven*, cat. no. 61, pp. 287–89, and Van Suchtelen and Wheelock Jr., *Hollandse stadsgezichten uit de Gouden Eeuw*, pp. 82–85.
13 Stapel, *Perspectieven van de stad*, pp. 58–59.
14 Rixtel, 'Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam', pp. 36–40. See *Hollandse stadsgezichten*, cat. no. 9, for a discussion of the extent to which Rixtel praised this very painting.
15 Giltaij en Jansen, *Perspectieven*, p. 287. Only in the context of Pieter Saenredam, whose painting of the old Town Hall Rixtel praises, is some attention given to the poem. Darnell, 'A Voice from the Past', and Schwartz and Bok, *Pieter Saenredam*, p. 242.
16 Rixtel, 'Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam', p. 36.
17 Scholten and Hoyle, 'Quellinus's Burgomasters', pp. 87–125.
18 Rixtel, 'Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam', p. 37.
19 Funke, 'Die Amsterdamer Rathausbrandkatastrophe'.
20 Lemma 'voorzaat' in the online *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal*.
21 Darnell, 'A Voice from the Past'.
22 Rixtel, 'Op het Stadthuys van Amsterdam', p. 37.
23 One of them was offered in 1995 at the Auction Philips, Son & Neal, a second in 1999 at Christie's Amsterdam, and a third in 2005 at Finarte-Semenzato Milaan. See RKDimages (https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images), 'Mommers, Hendrick'.
24 Cf. A painting by van Kessel from 1669, now in the National Gallery of Ireland: http://onlinecollection.nationalgallery.ie/objects/11748/the-dam-at-amsterdam.
25 The poem can be found in Worp's edition of Huygens's manuscripts: *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens naar zijn handschrift uitgegeven*, VI, p. 108. Our translation.
26 See Bussels, Plezier, and Van Vaeck, 'Amsterdam sierlijk verbonden met God', pp. 261–90.

5

Laura Plezier

INTERNATIONAL ACCLAIM FOR THE REPUBLICAN TOWN HALL OF AMSTERDAM

A Victory for the Princely Family of Orange

The Capitol in Rome, the Louvre in Paris, and Whitehall in London have nothing but praise for the Town Hall in Amsterdam, and conclude that they have no choice but to recognize they have met their superior in this building.[1] Amsterdam resident Jan Zoet (fig. 5.2) expresses this praise in the poem *Het triomfeerende Amsteldam* (*Amsterdam Triumphant*) that he wrote to mark the visit of the young Prince William Henry of Orange with his noble entourage to the Town Hall on 19 May 1666.[2] Prince William Henry was later to become Stadtholder-King William III. Immediately after the visit, the poem was published as a pamphlet, to ensure speedy distribution.[3] My aim in this chapter is to examine why Zoet chose to write this work in the topical way that he did, connecting a general European perspective on the Town Hall with a specifically ceremonial, yet politically charged, occasion in the Netherlands.

The poem fits within a broader phenomenon that was prevalent in the second half of the seventeenth century when the Town Hall was built. This highly expensive building project was supported by many poets who repeatedly and publicly emphasized the importance of the building. Among them we find such well-known poets as Joost van den Vondel, Jan Vos, and Constantijn Huygens, as well as dozens of lesser-known poets.[4] The poems were all published in Dutch and were thus intended for a national audience. They appeared in poetry collections, were bound as a single poem, or distributed in pamphlet form. No fewer than seventy-one poems featuring the Town Hall as their main subject have been handed down to us from the period between the laying of the first stone in 1648 and the completion of the building in around 1703. The Town Hall is also mentioned in poems about other new Amsterdam buildings or about events in the city. This category comprises a corpus of another forty-five poems.

The poems about the Town Hall are exceptional not only for their high number, but also for their length and the variety of their storylines. During the seventeenth century, poems appeared about new buildings in all the cities of the Dutch Republic, but generally no more than one, or at most only a few poems were dedicated to a single building. The Amsterdam poems, moreover, are part of a tradition dating back to classical Antiquity in which poems were composed to praise a city through the exaltation of individual buildings, connected to the site (favourable geographical properties) and the character of the citizenry over time.[5] This tradition continued throughout Europe in the early modern period, as did the custom of publishing a poem on the occasion of the laying of the foundation stone of a palace or monastery or the consecration of churches. So, even though architecture was celebrated in poetry throughout Europe, the large scale on which this occurred in Amsterdam in the seventeenth century stands out.

Zoet was a staunch Orangist, which put him in a difficult position in 1651. He was banned from Amsterdam for fifteen years for writing a satirical poem and pamphlets about the burgomasters on account of their anti-Orangist politics. He was allowed to return to the city around 1666.[6] The visit of the young Prince William to Amsterdam took place more or less at the same time and is a sign of Amsterdam's rapprochement with the House of Orange and its supporters. Zoet continued to show himself to be a fervent supporter

5.1
'Citizens' Hall',
Koninklijk Paleis, Amsterdam
(former Town Hall).
Second half seventeenth century.

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5.2
Harmen de Mayer,
Portrait of the Poet Jan Soet,
Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1651–1701.
Public domain.

of the family of stadtholders, not only in 1666. In 1675 he wrote another poem in which he connected the Town Hall to the House of Orange. This poem, *De zaale van Oranje*, deals primarily with the Orange Room (Oranjezaal) of Huis ten Bosch (built between 1649 and 1652). This was the summer residence of Amalia of Solms, widow of Stadtholder Frederick Henry, in The Hague. However, in the poem Zoet also describes in detail the interior of the Amsterdam Town Hall.[7] The poet's Orangist sympathies and his love for the city of Amsterdam come together in this poem, as they had about ten years earlier in *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*.

This poem thus announces some of the interests Zoet would continue to pursue in his later work: a positive stance towards members of the House of Orange and the city that, conversely, came to celebrate civic splendour by means of an imposingly modern building. Despite its irrefutable relevance in the connected histories of international architecture and the representation of power through ritual and ceremony as rendered in literature, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam* has so far been largely neglected in scholarship. In this chapter, I therefore propose a first exploration of the text (that I present in the original Dutch and in English translation in the Appendix below), examining how it fits within both broader, European developments in the representation – and appropriation – of cities over time and, more specifically, the shifting power structures in seventeenth-century Dutch society. What are the main motifs that run through the text of Zoet's highly topical laudation of town and building, and how, exactly, may these be seen to support claims to a consciously and ceremoniously glorified past and present?

The world admires the Town Hall

From as early as the first verse of *Het triomfeerende Amsteldam*, Zoet introduced a comparison with other buildings in Europe (fig. 5.12). With 'Myn praalrijk Kapitool' (My magnificent Capitol) he refers to the Dam in Amsterdam, but at the same time alludes to the hill that was the seat of power in the Roman Republic.[8] The speaker in the poem is the City Maiden, who is the personification of Amsterdam. She focuses attention on the city's central square, the Dam, but particularly on the Town Hall located there.[9] That the City Maiden names the Dam as her Capitol works to the advantage of the burgomasters, who identified themselves with the Roman consuls and considered the city to be a worthy successor to Rome in power and splendour.[10] But the early verses of the poem also call to mind later periods. In the twelfth century, the administrative buildings of the city of Rome arose on the Capitol. Four centuries later, rebuilt by Michelangelo, they were transformed into world-famous architecture.[11]

Zoet was not alone in comparing Amsterdam's Town Hall with the Capitol. References to the famous Roman hill with its temples and later administrative buildings can also be found in other laudatory poems. The most popular poet of the Golden Age, Jan Vos, for example, wrote about the Capitol in his poem dedicated to the city of Amsterdam 1655.[12]

In his poem, Zoet has the Ancient Capitol acknowledge the superiority of its contemporary counterpart in Amsterdam. In doing so, he presents the Amsterdam Town Hall as emulating the Roman example:

> My magnificent Capitol amounted, conspicuously
> To the most critical eye, to more even than an eighth Wonder
> [of the World];
> Since wherever the eye turns, the heart leaps.
> What Rome boasted in the past
> Now had to bow at once in favour of [the splendour of]
> this building.[13]

After the Capitol, the City Maiden compares the Town Hall to the court of the Habsburg emperors, the Hofburg in Vienna: 'The Imperial Court must make way for the worth | Of the Town Hall of Amsterdam'.[14] Here Zoet takes a big step forward in time: from the Roman Republic to the Holy Roman Empire. In Amsterdam this reference must have brought to mind Emperor Maximilian I, who had granted

5.3
Jan van Kessel, *View on the Dam and the Town Hall.* Detail of fig. 4.8.

the city imperial status in 1489, symbolically awarding it the imperial crown. Even though as a consequence of the Treaty of Münster in 1648, Amsterdam had left the Holy Roman Empire (having distanced itself from the Habsburgs seventy years earlier), the city continued to hold imperial status.[15]

Zoet uses in the very first verse a combination of metonymy and personification with his reference to the Capitol; he mentions the imperial court to refer to the power of the Habsburgs and at the same time personifies it, so that it can recognize the superiority of the Town Hall. The writer uses this combination of literary devices further in the poem to place the Town Hall in a prominent position within the European constellation of rule and rulers. He presents centres of power as if they were living power-holders. By having judgements about the Town Hall articulated by these seats of power rather than by any particular rulers, they become timeless and thus universally applicable.

Next up after the Habsburg court are the Louvre and Whitehall. Zoet employs enjambment to introduce the Louvre. 'The Imperial Court must make way for the worth | Of the Town Hall of Amsterdam. The Louvre in Paris'.[16] The use of this device lends special attention to the Louvre, connecting it with the Town Hall mentioned at the end of the previous sentence in the same line. In this way Zoet connects the two buildings with one another.[17]

Zoet continues: 'The Louvre in Paris | Gladly accords to my masterpiece the highest prize | Whitehall, in turn, does not quite compare'.[18] The Louvre, too, has to recognize the Town Hall and its burgomasters as its betters. This was despite the fact that the complex was undergoing an architectural modernization (following the 1661 fire), one of Europe's biggest political building projects at the time. Whitehall, the residence of the English monarchs, follows at a distance, even after the French seat of power.[19]

A striking feature of Zoet's international comparison is that the Town Hall – unlike the Capitol, the Habsburg court, the Louvre, and Whitehall – was a completely new building. The Louvre and Whitehall were complex structures that consisted of old, sometimes dilapidated buildings that had partly been renovated in the seventeenth century.[20] Compared to the brand-new Town Hall in Amsterdam, this gave these palaces a disorderly character. One could wonder, therefore, why Zoet chose to compare the Town Hall with them at all. His use of metonymy and personification, however, shows that ultimately, he is not chiefly interested in making architectural comparisons, but in hierarchically ranking the polities they represent. In line ten the speaker alludes to this when she refers to the Town Hall as 'my empress' ('mijn keizerin'). This personification positions Amsterdam as the centre and seat of a Dutch Empire, surpassing the French and English monarchies and contesting the Holy Roman Empire's claim to be the New Rome.

Splendour through association

From line fifteen onwards, Zoet shifts from praising the Town Hall in an international perspective to praising the four burgomasters. Here his poem is in line with the many eulogies that praised new public buildings in seventeenth-century Amsterdam, and the Town Hall in particular. In this genre a relationship is often implied between the burgomasters holding office in the Town Hall and the building itself. According to Zoet, the burgomasters gave the Town Hall its splendour. Whereas he had in the case of rivalling centres of power referred to buildings rather than naming specific rulers, he now referred to the college of four burgomasters ('burgermeesterschap') who were actually in power in 1666, by naming Valkenier, Tulp, Vlooswijk, and De Graeff (fig. 5.4): 'My Valkenier, my Tulp [tulip], who with his fragrant elixir, | Not quite rouses the dead, yet brings them back to a new life. | My Vlooswijk, and my Graaf, [so] skilled in steering the Ship of State' (fig. 5.4).[21]

5.4
Nicolaes Eliasz. Pickenoy, *Cornelis de Graeff*, Berlin, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Gemäldegalerie. 1636. Public domain.

In seventeenth-century Amsterdam there was, of course, no hereditary succession of a royal or imperial dynasty, as was the case in Vienna, Paris, and London. Every year, three out of four burgomasters were renewed. The burgomasters were elected by the members of the city council, which Zoet has the City Maiden praise as well: 'On the thirty-six members | who comprise the City Council, my prosperity depends. | So this marks the highest splendour, towards which every human being, [and] so eagerly, | Aims [both] his eyes and heart, and upon which my Citizens, [then] | In all kinds of need, complacently come to rely'.[22]

The city of Amsterdam shared in the honour bestowed upon its burgomasters, as the personification of the city says: 'My Prime Sun may be seen ascending | By virtue of the respectability of my Burgomasters'.[23] Just as the sun brings light and life, the burgomasters brought peace, and hence prosperity to the city. The equation between the rulers of the city and the sun is also suggested in paintings of the Town Hall, such as that by Jan van Kessel, in which the Town Hall is illuminated sharply by the sun, while the surrounding buildings on the Dam are cast into shadow (fig. 5.3).

Zoet uses the word 'Hoofdzon' (prime sun) to take the international comparison further. Again he is emphasizing that the Town Hall is Europe's most powerful building. It is probable that Zoet deliberately chose this particular word. By appropriating the symbol of the sun to describe the honour of the burgomasters, he suggested that they deserved more respect than the French Sun King himself. This claim was strengthened by the repeated use of words such as 'praalrijk' (magnificent), 'pralen' (to sparkle, to be glorious), and 'stralen' (radiate) in his poem.[24]

The magnificence of the Town Hall, lent to the building by the power-holders residing in it, caused anyone looking at the building to feel completely overwhelmed: 'wherever the eye turns, the heart leaps'. The building is 'more than an eighth Wonder [of the World]'. Zoet was not the only person to describe the building in these terms. The famous statesman-poet Constantijn Huygens had done so as well in a poem with which he congratulated the burgomasters on their new residence.[25]

The city versus the family of Orange

The 'prime sun' in Zoet's poem is a sun that increases in power. The power that the Town Hall embodies is growing. This is due at least in part to the events that took place in the year 1666, to which Zoet now turns.[26] He has the City Maiden say: 'Never before, did quite so many Sunrays upon my Walking Gallery, | Shine, at once with [the] Deities'.[27] This is an essential step in the poem. The building that embodied the power of the most important city in the Dutch Republic was not only elevated by its residents, the burgomasters, and the city council, but also by the status of those visiting the building.

To be able to appreciate this new focus of the poem, we need to understand the context. After Stadtholder William II had died prematurely in 1650 and his son William Henry was born a week after his death, a republican coalition led by Johan de Witt, grand pensionary of the States of Holland, had seized this opportunity and abolished the office of stadtholder, thus ushering in a stadtholderless period

5.5

Govert Flinck, *Allegory on the Memory of Frederick Henry, Prince of Orange, with the Portrait of his Widow Amalia of Solms*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, on loan to Painting Gallery William V, The Hague. 1654. Public domain.

5.6

Jan Davidsz. De Heem and Jan Vermeer van Utrecht, *Flower Garland with Portrait of William III of Orange, Aged 10,* Lyon, Museum of Fine Arts. c. 1659-1666. Wiki Commons. Public domain.

(1650–72).[28] After increasing pressure on the part of the Orangists, supporters of the restoration of the stadtholderate, De Witt saw himself forced to make a concession by giving the young prince an official position at the start of 1666. Amalia of Solms, who had become William Henry's sole guardian after the death of her former daughter-in-law Mary Stuart in 1660, consented to her grandson being given the title Child of State (figs 5.5–7). This meant that his education, including the costs involved, were the responsibility of the state, which, on the one hand, recognized his special status within the Dutch Republic and, on the other, allowed the state to continue to exercise control over his upbringing: among the prominent politicians from the republican camp who guided the prince in his youth were several burgomasters of Amsterdam.[29]

Amalia continued to fight for the restoration of the office of stadtholder and demanded that Frederick William I, Elector of Brandenburg and Duke of Prussia, be made co-guardian of the prince. Frederick William was Amalia's son-in-law and William Henry's uncle because he was married to Louise Henriëtte of Nassau, a daughter of Amalia and Stadtholder Frederick Henry (fig. 5.9).[30]

In May 1666, Frederick William and his nephew William made a voyage to the naval fleet located to the east of Amsterdam. The purpose of the voyage was to hearten the predominantly Orangist navy, which was at the time involved in the Second Anglo-Dutch War (fig. 5.8).[31] Other members of the prince's family were also present, including John George II, Prince of Anhalt. John George was a brother-in-law of Frederick William and William Henry's uncle as a result of his marriage to Henriette Catherine of Nassau, another daughter of Frederick Henry and Amalia. The company was completed

5.7–8
Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Wonder Mirror of the Family of Orange. Life and Deeds of William III*. Details of fig. 5.10.

by Johan Maurits, Prince of Nassau-Siegen, a good friend of Frederick William, who had appointed him as Stadtholder of Kleve. Johan Maurits was related to the Oranges through his great-uncle William of Orange.

On their way back to The Hague, the company arrived unannounced in Amsterdam. The next day, the four Amsterdam burgomasters invited the young William Henry and his entourage to the Town Hall.[32] It is remarkable that the burgomasters officially welcomed a Prince of Orange. In 1650, a few months before his untimely death of smallpox, the last stadtholder William II had planned an attack on the city of Amsterdam that was meant to break the power of the republican party in the province of Holland and that of the rulers of Amsterdam more specifically. The attack had failed because the army of William's commander, William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz, Stadtholder of Friesland, was discovered before it could reach the city, further embittering the already hostile attitude the Amsterdam patricians held towards the members of the family of Orange-Nassau.[33]

The Town Hall as an intermediary

Let us now return to the poem by Jan Zoet. Its title 'Amsterdam Triumphant' refers both to Zoet's claim that the Amsterdam Town Hall surpasses other buildings of world-wide fame, but also to the particular moment of the reception for the Prince of Orange, offered by the Amsterdam burgomasters in the 'walking gallery' (*wandelzaal*), as the impressive citizens' hall of the building was known at the time (fig. 5.1). The city is triumphant because the local rulers of the city seek reconciliation with the House of Orange. The presence of the young prince and his entourage in the Town Hall caused a large crowd to gather on Dam Square, in front of the building. 'The Dam is [now] swarming | With countless people, too many to count', Zoet writes.[34] The crowd had come to express their sympathy for the Orange family. Since the beginning of the stadholderless period, a large part of the population of Amsterdam had continued to support the prince.[35]

Zoet emphasizes that this crowd had come to see the prince rather than to admire the Town Hall. During most of his visit William Henry was not visible at all from Dam Square, but at one point he appeared in front of a window of the Town Hall. Upon seeing their prince in this context, the people of Amsterdam cry with joy: 'The Citizens rejoice, |

5.9
Pieter Nason, possibly Jacques Vaillant, *Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg (1620-1688), and his Wife Louise Henriette of Oranje-Nassau (1627-1667) (Daughter of Amalia of Solms),* Potsdam, Stiftung Preussische Schlösser und Gärten Berlin-Brandenburg. Public domain.

[For] a fire of love in their hearts. Joy bursts [forth] from their eyes, | In a thousand tears, when the Princely Might, | Of William Henry, that [most] fragrant Orange offshoot, | Shows himself at the window of the town hall'.[36] Through their tears, the public on the Dam began to sing the *Wilhelmus*, the old anti-Spanish battle song against the Spanish, now the Dutch national anthem, reviving the longstanding bonds of solidarity between city and stadtholder. Zoet reveals that this was orchestrated in advance by telling the reader that the song was accompanied by drum rolls and blowing trumpets. He then incorporates the name and first three words of the Wilhelmus into the poem, so that the reader is carried along with the melody of the song.[37]

The power of early modern rulers was often represented with reference to the seats of their power.[38] It is striking to see, in a period when the House of Orange increasingly reclaimed its place on the political stage in public appearances of the young Prince William Henry, how they now did so in the seat of power of the burgomasters of Amsterdam, until recently their nemeses, and how this event was set in poetry by Zoet, a supporter of the House of Orange but also a citizen of Amsterdam. The image of the prince at the window of the Town Hall, harmoniously linking the Amsterdam government and the House of Orange, represented for Zoet the best of both worlds. In his poem he presents this moment as a possible turning point, expressing the hope that three years later, after reaching adulthood, William Henry would enter Amsterdam once again, this time after having assumed the office of stadtholder, without compromising the city's interests (fig. 5.11). Zoet claims that the Town Hall

5.10
Romeyn de Hooghe, *The Wonder Mirror of the Family of Orange. Life and Deeds of William III*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1675. Public domain.

in retrospect revived William III and the House of Orange as a player in the government of the Republic:

> So that, after another three full years [will have run their course],
> For the wellbeing of the Fatherland, and Glory of my Town Hall,
> I shall welcome him [once] again: And across Bridge and Lock,
> Along the Herengracht and Keizersgracht, seated in the Saddle
> Of the Stadtholderate, followed by all members of the Nobility,
> And the most honourable Citizens, like a second Ascanius
> Are seen to parade through Town.[39]

Zoet compares the future William III to Ascanius, who, together with his father Aeneas and grandfather Anchises, fled from Troy and founded Alba Longa, the prosperous precursor of Rome. Like his comparison between the Town Hall and the Capitol at the beginning of the poem, this too served to show that Zoet regarded Amsterdam as the new Rome.

Conclusion

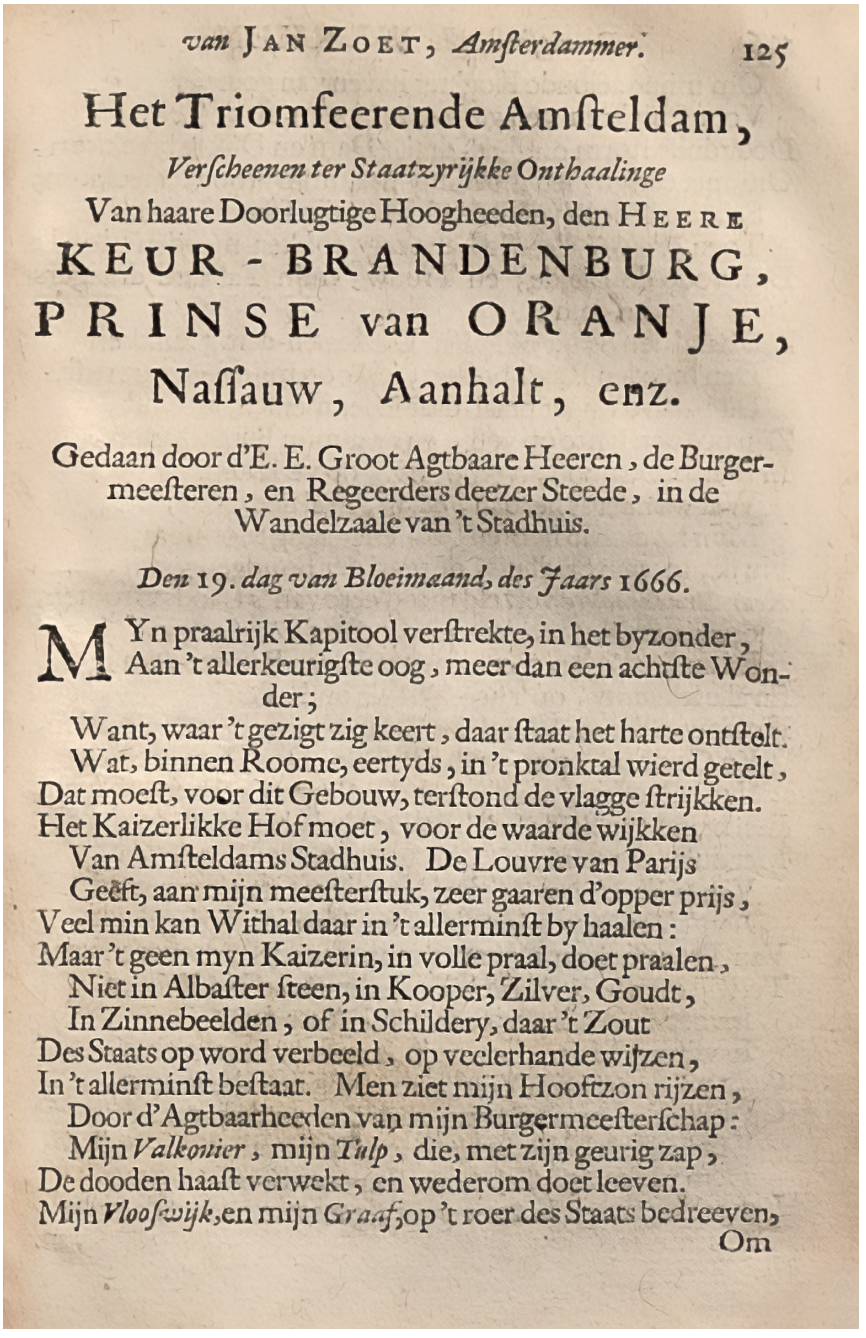
Having duly established its emulation of Antiquity, the poem returns to the politically charged present: 'In a State where Peace and Harmony flourish, no state loses face'.[40] Of special significance for the argument of this chapter, proudly triumphant Amsterdam finds no fault, ultimately, in accepting the House of Orange as its equal. Amsterdam's new City Hall outshines competing seats of power in Ancient Rome, and in contemporary Paris and London, as it emerges afresh from Zoet's literary portrait.

Despite Zoet's (all too auspicious) anticipation of William's swift return to the city, it would, eventually, take no mere three but six years for him to formally assume office as stadtholder, although certainly not under the glorious circumstances that had been penned by the poet in his pamphlet. Yet as a result of

the earlier, ceremonial appraisal of the visit on 19 May 1666, the Town Hall nonetheless rose in significance as a forceful architectural embodiment and visual symbol of power. It now no longer represented the power of Amsterdam as a prosperous empire of trade alone, but equally served to underline the revived bonds between the city and the princely family of Orange, that other great power in the Dutch Republic.

5.11

Romeyn de Hooghe, *Equestrian Portrait of William III as Stadtholder and Captain-General of the United Netherlands* (Surrounded by his Ancestors and the Burgomasters of Amsterdam on his Visit to Amsterdam, 12 to 15 August, 1672), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1672. Public domain.



van JAN ZOET, *Amſterdammer.* 125

Het Triomfeerende Amſteldam,

Verſcheenen ter Staatzyrijkke Onthaalinge

Van haare Doorlugtige Hoogheeden, den HEERE

KEUR - BRANDENBURG,

PRINSE van ORANJE,

Naſſauw, Aanhalt, enz.

Gedaan door d'E. E. Groot Agtbaare Heeren, de Burgermeeſteren, en Regeerders deezer Steede, in de Wandelzaale van 't Stadhuis.

Den 19. *dag van Bloeimaand, des Jaars* 1666.

MYn praalrijk Kapitool verſtrekte, in het byzonder,
Aan 't allerkeurigſte oog, meer dan een achtſte Wonder;
Want, waar 't gezigt zig keert, daar ſtaat het harte ontſtelt.
Wat, binnen Roome, eertyds, in 't pronktal wierd getelt,
Dat moeſt, voor dit Gebouw, terſtond de vlagge ſtrijkken.
Het Kaizerlikke Hof moet, voor de waarde wijkken
Van Amſteldams Stadhuis. De Louvre van Parijs
Geeft, aan mijn meeſterſtuk, zeer gaaren d'opper prijs,
Veel min kan Withal daar in 't allerminſt by haalen:
Maar 't geen myn Kaizerin, in volle praal, doet praalen,
Niet in Albaſter ſteen, in Kooper, Zilver, Goudt,
In Zinnebeelden, of in Schildery, daar 't Zout
Des Staats op word verbeeld, op veelerhande wijzen,
In 't allerminſt beſtaat. Men ziet mijn Hooftzon rijzen,
Door d'Agtbaarheeden van mijn Burgermeeſterſchap:
Mijn *Valkonier*, mijn *Tulp*, die, met zijn geurig zap,
De dooden haaſt verwekt, en wederom doet leeven.
Mijn *Vlooſwijk*, en mijn *Graaf*, op 't roer des Staats bedreeven,
Om

5.12

Jan Zoet, *Triumphant Amsterdam,*
First page, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek. 1675. Image in Public Domain (Google Books).

APPENDIX *Original text of the poem in Dutch*

Jan Zoet, 'Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam, Verscheenen ter Staatszyrijkke Onthaalinge van haare Doorlugtige Hoogheden, den HEERE Keur-Brandenburg, Prince van Oranje, Nassauw, Anhalt, enz. Gedaan door d'E.E. Groot Agtbare Heeren, de Burgermeesteren, en Regeerders deezer Steede, in de Wandelzaale van 't Stadhuis. Den 19. dag van Bloeimaand, des jaars 1666', in Zoet, *d'Uitsteekenste digtkunstige werken*, 124–26.

[*p.* 124]

Myn praalrijk Kapitool verstrekte, in het byzonder,
Aan 't allerkeurigste oog, meer dan een achtste Wonder;
Want, waar 't gezigt zig keerd, daar staat het harte ontsteld.
Wat, binnen Roome, eertyds, in 't pronktal wierd geteld.
Dat moest, voor dit Gebouw, terstond de vlagge strijken.
Het Keizerlikke Hof moet, voor de waarde wijken
Van Amsteldams Stadhuis. De Louvre van Parijs
Geeft, aan mijn meesterstuk, zeer gaaren d'opper prijs,
Veel min kan Withal daar in 't allerminst by haalen:
Maar 't geen mijn Keizerin, in volle praal, doet praalen,
Niet in Albastersteen, in Kooper, Zilver, Goud,
In Zinnebeelden, of in Schildery, daar 't Zout
Des Staats op word verbeeld, op veelerhande wijzen,
In 't allerminst bestaat. Men ziet mijn Hoofdzon rijzen,
Door d'Agtbaarheeden van mijn Burgemeesterschap:
Mijn *Valkenier*, mijn *Tulp*, die, met zijn geurig zap,
De dooden haast verwekt, en wederom doet leeven.
Mijn *Vlooswijk*, en mijn *Graaf*, op 't roer des Staats bedreeven.
Om mijne aloude Kog' ter haven van goereê,
Voor schipbreuk, en geváár, te bergen, als de Zee,
Door dolle storm ontsteld, dreigd Dam en Dijk te breeken,

[*p.* 125]

Om, met een euv'len moed, my naar mijn kroon te steeken;
Schoon ik de lieve Vreê heb, in mijn schoot, gevoed,
Toen *Fredrik* d'eed'le Lans zag Pronken met den Hoed:
Daar voor de Liefde, en Trouw, mijn Tabbbaarddraagers danken;
Elks hand den Strijdbijl past. Uit zesendartig ranken
Den breeden Raad bestaat; daar op mijn welvaart rust.
Dit is dan d'opperpraal, daar ieder mensch, met lust,
Zijn ooge en herte op vest, en daar mijn Burgerzaaten,
In allerhande nood, vergenoegd zig op verlaaten.
Wat wonder is het dan, dat ik, in al deeze eer,
Mijn blijdschap hooren laat, en pragtig triomfeer,
Nu ik, in mijn Stadhuis, de praal der Bondgenooten,
Keur-Brandenburg, verzeld met d'eere van 's Lands Grooten,
Oranje, en *Nassouw*, en den dapp'ren *Annahin*[41],
En and're *Vorsten* meer, met puik Rijnsze wijn,
En alle lekkerny, op 't heerlikst zie onthaalen?
Nooit wierd mijn Wandelzaal, van zoo veel Zonnestraalen,
En Godheên, op een tijd, bestraald. Den Dam krejoeld
Van menschen, zondertal. De Burgery gevoeld
Een brand van liefde in 't hart. De blijdschap barst
door d'oogen,
Met duizend traanen uit, als 't Prinsselik vermoogen,
Van *Whilhem Henrik*, die Geurrijkke Oranje spruit,
Aan 't Venster zig laat zien, en *Mauritz* , op 't geluid,
Van Trommel en Trompet, mijn Vaandel ziet ontvouwen,
Terwijl men lustig blaast: Wilhelmus van Nassouwen.
Invoegen dat ik nog geen heerelikker dag,
In vijftien Meijen aan mijn Aamstel bloozen zag.
God wil den jongen Vorst, voor ongeval bewaaren.
Op dat ik, na 't verloop van nog drie ronde jaaren,
Tot heil van 't Vaderland, en Gloor van mijn Stadhuis,
Hem weêr verwellekoom : En over Brug en Sluis,
Langs Heere, en Keizers-graft, gezeeten in den Zaadel
Van 't Steedehouderschap, gevolgd van al den Adel,
En 't puik der Burgery, gelijk een tweede Askaan,
Zie ryden door de Stad. Dan is mijn wens voldaan.
Dan zal den Landzaat voort, van lout're blijdschap, springen.
Dan zullen, wel vergenoegd. mijn trouwe Steedelingen,
O Burgers Vaders! u staâg danken voor u zorg,
En roepen, neeven my: lang leeve *Brandenburg*,

[*p.* 126]

Oranje, en *Nassouw*, tot ons aller heil, en zeegen.
Waar Vreede , en Eendragt bloeid, daar staat geen Staat
verleegen.

English Translation

Amsteldam Triumphant, Published on the Occasion of the Stately Reception of Their Highnesses, the Lord Elector of Brandenburg, [the] Prince of Orange, Nassau, Anhalt, etc. Organized by the Honoured Gentlemen, the Burgomasters and Rulers of This city, in the Walking Gallery (Citizens Hall) of the Town Hall. On the Nineteenth Day of May in the Year 1666.

[*p.*124]

My magnificent Capitol amounted, conspicuously,
To the most critical eye, to more even than an eighth Wonder
[of the World];
Since, wherever the eye turns, the heart leaps.
What Rome boasted in the past
Now had to bow at once in favour of [the splendour of]
this building
The Imperial Court must make way for the worth
Of the Town Hall of Amsterdam. The Louvre in Paris
Gladly accords to my masterpiece the highest prize,
Whitehall, in turn, does not quite compare:
But what my Empress flaunts in full splendour, does not consist
of Alabaster stone, of Copper, Silver, Gold,
of Symbols, nor of Painting, where the Salt
Of the State is depicted, in manners manifold,
My Prime Sun may be seen ascending,
By virtue of the respectability of my Burgomasters:
My *Valkenier*, my *Tulp*, who with his fragrant elixir,

Not quite rouses the dead, [yet] delivers them to a new life.
My Vlooswijk, and my Graaf, [so] skilled in steering the Ship of State
Safely returning my time-honoured Kogge ship to harbour,
Salvaging it from shipwreck and danger, should the Sea,
Be stirred by a wild storm, [then] threaten to breach Dam and Dycke,

[*p.* 125]

With [scanty] courage failing, to strike at my crown;
Although I did nourish gentle Peace in my [very] bosom,
When Frederick saw the noble lance toying with the Cap (of freedom):
There for Love, and Loyalty, thanking my [servant] soldiers;
In [each of] whose hands the battle axe fits. On the thirty-six members
who comprise the City Council, my prosperity depends.
So this marks the highest splendour, towards which every human being, [and] so eagerly,
Aims [both] eyes and heart, and upon which my Citizens, [then]
In all kinds of need, complacently come to rely.
In that case, no wonder wonder, then, that I, [invested] with all this honour,
Express my joy, and triumph gloriously,
Now that I, in my Town Hall, pride of our Allies,
The Elector of Brandenburg, accompanied in honour by the Country's Grandest
Orange, and *Nassau*, and the brave *Annahin*,
And more such Princes, with excellent Rhine wine,
And all the delicacies, see delightfully regaled?
Never before, did quite so many Sunrays upon my Walking Gallery,
Shine, at once with [the] Deities. The Dam is [now] swarming
With people, too many to count. The Citizens rejoice,
[For] a fire of love in their hearts. Joy bursts [forth] from their eyes,
In a thousand tears, when the Princely Might,
Of William Henry, that [most] fragrant Orange offshoot,
Shows himself at the window of the Town Hall, and *Mauritz*, at the sound,
Of Drum and Trumpet, sees my Banner unfold,
While one chants cheerfully: William of Nassau.
[Only] to add that there never was a day more glorious,
In fifteenth months of May, as witnessed blushing at my river Amstel.
May God save the young Prince from all manner of accident.
So that, after another three more years [will have run their course],
For the wellbeing of the Fatherland, and the Glory of my Town Hall,
I shall welcome him [once] again: And across Bridge and Lock,
Along the Herengracht and Keizersgracht, seated in the Saddle
Of the Stadtholderate, followed by all of the Nobility,
And the most honourable citizens, like a second Ascanius,
Is seen to parade through Town. Then my wish will have been fulfilled.
Then, the tenants will jump for sheer joy.
Then, my loyal Townspeople, will, filled with pleasure,
O Citizen Fathers! Thank you for your steadfast care,
And cry out, along with me: long live the Elector of Brandenburg,

[*p.* 126]

[Of] Orange, and Nassau, to the salvation and the blessing of us all.
In a State flourishing with Peace and Harmony, no reason for shame remains.

1 In a prosopopoeia, the author speaks through a third person or an object like a building. This has the advantage that the author does not have to take responsibility for these words.
2 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 1–9, 124–26.
3 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, p. 256. The technical form of the poem is an alexandrine with paired rhymes, of which the lines are composed of six iambs, a combination of 12 or 13 unstressed and stressed syllables. This form of metrical verse was used by many authors and poets in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.
4 The poems were retrieved by examining all extant poetry collections and pamphlets from the period. The archives of the families of burgomasters and other political office-holders from the second half of the seventeenth century were also searched. An overview will be included in the appendix to my dissertation.
5 Among scholarship on city praise, see Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*; and recently Enenkel and Melion, *Landscape and the Visual Hermeneutics of Place*.
6 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, pp. 318, 528.
7 Zoet, *De Zaale van Oranje*, pp. 177–89.
8 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, line 1.
9 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, pp. 152, 526–27.
10 Vlaardingerbroek, *Het paleis van de Republiek*, p. 31.
11 Ackerman, *The Architecture of Michelangelo*, pp. 584–86.
12 Vos, 'Inwijding van het Stadthuis', p. 155.
13 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsterdam*, lines 1–5.
14 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 16–7.
15 The emperor's crown stands prominently in the tympanum of the new Town Hall on the Dam. In his poem Zoet also refers to the emperor's crown when he has the City Maiden say that disasters threaten her and try to usurp her position (line 22). See Caspers and Margry, *Het Mirakel van Amsterdam*, pp. 52–59.
16 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 6–7.
17 Van Boven and Dorleijn, *Literair mechaniek*, pp. 66, 134–36.
18 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, pp. 7–8.
19 Together with the expansion of the palace of Versailles in France. Burke, *The Fabrication of Louis XIV*, p. 66.
20 Thurley, *Whitehall Palace*, pp. 78–79, 82.
21 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, line 15. The burgomasters were Gillis Valckenier, Nicolaes Tulp, a well-known physician, Cornelis van Vlooswijk, and Andries de Graeff. Balbian Verster, *Burgemeesters van Amsterdam*, pp. 29, 31, 53.
22 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 27–30.
23 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 14–15.
24 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 1, 10, 28, 33.
25 Jan Vos wrote in his poem dedicated to the Town Hall: 'Dit pronkstuk zal het eerst van alle wondren zijn' (This masterpiece will be the first of all wonders). Vos, 'Inwijding van het Stadthuis', pp. 153–70. See Bussels, Plezier, and Van Vaeck, 'Amsterdam sierlijk verbonden met God', p. 266.
26 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, pp. 526–27.
27 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 38–39.
28 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 609; Prak, *Gouden Eeuw*, pp. 56–57.
29 *Letters of Johan de Witt*, III, Letter to Lambertus Reynst, 3 April 1666, pp. 169–72.
30 Opgenoorth, *Friedrich Wilhelm*, p. 30; see also Gloger, *Friedrich Wilhelm*; Beuys, *Der Grosse Kurfürst*, p. 54.
31 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, p. 526.
32 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, p. 526.
33 Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall*, p. 27.
34 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 39–40.
35 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, p. 528.
36 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 40–45.
37 Cordes, *Jan Zoet*, p. 527.
38 Knegtel, *Constructing the sublime*, pp. 104–05; Hamlet, 'The Longinian Sublime', pp. 193, 201–06.
39 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, lines 50–55.
40 Zoet, *Het Triomfeerende Amsteldam*, line 62.
41 John George II, Prince of Anhalt.

6

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POWER BROKERS FOR PROVINCE OR PRINCE?

The Political Careers of Johan Kelffken and Alexander van der Capellen

Resistance against the Habsburg monarchy shaped the government structure of the Dutch Republic at the end of the sixteenth century.[1] The failed attempts to replace the Habsburg rulers with another monarchical overlord resulted in the transfer of sovereignty to the Dutch provinces in 1588. Despite scholars' growing attention to the history of state-building and political participation from below, the question of what it meant to be a delegate on behalf of a Dutch province in the founding decades of the political system of the Dutch Republic is still neglected.[2] By examining the tumultuous careers of two deputies from Guelders, Johan Kelffken and Alexander van der Capellen, we demonstrate that this province is particularly well-suited to highlight the tension between Dutch republican government and the lure of monarchy. Guelders was a tough catch for William of Orange and Maurice of Nassau to enlist for their cause in the Dutch Revolt, and the province remained a force to reckon with for their successors from this House as stadtholders in the Dutch Republic.

Kelffken's time in office started in Nijmegen and brought him commissions in political assemblies at the provincial level and at the level of the 'Generality' in The Hague. His political career was that of a non-noble urban citizen in an emerging republic. Three key moments in Kelffken's career provide insight into the working relations between different levels of representative government and the lure of monarchy in the early Dutch Republic: the events leading up to his signing of the Union of Utrecht (1579), the negotiations with the Duke of Anjou in Antwerp (1582), and finally Kelffken's return to office after Maurice of Nassau had successfully reconquered Nijmegen in 1591.

Where Kelffken contributed to the establishment of the Dutch Republic, Van der Capellen could start his career as an office-holder in a state that had secured independence and international recognition. Just after the Twelve Years' Truce ended in 1621, Van der Capellen entered the young republic's political institutions. Unlike Kelffken, he could profit from the efforts of his ancestors, staunch Calvinists, in the Zutphen quarter. Alexander's grandfather Hendrik, like Kelffken, had worked hard for the acceptance of the Union of Utrecht (1579) by Guelders and operated as a Zutphen burgomaster for several decades. Gerlach van der Capellen, Alexander's father, likewise made a career in local and provincial politics, ending with the office of chancellor of the Court of Guelders and Zutphen (1616–25). Though this background created opportunities, Alexander's career did not proceed smoothly. We will discuss the following three career-defining events in Alexander's life: the contested admission into the Zutphen *ridderschap* in 1621–23, his endeavour to create a more decisive level of provincial financial administration in 1644, and, finally, his role in the coup of William II in 1650.

What we hope to show below is first of all that connections with the stadtholder at the right moment could strengthen one's position. The career of a local and supra-local representative depended on a network of connections to the ruling families.[3] The stadtholders discussed in this chapter belonged to the dynasty of Orange, and although they were not monarchs in a constitutional sense, in practice they could perform the role of benefactors to the careers of certain individuals, a task otherwise performed by royal rulers. Secondly, we want to stress that the absence of strong royal authority *enabled* provincial representation and autonomy to develop, thus impeding future princely ambitions. Historians usually

6.1
Reinier Vinkeles, *Portrait of Alexander van der Capellen*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1777. Public domain.

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concentrate on the lack of centralization of government and decision-making as a result of provincial sovereignty.[4] For the decentralized Dutch Republic, the cities are well-known power-brokers.[5] The cases presented here, however, show that in Guelders the quarters, rather than the individual cities, determined the provincial course of action. Habsburgs and Oranges alike had to keep their monarchical aspirations in check if they wanted to avoid a confrontation with the delegates from the quarters in this province.

Institutional structures

The province of Guelders was actually the former duchy of the Duke of Gelre and Count of Zutphen.[6] Hence in the period under concern here its institutional structure deviated from that of the other Dutch provinces. Unlike other provinces, Guelders was still structured as a medieval estate society. The four quarters of Nijmegen, the Veluwe, Zutphen, and Overkwartier formed the province of Guelders. Each quarter had a high level of autonomy in legal and financial affairs and therefore each quarter had its own kind of assembly of estates. Cities, nobility, seigneuries, and privileged regions deliberated on shared interests. The *ridderschap* (knighthood) was the representative institution reserved for the nobility in each quarter. Cities and nobility had one vote each in proceedings. In the quarter of Nijmegen, this city as capital summoned the assemblies and the burgomasters presided over the meetings. Once every year, or twice in extraordinary circumstances, deputies of the quarters assembled in the diet (*landdag*), the provincial states assembly.

The composition of the provincial states mirrored that of the separate quarters. Six representatives per quarter deliberated on behalf of thirteen cities in total and the province's nobility. Cities and nobility each had one vote. Until 1595, meetings were presided over by the *bannerheren*, because they, too, chose to side with the Habsburgs. This was a group of high noblemen from around Zutphen who claimed their entitlements to landed property were derived directly from the Holy Roman Emperor. Hence, they operated independently from the quarters, which in a way had made them suitable presidents of the diet. After 1595 Nijmegen presided over the provincial states, assisted by the secretary of the capital hosting the assembly. Delegates usually had to consult their constituents either in the quarter, city, or knighthood in between sessions, so progress in decision-making was slow. The diet toured between the quarter capitals and assembled in the hosting capital's town hall.

This decentralized structure characterized Guelders. When in 1543 the Duke of Gelre and Zutphen handed over government to Charles V, the emperor appointed a stadtholder as his substitute to govern the province in his absence. The newly installed Court of Gelre and Zutphen and a Chancellery in Arnhem supported the stadtholder in executing his office. The Court was in charge of daily government in Guelders because the stadtholder was often absent. Its combination of judicial and governmental responsibilities turned it into the main governmental institution of the province. Either the stadtholder or the Court summoned the provincial states assembly. As in other provinces, in Guelders the provincial assembly appointed the delegations that were sent to the States General.

Source material

The nature of the source material used to trace the steps of Kelffken and Van der Capellen warrants a few disclaimers. Kelffken is a representative about whom little personal information survives. The source material for his part of this story consists predominantly of resolutions drafted after deliberations in the city council of Nijmegen, the provincial diet of Guelders, and the States General. At first sight these documents contain rather straightforward information about the composition of a delegation and their task. Yet, carefully interpreting these sources as Kelffken's tickets to the hierarchical political world surrounding him brings us one step closer to what it meant to be a provincial representative in the final quarter of the sixteenth century.

Tracing Van der Capellen's footsteps on the road to representational office is somewhat easier because he left us his observations regarding local, provincial, and national politics, written in French, Latin, and Dutch between 1621 and 1654, providing us with a first-hand account of what occupied his mind during negotiations. His writings were published in 1777–78 by his descendant Robert Jasper van der Capellen, who wanted to redress the common perception that his great-great-grandfather had been a staunch supporter of Stadtholder William II. The editor does not provide much information on the genesis of Van der Capellen's *Gedenkschriften*, as this publication was titled, but the family archives contain manuscripts with titles that suggest that Van der Capellen used them to write his account.[7] There is also some correspondence, mostly letters written to Alexander and a few by him, from which we can infer his social and political network.[8] In 1967 Guus Pikkemaat published a small study of Van der Capellen, based for the most part on the latter's *Gedenkschriften*, in which he qualified Alexander as a principled patrician.[9] J.J. Poelhekke pointed out the inconsistencies in the *Gedenkschriften*. As Alexander documented his thoughts over a longer period of time, his later writings sometimes contradict his earlier statements. However, with Poelhekke, we believe that these memoirs

are a unique and important source for the history of seventeenth-century politics.[10]

Kelffken and the Union of Utrecht

A career in office was a costly affair. As a successful wholesale wine merchant, Kelffken was an acceptable marriage candidate for Elizabeth van den Berch, daughter of the local patrician Wichman van den Berch. In addition to acquiring the right family ties to the ruling elite of Nijmegen, Kelffken had to gain a considerable income to become officially eligible for office.[11] Nijmegen used an originally aristocratic custom to distribute offices to citizens who were considered wealthy enough to be entrusted with political power. Already in 1413, the city laws outlined that council members should be in possession of a horse worth at least twenty Rhenish guilders. In introducing these aristocratic eligibility requirements to control access to the city council, Nijmegen followed customs known from and associated with cities in the Holy Roman Empire.[12] To maintain his career as delegate, Kelffken had to pay his own expenses while on duty for his city or province. Only afterwards did his constituents cover their delegates' expenses.[13] Both Guelders and Nijmegen were of strategic importance to William, and both the city and the province dreaded their role as a military front region.[14] The troops of William of Orange had already caused as much damage as the Spanish forces. The cherished bonds between Nijmegen and the Holy Roman Empire were another reason why Nijmegen and Guelders were hesitant to cooperate more closely with Holland and Zeeland. Shortly after signing the Treaty of Venlo (1543), Charles V had promised the States of Guelders, at their request, never to estrange or separate their territories from his Holy Roman Empire. In return the states had to promise never to abandon the emperor or his successors.[15] This old charter provides insight into why Guelders was slow to sympathize with the cause of the Revolt. In the end, however, practical objections against the Spaniards gained the upper hand in the decision to join the cause of the Dutch Revolt. The inhabitants of Guelders had suffered too much from ransacking Spanish soldiers to keep their promise. From 1572 onwards, Guelders, and Nijmegen in particular, had been put under severe pressure by Holland and Zeeland to join the closer Union advocated by William of Orange. Joining the cause of Holland and Zeeland seemed the lesser of two evils. Nijmegen even saw the pressure of Holland and Zeeland as an opportunity to negotiate terms to protect its local privileges.[16]

These circumstances gave Johan Kelffken the opportunity to prove his worth as a delegate. His first commissions as burgomaster of Nijmegen illustrate how Kelffken's career development was intertwined with the military development of the Dutch Revolt and William of Orange's strategy. At the end of 1578, Kelffken and his colleagues travelled to Gorinchem to turn the pressure Holland and Zeeland put on Nijmegen into leverage in negotiations for the city to join forces with Orange. Nijmegen first and foremost wanted the Spanish troops to be removed from its territory, preferably aided by Holland and Zeeland. Part of this aid could consist of making sure Nijmegen received its due from taxes collected in Guelders. The instructions ensured Kelffken had a financial interest in the success of the negotiations since this delegation gave him the opportunity to be paid restitution for barrels of wine withheld from him in Dordrecht in 1572.[17] Thus, while being on duty for Nijmegen, Kelffken could serve his personal interest at the same time. That makes this commission a good example of why merchants like Kelffken were valuable members of city governments: his ability to defend and to negotiate his commercial interest in secure supply chains coincided with Nijmegen's political interest in safety and protection.[18]

At the beginning of 1579, negotiations in Utrecht on intensifying the Union, which had come into existence with the 1576 Pacification of Ghent, had reached an advanced stage. The various political districts of Guelders were characteristically slow to sympathize with William of Orange's intensified attempt to end the Spanish occupation. Four days after the official ratification of the Union of Utrecht, the city government of Nijmegen sent a note to their stadtholder Jan van Nassau that the city and quarter of Nijmegen needed extra time to consider joining.[19] Kelffken's involvement with the process of Nijmegen's entrance into the Union continued at this stage. In exchange for their accession to the Union, Nijmegen wanted additional concessions on paper. After the negotiations with Holland and Zeeland in Gorinchem, Kelffken was familiar with Nijmegen's wishes. The quarter assembly commissioned Kelffken and two other councillors to travel to Utrecht to attend the deliberations of the already closer United Provinces.[20] The separately requested *renversaalbrief*, which Kelffken and his fellow deputies brought back to Nijmegen as a result of the proceedings, explicitly stated that joining the Union would not have any negative consequences for the city's customs and privileges, and for the existing bonds between the quarter's knighthood and cities and the Holy Roman Empire.[21] Kelffken travelled to Antwerp, where the States General would convene, to acquire an additional guarantee from the highest possible authority on the validity of the conditions for Guelders and Nijmegen to accept the Union.[22] In short, Kelffken was closely involved in aligning the quarter of Nijmegen with the campaign of William of Orange. His involvement should be seen as a consequence of the

6.2
Abraham de Bruyn, *The Duke of Anjou on Horseback,* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1582. Public domain.

fact that each quarter of Guelders decided independently on the specific conditions to join the Union.

The Dukes of Anjou and Parma

It was the lure of monarchy that would bring Kelffken his second commission to the States General. The States General had officially abandoned Philip II of Spain in July 1581. In the absence of a sovereign overlord, William of Orange was obliged to discuss the future of the United Provinces with authorized delegates of the Union's provincial states. The abjuration of Philip II was not a protest against monarchical rule over the Low Countries. Therefore, appointing François, Duke of Anjou and brother to the King of France, as the new overlord of the United Provinces, seemed like the most legitimate solution at the time. To this end, Orange sent out letters to all provincial states requesting them to send to the next States General delegations with constructive instructions and a strong mandate.[23] As with the Union of Utrecht, Guelders was slow to comply and requested special conditions.[24]

Guelders appeared to be unified in its desire to defend the local liberties and privileges, but this unity proved fragile. While in Antwerp, Kelffken was accused of fraud involving Guelders's finances by a fellow Gueldersman. A prominent squire from Arnhem, Crispinus van Solsbrugge – or someone using his characteristic signature 'Crispinus' – claimed Kelffken had been selling goods in Antwerp to settle debts of Guelders. Kelffken's possessions were confiscated and he was arrested.[25] Initially, it looked like an accusation from an Arnhem nobleman had managed to prevent the burgomaster of Nijmegen from negotiating with Anjou. Kelffken immediately asked the States of Guelders to refute the allegations against him in order to end his custody. The states obliged,

proclaiming Kelffken was being falsely accused only to damage the province's honourable reputation by attaching scandal to one of their deputies.[26] During the diet following the negotiations with Anjou in Antwerp, Chancellor Leonius complained about the lack of cooperation between the quarters. This severely hindered the possibility of deliberations resulting in decisive actions and any improvement of the province's critical situation on the frontline of the Dutch Revolt.[27]

The accusation and its aftermath during the diet shed light on the importance of reputation and good connections for Kelffken to navigate the political landscape. Leonius also revealed that the states had failed to pay the salary of the delegates. Apparently during his mission to Antwerp Kelffken was not paid the amount of money that was due, which had increased his contribution to the delegations' expenses. Connecting the accusation of financial mismanagement with this failure of the assembly to pay expenses as its administrative aftermath suggests that Kelffken indeed had been forced to provide an alternative source of funding for the delegates in Antwerp. Kelffken was no stranger to lending the states substantial amounts of money.[28] The fact that Guelders was quick to rehabilitate their delegate shows that they saw the incident as harmful to their own honour and were keen to control the damage. For Kelffken, this rehabilitation was vital to his prestige as a provincial delegate. The lack of payment by the states might have forced him to commit fraud, but eventually it strengthened Kelffken's reputation.

As much as the Dutch Revolt had helped Kelffken's career gain momentum, it was still an unpredictable war effort. This meant that a defeat on the battlefield would also set Kelffken back in the political hierarchy, as the final case will demonstrate. With Spanish troops closing in on Nijmegen, career prospects for Kelffken were becoming bleak by 1583. The Duke of Parma was successful in retaking cities in provinces that had abandoned Philip II. After the successes in Groningen and Overijssel, his army posed a threat to the cities along the river Rhine. Tensions rose in Nijmegen after Zutphen was betrayed and fell into the hands of Spanish troops in 1583. Fearing a similar fate, Nijmegen sought to minimize repercussions by voluntarily reconciling with Philip II two years later.[29] This meant that Kelffken lost his seat in the city council.

Kelffken and Maurice of Nassau

Kelffken did not accept his fall from power and Nijmegen's return to Philip II without a fight. The former burgomaster and his second wife, Naleke van Buyl, took part in a conspiracy against the Spanish occupants of Nijmegen. But in October 1585, the conspiracy blew up and a co-conspirator betrayed them. The following day Kelffken and Van Buyl were made to stand on the Blue Stone, placed in the middle of the market street between the city hall and the market square.[30] This was the place where people who had been arrested were presented. As the accused walked around the Blue Stone, their bail was announced. According to the *Habeas corpus* principle, other citizens could pay this bail, upon which a release from custody followed and the moment of trial could be awaited in freedom.[31]

The freshly installed, pro-Spanish city council used this moment to legitimize their claim to the government of Nijmegen. It must have been quite a sight to see a former burgomaster and his wife presented on the Blue Stone. A prosperous man in both professional status and capital – who himself as burgomaster had previously been responsible for this public display of order and justice – had now landed in disgrace. Fortunately for him, the disgraced burgomaster had friends in high places: a member of the Court of Guelders paid the impressive sum of 6,000 guilders for him and his wife to be released on bail. Soon after their release, the new city council cleared the Kelffkens and the other conspirators from all charges.[32] The former burgomaster retreated from public life, as was expected of him.

What does this incident tell us about the practice of provincial representation in a state of flux? In the first place, the failed conspiracy illustrates that the military threat posed by the Spanish monarchy made Guelders uncertain terrain for the Oranges. The royalists' exposing the burgomaster who had signed the Union of Utrecht on behalf of Nijmegen as a conspirator, confirmed the city's severed ties with the Orangist cause in the Revolt. The payment of the bail by an affiliate of the Court of Guelders, on the other hand, is testimony to the importance of Kelffken's vertical lines of friendship with the provincial elite: the Court supported the stadtholder in performing his duties. During Kelffken's absence from office, the ties between Guelders and the Oranges grew stronger. The decision not to replace Robert Dudley, Duke of Leicester, in the role of sovereign Governor-General, left a power vacuum. The States of Guelders stepped in. In 1590 for example they appointed Prince Maurice of Orange as their new stadtholder, whereas the sovereign overlord had done this before. Provincial states and city governments consequently had to deal with an increase in their political responsibilities. Of course, between March and October 1585, Kelffken could not have known that Maurice of Orange would succeed in retaking Nijmegen in 1591.[33] But his public demasking as a 'conspirator' against the King of Spain in Nijmegen obviously came into a different light after Nijmegen's incorporation in the Dutch Republic.

There could be no doubt where Kelffken's allegiance lay: after losing his council seat to Catholic citizens, Kelffken had tried to undermine the Spanish occupation of Nijmegen.

6.3
Frans Hogenberg (workshop), *The City of Nijmegen is Attacked by Troops of Maurice of Orange, 1590,* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1590–92. Public domain.

When Maurice of Nassau (who had been appointed as Stadtholder of Guelders in 1590) retook the city in 1591, Kelffken's fortune changed again. In retrospect, Kelffken's moment of shame on the Blue Stone had strengthened his honourable reputation. In exchange for this Reduction, Maurice punished the city for its voluntary return to Spain by annulling the city's privilege to elect public officials according to old customs.[34] The revised election procedure notwithstanding, Kelffken returned to his post in the city council.

Van der Capellen versus the Zutphen ridderschap

The consequence of this power shift between the provincial government and the Orange stadtholder was still felt by Alexander van der Capellen. Born into a family that already had a firm foothold in the political affairs of the Zutphen quarter, Van der Capellen went through the traditional education of a member of the elite. He studied law at Leiden University and made a grand tour through France before he claimed his seat in the Zutphen *ridderschap* as Lord of the Boedelhof. This so-called *radicale qualiteit* was the precondition for every other provincial and national office. In 1625 Guelders committed Van der Capellen into the *Generaliteitsrekenkamer* (Exchequer), a commission he considered to provide him with useful knowledge of the state and finances of the republic.[35] A year later he married Amilia van Zuylen van Nyevelt. As she descended from an important noble family, this marriage fortified Van der Capellen's social and political standing. The next step in his pursuit of office was taking a seat as a Guelders delegate in the States General in September 1631. Van der Capellen seems to have made an important impact on this institution. One of his first comments in the *Gedenkschriften* on proceedings in this assembly concerned the dissatisfaction expressed by senior delegates on how *griffier* (chief clerk) Musch twisted the wording of the assembly's decisions. Van der Capellen notes that he suggested changing the decision-making process by passing the extended resolutions the next day in reading them aloud in the meeting.[36] This 'resumption' procedure actually became accepted practice from May 1637 onwards. In 1636 the States General commissioned Van der Capellen to participate in the meetings of the *Raad van State* (Council of State). As the stadtholders in their capacity as military chiefs also had a seat in this high council, this office created new career opportunities for Van der Capellen. However, though he is often qualified as a friend of the House of Orange, Van der Capellen, as we will see,

6.4

Anonymous, *Portraits of William I, Prince of Orange, his Sons Philip William, Maurice, and Frederick Henry, Princes of Orange, Amalia of Solms, their Son with Spouse, their Daughters with Spouses, and a Grandchild,* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1645–1706. Public domain.

took his time in becoming a committed supporter of these quasi-monarchs.

The first case in which his ambivalent position regarding the Orange stadtholders comes to the surface concerns Van der Capellen's first office. In 1623, after mediation by Maurice, Stadtholder of Guelders and (since 1618) Prince of Orange, he was finally accepted in the Zutphen *ridderschap*, a position he had started claiming a few years earlier.[37] One of the prerequisites for this office was the possession of a *havezate* (manor). Van der Capellen did have legitimate reasons to claim access to the meetings of the Zutphen nobility, as in 1621 he became the owner of the Boedelhof, a manor that had been bought by his father twenty years earlier. However, Derk van Dorth, an influential member of the Zutphen *ridderschap*, raised objections. Dorth questioned whether the Boedelhof was indeed a manor. Though Van der Capellen does not mention this in his *Gedenkschriften*, the original edifice had fallen into ruins. So, one can understand the reservations regarding its status as a *havezate*, which according to the requirements would have to yield 400 guilders every year.[38]

6.5

Pieter Nason, *Four Generations of Princes of Orange: William I, Maurice, Frederick Henry, William II, and William III*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. c. 1660–62. Public domain.

6.6

Michiel Jansz. van Mierevelt (workshop), *Portrait of Maurice (1567-1625), Prince of Orange,* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, c. 1607–13. Public domain.

6.7

Hendrick Noster, 'Medal Commemorating the Accession of the States of Guelders and Zutphen into the Council of the States-General in Brussels', Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, 1576. Public domain.

Van der Capellen did start the building of a new manor of which he and his family took possession in 1638. Nonetheless, from 1621 onwards Van der Capellen stood his ground, causing havoc in the nobility by just taking up his seat, thus forcing the other knights to leave the meeting hall.

The conflict developed into a legal tug-of-war in which documents had to be shown and alliances deployed. Van der Capellen's brother Hendrik had become a burgomaster in the town of Zutphen in 1620. Deputies from that town who supported his claim wanted to overcome the deadlock and called in Stadtholder Maurice for help. But even this alliance with the town did not speed up the acceptance procedure in the *ridderschap*. According to Van der Capellen, the *ridderschap* had been 'gourmandized' (gluttonized) by Dorth.[39] At long last, father and son approached Maurice during the latter's visit to the province in August 1623. This caused the stadtholder to summon Dorth and tell him to stop blocking Van der Capellen's access to the *ridderschap*. Maurice referred to the family's long service to the republic and remarked that the whole affair seemed to be dominated by passions.[40] Though Maurice had promised to look into the matter and settle it, he took his time, being the prudent stadtholder he was, proceeding according to Van der Capellen with 'leaden feet'. [41] Alexander's relatives tried to accelerate matters by letting him take up his seat in the assembly of the Zutphen quarter by mandate of the town. Again, Dorth refused to meet in this way. By the end of September 1623, these gentlemen as well as a delegation from Zutphen – including Van der Capellen's elder brother, the burgomaster – travelled to Arnhem to approach the prince again on this matter. But Maurice did not want to push the matter through and again tried to induce the two parties to compromise. They finally did so in April 1624.

Though Van der Capellen more than once complained of Maurice's failure to act, he was apprehensive of too much power ending up in the hands of the Dutch prince. In a 'discourse' on the office of a stadtholder – intriguingly located in the *Gedenkschriften* between the first and the last attempt to get the stadtholder to settle his claim against Dorth – he warned against appointing another Nassau as Stadtholder of Guelders after the ageing Maurice's death.[42] This would lead to an amalgamation of the provincial stadtholderates in one dynasty and smacked of hereditary succession as practised in monarchies. In that situation, usurpation of powers, detrimental to the time-honoured liberties and privileges of the province, might be far too easy. Van der Capellen warned that during the recent civil disputes between the various factions in the Guelders diet, Maurice had carried [too] much weight already. He also recalled how after 1618 Maurice had suppressed the Arminian faction and subdued the provinces, the States General, and the Council of State, and how he had practically acted as a sovereign ruler, using his favourites as advisers.[43] Therefore, in Van der Capellen's view it would be prudent to give the post to someone else, for instance to Count Herman Otto van Bronckhorst, and to have the new stadtholder accept an instruction that substantially limited his influence in the provincial states assemblies.

The matter of Van der Capellen's seat in the Zutphen *ridderschap* demonstrates how republican government in town, quarter, and province still depended on both vertical and horizontal connections. The local powerbase of the Van der Capellens and the fact that Alexander van der Capellen's father was acting Chancellor of the Court of Guelders and Zutphen, an office that provided him with access to the stadtholder, made the family a force to reckon with. The towns, as Van der Capellen remarked, were rich and no longer bowed to the wishes of the nobility.[44] If Zutphen supported his claims, this was because he had acknowledged the town's importance. On the other hand, the episode also illustrates what had changed since Kelffken's time in office: Van der Capellen indicated that the division of authority between the various institutions of the republic needed to be addressed, whereas for Kelffken, the direct military threat posed by enemy troops drove the quarter of Nijmegen into establishing more ad hoc alliances. Van der Capellen noticed these provisional agreements were turning into permanent arrangements between the States General, Council of States, stadtholders, and the provinces, but that it was a prince like Maurice of Orange, rather than the national and provincial representative institutions, who could dominate decision-making. Despite this sharp judgement, Van der Capellen's assessment of the dynastic ambitions of the princes of Orange did not prevent the appointment of Frederick Henry to the stadtholderate of Guelders in 1625.

Van der Capellen, Frederick Henry, and William II

Van der Capellen adopted a reserved attitude towards Maurice's successor. Compared to Maurice's rigid Protestantism, Frederick Henry adopted a moderate religious attitude. For example, when he was working on an alliance with France in 1635, the staunchly Calvinist Van der Capellen as delegate of the Zutphen quarter opposed the in his view far too lenient article regarding Catholicism.[45] Not earlier than 1644 did Van der Capellen's relationship with Frederick Henry become more amicable. Van der Capellen's admission to the Council of State in 1638 may have helped to stimulate his change of heart. Access to the stadtholder and thus to advancement of family and friends became easier in this capacity. In a letter to Frederick Henry's secretary Constantijn Huygens of 8 September 1640, Van der Capellen solicited army positions for his relatives Steven Hendrik van der Capellen and Peter

Piccart.[46] Yet, in the same year he still feared dominance of the political system by the princes of Orange. Following the sudden death of Henry Casimir, Stadtholder of Friesland and Groningen, the loyal supporters of Frederick Henry in the States General wanted him to hold this office in both provinces, thus creating the amalgamation Van der Capellen was so afraid of. The States General sent a letter and a committee with this recommendation to the diet of Friesland, saying it would advance stability in the combined provinces. However, Van der Capellen had tipped off William Frederick, the younger brother and the most likely successor of the deceased stadtholder, about this move and in the end the Frisian diet had already appointed William Frederick before the delegation from The Hague had arrived.[47]

The suspicions Van der Capellen harboured about Frederick Henry's intentions changed when the delegate and stadtholder found common ground regarding the republic's internal structure and defence. In 1644 Frederick Henry visited Zutphen and pushed for more provincial decisiveness in Guelders's financial matters. He suggested merging the three executive estates of the quarters into one combined collegium.[48] More efficiency in this field was also one of Van der Capellen's favourite topics, perhaps inspired by his time in the *Generaliteitsrekenkamer*. Together with his brother Hendrik he worked for the establishment of this combined collegium which indeed came into existence and scored a success in its first farming out of the provincial taxes.[49] Their efforts did probably not go unnoticed by the ageing and ailing stadtholder. Together with his young son William, Frederick Henry visited Van der Capellen at the Boedelhof around this time and received a warm welcome. From the way Van der Capellen described this visit, it is clear he felt very privileged by their call, not in the least because he was the only *ridder* to receive this honour. Brother Hendrik shared in the prince's benevolent attention and presented him with a beautiful and precious horse. Frederick Henry accepted the gift with a declaration acknowledging his friendship towards the Van der Capellen brothers.[50] The stadtholder's visit to Zutphen and the Boedelhof should be seen as part of his effort to recruit support to continue the war effort against Spain: he knew that Van der Capellen did not belong to the rapidly increasing peace party.[51]

One of Van der Capellen's constant concerns involved the Dutch Republic's level of defence. The Spanish troops had abandoned Guelders, but the military threat posed by other monarchs was far from over. From the first pages of his *Gedenkschriften* he warned against disbanding the troops: the princes surrounding Guelders would maintain their armies even after peace had been brokered.[52] Thus, when in 1650 Holland unilaterally decided to reduce the troops on their payroll, without approbation of either the States General, the Council of State, or the stadtholder, Van der Capellen sided with Frederick Henry's successor William II. The issue at stake was not just a matter of procedure or even the number of troops, "but [of] who controlled the Republic."[53] The Prince of Orange, who already in 1649 had started looking for opportunities to break the power of Holland, more or less forced the States General to send a committee from their midst (supplemented with members of the Council of State) to Holland and to place him at the head of this mission. According to Van der Capellen, Guelders did endorse the visitation by the States General, but not the far-reaching mandate that was given to the young stadtholder. It was clear to him that Holland had every reason to cut costs, but wanted to impose its will, also looking for ways to reduce the power of both the States General and the stadtholder.[54]

William II summoned Van der Capellen to join him on his mission in Holland. The stadtholder wanted to head the visitation committee, consisting of delegates from the States General and the Council of State. Van der Capellen felt little inclination to play the part of the prince's marionette and asked in vain to be excused. He warned the prince not to risk his authority and respect just to satisfy his pride as this would be injurious to the state.[55] Though William displayed a modicum of respect for the now-fiftyish Gueldersman, he pursued his hard line and as Van der Capellen was excused by neither prince nor province, he had to take part in the visitation. In the eyes of the public, Van der Capellen's visitation in Dordrecht sealed his fate: pamphlets presented him as the prince's puppet and his reputation would never recover.[56] In private, however, he kept warning the stadtholder, though, explaining to him the dangers of succumbing to the lure of monarchy. By the end of July 1650, William II sent for Van der Capellen and told him he had put six delegates of Holland under arrest and planned an attack on Amsterdam, expecting him to be startled by this news. Van der Capellen was shocked indeed and, not holding with extreme measures, he repeated his admonitions about this type of reckless behaviour, saying it would ultimately cause his ruin. To impress the prince with the importance of being cautious, he referred to the dismal fate of William's royal father-in-law: the beheaded King of England.[57] William II ignored Van der Capellen's warnings. The stadtholder failed in his designs and died unexpectedly in November 1650, a week before his first child, the future William III, was born. Until 1672 this Prince of Orange would be excluded from high office, though Van der Capellen and his friends did their best to set up the army command for him.[58]

The William II episode demonstrates, on the one hand, how Van der Capellen still had his reservations regarding

stadtholders who displayed monarchical tendencies, but otherwise saw their military and unifying use in a state weakened by a complex institutional structure. He still dreaded the appropriation of a high office like the stadtholderate by one family, but his administrative experience in the miniature republic of Guelders, the *Generaliteitsrekenkamer*, the States General, and the Council of State had taught him the Oranges were a necessary evil at worst and a source of pensions and positions at best.

Conclusion

The ambitions of the stadtholders from the House of Orange played a key role in the political lives of both Kelffken and Van der Capellen. Transitioning from being a republic at war to an officially recognized state in peacetime put the internal relationship between the provincial states, the States General, the Council of State, and the stadtholder under severe pressure. Crucial questions about the authority of the political institutions in the Dutch Republic had to be addressed. Kelffken signed the Union of Utrecht on behalf of Nijmegen, which in a way sealed his fate: strong connections to the provincial states and the Council were able to save his reputation when he faced attacks from parties trying to undermine his quarter's involvement with William of Orange and his allies. Van der Capellen also knew the Orange stadtholders could make or break his political ambitions and those of his relatives. Whereas Kelffken's political rise, fall, and rehabilitation coincided with ad hoc battlefield results, Van der Capellen and his contemporaries had to deal with the tedious aftermath of continuous warfare. This chapter has shown that Van der Capellen's reputation as a subsumed Orange client does not do justice to the fact that he dared to question the accumulation of power by the Orange family and the monarchical tendencies that increased as members of this family continued to hold the office of stadtholder. It was thanks to provincial delegates like Kelffken and Van der Capellen that Guelders could also remain a serious contender for power to the princes of Orange.

1 Blockmans, 'Who has a Say?', p. 305.
2 Damen, 'An Introduction', pp. 4–7. The final section of Blockmans, *Empowering Interactions* is devoted to historiographical and conceptual debates on the issue of state-building from below. See also: Pincus, 'New Approaches to Early Modern Representation'; Rogister, 'Some New Directions in the Historiography of State Assemblies and Parliaments'; Nijenhuis, *De leeuw met de zeven pijlen*; Geevers, *Politieke belangenbehartiging.* Examples of older studies: Graves, *The Parliaments*; Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*; Grever, 'Committees and Deputations'.
3 Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*, pp. 14–19.
4 Blockmans, *Medezeggenschap*, p. 329; Mörke, 'De politieke cultuur', pp. 138–40, 144 and 155.
5 Prak, *Citizens without Nations*, pp. 183–204.
6 The next three paragraphs are based on: Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, pp. 227–30; d'Ablaing van Giessenburg, *De Ridderschap en het Kwartier van Nijmegen*, p. 43.
7 Gelders Archief, 0467 Familie Van der Capellen, inv. no. 1133, "Commentarii"; inv. no. 111, "Verbael"; inv. no. 115, "Consideratiën en voorstellen"; inv. no. 135, "Memoriaal".
8 Gelders Archief, 0467 Familie Van der Capellen, inv. no. 83, Brieven ingekomen bij Alexander van der Capellen, 1621–1656.
9 Pikkemaat, *Regenten en magistraten*, pp. 103–48.
10 Poelhekke, 'Een paar kanttekeningen bij de "Gedenkschriften"', p. 127; Baartmans, *Robert Jasper baron van der Capellen*, pp. 53–56.
11 Gelders Archief, 0452 Familie Brantsen, inv. no. 270, inv. no. 35, 15 November 1552; inv. no. 43, 27 July 1564; Regionaal Archief Nijmegen (RAN), Stadsbestuur Nijmegen, 1.1. De Magistraat tot 1795, inv. no. 80, fol. 127r. See also regest no. 477. No marital conditions or property settlements survive of Kelffken's second marriage. Wartena, *Rijksarchief in Guelders*, Stamboom 'Geslacht Kelffken II'. See also: Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*, p. 17.
12 Van Peteghem, *De raad van de 'rijksstad' Nijmegen*, p. 10.
13 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen, 8.1.2.3 Rentebrieven, inv. no. 1200; Gelders Archief (GA), Abdij te Mariënsweerd te Beesd 2, inv. no. 198.
14 Van der Lem, *De Opstand in de Nederlanden*, pp. 81–89; Geurts, 'Gelderland van 1566–1609', pp. 103–04.
15 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196–1810, 19.2.1.1 Gewest, inv. no. 3698; Van de Pas, 'Tussen centraal en lokaal gezag', pp. 127–30 and 147–52.
16 Noordzij, 'Zelfstandigheid en integratie', pp. 54–55.
17 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196–1810, 10.2.1.6.2. Geschillen, inv. no. 2714, fol. 5r., 9r. and 18r.
18 Blockmans, *Medezeggenschap*, pp. 138–39; Hart, *The Dutch Wars of Independence*, pp. 176–78.
19 Regionaal Archief Arnhem, '"Handlongen" van graaf Jan van Nassau tijdens zijn stadhouderschap in Gelderland', inv. no. 1453, fol. 11r.–12r; Noordzij, 'Zelfstandigheid en integratie', p. 54. See also: Bulst, 'Rulers, Representative Institutions and Their Members', p. 55.
20 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196–1810, 19.1. Landdags- en Kwartiersrecessen met bijbehorende stukken, inv. no. 3333, fol. 154.
21 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196–1810, 19.2.2 Deelname aan en verhouding tot de centrale besturen ten tijde der republiek, inv. no. 3722. See also regestenlijst no. 924.
22 GA, 2000, inv. no. 4694, fol. 133. (Stilo novo: 29 April); Geurts, 'Gelderland van 1566–1609', pp. 118–19.
23 GA, 1707 Gelderse Landdagsrecessen, inv. no. 606, fol. 139, decision 189, 29 November 1581 (old style); 2000 Oud Archief Arnhem, inv. no. 4694, composition delegation and report, 25 June 1582, fol. 98r-99r.
24 Van de Pas, 'Tussen centraal en lokaal gezag', pp. 144–51; Hofman, 'Gelderland en de hertog van Anjou', p. 301. Standing in the assembly of the States General, Kelffken received another ad hoc commission to discuss the papers on convoys with Marnix of Aldegonde. *Resolutiën Staten-Generaal Oude en Nieuwe Reeks* 1576–1625, vol. III (1580–1582), p. 376.
25 GA, 2003 ORA Arnhem, inv. no. 405, fol. 99v-100r.
26 GA, 2000 Oud Archief Arnhem, inv. no. 4694, fol. 486–87.
27 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196–1810, 19.1. Landdags- en Kwartiersrecessen met bijbehorende stukken inv. no. 3336, fol. 216–217; Gelders Archief, 2000 Oud Archief Arnhem, inv. no. 4694, fol. 94–95v.
28 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196–1810, 19.1. Landdags- en Kwartiersrecessen met bijbehorende stukken, inv. no. 3336, fol. 165–174, see f. 171; Gelders Archief, 1707 Gelderse Landdagsrecessen, inv. no. 607, fol. 18.
29 Van de Pas, 'Een autoritaire vader of ongehoorzame kinderen?', pp. 33–42; Keverling Buisman, 'De bestuurlijke organisatie van het gewest Gelre', p. 64; Geurts, 'Gelderland van 1566–1609', p. 123; Guyot, 'De sluiting van het traktaat'; Guyot, 'Aanmaningsbrieven, om tot Spanje terug te keeren.'
30 Van Schevichaven, 'Afval en Reductie van Nijmegen', 25; RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen, 1.1. De Magistraat tot 1795, inv. no. 82, 1584–1586, 24 October, fol. 216v-r.
31 Moorman van Kappen, 'Het Habeas corpus-beginsel'.
32 Van Schevichaven, '1585–1591 Afval en Reductie van Nijmegen', p. 25; RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen, 1.1. De Magistraat tot 1795, inv. no. 82, 1584–1586, 24 October, fol. 216v-r.
33 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen 1196–1810, inv. no. 2914, Akte, waarbij Maurits de voorwaarden goedkeurt waarop de stad Nijmegen zich aan hem overgeeft en zich weer verenigt met de geünieerde provincien; Van Peteghem, *De raad van de 'rijksstad' Nijmegen*, p. 14.
34 RAN, Stadsbestuur Nijmegen, 5. Inrichting van het stadsbestuur, inv. no. 625.
35 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, p. 367.
36 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, p. 646.
37 Gelders Archief, 0467 Familie Van der Capellen, inv. no. 99, Stukken betreffende de admissie van Alexander van der Capellen in de Ridderschap van het Kwartier van Zutphen, 1620–1623.
38 Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, p. 223.
39 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, p. 204.
40 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, pp. 195; 198–99.
41 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, pp. 205–06.
42 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, pp. 203–05.
43 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, p. 348.

44 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, p. 27.
45 Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik*, pp. 434–35. *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, II, pp. 7–8.
46 *Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, A. van der Capellen aan Huygens, 8 September 1840, p. 105.
47 Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik*, pp. 512–513. *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, II, pp. 49–50.
48 Fruin, *Geschiedenis der staatsinstellingen*, p. 220.
49 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, II, pp. 82–85.
50 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, II, p. 77.
51 Hart, *The Dutch Wars of Independence*, pp. 25–28.
52 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, I, p. 12.
53 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, p. 603.
54 Pikkemaat, *Regenten en magistraten*, p. 134. *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, II, pp. 267–68.
55 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, II, pp. 284, 289.
56 Poelhekke, 'Gedenkschriften', pp. 160 and 172–73; *Geen blijder maer in tachtigh jaer*, pp. 62–67.
57 *Gedenkschriften Alexander van der Capellen*, II, pp. 274–75.
58 *Briefwisseling van Constantijn Huygens*, A. van der Capellen aan Huygens, 22 September 1652, pp. 153–54.

7

Marianne Klerk

BEYOND REPUBLICANISM

Representations of the Rohanesque Genre of Interest of State in Pieter de la Court's Interest van Holland (1662)

'The spirit of monarchy is war and aggrandizement; the spirit of the republic is peace and moderation', wrote Montesquieu admiringly about the Dutch Republic and other 'eternal republics' of his time.[1] To this day, republicanism has provided a positive narrative of war for the early modern Dutch Republic. Historians tend to argue that wars were undertaken neither for conquest nor from the position of the aggressor, but primarily for the defence of Dutch commerce or liberty. This view stems partly from the focus within historiography on the seeming paradox of how such a small, decentralized republic could overpower the great monarchies of Europe and beyond. The Dutch Republic seemed no proper fit for the theory of state formation, that is the assumption that early modern warfare evidently facilitated the rise of highly centralized bureaucratic states. As such, historians rendered it either a 'miracle'[2] or an 'enigma'[3] and thereby fostered, however inadvertently, strong elements of Dutch exceptionalism. 'Unique' features of the Dutch Republic – republicanism, commerce, liberty, an artistic golden age – were played up, whilst others were ignored, especially war.

Over the last two decades revisionist approaches have entered the field. More and more, historians look at the Dutch Republic through a transnational and comparative lens, and subsequently escape the more inward-looking analysis inherent to studying a 'golden age' of a national community.[4] One of these revisionist outcomes is the rewriting of war back into the very heart of the history of the Dutch Republic. Pepijn Brandon demonstrates that this republic was not exceptional amidst belligerent European states; it was a warmonger like any other state, yet one of the best in Europe and beyond. Born out of war against its Spanish overlord and experiencing virtually a 'war without end'[5] in the seventeenth century, the Dutch state developed rapidly into a highly successful fiscal military state.[6] Not only were the Dutch superb war-makers, they were also leading businessmen of war. The business of war comprised ten per cent of the total economy in the seventeenth century.[7] Amsterdam functioned as a prime 'fiscal military hub' within a wider international network providing war goods from cannons to credit. This fiscal military system in Europe of private suppliers fuelled state formation, including in the Dutch Republic, where local ruling elites were intrinsically linked to or even active in the lucrative business of war.[8] In sum, war permeated all levels of society from individual behaviour to the self-image of the Dutch Republic.[9]

Despite these revisionist perspectives, some seemingly exceptional features like republicanism remain a focal point for modern historians. Early modern Dutch political authors, however, often borrowed methods and arguments from their monarchical counterparts when facing the challenge of representing republican state power in the age of monarchy. This resulted in 'republican' representations of political power far less subversive to monarchy (and less peaceful) than the dominant interpretations of republicanism would suggest. One of these representations is the language of interest (of state).

This language was popularized by Henri Duc de Rohan, an ex-rebel Huguenot leader, yet a keen supporter of monarchy. His *De l'interest des princes et estats de la Chrestienté* (posthumously published in 1638)[10] became the blueprint for writings on 'the (true) interest of state(s)'. Rohan gave no definition of his conception of 'interest', yet in his oft-cited prefatory lines we may read how he saw it as the essence of state power:

7.1
Abraham van den Tempel, *Portrait of Pieter de la Court*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1667. Public domain.

DOI 10.1484/M.DUNAMIS-EB.5.134675

7.2
Balthasar Moncornet, *Portrait of Henry Duc de Rohan Pair de France Prince de Leon Comte de Porhoüet*, London, The British Museum. 1620–68 (circa). © The Trustees of the British Museum.

> The Princes command the People, & the Interest commands the Princes. The knowledge of this Interest is much more raised above that of Princes actions, as they themselves are above the People. The Prince may deceive himself, his Counsell may be corrupted, but the Interest alone can never faile. According as it is well or ill understood, it maketh States to live or die.[11]

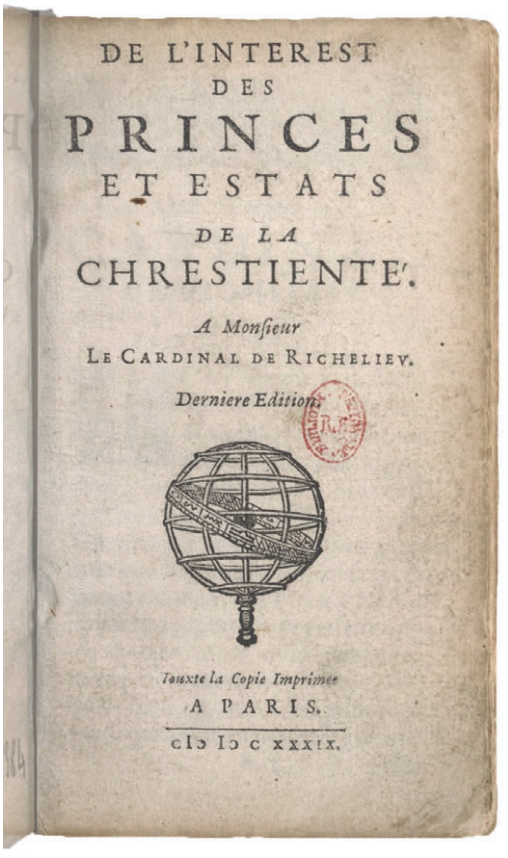
The popular term 'interest' was often used as a synonym for *ragione di stato* ('reason of state'), offering an insight into the 'true' motivations of rulers and a rationale to execute questioned politics in the chaos and crises brought forth by increasing warfare in Europe. Reason of state is considered a highly suggestive term, but in its narrowest, most 'Machiavellian' understanding, it was a matter of evil advice. Taken positively, it offered practical counsel for the ruler on prudence based on experience and history and often summarized in 'maxims' and 'interests'.[12] With his interest analysis, Rohan offered both. Through practical counsel to the French king on what course to follow in the European arena of war, he implicitly sketched a Machiavellian image of the Spanish monarchy as a rapacious rule by conquest. Written on the eve of the French intervention in the Thirty Years' War against Spain, the ex-military Huguenot argued that it was 'in the interest of France' to take up arms against Spain and forge unity (in effect toleration of Huguenots) back home. Most interests were, according to Rohan, in harmony with one another, whereas the Spanish interest conflicted with every other interest of state.

In the context of the growing European conflict, authors all over Europe copied and adapted his line of argument, creating what has been called a 'genre' of interest-of-state treatises.[13] The famous manuscript *Traité succinct des varies maximes des princes et Estats de l'Europe* of 1649 was the first revision, which in 1665 was rewritten and anonymously published as *Maximes des Princes et Estats souverains*. Another popular Rohanesque interest work was *Nouveaux Interest des princes de l'Europe* by Gatien Courtilz de Sandras. Authors considered the characteristics of various European states, from which 'true' interests were derived. In doing so, they could support one political faction that was supposedly the most able candidate to defend that interest, and simultaneously attack the opposing faction as dangerously unsuitable for the interest of state. It was highly polemical language; arguments 'in the interest of state' were primarily made *against* a specific ruler, be that a king, prince, or mere urban patrician.

In the English Civil Wars (1642–1651), numerous treatises on 'the interest of England' appeared, some of which explicitly quoted Rohan or cited him as a source.[14] The pamphleteer Marchamont Nedham, then writing in the service of King Charles I, directly displayed Rohan's influence in *The Case of the Kingdom stated* (1647). Professing 'objectivity', the Englishman wrote:

> I state the interests of all indifferently, pointing out to each the way to advance and preserve their own party, and I shall commend to them what the Duke of Rohan saith of the states of Europe, that according as they follow their proper interests, they thrive or fail in success, so the parties now on foot in the kingdom must look to stand or fall upon the same ground.[15]

He showed the flexibility of Rohanesque language of interest in *Interest will not lie. Or, a View of Englands True Interest* (1659), in which he examined the specific 'interests' of the different domestic power groups, notably the royalists, parliament, and the army, and concluded that it is in 'the Interest of every Party (except only the Papist) to keep him [Charles Stuart] out.'[16] On the other shore of the North Sea, Dutch pamphleteers took it up in the struggle over military spending, grand strategy, and the political position of the Prince of Orange.[17] In his anti-French and pro-Orange book *'t Verwerd*



7.3
Frontispiece of *De l'interest des princes et Estats de la chrestienté*, Paris, Bibliotèque Nationale de France. 1639. Reproduced with permission.

Europa ('The Confused Europe') published three years after the disastrous French invasion of the Dutch Republic in 1672, the lawyer Petrus Valkenier analysed the interests of European states with explicit reference to Rohan and by literally copying his words: 'Of this Interest a certain very wise and experienced military officer attempted to say; that it rules over the Princes, alike they over their Subjects.'[18]

Whether written by French, English, or Dutch, 'absolutist', 'royalist', or 'republican' authors, the stimulus for writing was always a sense of immediate and dire threat, which can be summarized using the notion of *predatory monarchy*. In its most well-developed examples, the predatory monarchy was accused of having a defining 'interest' in waging war in order to suppress and delude its people, to extract money and to pursue further warfare. In all cases what mattered was specifying and analysing the predator that caused the danger. What it threatened could often be relatively unspecific, even open to the reader to identify for himself. This focus on the evils of a predatory monarchy was central to Rohan's whole understanding of interest – interest was the means of casting light on its dangers.[19]

One of the most popular Dutch interest tracts is *Interest van Holland* from 1662. Its author, Pieter de la Court, used the Rohanesque language of interest to argue against the, in his opinion, military belligerence and financial expropriation of the House of Orange. He moulded his argument into a haunting image of an Orange predatory monarchy. His political thought written down in several treatises has been qualified as 'the first unequivocal expression' of Dutch republicanism,[20] as 'commercial'[21] and 'radical'[22] republicanism, or clear-cut 'anti-monarchism'[23] (in contrast to other, moderate defences of an Orange stadtholderate).

Through the case of De la Court, this chapter explores to what extent 'monarchical' interest-thought was separate from 'republican' interest-thought. It aims to shift scholarly attention to De la Court's use of the language of interest. In doing so, it questions the common idea that De la Court's political thought was explicit or extreme republicanism. This contribution argues that the *Interest van Holland* is better seen as a distinct variation on the themes enunciated by Rohan, supplemented with explicit criticism of princely coercion and sovereign authority in the wake of numerous revolts and civil disorder in mid-seventeenth-century Europe. It demonstrates that in the dominant interpretations of 'republican' political theory, the dichotomy between republican and monarchical states is exaggerated. The idiom of interest belonged to a wider European trend, not necessarily monarchical but often manifested in monarchies as the monarchical system was simply dominant.

Rohan

Early modern Europe is arguably first and foremost defined by war, and the subsequent transformation of political rule. Since the 1490s, European rulers had been sucked into a maelstrom of military competition, not least fuelled by the dynastic competition between Habsburg Spain and Valois/Bourbon France. This growing European conflict transformed monarchies and republics alike into war-driven, debt-ridden states. To finance their costly warfare, rulers had to find new, substantial resources beyond revenue taxes: selling lands and offices, such as tax farming, and borrowing huge amounts of money. However, these new resources never filled the rapidly growing gaps in the budgets and bankruptcy was a recurring issue. The politics of selling off lands and offices resulted in debates: about the favouring of new investors over the old elites; about the misuse of offices; about the best course in foreign policy; and about the prince undermining the constitution and endangering the rights and properties

of the elites and subjects. Finally, controlling rising 'opinion', especially amongst those who ought to be persuaded to supply resources, became another crucial issue for rulers. In such debates, arguments of interest of state took centre stage.[24]

The innovative element of Rohan's interest analysis is the way in which he supplemented reason-of-state writings that focused on the person of the ruler and his politics with close attention to the nature of the lands he ruled. Rohan considered systematically the interest of every European state through an examination of the state's geographical position, political structures, religious make-up, military prowess, and relations with other rulers. This new focus was founded on the growing importance of historical analysis within political texts, which enabled authors like Rohan to indicate the specific circumstances and characteristics of the societies and to distinguish these from 'foreign' polities and from the sovereign himself.[25]

This latter distinction is pivotal to understanding his conception of interest. In claiming that interest ruled princes, he dissociated interest from the person of the ruler and therefore from the ethics of office he had to uphold. Instead, he discussed the characteristics of the lands. In this way, Rohan was able to marginalize well-established questions concerning princely virtue, piety, and confessional integrity.[26] For an ex-rebellious Huguenot prince living under a Catholic king and seeking the patronage of the king's advisor, Cardinal Richelieu, any religious polemic ought to be avoided.[27] He could refrain from openly criticizing the Spanish Crown as well as the French Crown, while simultaneously presenting himself as a supporter of the French 'state'. The language of interest gave him thus an ultimate weapon: a supraconfessional argument and *seemingly* objective analysis to attack Spain.

Commentators on *De l'interest* have overlooked the satiric exaggeration and demonization in Rohan's interest analysis of Spain.[28] Although some commentators rightly point to Rohan's propagandistic aim to justify an offensive anti-Spanish foreign policy,[29] they praised his work above all for his allegedly objective and rational interpretation of the practice of foreign policy, freed from considerations of morality and religion.[30] This praise partly stems from the second part of his opening lines, where he claims to examine solely 'the present affairs' of princes as the state interest 'varies over time'.[31] Yet, this claim is part of what Noel Malcolm calls, 'a genre of critical current-affairs commentary', where the aim was to publicize the truth and secret advice of princely councils, to expose evil counsel, the *arcana imperii*, 'reason of state' or 'interest' of princes, while simultaneously to criticize opponents in a satiric manner. By mixing in examples and sources from current affairs, this extremely popular body of propagandistic literature drifted between fact and fiction. The unmasking of the opponent's dissimulations and simulations was even more effective when it told the truth.[32]

Behind a supposedly neutral and secular interest analysis of European states lies Rohan's satiric account of the interest of the Spanish monarchy: its desire for establishing what he describes as a 'new monarchy'[33] (*monarchie nouvelle*), that we may understand as a tyrannical universal control through Machiavellian rule by conquest. Niccolò Machiavelli is found throughout Rohan's work, yet without any direct reference. In his (in)famous *Il Principe* (1532) Machiavelli explains how his counsel on maintaining and expanding power is mainly concerned with *nuovi principi*, princes with newly acquired territories.[34] In the French translation, in the possession of Rohan, it was translated as a 'new prince', establishing a 'new monarchy'.[35] For Rohan, the Spanish King Philip II was such a prince, continuously seeking new monarchy, a rapacious strategy that was followed by his successors to the day.

In order to paint a careful picture of a Spanish predatory monarchy, he starts his interest analysis with the Spanish interest, devoting the most pages to it. 'This [power] of *Spaine* finding itself augmented all at once, hath not been able to conceale the designe she had to make herselfe Mistresse, and cause the Sun of a new *Monarchie* to rise in the West'.[36] The late King Philip II, Rohan wrote satirically, 'finding himself less fit for war than *civil businesses* judged that *Monarchies* got as it were in post, by the valour of warlike princes, are not of like continuance as those which they get by establishing a good counsel, and which are founded upon good maxims'.[37] He continued by almost paraphrasing Machiavelli, again without reference, about the difficulties new princes may encounter,

> [b]ecause that these great *Conquerors* (who think only of vanqueshing; and extending their dominions, and not of founding Lawes for their subsistence) being not ordinarily succeeded by such as equall their courage, and the vanquished people having not yet lost the memorie of their libertie, or of their ancient *Lords*, are easily carried to any change, seeing themselves delivered from the fear of him that had subjected them.[38]

Therefore, Machiavelli believed the conqueror could set up an indirect rule and allow them to live under their own laws, but thought it more efficient to live there himself or destroy these polities, scatter the inhabitants, or create internal divisions.[39] Rohan underlined this counsel. Since Philip II was no warrior prince, yet a true statesman, the king chose a course most agreeable to his impenetrable humour, that was according to Rohan, to prosecute his designs under a profound 'dissimulation'; Philip II seated his power in Madrid

and from there he ruled through force and violence, sending his armies across Europe and beyond, and, in doing so, kept internal peace.[40] Most contemporary readers would have understood this implicit reference to Machiavellian power politics and the imperative of concealing the truth.[41]

Rohan explained Spain's desire for universal monarchy through predominantly five '*maximes*'. He distinguished: 1) religion, i.e. falsely upholding a great zeal for the Catholic faith; 2) acquiring secret intelligence about current affairs in other 'states' by ambassadors, monks, and priests and by bribery of counsellors of foreign princes; 3) signing (secret) treaties, feigning striving for peace, striking other dynasties when they least expect it, and acting as mediator between other princes in conflict; 4) maintaining a constant state of armament to repress its own subjects, to intimidate other princes, to oppose enemy plans and to surprise enemy princes; 5) carefully sustaining its reputation, which is dependent upon the first four maxims.[42] These five maxims were presented in a rather neutral fashion as recommended techniques, carefully analysed, by which Habsburg Spain could maintain and extend its dominion. Each of these maxims has explicit reference to Machiavellian dissimulation or oppression, and by the application of them, Rohan was able to construe all Habsburg Spain's policies and conduct as one great evil strategy.

De la Court

In his *The Interest of Holland* from 1662, De la Court stated: 'the people of Holland could not encounter a greater evil than to be ruled by a Monarch, Prince or Head'.[43] This statement was directed against the House of Orange, its princes being the historical office-holders of the stadtholderate in the Republic of the Seven United Provinces, one of which was Holland. From 1650 until 1672 the princes were, however, excluded from this office by Holland and most other provinces during the stadtholderless period under Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt, or the epoch of 'True Freedom' as some contemporaries hailed it. Since there was no stadtholder during this period, De Witt could become effectively the political leader of the Dutch Republic.[44]

The textile merchant Pieter de la Court (and probably his brother Johan who died before publication)[45] wrote *Interest of Holland* during an Orangist revival in the Dutch Republic at the beginning of the 1660s. The Stuart Restoration across the North Sea and King Charles II's support for his young nephew William of Orange gave rise to high expectations among the Dutch about the prospects of an Orange stadtholderate, backed by the Stuarts. Together with mounting discontent amongst Dutch inhabitants about rising war-related burdens, this produced a real threat for the stadtholderless regime of De Witt.[46] De la Court set out to crush this threat.

The anti-Orangist polemic of *Interest of Holland* produced a vigorous political controversy. De la Court was described as a 'new born Dutch Cromwell alias Leiden Quaker' and a mere 'favourite' of Johan de Witt.[47] In fact, it has been shown that several important urban patricians were implicated in writing *Interest of Holland*, including Pieter de Groot and the Leiden patrician Hendrick van Willighen. Johan de Witt especially intervened by correcting large parts of the work. He toned down De la Court's criticism of the oligarchic rule of Holland and its cities, deleted certain passages, and even added two chapters justifying his rule. Yet, soon after the publication of *Interest van Holland* De Witt distanced himself from De la Court to avoid controversy.[48]

De la Court used the Rohanesque language of interest for his anti-Orangist argument. He represented the province of Holland as a single political and societal entity, with its own 'interest'. In this way, he could present 'Holland' as a strong opponent of the House of Orange, and to a lesser extent of the other provinces, within the Dutch Republic. For his


INTEREST
VAN
HOLLAND,
OFTE
GRONDEN
VAN
Hollands-Welvaren.
Aangewezen door
V. D. H.
De laetste druck vermeerdert en verbetert.
t'AMSTERDAM,
By Joan. Cyprianus van der Graft, in 't Jaer 1662.

7.4

Pieter de la Court, Frontispiece of *Interest van Holland, ofte gronden van Hollands-Welvaren*, Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek Leiden. 1662. Image in Public Domain (Google Books).

attack on the House of Orange, De la Court needed a proper protagonist, rather than some individual patricians or cities. Likewise, on a European level he presented 'Holland' as a force to be reckoned with, without the need for a Prince of Orange leading troops into battle. He analysed the interest of Holland in relation to the three 'super powers': Spain, France, and England. De la Court concluded that the only considerable external threat to Holland was Stuart England, due to its dynastic connections with the House of Orange.

To diminish the threat of an Orange restoration in Holland, De la Court went to extreme lengths. He warned the reader against the Prince of Orange, who in his capacity as stadtholder and captain-general of the army would build up a household government with '*Leeches of State*'[49] that sucked the resources out of the people of Holland. Especially the merchants who created Holland's prosperity would fall victim under this rapacious rule. All rulers, from princes to stadtholders and captain-generals, De la Court wrote, 'strain all subjects, especially the merchants, unbearably through their armies and court; because rulers, their favourites and soldiers continually seek money; in the least to enrich themselves, at the most to spend it to abundance and crazy wars'. [50]

While being averse to its high taxation policies, De la Court believed that the republican regime, with freedoms of religion, trade, and government, safeguarded the interests of the merchants best. Note that in De la Court's view, freedom of government essentially means a regime without an Orange prince and contains no systematic rejection of monarchy. De la Court considers, for instance, in his preface to *Interest of Holland* Louis XIV's monarchy and other northern European monarchies legitimate governments as opposed to the 'absolute Monarchies' that ruled the Asian, African, and southern European peoples: 'All *northern* peoples are ruled more competently by *an excellent Head* and *more freedom, as all absolute monarchical government ends from France up to the north*'. [51]

An important aspect of De la Court's critique of the House of Orange concerned the fact that the offices of captain-general and stadtholder were both held by the Prince of Orange. The combination of these offices had proven, according to Rohan, to be the greatest danger to the privileges, properties, and lives of Holland's inhabitants. The House of Orange had rapaciously taxed, stolen, and extorted money. But what they amassed was always inadequate and so there were ever-increasing debts. The stadtholder and his flatterers financed large land forces, garrisons, and citadels to threaten and eventually subject Holland. The existing debt of 140 million guilders, De la Court believed, '*has been wasted in the pursuit of ambition and glory by this said Captain-General*, in order to set up large armies, and surprise sieges, which are still today, as said before, a heavy burden for Holland'. [52]

With De la Court as well as Rohan, interest shapes an enemy, as it helps define a potential victim. Yet, whereas Rohan delegitimized through a seemingly objective analysis Habsburg Spain as a tyrannical rule by conquest, De la Court directly constructs the rule of Orange through tropes of 'Turkish tyranny', robbing the inhabitants of their properties and privileges, effectively enslaving them all. *Interest van Holland* is filled with references to slavery under Orange. De la Court's argument was that the interest of all rulers was to coerce their subjects into powerlessness, so they would bear the war-related burdens willingly as slaves.

De la Court was acquainted with Rohan's writings.[53] These were extensively re-printed in Protestant Europe and in parts of the Holy Roman Empire during the second half of the seventeenth century and Elsevier was particularly active in their promotion. Editions of *De l'interest* and updated versions by other authors flooded the Dutch book market from 1639 onwards.[54] Nevertheless, Rohan's influence on Dutch political thought has received little attention, especially when compared to the attention given by historians to his influence on English interest debates and texts used in polemics during the Civil Wars.[55] More interestingly, several historians have pointed to notable similarities between English interest texts and Dutch ones, most often in terms of their supposed 'republicanism', such as between De la Court's interest analysis and works by above-mentioned Nedham, Algernon Sidney, and Slingsby Bethel.[56] The parallels between *Interest van Holland* and Nedhams's earlier treatise are striking. Algernon Sidney's *Court Maxims* (manuscript written in 1664–65) and Slingsby Bethel's *The Present Interest of England stated* (1671) in turn drew heavily on De la Court's work; while they were in exile in the Dutch Republic in the mid-1660s, De la Court's manuscript was shared in their inner circle.[57]

Interest as critique of new princely politics

The interest work of De la Court and those of the abovementioned English authors all stress the importance of a harmony of interests between rulers and ruled. Royal government, argued Sidney and Nedham, unbalanced the constitution by pursuing only the interest of the ruler.[58] De la Court claimed that any country's true interest consisted of the welfare of the rulers and subjects combined, and that the well-being of the subjects did not depend on the virtue or vices of the ruler but the other way around.[59] 'Despite its modern association with conflict, discord and struggle', the historian Alan Houston writes, 'the language of interest was prized for its ability to illuminate new bases of political order and social cooperation.'[60] Amongst these was an emphasis on commerce and co-operation among those engaged in trade as a pivotal source of the country's welfare. In

this sense, interest analyses came to serve advocacy of constitutional rule amidst a perceived crisis of order throughout Europe; often these analyses focused on the absence or erosion of reliable law brought forth by incessant warfare, confessional strife, civil wars, and coercive princely politics. The crisis of order was believed to culminate in numerous revolts in the 1640s and 1650s: from the English Civil Wars to rebellions in France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, as well as a series of coups d'état elsewhere, including the failed attack on Amsterdam by Stadtholder William II in 1650.[61]

Criticism of princely war politics like De la Court's was therefore not exclusive to republics. In France, the nobility appealed for the restoration of ancient constitutional agreements that safeguarded the common good, the privileges and property of elites and subjects, and the political participation of nobility. The concerns about desperate financial measures in the war against Spain generated a substantial polemical literature, in which from the 1630s the adjective 'despotic' appeared, delegitimizing a certain system of rule that undermined the property rights and privileges of its subjects. Authors conveyed their attacks through comparisons with a household government that treated its subjects as slaves exemplified by alleged practices of Ottoman rule, to which the example of Christian Moscow was often added. They recapitulated tropes of 'Turkish tyranny' and applied them to Habsburg Spain, thus depicting it as unchristian and illegitimate, with no regard for its subjects or constitutional rule. Similar critiques of 'war despotism' could be witnessed in the Holy Roman Empire, yet here writers, such as Ludwig van Seckendorff, directly attacked the princes.[62] These writings did not entail a systematic critique of the institution of monarchy as such. The disintegration of civil order exemplified by the English Civil Wars were feared in all European polities. Pieter de la Court's vicious attack on princely war politics reflects the nature of these texts.

Already in an earlier treatise written by Pieter and his brother, Johan, we can observe elements of this discourse: a manuscript titled *Het welvaren der stad Leyden* (The prosperity of the city of Leiden), completed in 1659.[63] In chapter 64, the De la Courts exclaim: 'a furore monarcharum libera nos Domine' ('Save us from the fury of monarchs, oh Lord').[64] In fact, *Interest van Holland* was based on this early work of the De la Court brothers. Johan most probably wrote the initial text that Pieter expanded into a sharp critique of the municipal government that allegedly constrained the economic, religious, and political liberties of the citizens. It was, however, not published, but via his wife's brother-in-law, Johan Eleman, the manuscript circulated in the faction surrounding De Witt. It found a keen audience amongst these powerful patricians, and so Pieter de la Court expanded the interest analysis to the entire province of Holland.[65]

Interestingly, in chapter 64 of the manuscript the brothers underline the contemporary transformations of European governments and consequent appeal to ancient rights of certain parts of society to participate in politics, as contemporary French and German authors likewise argued. They write that 'in old times Europe was ruled satisfactorily by Republics, and which have left so many remnants of power to the subjects, Cities and Provinces' that the monarchs could not subvert.[66] Monarchical government had functioned perfectly well when it was part of a layered system of government by consent through city and provincial assemblies, but conversely all *present* monarchs, the De la Courts write, follow the examples of 'Tartars, Turks, Persians, Muscovites, and all other countries, where one person rules and is obeyed without any contradiction'.[67] Without further explanation they assert that Spain, France, Sweden, the German rulers, and the Netherlands transformed into such illegitimate systems of rule, and instead concentrate on showing 'how disadvantageous the slavery or coercion of the same absolute general freedom of inhabitants for the rulers of Leiden is'.[68]

Here we witness the nature of the De la Courts' argument, in their attack on, allegedly, *new* practices of rulers. They make the standard comparison with Oriental regimes deemed despotic. Like these regimes, the rulers of Christendom coerce and subvert the legal order, they plunder the polity, effectively enslaving the subjects. For the De la Courts, these propensities characterized early modern rule; its novelty lay in the shift from consent and the authority of law serving the *res publica* to arbitrary rule and enslavement. Rather than rejecting monarchy as such, it is the new despotisms that are attacked. As Rohan had done before regarding the 'new' monarchy of Spain (probably in reference to Machiavelli's *nuovi principi*), the De la Courts treated newness prejudicially. Indeed, the negativity surrounding innovation was entirely conventional, yet it has been overlooked by modern commentators in their search for republicanism; the result has been a misplaced emphasis: it is not that 'new' monarchy is a recent illustration of illegitimate rule, but that monarchy is evil insofar as it is newly transformed.

Why did Pieter leave this argument out of *Interest van Holland*? Perhaps Johan de Witt regarded it as undiplomatic to be associated with such openly hostile critiques of neighbouring regimes, especially in view of De Witt's careful defensive policy towards France; or perhaps it was the hand of his brother Johan de la Court in the respective treatises. The *Political Balance* even devoted a large section to the Turkish system of rule as 'the best monarchical government', although this praise is best seen as an ironic critique of a despotic system of rule.[69] In any case, De la Court acknowledged

differences in the systems of government ruled by one person, but above all underlined the illegitimacy of bellicose despotic regimes. First and foremost, De la Court wrote *Interest van Holland* with the constitutional specifics of the Dutch Republic in mind; he wanted to diminish the Orange threat and to justify the stadtholderless regime, not to defend the superiority of republics over principalities.

In later European interest texts, the image of a predatory monarchy – an Oriental household government set up through war like that painted by De la Court – is applied to Louis XIV's monarchy. The imperial diplomat Francois-Paul de Lisola, for instance, defended strong Habsburg rule, but used Rohan's interest analysis of Spain and turned it in quite an ironic fashion against France.[70] Both Rohan and Lisola's works were used by the Dutch author Petrus Valkenier, who wrote against France and in favour of a strong Orange-princely, military rule in the Dutch Republic; or by the English author Bethel, who wrote in support of the Stuart monarchy.[71] After the 1650s, such Rohanesque interest texts were often complemented with explicit criticism of *certain* princely coercion through war politics, not princely power or monarchy per se.

The republican reality of De la Court

Why have historians disregarded the language of interest in Dutch political thought? Despite its popularity in the Dutch Republic, literature on Dutch interest-thought is notably thin. It was perhaps, as Hans Blom argued, 'easy to overlook' its influence on contemporary debates, since Dutch authors were divided over the position of the Prince of Orange, but 'united' in 'an interest-based conception of politics'.[72] Moreover, historians tended to examine Dutch pamphlet wars solely within a national framework; 'None of them refer to the fact that the major political debates *originated* in the context of international warfare'.[73]

Interest, in fact, took centre stage in conflicts over military spending and grand strategy, especially in the crisis years of 1650–51 and 1672. These crises were often described as a clash between a so-called patrician 'peace party' and an Orange 'pro-war' party. The central issue was not republicanism versus Orange republicanism. The issue was war, and, in its slipstream, the position of the Prince of Orange. The pro-war camp pushed for the pursuit of costly offensive warfare against the grand European dynasties under the military leadership of the Prince of Orange, and by implication, to sustain large land forces and high taxes. The other side strived for peace with a strong fleet to protect the prosperous trade without the need for an Orange stadtholder and captain-general.[74]

This debate created the illusion of a permanent opposition against war, while the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic operated as a permanent war state. Three out of four were years of war in Europe, and all around the world the Dutch Republic had armed presence.[75] Due to almost incessant warfare, the Dutch Republic experienced an unprecedented level of public debt, and consequently an unparalleled rise of taxation and the sale of public loans and annuities. Taxation per head was considerably higher in the province of Holland than in other European polities, and this province paid for more than half of the Union's war budget.[76] Civil disorder, especially the violent and enduring nature witnessed in the English Civil Wars, was greatly feared, and in the *Interest van Holland* De la Court persistently expressed contempt for the ignorant rabble easily incited to rebellion. The dynastic pretentions of the House of Orange and the pursuit of glory in European military competition gravely troubled the patrician rulers, especially those in Holland. The stadtholderless regime was, first and foremost, a minority regime. Its leader Johan De Witt estimated that only 0.1 per cent of the common populace supported the regime.[77] De Witt was supported by the ruling elite since the regime safeguarded, as Dutch historian Ernst Kossmann writes, 'its monopoly of power [..] for the time being'.[78] However, in times of emergency large parts of society could suddenly rise up against the regime for a complex number of reasons, but often conveyed through support for Orange. After the regicide of the English King Charles I, the Dutch Republic even became a true 'Royalist Republic', widely supporting the Stuarts, as Helmer Helmers has convincingly argued. According to Helmers, '[m]onarchist and absolutist modes of thought were as deeply embedded in the United Provinces as anywhere else in Europe'.[79]

This was the republican reality of De la Court. The historian Herbert Rowen stressed that Orangist pamphleteers used 'the familiar theories of kingship' in defence of an Orange stadtholderate, which led to counterattacks on the royal aspirations of Orange: 'Because the participants in the debate knew all too clearly what was intended, no one was disturbed by this twisting of terms, and it is later generations of historians and their readers who have been led astray'.[80] This republican reality becomes visible when we look beyond the modern construct of republicanism and shift our attention to the contemporary genre of Rohanesque interest. For authors writing on interest the very real fears of a breakdown of social and political order, of there being no effective legal constraints, focused on the threat of violent military activity, a fear of catastrophic and exorbitantly expensive warfare. Their primary concern was to specify and analyse the danger, to call out the predator. What it threatened could often be relatively unspecific. The focus on (what type of) republicanism blurs our understanding of the core issue of these

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Willem Jacobsz. Delft after Adriaen van de Venne, *Portrait of the Princes of Orange-Nassau; Philip William, Maurice, Frederick Henry, William Louis, Ernst Casimir and others, All on Horseback with Attendants and Children*. London, The British Museum. 1621.
© The Trustees of the British Museum.

texts: the experience of chaos and crises brought forth by enduring military conflict, especially so-called Machiavellian new princes forcefully overthrowing regimes ruled by consent and law. It is this widely shared European experience that spurred the genre of interest.[81]

Conclusion

The growing European conflict and the subsequent changes within early modern polities were stressed and criticized in the Rohanesque genre of interest, as we witnessed in De la Court's *Interest van Holland*. De la Court's attack on princely rule is extremely vicious, leaving out earlier views of the rise of new types of monarchies to accentuate his anti-Orangism argument. However, Pieter does underline differences in monarchical governments, considering the Western European monarchies as legitimate governments, where subjects can enjoy their freedoms. His direct and open criticisms of *certain* coercive princely practices are not principally 'anti-monarchic' or 'republican'. De la Court represented the Dutch Republic as not very different from its surrounding monarchies, or at least the difference was not very relevant to him. The evils were common to different regimes: new and higher taxes, sale of and access to offices, state loans, state debts, and pursuit of warfare make the differences between republics and monarchies far less important than they have appeared in modern discussions of his work. How much, and for what purpose we might extrapolate a universalized republicanism from his work is, then, a moot point, but the relentless hostility to the 'new', predatory monarchy of Orange is evident enough.

1 Montesquieu, *De l'esprit des lois*, IX, 2.
2 See for instance Swart, *The Miracle*.
3 Prak, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 1–6.
4 For more on this topic see Helmers and Jansen, 'Introduction', p. 2.
5 Prak, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 25–26.
6 Brandon, *War, Capital, and the Dutch State*.
7 't Hart, Jonker, and Van Zanden, *A Financial History*, pp. 10, 93.
8 Klerk, 'The "Fiscal-Military Hub"', pp. 214–33; Wilson and Klerk, 'The Business of War Untangled', pp. 1–24.
9 Frijhoff and Spies, 1650. *Bevochten eendracht*, pp. 31–62.
10 It was first published anonymously in the *Mercure François*, no. 20 (Paris, 1937), pp. 46–126 (for the years 1634–1635). *De l'Interest* was posthumously republished together with another writing by Rohan, *Le Parfait Capitain*, in 1638 and 1639: Salmon, 'Rohan and the interest of state', p. 132.
11 Rohan, *A Treatise of the Interest*, preface (no pagination). The French version reads: 'Les princes commandent aux peuples et l'intérêt commande aux princes. La connaissance de cet intérêt est d'autant plus relevée par-dessus celle des actions des princes qu'eux-mêmes le sont par-dessus les peuples. Le prince se peut tromper, son conseil peut être corrompu, mais l'intérêt seul ne peut jamais manquer. Selon qu'il est bien ou mal entendu, il fait vivre ou mourir les États'. Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes*, pp. 161–62.
12 Höpfl, 'Orthodoxy and Reason of State', p. 215; Condren, 'Reason of State and Sovereignty', pp. 5–27.
13 For the reception of *De l'interest* see Schaap, 'French "Reason of State"', pp. 130–36.
14 See in particular Gunn, '"Interest Will Not Lie"'.
15 Nedham, *The Case of the Kingdom Stated*. Cited in Gunn, *Politics and the Public Interest*, p. 48.
16 Nedham, *Interest Will Not Lie*; Gunn, '"Interest Will Not Lie"', p. 555; Rahe, *Against Throne and Altar*, pp. 181–82.
17 See Schaap, 'French "Reason of State"', pp. 130–36. Elsevier printed it in 1639 (2 editions) and 1641 (2 editions), a Latin edition in 1645, and an edition in 1648, 1649, and 1659. In 1654 the only Dutch translation was printed in Amsterdam as *Den interest der princen ende staten van Christenrijck. In't Francoys beschreven door den Hertog van Rohan*. Updated versions or writings echoing Rohan's interest analysis were for instance: *Den tegenwoordigen interest der Christen princen* (Enkhuizen: Dirk Klaer-Oogh, 1662); and *Maximes des princes et estats souverains* (Cologne, 1665 [Amsterdam: Daniel Elsevier, 1665]), which underwent further editions in 1665, 1666, 1667, 1670, 1676, and 1683.
18 The quote continues in copying Rohan's lines: 'And how much higher a Prince is above it, so much greater becomes the knowledge of State demanded of him as of all his other issues. A Prince can be deceived, and his councillors can be misguided, the true *Interest* can never deceive or be false; because as much as the *Interest* is wrongly observed, so much will the State decrease or increase'. Valkenier, *'t Verwerd Europa*, 24: 'Van dit Interest pleeg seeker seer wijs en ervaren Veld-Oversten te seggen; dat het regeert over de Princen, gelijk die over hare Onderdanen; En hoe veel hooger een Prins boven haar is, so veel grooter kennis van Staat word in hem vereyst, als van al sijne andere saaken. Kan een Prins altemet bedrogen, en sijne Raads-luyden verleyt warden, het waare Interest kan noyt missen of bedriegen; want voor so veel het Interest wel of qualijk word waargenomen, voor so veel neemt den Staat daar door af of aan'. Valkenier even literally copied some parts, see Klerk, 'Reason of State and Predatory Monarchy', pp. 167, 174–75.
19 Klerk, 'Reason of State and Predatory Monarchy'.
20 Mulier, 'The Language of Seventeenth-Century Republicanism', p. 188.
21 Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*.
22 Israel, *Monarchy, Orangism, and Republicanism*, p. 6.
23 Velema, '"That a Republic is Better than a Monarchy"', pp. 9–25.
24 See for instance Von Friedeburg and Morrill, *Monarchy Transformed*, in particular the introduction and conclusion.
25 Devetak, 'Historiographical Foundations', pp. 62–77, quoted from p. 64.
26 Condren, *Argument and Authority*, p. 344; Walter, 'Slingsby Bethel's Analysis', p. 495.
27 Lazzeri, 'Introduction', in Henri de Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes*, p. 154.
28 By 'satiric', the present chapter alludes to a conventional style of moral critique familiar in the early modern world from Roman culture, rather than to more recent understandings that have taken it as a largely humorous literary genre. Satiric writing as relevant to the argument here involved exaggeration and even fabrication in order to create an image of a target designed to discredit, and exposing it to ridicule and distrust. Condren, 'Satire and definition', pp. 375–99.
29 As Thuau, *Raison d'Etat*, p. 313 and Meinecke, *The Doctrine of Raison d'État*, pp. 163, 170.
30 See for example Meinecke, *The Doctrine of Raison d'État*, pp. 162–96; Keene, *International Political Thought*, p. 107; Thuau, *Raison d'Etat*, p. 312.
31 'And as it alwaies aimeth at the augmentation, or at leastwise the conservation of a State, so likewise to get thither, it ought to varie according to the times. So that to consider well the Interest of the Princes of this time, we need not remount very high, but only take the standing of the present affaires'. Rohan, *A Treatise of the Interest*, preface (no pagination). The French version reads: 'Et comme il a toujours pour but l'accroissement ou, pour le moins, la conservation, aussi pour parvenir faut-il qu'il se change selon le temps. De sorte que pour bien considérer l'intérêt des princes d'aujourd'hui, il n'est point besoin de remonter fort haut, mais seulement de prendre sur le pied des affaires présentes.' Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes*, pp. 161–62.
32 Malcolm, *Reason of State*, pp. 34, 109.
33 'se trouvant accrue tout d'un coup, n'a pu cacher le dessein qu'elle avait de se rendre maîtresse et de faire lever le soleil d'une monarchie nouvelle'. Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes et les Etats chrétienté*, p. 162.
34 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, pp. 8–16.
35 'un nouveau Prince, venant a une nouvelle monarchie', Machiavelli, *Le Prince de Nicolas Macchiavelli secretaire et citoyen de Florence*, p. 619; quoted in Schaap, 'French "Reason of State"', p. 165.
36 Rohan, *A Treatise of the Interest*, p. 2.
37 'se reconnaissant moins propre à la guerre qu'aux diverses pratiques, jugea que les monarchies acquises comme en poste, par la valeur des princes grands capitaines, ne sont de pareille durée que celles qui s'obtiennent par l'établissement d'un bon conseil et qui sont fondées sur de bonnes maximes'. Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes et les Etats chrétienté*, pp. 163–64.
38 Rohan, *A Treatise of the Interest*, pp. 2–3. 'Pour ce que ces grands conquérants qui ne songent qu'à vaincre et à étendre leur domination et non à fonder les lois de leur subsistance, n'étant pas ordinairement suivis de leurs semblables et les vaincus n'ayant pas encore perdu la mémoire de leur liberté ou de leurs anciens seigneurs, se portent facilement à quelque mutation se voyant affranchis de la crainte de celui qui les avait assujettis'. Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes et les Etats chrétienté*, p. 164.

39 Machiavelli, *The Prince*, pp. 19–20.
40 Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes*, p. 164.
41 Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes*, p. 164.
42 Rohan, *De l'intérêt des princes*, pp. 164–69.
43 '*den Hollandschen ingezetenen geen grooter quaad kan overkomen, dan geregeert te werden door een Monarch, Heer ofte Hooft*'. V. D. H., *Interest van Holland*, Voor-Reede [preface; italics in original quotation].
44 See Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 700–26.
45 See the full overview of the brothers De la Court's publications in Wildenberg, *Johan & Pieter de la Court*; see pp. 20–24 for the historiographical debate about the authorship.
46 Panhuysen, *De Ware Vrijheid*, p. 296.
47 Van de Klashorst, '"Metten schijn van monarchie getempert"', pp. 93–136; Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, pp. 56–58; *Haeghs hof-praetje*; *Hollands opkomst*; J.C., *De gansche distructie*; '*t Leven en bedrijf van mr. Jan van Oldenbarnevelt*.
48 Kernkamp, 'Pieter de la Court', pp. 191–96; Wildenberg, *Johan & Pieter de la Court*, 37; Veegens, 'Johan de Witt als publicist', pp. 1–31; Rowen, *John de Witt*, pp. 55–56.
49 '*Bloedzuigers van den Staat*'; V. D. H., *Interest van Holland*, Voor-Reeden.
50 'soo drukken zy en door *haar krijgsmacht* en door *de hof houding* alle onderdanen, voornementlik *de koopluiden*, ondragelik; want *die Heeren*, haar *favoriten*, en *soldaten*, alle *quade huyshouders* zijnde, soeken gedurig geld; weinig om sich te verrijken, meest om ‹t selve in overdaad en dolle oorlogen te quisten'. V. D. H., *Interest van Holland*, pp. 71–72.
51 'Alle volkeren die meer na het *Noorden* gelegen zijn, bequameliker werden geregeerd door *een uitstekend Hoofd* en *meerder vryheid*, gelijk warelik *van Vrankrijk af na het Noorden genoegzaam alle absolute Monarchale regeringe ophoud*'. V. D. H., *Interest van Holland*, Voor-Reeden [preface].
52 '*aangesien de voorschreve Capitalen verspilt zijn tot uitvoeringe van de ambitie en glorie van den gemelden Kapitain Generaal*, om groote legers te velde te brengen, en door verwonderens-waardige belegeringen te conquesteren die steden, die noch heden ten dage, als voorsegt is, tot een sware ballast voor Holland zijn strekkende' V. D. H., *Interest van Holland*, pp. 96–97.
53 Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, pp. 54, 174, 207, 221, 346.
54 See Schaap, 'French "Reason of State"', pp. 130–36.
55 See in particular Gunn, '"Interest Will Not Lie"', and Gunn, *Politics and the Public Interest*.
56 Scott, *England's Troubles*, pp. 300–01, 371–72; Scott, *Algernon Sidney and the English Republic 1623–1677*, pp. 207–16, 301; Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, p. 352; Walter, 'Slingsby Bethel's Analysis of State Interests', pp. 280, 459; Levillain, 'L'Angleterre de la Restauration'; Scott, 'Classical Republicanism', p. 68.
57 Sidney, *Court Maxims* [manuscript written in 1664–65]; Bethel, *The Present Interest of England Stated* (1671) and also Bethel's *The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell* (1668); Hartman and Weststeijn, 'An Empire of Trade', pp. 24–25.
58 Houston, 'Republicanism', pp. 255–56.
59 V.D.H., *Interest van Holland*, Voor-Reeden.
60 Houston, 'Republicanism', pp. 255–56.
61 For a discussion on the inclusion of commerce in interest-thought see in particular Pincus, 'From Holy Cause to Economic Interest', pp. 272–98; For a discussion of the use of interest/reason of state as a defence for political order and cooperation see Worden, 'Marchamont Nedham', p. 72; Poole, *Reason of State*, pp. 127–31; Kahn, 'The Metaphorical Contract', p. 103; Champion, '"Religion's Safe"', 'crisis of order' on pp. 548–49; Burgess, *The Politics of the Ancient Constitution*, for the ideal of the 'pacified polity ', pp. 159–64, and for the crisis of that ideal, chapter VII and VIII.
62 The term was coined by Constant, 'Der Adel und die Monarchie'; Von Friedeburg, *Luther's Legacy*, pp. 339–45.
63 The first version was titled *Aenmerkinge op het welvaren en Intrest der Stad Leyden* [Comments on the prosperity and interest of the City of Leiden]. Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, pp. 54–55.
64 [De la Court], *Het welvaren van Leiden*, p. 143.
65 [De la Court], *Het welvaren van Leiden*, p. 3.
66 'Europe is in oude tijden genoeghsaem over al door Republijcken geregeert geworden, ende die hebben nogh soo veele overblijfselen van maght bij de onderdanen, Steden ende Provintien nagalaten'. [De la Court], *Het welvaren van Leiden*, p. 144.
67 'Tartarien, Turckien, Persie, Moscovie, ende alle andere landen, daer een mensch sonder tegenspreecken regeerd ende gehoorsaemt word'. [De la Court], *Het welvaren van Leiden*, p. 144 [Chapter 64].
68 'hoe voordeeligh de volkomene gemeene vrijheid der ingeseten, ende daerentegen, hoe nadeelich de slavernie ofte dwangh der selver voor den regeerden van Leiden sij'. [De la Court], *Het welvaren van Leiden*, p. 144.
69 V.D.H., *Consideratien van Staat*, pp. 172–229. This section was followed by Book 3 on monarchical government in Europe, in particular in France, explaining its high potential to disintegrate into a Turkish household rule, according to De la Court, by factional conflicts at courts and dynastic fragility.
70 Lisola, *Bouclier d'Estat*.
71 Valkenier, '*t Verwerd Europa*; Bethel, *The Present Interest*; Bethel, *The Interest of Princes and States*.
72 Blom, 'The Republican Mirror', p. 110.
73 Blom, 'The Republican Mirror', p. 113.
74 Blom, 'The Republican Mirror', pp. 91–115; Boogman, 'De raison d'état-politicus Johan de Witt', p. 380; Van der Bijl, 'Pieter de la court', p. 67; Van de Klashorst, '"Metten schijn van monarchie getempert"', pp. 135–36; Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, pp. 42–50.
75 Brandon, 'The armed forces', p. 74.
76 Gelderblom, *The Political Economy*, pp. 1–18; Fritschy, 'The Efficiency of Taxation', pp. 55–84; Van Zanden and Prak, 'Towards an Economic Interpretation', p. 130; 't Hart, Jonker, and Van Zanden, *A Financial History*, pp. 1–10; 't Hart, 'The Merits of a Financial Revolution', pp. 16–17, especially the section 'the burden of war in the republican expenses'.
77 Johan de Witt to Van Beverningh on 11 July 1653, *Brieven van Johan de Witt*, I, p. 96.
78 Kossmann, 'The Dutch Republic', p. 279.
79 Helmers, *The Royalist Republic*, p. 262.
80 Rowen, *John de Witt*, pp. 54–55.
81 Klerk, 'Reason of State and Predatory Monarchy'.

8

Alexander Dencher

FACING CHANGE

Gold and Ivory Portraits of William III of Orange and Mary II Stuart after the Glorious Revolution

Shortly after their coronation on 11 April 1689, William III of Orange and Mary II Stuart commissioned state portraits to visually proclaim their authority as King and Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland. William and Mary required visual evidence of their political legitimacy as the accession of the Dutch stadtholder and his royal consort following the Glorious Revolution remained widely contested. Their official portraits were created by Godfrey Kneller, Principal Painter in Ordinary to the King and Queen, who enjoyed a virtual monopoly on the royal image.[1] Scholars have viewed these paintings as central to the creation of the new monarchy's image, and particularly important to the transformation of the Dutch William into an English king.[2] Kneller's portraits were adapted in various other media by artists in Britain and the Netherlands, and copies of his portraits of the new sovereigns were sent to foreign rulers, colonial governors, and ambassadors.[3]

There was another category of artists, who similarly contributed to the public image of William and Mary after the Glorious Revolution, but whose role has been somewhat neglected. This includes the itinerant Huguenot ivory sculptor and medallist Jean Cavalier as well as members of the Anglo-Flemish Roettiers dynasty of engravers and silversmiths, who produced low-relief portrait busts of the king and queen in gold and ivory (figs 8.1–12). These artists styled the new monarchs as ancient Roman rulers, and this *all'antica* style contrasted with the contemporary royal fashions depicted in Kneller's state portraits. It remains unclear how and why this specific style of portraiture was adopted in medals. By considering the medals and medallions that can be securely connected to the royal court and official institutions like the Royal Mint, this essay will examine to what extent the sculptor Jean Cavalier and the engravers and medallists John and James Roettiers shaped the portrait of William III after the Glorious Revolution in comparison to more well-known artists like Romeyn de Hooghe and Godfrey Kneller.

The political significance of medallic portraits has been misunderstood as art historical studies of portraiture have traditionally focused on well-known artists working in two-dimensional media.[4] However, seventeenth-century scholars believed that medals preserved more accurately and securely the idealized portrait or *effigy* of the sitter than any other medium. The portraits and imagery on these objects were often chosen personally by monarchs to represent themselves on state occasions and thus contributed directly to the canonization of their image for posterity.[5] Thus the medals and medallions studied in this essay, distributed in the name of the monarchy or as personal gifts, provide compelling evidence of the monarchs' interest in their portrait and public representation after becoming king and queen.

This essay will first outline the type of portraits found in official medals and in particular the portrayal of William as a Roman ruler and its antecedents. It will then consider the medals, medallions, and their makers in relation to the political context of the events that occasioned their creation. Comparisons between the gold medals issued at the beginning of the reign suggest that the involvement of the monarchy and its advisors was a matter of political urgency. The need to consolidate the royal image is also suggested by the ivory portraits of William and Mary carved by the sculptor and medallist Jean Cavalier in 1690, which probably played

8.1
Daniël Drappentier, Reverse of the 'Gold Medal for the Triumphal Entry of William III into The Hague', Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie. 1691. © De Nederlandsche Bank. Reproduced with permission.

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8.2a-b

Jean Roëttiers, 'Gold Coronation Medal for William III and Mary II', Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie. 1689. © De Nederlandsche Bank. Reproduced with permission.

8.3a-b

Daniël Drappentier, 'Gold Medal for the Triumphal Entry of William III into The Hague', Amsterdam, Nationale Numismatische Collectie. 1691. © De Nederlandsche Bank. Reproduced with permission.

an important role in the development of the *all'antica* style that became ubiquitous after the Glorious Revolution. Finally, a closer look at the massive portrait medal of William engraved by James Roettiers in 1697 will illustrate the complexities of representing William III and the endurance of portrait models later in his reign.

Medals and medallions of William and Mary, 1689–1702

Numerous medals and medallions with portraits of William and Mary were created after their coronation, but the ivory and gold portraits considered in this essay are of particular interest as their designs were either commissioned or approved by the monarchy. John [Jan or Jean] Roettiers created William and Mary's coronation medal in 1689 (fig. 8.2) and his son James made a very large portrait medal commissioned for the Mayor of Dublin in 1697 (fig. 8.12). Jean Cavalier carved a number of portraits of William and Mary in 1690 (figs 8.4–9). Additionally, the artist Romeyn de Hooghe provided the design for the gold medal commemorating William's triumphal entry into The Hague in 1691 (fig. 8.3), which was engraved and sunk by the silversmith and diesinker Daniël Drappentier. Notably, all of these portraits depict the monarchs dressed in the Roman style, except two ivory portrait medallions by Jean Cavalier that show William in contemporary armour (figs 8.8–9).

Cavalier's portraits of William III wearing contemporary armour are reminiscent of portraits of the prince found in earlier medals made before his coronation, but these do not feature the royal periwig that he assumed around the time of the Revolution. As stadtholder, William was invariably represented in his military role as this provided his political authority in the Dutch Republic, but contemporary numismatic collections and illustrated accounts rarely record portrait medals of William in Roman dress before the Glorious Revolution.[6] It was also William's image that underwent the most significant change in the period after his coronation in 1689 as he became king as well as stadtholder. Conversely, Mary takes a backseat to her husband in their conjoined profile portraits (figs 8.2a, 8.3a), as she did during their reign. Her presence on the medal bolstered the legitimacy of her husband's somewhat spurious claims to kingship while simultaneously underscoring the precarious reality of the post-revolutionary context.

Although it has been observed that the *all'antica* or Roman-style profile bust became the standard for portraying the monarchy in medals and coins after the Glorious Revolution, art historians have not considered its origins.[7] The diarist John Evelyn referred to this mode of portraiture as 'Caesar-like', and Ernst Kantorowicz has argued that idealized depictions of rulers in *all'antica* armour demonstrated their virtue and military prowess, which allowed ancient Roman rulers to present themselves as 'a living trophy glorifying the emperor's [...] perpetual prowess and moral excellence'.[8] The consistently 'Caesar-like' depiction of William III after 1689 suggests a deliberate campaign of representation as well as a desire to emulate earlier Stuart examples to establish a sense of continuity. The adoption of this particular style arguably emerged from a wider effort orchestrated by the court in the period following the Glorious Revolution, which aimed both at promoting William III as a successful general and reconciling his dual roles as stadtholder and king.

Revolutions are often followed by a period of canonization, during which the new regime adopts a recognizable style that seeks to establish a new kind of imagery while eliding the break with the past. Official portraiture played a crucial role in establishing the royal image after periods of civil unrest.[9] William's appearance in his medallic portraits enabled the king and his advisors to position the monarchy in a long line of legitimate monarchs by appealing to both the more recent tradition of portraiture of Stuart rulers, and in particular his uncles Charles II and James II, as well as to the well-known conventions of imperial Roman portraiture. There was no documented tradition of commissioning medals by members of the House of Orange to distribute amongst their supporters, although it is possible that some kind of similar custom existed on a reduced scale. It is therefore all the more telling that this situation appears to change when William and Mary ascend the throne in 1689, and much more evidence for their involvement with medals emerges.

William and Mary inherited the antique medals of Charles II and James II, who, as noted by John Evelyn, had considerably enriched the royal collection of medals, coins, and engraved stones following its depletion during the Commonwealth.[10] The collection apparently interested both the king and queen. Huygens noted in his diary that he had seen a number of engraved stones (probably cameos) and medals in Mary's Closet at Kensington Palace on 31 August 1690, but he also observed many

pieces that he considered to be 'bad [quality] as well as counterfeits'.[11] Huygens's observation of 'counterfeit' medals probably refers to copies of modern and antique medals as well as cameos, since this kind of low-relief artefacts could easily be copied using casting techniques, as described in the contemporary treatises published by John Evelyn and André Félibien. On 9 November 1690, Huygens also noted in his diary that he had spent an hour in the King's Closet at Kensington Palace, discussing with William about his 'pictures, antique sigils and medals'.[12] Sadly, the royal collection of medals and engraved stones, which Charles II had ordered and catalogued by Elias Ashmole, was lost in the great fire at Whitehall in 1698.[13]

The only explicit record of William's views on medals is a letter to his confidant Hans Willem Bentinck, later 1st Earl of Portland, which mentioned the portraits of an unspecified medal. The prince wrote to Bentinck in August 1688: 'That which should be put on the coin must evidently be the effigy of the princess and I, but for the inscriptions, somebody qualified will have to do them, as I am most unknowledgeable of these things'.[14] The brief statement signals William's primary interest in the 'effigy' of Mary and himself and serves as a reminder of the collaborative effort required to make medals, since the designer of the figures on the medals was usually not the same person who engraved the puncheons or dies used to 'strike' the medals. The imagery and inscriptions were provided by artists and scholars, which were then engraved by a specialized goldsmith known as a diesinker into a puncheon or die used to 'strike' the medal. The diesinker was regarded as the work's principal author, and was the only one allowed to sign the executed medal or medallion (although similar, medals are decorated on their obverse and reverse sides, whereas medallions are uniface, and tend to be larger than most medals).

Little is known about the designers of William and Mary's portraits on medals and coins. In most cases, historians have assumed that these portraits derived from prints and paintings.[15] However, it is highly unlikely that the diesinkers derived their models from paintings, since William and Mary's medallic portrait type does not have a painted equivalent, with the possible exceptions of an early portrait of William by Jan de Baen in 1667 and a later portrait by Godfrey Kneller or his workshop.[16] Moreover, considering the great cost of gold and ivory, it is also improbable that the artists working on a royal medal were imitating or copying a print. Even when it is evident that engravings were used as a source of inspiration for medals, it is unclear whether these designs were adapted by the diesinkers themselves or whether they relied on other artists to do so for them.[17] Designs for allegorical emblems by the printmaker Romeyn de Hooghe in the 1680s were most likely supplied to Daniel Drappentier as drawings, but early bills reference only Drappentier, which is a reminder that contemporaries viewed the diesinker as the true author of a medal.[18]

Royal portrait commissions, such as the medals and medallions studied here, required a drawing or three-dimensional model approved by the monarch. Samuel Cooper, the Picturemaker in Ordinary or official miniature painter to Charles II, provided the imagery for the Royal Mint by drawing the royal profile image in the King's Closet in the presence of John Evelyn.[19] This probably provided the template for Thomas Simon and John Roettiers at the Royal Mint to produce the portrait puncheon and dies.[20] The notion that the engravers were solely responsible for the design of the portrait busts belies an anachronistic understanding of aesthetic and material hierarchies in the seventeenth century. Although medals are reproducible like prints, their basic material value meant that these objects were worth far more than printed pieces of paper. And because medals were reputed for their power to outlast other commemorative monuments, it stands to reason that the design of the portrait was of particular importance to powerful patrons, especially at crucial moments.

Medals for the coronation in 1689 and William's triumphal entry in 1691

A comparison between two commemorative medals struck at the start of William and Mary's reign will elucidate some of the challenges faced by patrons, designers, and diesinkers in this post-revolutionary era. The first medal was designed and sunk by John Roettiers and struck for William and Mary's coronation on 11 April 1689. Roettiers had previously created the coronation medal for James II and worked in the Royal Mint alongside several of his talented kinsmen. This was the first official portrait of the new monarchs to be distributed to dignitaries and officials, many of whom had travelled to London for the occasion (fig. 8.2). The style of portraiture adopted in William and Mary's coronation medal imitated the tradition of earlier Stuart monarchs by showing the monarchs in profile and *all'antica* but avoided the title *imperator* used in medals by James II, which would have associated the post-revolutionary regime with the outward signs of tyranny attributed to the deposed monarch.[21] The style of profile portraits found in Roman imperial coinage that was revived in the Renaissance was first used in a coronation medal by King James I, but not adopted in English coinage until the protectorate of Oliver Cromwell (c. 1653–58) and lasted at least until the reign of George III (c. 1760–1820).[22] The rather shallow relief of the profile portraits of William and Mary is comparable to the coronation medal made for

James II but pales in comparison to the fine relief of the medal made for the accession of Charles II. The reverse of the medal shows the supreme god Jupiter punishing the renegade Phaeton for stealing the god Apollo's chariot, which represented the abuse of the royal prerogatives by James II.[23]

The second medal was struck to commemorate the triumphal entry of William III into The Hague in 1691 and was distributed by his treasurer Willem van Schuylenburch on 30 January, in anticipation of the king's return, and again following his triumphal entry on 5 February (fig. 8.3).[24] This so-called golden 'literary award' was designed by Romeyn de Hooghe but engraved and signed by the diesinker and silversmith Daniël Drappentier and is the only medal accounted for in the payment records of the Nassau Demesne Council, which was responsible for running the king's personal domains and expenses.[25] William's extravagant periwig is crowned with a laurel wreath and held back by a bow. Deep-set eyes lie beneath a strong brow while the characteristic Roman nose hangs above the king's benevolent smile, which is echoed in Mary's reduced but present effigy. On the reverse, the king is shown holding the victory standard associated with the Emperor Constantine while behind the throne a figure of Fame holds the shield that bears an inscription referring to William's expedition to Britain. The goddess Minerva is shown distributing medals in his name to 'erudite orators, painters and poets' who had dedicated their works to the king's success following the Glorious Revolution.[26]

William and Mary's portraits in 1689 and 1691 are similar, but there are some notable differences in their composition. Both medals depict the monarchs with recognizable physical features such as William's aquiline nose and Mary's pointed one, and wearing tunic-like garments; William also wears a laurel wreath tied with a ribbon to indicate his victorious status. However, there are significant differences in the degree of relief and detail in the two portraits and particularly in the rendering of the facial features, laurel leaves, and garment draperies, which are given much more attention in the portrait sunk by Drappentier. Some of this difference may be explained by the heavier weight of Drappentier's medal, which allows for a higher degree of relief. Nonetheless, the contrast is significant because the highly regarded Roettiers, who became chief engraver of the Royal Mint in London in 1670, was certainly skilled enough to achieve similar effects in his medals and coins, for which he was admired by connoisseurs like Pepys and Evelyn.[27]

The differences are further emphasized by the responses elicited by these medals. One anonymous critic wrote that the conjoined portrait in Roettiers's coronation medal was an ominous portent and reminiscent of medals made for the unlucky Queen Mary and King Philip of England (r. 1554–58), as well as the ill-fated brothers Johan and Cornelis Witt.[28] The same author warned that the image of Jupiter punishing Phaeton for his arrogance could easily be misread as an indictment against William and Mary's unlawful usurpation, which was a rather delicate subject on the day of their coronation.[29] It was probably unwise to focus on the sins of James II, represented by Phaeton's punishment in the coronation medal, rather than the advantages restored by the rule of William and Mary.[30] The imagery on the medal issued for William's triumphal entry in 1691 was much more straightforward by showing the king flanked by a victory column decorated with the hulls of ships and trophies piled up at his feet. Recipients of this award composed laudatory poems that praised William and one recipient, Pieter Nuyts, praised the medal's representation of the monarchs (in particular William), proclaiming 'It [the medal] has been artfully chased in this durable Gold, but more durably it will live in thankful hearts'.[31]

Can the differences between these medals be understood as symptomatic of political challenges and temporal developments? The shallow relief of the coronation medal's portraits, which made it almost like a regular penny, may have been chosen for economic reasons caused by the revolution and William's wars and to counter accusations of improper spending at this early and crucial stage of their reign. In contrast, Drappentier's much more defined portrait, in association with the explicit imagery of the medal's reverse, demonstrates the continuing need to define William's public persona and consolidate his position after the Glorious Revolution. Despite the new regime's victories against Louis XIV and James II there remained uncertainty about the Williamite succession. Many viewed William's kingship as illegitimate, and critics believed it to be incompatible with his position as stadtholder in the Dutch Republic. The involvement of Romeyn de Hooghe, who was also implicated in the triumphal entry held in 1691, indicates a more organized approach to the king's image at this time than is generally acknowledged. The difference between the medals issued in 1689 and those issued in 1691 also suggests the emergence of a more ambitious style of representation for the revolutionary monarchy, perhaps buoyed by the military successes in Ireland, but also driven by the personal involvement of William III, as illustrated by the work of the sculptor and engraver Jean Cavalier.

The King's Medallist: the ivory sculptor Jean Cavalier

Jean Cavalier was an itinerant sculptor of ivory portraits and a medallist, although little evidence remains of his activities in the latter field. He probably received his artistic training in Dieppe, which was reputed as a centre of ivory-working,

8.4

Jean Cavalier, 'Ivory Portrait of Queen Mary II as Princess', London, Victoria & Albert Museum. 1686. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

8.6

Jean Cavalier, 'Ivory Portrait of Mary II', Apeldoorn, Paleis het Loo, Schenking Stichting 't Koning's Loo. c. 1690. Reproduced with permission.

8.8

Jean Cavalier, 'Ivory Portrait of William III', London, Victoria and Albert Museum, given by Dr W.L. Hildburgh FSA. c. 1690. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

8.7

Jean Cavalier, 'Ivory Medallion Portrait of William III', Art trade. c. 1690. Image courtesy of Galerie Lowet de Wotrenge.

8.5

Jean Cavalier, 'Ivory Portrait of William III', Apeldoorn, Paleis het Loo. c. 1690. Reproduced with permission.

8.9

Jean Cavalier, 'Ivory Portrait of William III', Berlin, Bode-Museum. c. 1690. © Foto Scala, Firenze/BPK, Bildagentur fuer Kunst, Kultur und Geschichte, Berlin.

8.10
Circle of David Le Marchand, 'Ivory Portrait of William III', London, Victoria & Albert Museum. c. 1690. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

8.11
Circle of David Le Marchand, 'Ivory Portrait of Mary II', London, Victoria & Albert Museum. c. 1690. © Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

and where many artists and artisans involved in this industry were Protestants who left France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. It has been suggested that Cavalier may have trained with Michel Mollart, another ivory sculptor and medallist from Dieppe, who was called to the court of Louis XIV along with the medallist Jean Mauger, also from Dieppe.[32] Cavalier developed a distinctive style of naturalistic portraiture; most of his known works are signed and some are also dated.[33] Fine epigraphy, painstakingly carved in the rim, marks his work.[34] His patrons included a number of important European princes and rulers that he shared with other sculptors in ivory, like his fellow Huguenot David Le Marchand and the Austro-Bohemian artist Johann Ignaz Bendl.[35]

Cavalier probably first visited London in 1683, and carved and signed a large medallion with an equestrian portrait of Charles II in 1684.[36] It has been suggested that Charles's favourite illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Grafton, brought Cavalier back with him from France.[37] Alternatively, the artist may have been introduced at court by Godfrey Kneller, who was also portrayed by the itinerant ivory sculptor and who introduced Cavalier to the diarist Samuel Pepys.[38] A signed portrait by Cavalier of Queen Mary in 1686, when was she was still only the Princess of Orange, suggests that the monarchs may have been familiar with Cavalier before their accession in 1689 (fig. 8.4).[39] There are few comparable ivory portraits of William III before 1690. An ivory portrait by Joachim Henne around 1662 shows the prince in a half-length view and three-quarter profile, and takes its cue from the series of dynastic portraits of his ancestors sculpted by Francois Dieussart.[40] Since Henne's portrait bears little resemblance to Cavalier's work, it seems likely that William again sought to emulate the example of his Stuart forebears.

There are four portraits of William that can be attributed with certainty to Cavalier and at least two portraits of Mary (figs 8.4–9). There is another related but distinct set of ivory portraits, which do not appear to be by Cavalier (figs 8.10–11). At least two of these portrait medallions were conceived as pendants, even if the artist never created a double-profile portrait of William and Mary like the type found in the official medals at this time. Cavalier had used this style earlier in 1690 for the portrait medallion of the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg and his wife Sophie Charlotte of Hanover.[41] The portraits of William and Mary at Het Loo, which are characterized by particularly expressive drapery, depict the king and queen in profile but facing in the same direction. This manner is uncharacteristic of portrait pendants, which usually show the sitters facing each other (figs 8.10–11).

Cavalier's portraits of William III fall into two categories: one shows the king as a Roman victor while another depicts him in contemporary military dress.[42] The latter category is represented by medallions in London and Berlin (figs 8.8–9), which depict the king in profile, wearing contemporary military garb as well as a lavish wig, and conspicuously displaying the Great George, the insignia of the Order of the Garter. The Berlin portrait also shows William wearing a cravat, as in Jan Blommendael's later bust in the Mauritshuis.[43] This portrait was probably presented to the Elector Frederick of Brandenburg (later Frederick I of Prussia) upon his installation into this order in 1690, and was already recorded in the Berlin Kunstkammer in 1694. The portrait may have been given to Frederick during his stay in The Hague in January 1691, when William III returned for his triumphal entry into this city and the ensuing Congress of Allies. In the London portrait the king's wig flows backwards, and his

breastplate is decorated with delicate rinceaux, while a cape is semi-draped over his breastplate (fig. 8.9).

Two unsigned portraits of William and Mary (figs 8.5–6) are attributed to Cavalier based on stylistic proximity to known signed examples. The artist has depicted William in profile, with his characteristically prominent nose, heavy-lidded eyes, and downturned lips, giving the king a reserved but dignified look. William wears a long, curly periwig that is crowned with the laurel wreath, and the *all'antica* appearance of his armour is emphasized with its lion-headed pauldrons and leather pteruges that, as in other portraits, appear to be studded with metal disks for additional protection to the upper arms. In the other *all'antica* portrait, which bears Cavalier's signature on the shoulder, the king's breastplate is covered by his mantle while the collar of his undershirt is visible (fig. 8.7). A further difference between these two portraits is the striking contrast between the king's profiles. The unsigned portrait depicts William III as if seen from the back with the royal periwig cascading down his front and back, while his cape and shoulder extend to the medallion's edge, almost spilling over into the viewer's space (fig. 8.5). The other portrait depicts the king's bust as seen from the front. Here there is also a tunic or mantle covering an antique-style armour, with pteruges covering the shoulder, and a grotesque decoration in the shape of what seems to be a lion's face visible on the front of the king's tunic (fig. 8.7).[44]

There is another unsigned portrait of William III that is also attributed to Jean Cavalier (fig. 8.10). Although it offers a similarly idealized image of the king, it does not provide the same type of relief or details. The king's distinctive nose is recognizable, but the medallion does not exhibit the more realistic characterization observed in Cavalier's other portraits. There is a resemblance with the style of portraiture of the Huguenot sculptor David Le Marchand, especially with a portrait of Louis XIV carved around 1695.[45] It has also been suggested that this ivory portrait of William may be a pendant to a presumed portrait of Mary of a slightly different size but clearly by the same hand (fig. 8.11).

Cavalier's ivory medallions were a fashionable and novel way for William and Mary to have themselves portrayed and would have been suitable as personal gifts. Portrait miniatures were highly appreciated by seventeenth-century courts and often given to high-ranking diplomats or foreign officials to demonstrate the monarch's personal favour.[46] The considerable cost of ivory portraiture meant that these small reliefs or portrait busts could command almost half the price of a life-sized sculpture.[47] Ivory was reputed since Antiquity as a material suitable for creating objects of great prestige and cost and was mostly imported into Europe from Africa.[48] The material was probably associated in the Greco-Roman world with the spoils of foreign wars, much like gold.[49] Difficult and unyielding to work, ivory had been described by the ancient writer Pliny as the most precious material provided by land animals.[50] It is a very dense material with an oily or waxy solution, which contributes to the warm lustre of the material.[51]

Cavalier's portraits of William and Mary (figs 8.4–9) represent a significant step in the elaboration of a more confident style of royal portraiture in the period after the coronation and before William's return to the United Provinces in 1691. His importance as a royal portraitist is illustrated by an anecdote recorded in the diary of William's secretary Constantijn Huygens. On 17 March 1690, Huygens noted that the king had visited the Queen's Closet at Kensington Palace to be painted by Godfrey Kneller while 'at the same time' his portrait was carved in ivory by an artist he does not name.[52] A week later, Huygens recorded that he was shown ivory portraits by Jean Cavalier, 'who portrayed the king so last week', indicating that it was the French artist who had depicted the king alongside Kneller.[53]

During these sessions in the Royal Closet, Cavalier would have fashioned the king's portraits in a malleable material like wax. This would allow the artist to create a three-dimensional portrait of the sitter that could subsequently be carved in ivory, which is a far too laborious process to do *ad vivum*.[54] Extant models for medals and medallions by the Florentine sculptor and medallist Massimiliano Soldano Benzi, indicate that artists used wax to accurately model the relief of portraits as well as complex narrative scenes.[55] Godfrey Kneller's correspondence reveals that Cavalier also made wax casts at three guineas a piece, which were considered portraits in their own right, rather than models.[56] The medallist and numismatist Nicolas Chevalier kept the wax model of his design for the commemorative medal struck for William's entry into London in 1697 in a cabinet of rarities, alongside plaster casts of medals, puncheons, and a collection of minerals and rare stones.[57]

Several months after William's double portraiture session at Kensington Palace, Huygens wrote in November 1690 that

8.12a-b
James Roettier, 'Silver Copy of the Medal designed for the City of Dublin', Haarlem, Teylers Museum. 1698. Reproduced with permission.

Cavalier was eager to show him a die he had made for the king, as well as several other portraits he had carved of members of the court.[58] On 11 December 1690, the Calendar of State Papers documented the request for a passport and letters of recommendation for the ivory sculptor who is named as 'Sieur Jean Cavalier, the king's medallist' so that he may 'travel abroad and return'.[59] The significance of this evidence has been overlooked in studies of William and Mary's portraiture although Cavelier's ivory portraits are amongst the earliest documented works of art commissioned by the monarchs that depict them in an *all'antica* manner.

William must have been sufficiently satisfied with Cavalier's portraits to commission a die or puncheon as well as granting the artist a passport that referred to him as the 'King's medallist'.[60] The die seen by Huygens was certainly a portrait of the king since Cavalier had a reputation as a portraitist and is not known to have carved narrative scenes. Since there are no bills for Cavalier's work, it is hard to quantify his share in William's image, but it seems likely that his ivory portraits also served as models for artists and artisans creating their own puncheons or dies. Cavalier's ivory medallions have been known to be used as prototypes for medals, as was the case with his portrait of Margrave Ludwig Wilhelm I of Baden.[61] Their size presented an ideal format for an engraver or wax modeller to create a matrix for moulding or for the die used to strike the medal, particularly because their relatively low relief would make it easier to cast copies in wax or other materials. Alternatively, the wax models for the ivory portraits may also have been used to create the dies.

Cavalier's work is particularly significant because there is no record of another artist that was allowed to use the title 'King's medallist'. Considering these circumstances, it seems that the ivory sculptor enjoyed a more privileged relation with the monarch than the medallists and engravers working in the Royal Mint. Huygens's testimony also suggests that the influence of Cavalier on William's image at this early stage of his reign may have been comparable to that of Godfrey Kneller, whose works were widely copied. The ivory portrait medallions fashioned between 1689 and 1691 therefore represent an important intermediary step in the elaboration of William's medallic portrait, and in particular the *all'antica* style adapted by the monarchy after the Glorious Revolution.

Furthermore, Cavalier's contemporary reputation as a great portraitist must also factor in any reappraisal of his work and its impact. Before coming to England, he was in Vienna in 1689 and made portraits of Emperor Joseph I, the Elector Johan George III of Saxony, and Max Emanuel of Bavaria.[62] Cavalier's pride at his success did not go unnoticed, and Godfrey Kneller expressed his frustration with the French artist's inflated sense of self in a letter to Pepys: 'being born under a slavish Government [...] this man having reseved so much Kyndnis in Germani [kindness in Germany], has spoild him, being a frenchman and should be kept low'.[63] After receiving his passport, the king's medallist apparently travelled to Scandinavia.

He was back in England on 5 January 1691, but little is known of his second sojourn, and the artist appears to have left for Denmark in or before 1693. There he worked until his death in Isfahan around 1698 whilst travelling in the retinue of the Swedish ambassador.[64]

The king, the Roettiers dynasty, and the Royal Mint

A comparison with a large portrait medal engraved by James Roettiers in 1697 will illustrate the development of the *all'antica* mode of portraiture later in William's reign (fig. 8.12). Roettiers's medal was presented in 1698 to Bartholomew van Homrigh, Lord Mayor of Dublin, and was intended to hang on his mayoral chain of office, which is still used by the city fathers today. The original mayoral chain had disappeared in the 1690s during the Irish Wars, when it had probably been taken by the former mayor, Sir Michael Creagh.[65] It was the most ambitious portrait made until then by the Royal Mint, and signalled a new phase in the representation of William III, who now ruled alone after the death of Mary in 1694.

Bartholomew van Homrigh was a former Amsterdam merchant who had settled in Ireland in the 1680s and would be closely involved in setting up the Dublin Mint in 1694.[66] He was appointed Commissioner of Revenue by William III after the Battle of the Boyne, and soon after his election as Mayor of Dublin, Van Homrigh adressed a memorial to Government that the 'ancient, loyal and metropolitan' city of Dublin might be honoured by the king with a new collar of office.[67] He used his relations with William's generals to solicit this gift after his election as Mayor of Dublin. On 26 June 1697, he wrote to Godard van Reede, 1st Earl of Athlone, asking him to present his request to William III on his behalf. Van Homrigh wrote to the king that 'if [the collar] returned to the city, it will be kept to your eternal memory and worn by the successive lord mayors'.[68] The ornament of the mayor's public office signified civic prestige, and a month later Van Homrigh described the gift as a mark of William's favour, that would 'benefit the position of the king in this densely populated city and the sooner it is done the more effect it will have'.[69] Although the medal was intended as a public sign of the Lord Mayor's office, Van Homrigh must have viewed it as an opportunity to enhance his own reputation at court and bolster support for his position in Dublin.

Van Homrigh's appeals yielded fruit, and soon after William approved Van Homrigh's request on 28 October 1697, the Irish authorities began the process of commissioning a new collar.[70] The portrait was fashioned by James Roettiers, who worked at the Royal Mint in London. This institution played an important role in the dissemination of official portraiture since the Royal Mint also provided the dies that were distributed to the mints in Scotland and Ireland as well as models of the the royal busts that were adapted by local engravers for provincial coinage.[71] Roettiers was responsible for the artists who engraved the dies with the portraits of the monarchs, and therefore also exercised considerable control over the imagery on coinage produced at the Royal Mint.[72]

Roettiers's medal is reminiscent of earlier portraits although he depicts William III in a more stately and idealized manner. The king's profile is still defined by his prominent Roman nose, but the periwig has grown in height while the gently sloping relief of lines and jowls of the king's face suggest the wisdom that comes with age and experience. Moreover, the absence of a crown of laurels constitutes a significant deviation from the standard style that had been adopted for official portraiture of William on coinage and medals after the Revolution. The Latin inscription on the medal's reverse side evokes a benevolent attitude of the monarch towards the city of Dublin and the government of Ireland: 'William III decorated the ancient and loyal metropolis of Ireland with this monument of his favour; Bartholomew van Homrigh, Esq. being Mayor of this city, 1698'.[73]

Roettiers's medallion marks the final stage in the elaboration of William's portrait as king but also shows that the monarch adopted a very ambitious style of portraiture following the Peace of Ryswick in 1697. It was one of the largest portrait medals struck in seventeenth-century Europe and has been valued at the astonishing sum of 1,000 pounds.[74] The die was reused to make gold medals that were gifted as rewards to individuals who had distinguished themselves in William's service.[75] A number of rare, contemporary copies were also made in silver (fig. 8.12), probably because of the medal's unusually large size. There are some parallels to be made with contemporary coinage, especially in depiction of William's more extravagant periwig, although the dies or puncheons used for coinage were never used for medals and vice-versa. Helen Farquhar has noted that William's portrait in the coinage issued in 1698–99 after the Great Recoinage

was also characterized by the 'flaming hair' style, which she argued was intended to give him a height comparable to that of his wife, Mary II, although the queen had died in 1694 and no longer appeared in new portraits made of William.[76] However, both coins and official medals certainly derived from models that had been approved by the king or his advisors.

The iconography of Roettiers's medal affirmed the loyalty of the city council to the English monarchy as well as Protestantism and the Williamite succession. However, Roettiers's portrait also hinted at some of the complexities of representing William III without referencing the contentious memory of the king's military campaigns in Ireland. Both the inscription and the absence of triumphal laurel wreaths signalled the king's conciliatory attitude towards Irish loyalists. The omission of the traditional Roman honours associated with military conquest is especially significant considering that the portrait was a major gift to the mayor of the city whose fall had sealed the success of William's wars in Ireland. However, because laurels signified victory and were conferred by the ancients for military prowess, they had to be used appropriately. John Evelyn had criticized this 'Caesar-like' appearance of Oliver Cromwell in his medals, and it seems likely that the king and his advisors, who had approved Roettiers's design, felt that a more pacifistic style of portraiture was suitable for the Irish medal.[77] Perhaps Roettier's portrait should be understood as a shift in the representation of William III in Ireland after the Peace of Ryswick in 1697, although the king's breastplate and leather pteruges, visible beneath his mantle in Roettiers's portrait, reminded viewers that the monarch was always ready for combat.

Significantly, the royal decision to elide the uncomfortable reality of Williamite rule in Roettiers's portrait medal was not followed by Dublin's city fathers in another royal portrait commissioned around the same time from the sculptor Grinling Gibbons. Only a year after receiving Roettiers's medal, Van Homrigh and the city council proposed the erection of an equestrian statue in Dublin to honour the king. The equestrian statue was made by Gibbons and inaugurated in June 1701, on the anniversary of the king's defeat of James II and Louis XIV at the Battle of the Boyne. This Caesar-like statue, which represented the king on horseback in triumph, must have recalled William's triumphant entry into Dublin in 1690. At 800 pounds, the total cost of the statue was only slightly more than the 750 pounds that the city council had initially dedicated to the fabrication of the golden collar with William's new portrait.[78] Gibbons's statue soon became the target of vandalism, and its eventual destruction at the start of the Irish Troubles in the 1930s illustrates the humanist adage that medals were the surest way to preserve the likeness and deeds of princes, since they do not succumb to the ravages of time as easily as other monuments.

The involvement of James Roettiers in the design of this medal further signals the potentially volatile political context of official commissions. His father, John Roettiers, had been responsible for the controversial coronation medal, and was known as a supporter of James II. At the time of the Dublin portrait the premises of the Royal Mint were searched twice by the Lieutenant of the Tower after rumours circulated that King James had been sighted in the house of John Roettiers.[79] John's sons were also suspected of Jacobite sympathies, and despite being recognized for their skills, James and Norbert did not succeed their father as chief engravers of the Royal Mint although in practice they remained responsible for most of the engraving.[80] Reports of the House of Commons on the Mint in this period also affirm that the Revolution had changed the position of James Roettiers as engraver of the royal portraits, and it is known that the Master of the Mint, Sir Isaac Newton, had to intervene in order to let Roettiers use the press to mint his coins.[81] However, James eventually was dismissed from his post in 1697 after being accused of mismanaging the dies of Charles II and James II to produce illicit guineas by using the portraits of the deposed king and his dead brother.[82] Given these circumstances, William's approval of James Roettiers as the engraver of Van Homrigh's medals merits some reflection.[83] It seems likely that for this specific commission, the king valued Roettiers's artistic talent as an engraver more than his alleged political allegiances. This highlights William's involvement and personal interest in his public representation later in his reign, as well as the artistic ambitions of this politically astute monarch.

Conclusion

By looking at the interactions between patrons, artists, and advisors, this essay has sought to re-evaluate William and Mary's contribution in shaping their royal image early in their reign. The medallic style of representation adopted

by the monarchy involved the appropriation of earlier Stuart examples, especially Charles II. The imitation of previous styles associated with the monarchy not only ensured visual continuity but was a consequence of William's personal intervention in the process of artistic design and production, which, as has been shown, was more extensive than has previously been thought.

The royal portrait on medals presented a prime opportunity to invent an idealized public image that clearly conveyed William's military authority and political ambitions as king and stadtholder in the wake of the Glorious Revolution. These aspects are fully expressed in Cavalier's work, which remained an important model throughout William's reign. The sudden shift in representation around the time of William's coronation should be understood as a conscious effort to represent his changed status, establish his new dual role as king and stadtholder, and convey the cultural and political ambitions of the Anglo-Dutch monarchy. This transformation was perhaps more easily and effectively achieved in smaller, handsome works like medals and coins than in full-length portrait paintings.

1 Staring, 'De portretten van den koning-stadhouder', pp. 159, 183; Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller*, p. 40.
2 Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller*, p. 40.
3 Sharpe, *Rebranding rule*, p. 412; Douglas Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller*, pp. 40–41.
4 Staring, 'De portretten van den koning-stadhouder', pp. 172, 186; Dunthorne, 'William in Contemporary Portraits and Prints', pp. 273–74.
5 See Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual'.
6 Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, pp. 9–10. Van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, III, pp. 47, 343, 374, 407.
7 Farquhar, 'William III continued', p.280; Enno van Gelder, 'Koning-Stadhouder Willem III in de Penningkunst', pp. 242–43
8 See for example his description of a large medallion of Charles II, Evelyn, *Numismata*, p.127; Kantorowicz, 'Gods in Uniform', p. 381.
9 Barber, 'Restoration', p. 17.
10 Henfrey, 'King Charles the First's Collection of Coins', pp. 100–04.
11 Huygens, *Journaal*, I, p. 325.
12 Huygens, *Journaal*, I, p. 356.
13 Henfrey, 'King Charles the First's Collection of Coins', p. 104.
14 'Ce qu'il faudra mestre sur le coin, se doit estre aparament l'effigie de la Princesse et de moy, mais pour les divises, il faut que quelqu'un les fasent, qui s'y entend; pour moy j'y suis fort ignorent': Japikse, *Correspondentie*, I, p. 53.
15 Staring, 'De portretten van den koning-stadhouder', p. 154.
16 For the Jan de Baen portrait see Staring, 'De portretten van den koning-stadhouder', p.172.
17 Sanders, *Het Present van Staat*, p. 120.
18 Van Kerkwijk, 'Romeyn de Hooghe', pp. 184–89.
19 Barber, 'Restoration', pp. 17–18. See also Gibson, 'Samuel Cooper's Profiles of King Charles II', pp. 314–19.
20 Barber, 'Restoration', p. 18.
21 James I of England was the first to adopt the 'imperial robes, thrones and titles', according to John Evelyn, who also noted that this did not go uncriticized. Evelyn, *Numismata*, p. 101.
22 Evelyn, *Numismata*, p. 101; Parsons, 'Art and the coins of England', p. 306.
23 Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual', p. 313.
24 Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, p. 209. Hawkins, Franks, and Gruebers, *Medallic Illustrations*, II, pp. 19–20.
25 Sanders, *Het Present van Staat*, p. 601.
26 Chevalier, *Histoire de Guillaume III*, p. 209.
27 Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary*, V, p. 161.
28 *A letter from a Gentleman in the Country*, p. 1.
29 *A letter from a Gentleman in the Country*, p. 1.
30 Edie, 'The Public Face of Royal Ritual', p. 324.
31 'De Roem en 't Heil der Eeuw in Goud hier afgebeeld / Hun groote Daaden doet de Faam alom bazuinen, Hun Mildheid Pallas aan 't Geletterd Volk uitdeelt. 't is al wel konstig in dit duurzaam Goud gedreven, Maar nog duurzamer zal 't in dankb're herten leeven'. Nuyts, *Punt-gedigten*, n.p. Also cited in Dirks, *Penningkundig Repertorium*, II, p. 6.
32 Friedman, 'Cavalier's Charles II', p. 8. An allegorical portrait of Louis XIV carved by Mollart is in the collection of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.
33 Thieme, Becker, and Vollmer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, VI, p. 216.
34 Thieme, Becker, and Vollmer, *Allgemeines Lexikon der bildenden Künstler*, VI, p. 216.
35 Theuerkauff and Stockman, 'Johann Ignaz Bendl', p. 237.
36 Avery, *David Le Marchand*, p. 15.
37 Friedman, 'Cavalier's Charles II', p. 12.
38 Stewart, *Sir Godfrey Kneller*, p. 39.
39 London, Victoria and Albert Museum, A. 201–1929.
40 Scholten, *Gebeeldhouwde Portretten*, p. 48.
41 Berlin, Münzkabinett, Medaillen, Brandenburg-Preußen, 18205755.
42 There are very similar portraits of William and Mary in the style of Cavalier's London portrait in the collection of the Bode Museum in Berlin. The portrait of Mary bears the inscription *Cavalier f. Londoni 1690* on the back. Kugler, *Beschreibung der Kunst-Schätze von Berlin und Potsdam*, p. 263.
43 Portrait bust signed and dated 1699, The Hague, The Hague, Mauritshuis, inv. no. 361.
44 This decoration is very similar to the one worn by the Elector of Brandenburg in his double portrait in the Bode Museum, Berlin.
45 Avery, *David Le Marchand*, p. 52.
46 Tabitha Barber and Tim Batchelor, 'Triumph and Glory', *British Baroque*, p. 142.
47 Friedman, 'Cavalier's Charles II', p. 4.
48 Schneider, 'Ivory'.
49 Maskell, *Ivories*, p. 478.
50 Schneider, 'Ivory'; see also Chaiklin, 'Ivory in World History', pp. 530–42.
51 Maskell, *Ivories*, p. 23.
52 Huygens, *Journaal*, I, pp. 244–45.
53 Huygens, *Journaal*, I, p. 246.
54 Avery, *David Le Marchand*, pp. 14–15.
55 See the model for a medal of Louis XIV and Hercules Victorious over the Lernaean Hydra, 1682, in The Thomson Collection at the Art Gallery of Ontario, and the wax reliefs for the Chapel Sansedoni in Sienna, c. 1700, in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London.
56 Pepys, *Letters*, p. 213–14.
57 Chevalier, *Catalogue van Alle de Rariteyten*, pp. 5–6, 9.
58 Huygens, *Journaal*, I, p. 365.
59 Julius, *Cavalier*, p. 145.
60 Julius, *Cavalier*, p. 145.
61 Incidentally one of these medals had its edging done by Müller and Kleinert, who had also made medals for William's triumphal entry in 1691. Theuerkauff and Stockman, 'Johann Ignaz Bendl', p. 233.
62 Theuerkauff and Stockman, 'Johann Ignaz Bendl', p. 239, note 61.
63 Pepys, *Letters*, p. 213.
64 Regling, 'Medaillenstudien', p. 225.
65 Hawkins, Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations*, II , p. 197, n. 509; Ciardha, 'Sir Michael Craig'.
66 Farquhar, 'William III continued', p. 262.
67 Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, p. vii.
68 Troost, 'Letters from Bartholomew Van Homrigh', p. 124.
69 Troost, 'Letters from Bartholomew Van Homrigh', p. 125.
70 Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, p. vii.
71 Farquhar, 'William III continued', pp. 250, 261–62.
72 Farquhar, William III', p. 244.
73 Hawkins, Franks and Grueber, *Medallic Illustrations*, II, p. 197.
74 Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary*, V, p. 156.
75 Only two versions are known, one at Het Loo, and another sold at Christie's in London on 26 February 1980. Renting, *Paleis Het Loo*, p. 393.
76 Farquhar, 'William and Mary', pp. 211, 199–267.
77 Evelyn, *Numismata*, p. 118.
78 Gilbert, *Calendar of Ancient Records of Dublin*, pp. vii-viii, ix.
79 Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint*, p. 360.
80 Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary*, V, p. 156; Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint*, p. 364.
81 Farquhar, 'James II', p. 231; Farquhar, 'William III continued', p. 266.
82 Challis, *A New History of the Royal Mint*; Forrer, *Biographical Dictionary*, V, p. 163.
83 Farquhar, 'William III continued', p. 267.

9

Lidewij Nissen

DYNASTIC MARRIAGES AS POWER PLAY

Constructing the Marriages of the Nassau Stadtholders in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

In 1652, a delegation of Frisian patricians visited Amalia of Solms, the widow of Stadtholder Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau.[1] They were sent by the States of Friesland with an important mission: securing a marriage between Amalia's daughter Albertine Agnes and the Frisian Stadtholder, William Frederick, Count of Nassau-Dietz. William Frederick had 'paid his addresses' to his cousin Albertine Agnes for several years, but his courtship remained without an official result. Amalia, hoping to find her daughter a more prestigious match, had refused to discuss a marriage between her daughter and the Frisian stadtholder. When Amalia eventually began to change her mind, William Frederick called in the help of the States of Friesland in an attempt to win her over.

In his address, one of the Frisian deputies, Pibo van Doma, dwelled on the tremendous value of marriage.[2] Marriage was crucial for the survival of the human species, he argued. God had gifted man with a 'touch of eternity' by establishing the estate of matrimony. Moreover, marriage was not only indispensable for mankind in general; it also ensured the continuity of government in monarchies and republics alike. It was better for a state to have a ruler who was married with children, as these children formed the future of the state.

Doma's line of reasoning is remarkable. The importance of a ruler who produces progeny is self-evident in a monarchical system, centred around a dynasty that claims to have a hereditary right to the throne.[3] But was it not a characteristic of republics that they did *not* depend on the principle of hereditary succession and a ruler's bloodline? To assume this would be to overlook that dynastic families still played important roles in many republics and were a force to be reckoned with. What is more, the presence of dynastic families offered republics opportunities to take part in international relations that were still very much dominated by monarchies and monarchical traditions. At the same time, this chapter argues, dynastic events such as marriages were used by dynastic families and state institutions to represent and negotiate power relations *within* the republican state.

This chapter unravels the political functioning of dynastic marriages concluded by the Nassau dynasty in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. It does so in four sections. The first section offers an introduction to the main themes of the chapter: the peculiar position of the Nassau dynasty in the United Provinces and the role of dynastic marriages in early modern politics. The second section examines how the Dutch state institutions approached the diplomatic implications that arose from the marriage politics of the Nassau family and illustrates their policy of 'strategic distancing'. Subsequently, the chapter investigates the interaction between the Nassau dynasty and the state institutions on the occasion of impending and concluded marriages. It reveals why and how the state institutions were formally involved in certain marriages. The last section analyses the public festivities organized in the Dutch Republic as a result of the marriages.

The Dutch Republic and dynastic politics

The highest office in the Dutch Republic was the office of stadtholder.[4] Unlike the kings and queens in monarchical states, the stadtholders were no sovereigns within the polity of the United Provinces, but subordinates of the provincial states.[5] Until the last quarter of the seventeenth century,

9.1

Dirck van Delen, *Gallery of a Palace with Ornamental Architecture and Columns*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1630–32 (detail). This wall decoration depicts, amongst others, Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau, Amalia of Solms, and Ernest Casimir of Nassau-Dietz. Public domain.

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the office of stadtholder was not heritable, which meant that contenders for the office depended on other political actors – above all the provincial states – to obtain it. Nevertheless, since 1584, the office of stadtholder had been held by scions of two cadet branches of one dynasty: the House of Nassau.[6] Several stadtholders – Frederick Henry of Orange-Nassau and Ernest Casimir of Nassau-Dietz in the 1630s, and William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz in 1659 – even managed to secure a formal promise (an 'Act of Survivance') of certain provinces that their eldest son would be appointed as their successor after their death. A factor that further complicated the position of the stadtholders was that they, as noblemen, held sovereign titles connected to possessions in and outside of the United Provinces. Members of the Orange-Nassau cadet branch were, for example, Prince of Orange, Count of Buren, and Marquis of Veere and Flushing. Members of the Nassau-Dietz cadet branch also held hereditary noble titles such as Count of Dietz and Baron of Liesveld.[7]

As the Nassaus occupied a central role in the political life of the United Provinces both as stadtholders and noblemen, their dynastic family business – births and baptisms, marriages, the drawing up of wills – was not a strictly private matter.[8] Yet, Nassau family politics were not true state affairs either, at least not to the same extent as in monarchical states. After all, the stadtholders were 'servants' of the state rather than a personification of the state itself. This chapter investigates how political actors in the Dutch Republic – the provincial states, the States General, and the stadtholderian families in particular – dealt with this tension by focusing on an important element of the Nassau family business: dynastic marriages concluded by male members of the Dutch Nassau families. I argue that the indeterminate character of these marriages – as affairs that were neither completely private family affairs nor completely public state affairs – made it possible for different actors to use them to consolidate or strengthen their own position. Whereas the provincial states and States General sometimes used a politics of 'strategic distancing' in order to benefit most from the Nassau marriages, the stadtholderian families elicited state involvement to gain recognition for their eminent position in the Dutch Republic.

Dynastic marriages may seem to constitute a rather conventional topic in the history of international politics. It has, for instance, often been observed that intermarriages between scions of the great European sovereign houses often 'celebrated' the signing of a peace treaty.[9] A well-known example concerns the double Habsburg-Bourbon marriages that marked the conclusion of years of war between Spain and France.[10] In 1615, Elisabeth of France, the daughter of the late Henry IV of France and Marie de' Medici, wedded the Prince of Asturias, the future King Philip IV of Spain, and in that same year, Elisabeth's brother Louis XIII of France married Philip's sister Anne of Austria. These instances of marriage diplomacy served a concrete political purpose. Other dynastic marriages were not instrumental in ending conflicts, but rather functioned as 'visible signs of reciprocal commitment', as Paula Fichtner called it in her seminal article on early modern Habsburg marriages.[11] Moreover, marital alliances could also have a less concrete political but nonetheless essential effect in the sense that they aggrandized a dynasty's authority or prestige.[12]

The ever-growing scholarly attention for powerful women in the early modern period has contributed to our understanding of dynastic marriages as well as it has shifted the attention from the role of the dynastic marriage in international politics to its role in processes of cultural transfer.[13] As a consequence of marital alliances, many high-ranking women travelled from their natal countries to the countries of their new husbands, bringing along people, objects, and ideas. This could lead to a clash of cultures, but it could also be an intended effect of the marital alliance. A queen raised in a splendid court culture could provide her husband's dynasty with additional prestige, which could, in turn, consolidate the royal family's internal authority and its position within the international political arena.

How, then, did this work in the Dutch Republic, a state that housed a high-ranking dynasty without royal status? This question has been partly answered in studies dealing with the ambitions of the Orange-Nassau family in the early seventeenth century or with a specific marriage concluded by the stadtholderian family.[14] Well-known is Pieter Geyl's interpretation of the marriage between William II and Mary Henrietta Stuart, concluded in 1641, as a match entirely driven by dynastic considerations that conflicted with the 'national' interests of the Dutch Republic.[15] In this interpretation, the House of Nassau operated as an independent political actor with dynastic interests that diverged from the interests of other political actors in the United Provinces. Especially the work of Simon Groenveld on the stadtholderate of Frederick Henry has convincingly revised Geyl's anti-Orange interpretation by pointing out that the dynastic interests that were at stake in the Anglo-Dutch marriage were not incompatible with or isolated from the interests of the other political actors in the Dutch Republic, but rather complementary.[16]

This chapter adds to these perspectives in two ways: firstly, it shifts the attention from the motivations behind dynastic marriages in the Dutch Republic – the 'why' question – to the practice of dealing with and finding the right approach to dynastic marriages in a republican setting – the 'how' question.[17] Dynastic marriages did not merely consist in formal contracts between two princely dynasties but also in representations

9.2

Reinier van Persijn after Isaac Isaacsz, *Wedding of William II and Mary Stuart, 1641* (allegorical image), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1641. Public domain.

9.3

Pieter Nolpe after Pieter Symonsz. Potter, *Tableau Vivant with Perseus and Andromeda – Pulchrae pro libertatis amore*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1642. Public domain. Print of one of the allegorical *tableaux vivants* in Amsterdam, depicting Frederick Henry as Perseus, the saviour of Andromeda. This water tableau was planned but eventually not carried out.

and performances in which diverse parties were involved. A focus on the 'how' allows me to unravel how the parties that participated in arranging and performing a dynastic marriage – the stadtholderian families, but also the States General, provincial states, and prominent cities – used it as an avenue for power and diplomacy in their own ways. How did they adapt the representations of a dynastic marriage to the diverse audiences in the Dutch Republic and beyond? A second contribution this chapter makes to existing scholarship is that it compares a number of marriages instead of zooming in on one marriage in particular. It thus highlights that the twilight zone between state affairs and private family affairs in which the Nassau marriages took place allowed for diverse approaches to the marriages throughout the seventeenth century.

I focus on four marriages that were concluded by prominent male members of the House of Nassau who all held the office of stadtholder.[18] Two of these men were part of the Frisian stadtholderian family, Ernest Casimir and William Frederick of Nassau-Dietz. The other two – Frederick Henry and William II – were members of the princely Orange-Nassau cadet branch.[19] The first of the marriages discussed in this contribution took place in 1607, when Ernest Casimir, Count of Nassau-Dietz and at the time field marshal in the army of the States General and Lieutenant-Governor of the province of Guelders, married Sophia Hedwig, Duchess of Brunswick-Lüneburg and daughter of Henry Julius, Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, and – perhaps more importantly – of Elisabeth, Princess of Denmark.[20] In 1616, a second marriage was planned between Frederick Henry and the eldest daughter of Landgrave Maurice of Hesse-Kassel, but Frederick Henry refused to ratify the marriage contract because he did not agree with several of its financial clauses, resulting in a cancellation of the marriage altogether.[21] Nine years later, when Frederick Henry married Amalia of Solms in 1625, money apparently was not an important factor anymore; Amalia belonged to the impoverished House of Solms-Braunfels and had taken refuge in the United Provinces as a lady-in-waiting of the Bohemian 'Winter Queen' Elizabeth Stuart.[22] The marriage of Frederick Henry and Amalia's son William II took place in 1641; he married the eldest daughter of the English King Charles I, Princess Royal Mary Henrietta Stuart. The last marriage discussed in this contribution is the marriage negotiated by, amongst others, the Frisian patrician Doma, quoted at the beginning of this introduction: the marriage between William Frederick and Albertine Agnes. This marriage united the two Dutch cadet branches of the Nassau family.

Dynastic marriages as diplomatic opportunities and risks

The value of the marriages concluded by the Nassau men is considerable from the perspective of the House of Nassau, but did they also affect the position of the United Provinces in the international political arena? The States General and the provincial states certainly believed so, and have always attentively followed the marriage plans of the Dutch branches of the Nassau family. In some cases, the Nassau marriages were cause for concern – does the marriage conflict with the state's foreign policy? – but in other instances, they presented an opportunity to cement a fruitful international alliance. Paradoxically, in order to be able to turn the Nassau marriages to their own advantage, the state institutions in the Dutch Republic repeatedly used a policy of what I call 'strategic distancing'.

Whereas dynastic marriages could function as or be accompanied by peace treaties or other state treaties in monarchies, they could not do so in a republic – at least in theory.[23] Accordingly, the state institutions of the Dutch Republic prevented the House of Nassau from concluding a marriage accompanied by a formal state treaty, even when the family of the bride insisted on it. This happened in 1641, when the Nassau family had successfully requested a marriage between William II and Princess Royal Mary Henrietta Stuart. The English King Charles I wanted the Dutch delegation negotiating the marriage to not only sign a marriage contract, but also a state alliance in the form of mutual defence treaty, a renewal of the expired Treaty of Southampton that was signed in 1625.[24] The States General, however, had strictly forbidden the marriage negotiators to sign any political treaties. It was willing to discuss new treaties, but on its own terms and at a later stage, by a delegation that did not have the conclusion of a dynastic marriage as its prime mission.[25] In one of his letters to the Dutch marriage negotiators, Frederick Henry explained that this strategy of strictly distinguishing between a state treaty and a dynastic marital alliance was beneficial to both the States General and the Nassau family.[26] In this way, a cancellation or violation of the state treaty could not result in a cancellation of the marriage and vice versa. Charles kept bringing the potential state alliance up until even after the marriage ceremony, but the Dutch negotiators stuck to their instructions and Charles eventually agreed to marry off his daughter without a formal state alliance.

Steering clear of formal involvement in arranging a Nassau marriage, the Dutch state institutions could use such a marriage to show the bride's dynasty their goodwill without risking their other international alliances. They could emphasize their relation to the Nassaus when they considered the marriage an asset for their international position, and

9.4

Schelte Adamsz. Bolswert after Erasmus Quellinus,
Allegory of the Wedding of Count William Frederick of Nassau and Albertine Agnes of Nassau, Amsterdam, Rijkmuseum.
1652. Public domain.

9.5

Willem Jacobsz Delff after Michiel Jansz van Mierevelt, *Portrait of Sophia Hedwig of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel,* Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1631. Public Domain.

they could distance themselves from the Nassaus when they were not convinced of the marriage's value for the Republic. This can be illustrated by the run-up to the marriage between Ernest Casimir and Sophia Hedwig. In 1606, Sophia Hedwig's father Henry Julius asked Ernest Casimir to help him as a military commander in his battle with the city of Brunswick. The city had refused to agree to the tax increase Henry Julius had imposed, whereupon the duke proceeded to besiege the city. When he did not succeed, he called in the help of Ernest Casimir.[27] He probably promised to reward Ernest Casimir for his efforts with a marriage to his daughter.[28] As a commander in service of the army of the States General (he would be appointed as stadtholder only fourteen years later, after the death of his brother William Louis of Nassau-Dillenburg), Ernest Casimir asked the States General for a temporary leave from the States' army. The deputies of the States General were not immediately convinced and consulted the Raad van State (Council of State) and Stadtholder Maurice. The Raad advised to give Ernest Casimir permission to go to Brunswick, because it was an opportunity to preserve 'de goede gunste van de princen' ('the good favour of the prince').[29] By permitting Ernest Casimir to go, the States General could support the action against Brunswick 'sonder lesie ende offensie van de andere partije ende sonder sich in den crijch te mengen' ('without damaging and offending the other party and without getting militarily involved').[30] Furthermore, it was a way to collect new personnel for the army of the States General, an opportunity to 'scout' soldiers and connect them to Ernest Casimir rather than the Spanish army, which was also looking for new soldiers. Yet, these political ambitions had to remain undisclosed, as both the Raad and the States General repeatedly emphasized that Ernest Casimir was assisting Henry Julius on his own behalf, and not as a representative of the Dutch Republic, including when several Hanseatic cities wrote the States General a critical letter in defence of the city of Brunswick.[31]

Especially when stadtholderian marriage plans failed, the policy of distancing proved beneficial for the international position of the Dutch Republic. The failed negotiations for a marriage between Frederick Henry and Elisabeth of Hesse-Kassel have already been mentioned. After months of negotiating and when the symbolic exchange of wedding gifts had already taken place, Frederick Henry cancelled the marriage. The Nassau family was very aware that the landgrave could interpret this as a serious affront and that it would result in a 'bresche irreparable' ('irreparable breach') between the two dynasties.[32] The States General, however, was able to distance itself from the incident in order to maintain good relations with the landgrave. When

9.6

Gerard van Honthorst, *Frederick Henry, his Consort Amalia of Solms, and their Three Youngest Daughters*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. c. 1647. Public domain.

two Hessian diplomats delivered their letters of credence to the States General in November 1617, they stated that the landgrave had hoped that the marriage would strengthen the ties between him and the States General.[33] Now the landgrave wanted to forget what happened and he assured the States General of his friendship. In other words, a marriage could have improved or 'celebrated' the relation between the States General and the landgrave, but the failed marriage could not harm it. After all, the States General had not been formally involved in the arrangement of the marriage.

Dynastic decisions as state affairs

Although the previous section has shown that the States General sometimes used a policy of 'strategic distancing', the state institutions were not always completely dissociated from the marriages that were concluded by the Nassau family. In several ways, the Nassau dynasty – and their 'clients' in the state institutions – tried to implicate the state institutions in the arrangement or celebration of their marriages. By forcing the state institutions to discuss the dynastic marriages in

9.7
Pieter Nolpe after Jan Wildens, *Theatre Arch Put Up at the Damsluis*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1642. Public domain. This print depicts one of the arches that were part of the 1642 entry into Amsterdam.

their meetings and invoking a reaction of the institutions in words or deeds, the stadtholderian families thus made dynastic decisions into state affairs. This in turn contributed to the consolidation of the Nassau dynasty as an integral element of the political system of the United Provinces, despite the officially non-hereditary nature of the office of stadtholder.

There is no evidence of the state institutions having a role in the search for a bride, but on several occasions the stadtholderian family involved the state institutions once they had found a suitable match. When Frederick Henry had decided to marry Amalia of Solms, he discussed the matter with a confidant of the Nassau family who also presided over the meetings of the States General at that time, Sweder van Haersolte tot Haerst. Haersolte subsequently informed the States General of Frederick Henry's marriage plan, but instead of merely communicating it, he claimed that Frederick Henry would continue his plan only if the States General gave him its approval.[34] Thus, Frederick Henry seized the opportunity to emphasize his loyalty to the States General and presented his marriage as an affair of 'national' importance. The response of the States General confirmed this: it informed Frederick Henry that it was highly pleased with this marriage plan, advised him to carry it out, and expressed the hope that God would bless it, 'niet alleen tot welzijn van het huis van Nassau maar ook tot bevordering van Zijn kerk en de welstand van het land' ('not only to the well-being of the House of Nassau but also to the advancement of His Church and the well-being of the country').[35] Frederick Henry's request for the States General's permission for his marriage thus resulted in a mutual pledge of loyalty: Frederick Henry presented himself as subservient to the States General and the States General confirmed the inextricable connection between the House of Nassau and the republican state.

The stadtholderian family sometimes also forced a more public formal involvement of the States General in its marriage politics by asking for support in the negotiation of the marriage. As we have seen, the States General was unwilling to use the Nassau-Stuart marriage as an occasion to enter into a state treaty with England. It was, however, formally involved in the arrangement of the marriage in a different way, as the father of the groom, Stadtholder Frederick Henry, asked the States General to help him negotiate the marriage. In December 1640, the States General agreed and appointed an embassy consisting of the stadtholder's confidant Johan Polyander van den Kerckhove, Lord of Heenvliet, Joan Wolfert van Brederode – a member of the Provincial States of Holland, military commander, and confidant of the Nassau family – and François van Aerssen – a deputy of the States General and an experienced diplomat.[36] The Dutch resident ambassador in England, Albert Joachimi, was asked to support the team. The involvement of the States General probably improved the negotiating position of the Nassaus, and the States General in turn could exercise more supervision over the agreements with the English king by sending some of their most experienced ambassadors.

For the Nassau family the States' involvement also had a valuable side-effect. Even though the instructions for the ambassadors explicitly distinguished the stadtholder from the state, stating that the embassy was sent 'wegen desen

9.8

Anonymous, *Assembly of the States General* in Jean Puget de la Serre's *Histoire de l'entree de la reyne mere du roy tres-chrestien, dans les Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1639. Public domain. Portraits of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms are visible in the background.

state ende Sijn Hoocheijt' ('on behalf of this state and His Highness'), the active and public involvement of the States General suggested that the stadtholderian family was considered an integral part of the state.[37] The States General was aware of this side-effect and felt the need to justify its involvement. When it ordered the ambassadors to accompany and support William II during his stay in England in the run-up to the wedding service, it explicitly mentioned that William had already been granted the 'Act of survivance' for several provincial stadtholderates in the Dutch Republic. It was as if it had said: it has already been promised that he will become a stadtholder, so it is in place that a special treatment is granted to him.

Amalia of Solms was particularly keen to present stadtholderian marriages as state affairs. When her son William II died in 1650 without any legitimate adult progeny and several provinces decided to refrain from appointing a new stadtholder, she personally experienced the precariousness of the position of the House of Nassau in the Dutch Republic. For Amalia, this was all the more reason to present the marriages of her children as state affairs. When the Frisian Stadtholder William Frederick asked to marry Amalia's daughter Albertine Agnes, his second-cousin, Amalia insisted on transforming the marriage into something that was more than an alliance that merely united two cadet branches of the Nassau dynasty. She therefore requested that the marriage be

9.9

J. Hermans after Jelle Reyners, *Part of the Funeral Procession at the Death of Stadtholder Ernest Casimir, Count of Nassau-Dietz,* in Leeuwarden, 1633 (Plate 8/20 in the print series), Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1634. Public domain.

arranged by a committee consisting of deputies of the Frisian States. In fact, the Frisian States even offered to treat Albertine Agnes as a 'dochter van den staet' ('daughter of the state'), which probably meant that they offered to be involved in the most important decisions regarding Albertine Agnes's life and that they were willing to financially contribute to her well-being.[38] During their audiences with Amalia, the Frisian negotiators also declared that they would embrace Albertine Agnes 'met vaderlijcke lieffde ende trouwe' ('embrace her with paternal love and loyalty').[39] Amalia, in turn, replied to the Frisian delegates that the intermediation of the provincial states had persuaded her to agree to the marriage, because she had not been highly enthusiastic about it.[40] In line with their active involvement in arranging the marriage, delegates of the provincial States of Friesland and of Stad en Lande (Groningen) also signed the marriage contract.

This 'politicization' of the Nassau-Dietz marriage can be interpreted not only as the result of Amalia's persistence, but also of William Frederick's authority and large network of 'clients' in the provinces of his stadtholderate.[41] The involvement of state institutions in the Nassau marriages was, in other words, not necessarily against the wishes of the state institutions themselves. By helping William Frederick to conclude the marriage he had long yearned for, the States of Friesland and of Groningen showed the stadtholder their loyalty, which simultaneously earned them the stadtholder's gratitude. This could be rendered into concrete service in return later. Involvement in the arrangement of the marriage between William Frederick and Albertine Agnes was perhaps also beneficial for the state institutions as this meant that William Frederick would not have to look for another potential wife and engage in a search that could end up with

someone who might not comply with the wishes of the provincial states. After all, in Albertine Agnes, William Frederick had found a respectable princess who knew the customs of the United Provinces.

The state institutions were also formally involved in the Nassau marriages financially. The weddings and arrivals of the brides in the Dutch Republic obligated the state councils to provide the Nassau family with a financial recognition. The States General for example contributed to the wedding ceremonies; even Ernest Casimir, a Nassau scion of only secondary importance in the Dutch Republic at the time of his marriage, received a subsidy from the States General for the costs of his wedding.[42] The brides themselves also received considerable sums of money from the state institutions after their marriage to a Nassau scion, which underlined the idea that these women became part of the state system of the Dutch Republic as 'Nassau consorts'. Both the States of Holland and the States General, for example, decided upon a wedding gift of 20,000 guilders for Amalia.[43]

This financial involvement of state institutions in the Nassau marriages not only contributed to a consolidation of the position of the stadtholderian families, but it was also used by opponents of the Nassau family. The practice of presenting the newly married couple with large sums of money – a recognition of their prominent position in the political system of the United Provinces – was not unanimously endorsed by all state deputies, and the amount of the payments provoked discussion. In 1625, the city of Amsterdam protested in the States of Holland against the high costs of the wedding gift for Frederick Henry, and in 1642, it took the States of Holland several weeks to come to an agreement about the annuity they would bestow on Mary and her husband William II. In 1653, William Frederick himself asked the Frisian States for an appropriate gift for his bride Albertine Agnes.[44] This request led one of William Frederick's critics to claim that several confidants of the stadtholder in the Frisian States had made a hole-and-corner arrangement for a gift of fl. 100,000 for Amalia and one of fl. 10,000 for Albertine Agnes.[45] These discussions and criticism were disadvantageous side-effects of the attempts of the Nassau family to involve the other political actors of the Dutch Republic in their dynastic decisions. Nonetheless, as long as these discussions concerned only the size of the gifts and not the gifts as such, state involvement in dynastic decisions was not questioned. It was therefore a side-effect the Nassau family was probably prepared to put up with.

Public wedding festivities in Amsterdam and Leeuwarden

Thus far this chapter has focused on the discussions about and the impact of the Nassau weddings behind the closed doors of the meeting rooms of several state institutions. Nevertheless, in some cases, the weddings were also used as occasions to organize grand public festivities. When the marriage contracts were signed and the wedding ceremonies had taken place – often outside the Dutch Republic, in a residence that was connected to the dynasty of the bride – the brides travelled to their new home in the Dutch Republic. Two of the brides discussed above were welcomed with joyous public celebrations: Mary Henrietta Stuart in Amsterdam in 1642

and Albertine Agnes eleven years later (1653) in Friesland.[46] It was, however, not the brides who were the main guests during these receptions but the stadtholders, Frederick Henry in 1642 and William Frederick in 1653. As organizers of the receptions, several (local) political actors used the festivities to give shape to their relation with the stadtholder.

These events were part of an old tradition of diplomatic custom and public princely ceremonial.[47] In many ways, the form the festivities in Amsterdam and Friesland took – with a tour through the city, *tableaux vivants*, and decorations in a classical style – was rather similar to royal entries taking place in European monarchies as well as to the festivities that had been previously organized in the United Provinces. The two events also built on examples of festivals that were organized on the occasion of the arrival of a foreign royal bride.[48]

At the same time, the festivities were adapted to the specific needs of the organizing party. It is in this respect noteworthy that the two receptions were organized by different types of political institutions. The festivities organized upon the arrival of Mary were arranged by the city government of Amsterdam, whereas the 1653 festivities were organized by the States of Friesland. The organizers made sure that the set-up of the festivities reflected that they had been responsible for the splendid ceremonies. Unmistakably, the festivities in 1642 were an Amsterdam event: the princely company was welcomed at Halfweg – between Haarlem and Amsterdam – by a group of *Amsterdam* cavalry that was accompanied by two *Amsterdam* patricians. This guard of honour brought them to one of the city gates, where they were formally greeted by the citizen militia and prominent (former) members of the city government.[49] In 1653, on the other hand, the festivities were centred around the Province of Friesland: the bridal couple was ceremonially welcomed at the frontiers of the province and the persons visiting the princely couple during their journey to Leeuwarden were all members of provincial institutions.

The organizers used the festivities to glorify the Nassau dynasty in order to convey a message of loyalty to the stadtholder. Many of the *tableaux vivants* and triumphal arches that were part of the festivities drew upon a discourse that emphasized the heroic character of the Nassau dynasty and the indispensability of the stadtholderian families in the Dutch Republic. During the Amsterdam festivities, several episodes were acted out that compared the role of the Nassau stadtholders in the Eighty Years' War to those of Greek heroes such as Perseus.[50] These performances thus depicted the stadtholders as saviours of the United Provinces. Other performances focused on the bond between the Netherlands and England and placed the marriage between Mary Henrietta and William in a century-old tradition of Anglo-Dutch alliances.[51] One of these *tableaux* for example depicted the wedding of Mary of Guelders and James II of Scotland (1449) and another one the wedding of Eleonor of Woodstock and Reginald II of Guelders (1332). The wedding festivities in Leeuwarden in 1653 did not contain any *tableaux vivants* re-enacting mythical or historic episodes, but the mottoes on the triumphal arches did connect the House of Nassau to the well-being of the country and to the protection of faith and unity.[52]

It was not only the stadtholder who was 'celebrated' in these festivities, but the organizing political actors themselves as well. On the second day of the festivities in Amsterdam, the stadtholder, accompanied by the young bridal couple and mother of the bride, Henrietta Maria, made a city tour in which the tolerant character and thriving economy of Amsterdam were emphasized. The many religious and charitable institutions the city was known for were part of the tour, including a special parade of boats and yachts on the IJ river. The festivities thus allowed certain groups within the city to present themselves not only to the stadtholder, but to their fellow citizens as well: there were the craftsmen who built the triumphal arches, the actors playing in the *tableaux vivants*, and the printmakers responsible for the prints published after the festivities. Showing loyalty to the stadtholder went hand in hand with showing loyalty to the organizing political institutions. Consider the speech given by the rabbi of the Jewish synagogue during the city tour.[53] In it, he not only praised Frederick Henry as a just and brave protector of the freedom of both the Dutch and the Portuguese exiles but also emphasized how the Portuguese Jews considered Holland their fatherland now.

The 'celebration' of the organizing political actor was not without implications for the authority of the stadtholder, since it also reminded the stadtholder of his position as subservient to the other state institutions within the Dutch Republic. One of the triumphal arches in Friesland – the first one the princely company saw during their entry into the city – rather explicitly pointed out the restrictions on the stadtholder's power. Reading 'De Friesche Vrijheit, barst uit in Blijheit' ('The Frisian Freedom bursts with joy'), it explicitly referred to the notion of 'Friese vrijheid', the age-old Frisian independence from foreign or princely rule, which had existed until Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I gave Albert III, Duke of Saxony, the title of Hereditary Governor of Friesland in 1498.[54] Dutch independence was considered by some Frisians as an opportunity to restore the Friese Vrijheid. The triumphal arch thus pointed out to William Frederick and his Orange-Nassau wife that the stadtholder was expected to act according to Frisian traditions, with respect for the autonomy of the province, and that his first responsibility was to protect the interests of the province of Friesland.

The organizers used the festivities not only to show the stadtholder their loyalty, but also to emphasize that he had to operate within a political system that allowed for other powerful institutions as well and that he had to respect the autonomy of those institutions.

Conclusion

The marriage politics of the House of Nassau were adapted to the republican framework of the United Provinces in several ways. Unlike marriages between ruling dynasties in monarchical states, the Nassau marriages never marked the settlement of official state treaties. After all, the stadtholderian family did not hold a sovereign position in the Dutch Republic, so the involvement of other Dutch political institutions in arranging the marriage was anything but self-evident. While deputies of the States General or the provincial states were involved in this process, their role was often ceremonial – in the sense that the marriages had already been contrived by members of the involved dynasties – or limited to supporting or advising Nassau representatives.

The involvement of Dutch state institutions, however, had an important representational significance. I have shown that the States General sometimes used Nassau marriages to show other states their goodwill and to cultivate some sort of political friendship without entering into a formal treaty. Of course, the absence of a formal state treaty did not mean that contemporaries did not consider the marriage some kind of an alliance between two states. This diplomatic method of strategic distancing may have been a policy that was applied in other political settings as well. It would be worthwhile to investigate whether the Dutch state institutions had a similar approach to other dynastic events, such as baptisms or funerals. We can also ask ourselves whether this approach was unique for the Dutch Republic or if other republican states dealt with marriages and other dynastic events in a similar way. Perhaps even institutions in monarchies strategically distanced themselves from dynastic events in times of crisis, unpopular monarchs, or civil wars. Further research is required to establish the value and applicability of this notion of strategic distancing.

The Nassau marriages had implications not only for international politics; they were also critical moments in which the Dutch Republic's constitution was performed and affirmed. The stadtholders presented themselves as subordinates to the States by asking their permission or mediation for the marriage, and the States General or provincial States in turn recognized the pre-eminent position of the stadtholderian family by sending large congratulatory delegations and granting the bridal couple considerable sums of money. The fact that the Nassau marriages were – despite their formally private character – sometimes used as occasions for public festivities underlines the stadtholders' prominent public position as well. These festivities not only celebrated the bridal couple, but also the House of Nassau in general, and as such allowed the stadtholderian family to mobilize popular support. Furthermore, the institutions organizing the festivities harvested them to consolidate their relationship with the stadtholder and their own position within the Dutch Republic at large.

Let us return to the speech of the Frisian patrician Doma discussed at the beginning of this contribution. Was Doma right in claiming that marriage was indispensable in monarchies as well as republics? Whereas Doma was probably just referring to the promise of stadtholderian progeny, this chapter has highlighted that the implications of dynastic marriages reached indeed further than the domain of private family business, even in a republican setting. They could be used to position the United Provinces in the international political arena, and internally, they negotiated the relations between stadtholders and other political actors. As such, the stadtholderian marriages can be seen as benchmarks in the political history of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic.

1 This chapter is based on research that I have conducted as part of my PhD project on the dynastic and political roles of the female consorts of four seventeenth-century Nassau stadtholders. This project is financed by the Dutch Research Council (NWO, project PGW.18.023) and carried out at the Radboud Institute for Culture and History of the Radboud University in Nijmegen.

2 Koninklijke Verzamelingen (KV), The Hague, A 25 William Frederick, inv. no. 137, Report of the Frisian delegates.

3 In monarchies, biology and the human life cycle were determinants of political life because of this dynastic basis: Bartlett, *Blood Royal*, pp. 1–5 and *passim*.

4 The office of the grand pensionary was also of considerable importance in the Dutch Republic but remains undiscussed in this chapter. The tasks and competences of seventeenth-century grand pensionaries form the subject of De Haan, 'De eerste minister van de Republiek'.

5 The question whether the provincial states or the States General appointed the stadtholder was a subject of discussion. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century*, pp. 134–53; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, pp. 300–06.

6 At the time of Doma's speech, several provinces had refused to appoint a successor for Stadtholder William II of Orange-Nassau, who had passed away after a sudden and brief illness in 1650. This period (1650–72) is therefore known as the First Stadtholderless Period. In the northern provinces of Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe, a scion of a different Nassau cadet branch held the office of stadtholder. These provinces therefore did not experience a stadtholderless period. On the two stadtholderian cadet branches of the House of Nassau, see for example Pons, 'Im Schatten der Oranier'; Groenveld, 'Gemengde gevoelens'.

7 The ambiguous political position of the two Dutch Nassau families and its implications for the ways in which the stadtholderian funerals were organized and performed is discussed in Janssen, 'Political Ambiguity and Confessional Diversity'.

8 Mörke, *'Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'?*, pp. 11–16; 215–16; 251–68.

9 Peters, 'Können Ehen Frieden stiften?'; Duchhardt, 'The Dynastic Marriage'; Bély, *La société des princes*, pp. 195–201.

10 McGowan, *Dynastic Marriages*.

11 Fichtner, 'Dynastic Marriage', p. 258.

12 This becomes particularly clear from studies on lesser-known dynastic marriages that did not accompany a peace treaty or only connected lower-ranking European dynasties. See for example Marra, *Allianzen des Adels*; Spieß, *Familie und Verwandtschaft im Deutschen Hochadel des Spätmittelalters*; Hurwich, 'Marriage Strategy among the German Nobility, 1400–1699'; Westphal, Schmidt-Voges, and Baumann, *Venus und Vulcanus*, pp. 54–61 and 64–67.

13 Watanabe-O'Kelly and Morton, eds, *Queens Consort*; Palos and Sánchez, eds, *Early Modern Dynastic Marriages and Cultural Transfer*.

14 See for example Broomhall and Van Gent, *Gender, Power and Identity*; Broomhall and Van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism*; Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht*; Poelhekke, *Frederik Hendrik*, pp. 53–74.

15 Geyl, *Oranje en Stuart*, pp. 13–18.

16 Groenveld, 'The House of Orange'; Groenveld, *Verlopend getij*, pp. 91–100.

17 This article focuses on the Dutch approaches to the stadtholderian marriages. This means that the perspective of the brides' dynasties and other foreign political actors remains largely undiscussed, but this is certainly a promising avenue for further research.

18 I have chosen to exclude stadtholderian marriages concluded after 1672, as this *Rampjaar* ('Year of Disaster') marked the beginning of a new balance of power within the United Provinces.

19 For a large part, the Nassau marriage policy was informed by the guidelines on which most European dynastic marriages were based. Besides a set of ideals connected to the femininity of the bride, such as beauty, health, and a pious character, the Nassau family preferred a bride who was raised as a Protestant and who was of at least a similar but preferably a higher rank: Schönpflug, 'One European family?'; Hurwich, 'Marriage Strategy'; Duchhardt, 'The Dynastic Marriage'.

20 This marriage thus affiliated the Nassaus to the royal dynasty of Denmark.

21 KV, The Hague, A 14 Frederick Henry, inv. no. 11-1, Documents about the marriage between Frederick Henry and Elisabeth, daughter of Landgrave Maurice of Hesse. This marriage plan is discussed in the correspondence of Pieter van Brederode, agent of the States General at several German courts: Nationaal Archief (NA), The Hague, 1.01.02 States General (1576–1796), inv. no. 6017, Files Brederode 1614–17.

22 The marriage was, however, all the more urgent because Frederick Henry's brother Maurice was expected to die in several weeks without having produced legitimate offspring and because Elizabeth Stuart believed it only appropriate for Frederick Henry to finally seal his love affair with her lady-in-waiting with a marriage: Akkerman, *Rivalen aan het Haagse Hof*, p. 33.

23 After all, the international relations of the United Provinces were primarily maintained by a diplomatic corps in service of the States General that did not have any authority to decide upon matters related to the Nassau family. For more information on international relations as a task of the States General, see Thomassen, *Instrumenten van de macht*, pp. 273–91.

24 KV, The Hague, A 15 William II, inv. no. 11-4 Report of the diplomatic delegation sent to conclude a marriage between William II and Mary Stuart, 1639–41; inv. no. 11-4c Diverse documents of the States General and States of Utrecht concerning the marriage of William II and Mary Stuart, 1640–42. See also the correspondence between several negotiators and Frederick Henry published in Groen van Prinsterer, ed., *Archives ou correspondance inédite*, 2nd series, III 1625–42.

25 The balance of power between England and the United Provinces had drastically changed since 1625, as the English king's throne had been shaken and he was waging war against Scotland. Moreover, England still maintained non-neutral – 'friendly' – relations with Spain, the enemy of the United Provinces. The United Provinces would therefore make different demands on an Anglo-Dutch treaty than in the Treaty of Southampton. Before 1641, Dutch ambassadors had already presented Charles with four possible forms of a state alliance, but Charles had not responded to those plans. NA, The Hague, 1.01.02 States General (1576–1796), inv. no. 12589.48, Secret correspondence concerning England, 1640–41; Poot, *Crucial Years in Anglo-Dutch Relations*, pp. 167–70.

[26] Groen van Prinsterer, ed., *Archives ou correspondence inédite*, 2nd series, III 1625–1642, pp. 335–36: Letter from Frederick Henry to the ambassadors in England, without date, probably between 2–2-1641 and 5–2-1641; NA, The Hague, 1.01.02 States General (1576–1796), inv. no. 12589.48, Secret correspondence concerning England, 1640–1641. See also Groenveld, *Verlopend getij*, p. 97 and p. 284: note 43.

[27] Ernest Casimir was made general of the cavalry. The duke also asked him to bring along a competent general for the artillery and several persons with expertise in the building of mines and military fortresses.

[28] This appears from the correspondence between Ernest Casimir and his brother William Louis, KV, The Hague, A23, inv. no. 9, Correspondence between Ernest Casimir and William Louis, 1606.

[29] Rijperman, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, XIII 1604–1606, resolution of 4–2-1606, pp. 621–22.

[30] Rijperman, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, XIII, resolution of 4–2-1606, pp. 621–22.

[31] Rijperman, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, XIII 1604–1606, resolution of 17–3-1606, p. 623.

[32] Groen van Prinsterer, ed., *Archives ou correspondence inédite*, 2nd series, II 1600–1625, pp. 495–96: Letter from William Louis of Nassau-Dietz to Maurice of Orange-Nassau, 8/18–3-1617.

[33] Smit, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, III 1617–1618, resolution of 27–11-1617, pp. 281–82.

[34] Roelevink, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, VII 1 juli 1624–31 december 1625, resolution of 29–03-1625, p. 311.

[35] Roelevink, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, VII, resolution of 29–03-1625, p. 311.

[36] KV, The Hague, A15, inv. no. 11-4c, Diverse documents of the States General and States of Utrecht concerning the marriage of William II and Mary Stuart, 1640–1642. As an official extraordinary embassy of the United Provinces, the negotiators had to make a report of their activities in England for the States General: NA, The Hague, 1.01.02 States General (1576–1796), 8391–8392 Report of the extraordinary ambassadors Jan Wolferd van Brederode, François van Aerssen van Sommelsdijk, and Johan van Kerckhoven, Lord of Heenvliet, 1 January-18 June 1641.

[37] KV, The Hague, A15, inv. no. 11-4c.

[38] 'Daughter of the state' was probably not an official status with concrete obligations. The phrasing seems to foreshadow that, in 1666, the States of Holland would give William III the status of 'Child of State'. This meant that the States were in charge of and paid for the education of the prince from then onwards. It is improbable that the Frisian States offered something similar when they offered to treat her as daughter of the state, as Albertine Agnes's education had been finished when she married.

[39] KV, The Hague, A25, inv. no. 137.

[40] Amalia's reply was noted down in the report that was written by the Frisian delegates and was aimed at the Frisian States. The phrasing can therefore be partly distorted in order to make it more positive about the Frisian States. However, other sources affirm that Amalia was hesitant to give her daughter into marriage to William Frederick. KV, The Hague, A25, inv. no. 137.

[41] According to Geert Janssen, many Frisian patricians assigned great authority to William Frederick around 1650: Janssen, *Creaturen van de macht*, pp. 57–88.

[42] Rijperman, *Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal*, ed. by Rijperman, XIV 1607–1609, note 3, p. 164.

[43] Roelevink, ed., *Resoluties Staten-Generaal*, VII Juli 1624–1625, resolution of 15–08-1625, p. 500.

[44] Kooijmans, *Liefde in opdracht*, p. 209.

[45] KV, The Hague, A25 William Frederick, inv. no. 156, Documents and correspondence concerning the marriage and reception of William Frederick and Albertine Agnes, 1652.

[46] My analysis of the Amsterdam festivities is based on the print series published after the reception. For the festivities in Friesland, I have used a hand-written and (to my knowledge) unpublished report stored in the Koninklijke Verzamelingen.

[47] Numerous studies have been published on early modern royal progresses and princely entries, from monographs about the entries of one particular monarch to edited volumes on specific themes such as collective identity formation to editions of festival books. For a relatively recent addition, see Mulryne, Aliverte, and Testaverde, eds, *Ceremonial entries*. For a relatively recent discussion of the tradition in the Low Countries, see Damen and Overlaet, 'Weg van de staat'.

[48] See for example Kipling, *Enter the King*, pp. 289–333; Samson, 'Changing places'; Linnell, 'Becoming a Stuart Queen Consort'; Mulryne, 'Marriage Entertainments'.

[49] The delegates of the city government were former burgomaster Andries Bicker and the city's pensionary Cornelis Boom.

[50] Bokhoven, *Blijde inkomsten in Amsterdam*; Bosch, *De Blijde Incomste binnen Amsterdam van Sijne Hoogheijt Frederick Hendrick*. See also Mörke, *'Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'?*, pp. 294–96.

[51] These Anglo-Dutch alliances were probably also emphasized because the mother of the bride, the English Queen Henrietta Maria, was also present during the reception. She figures prominently in the prints that were published after the festivities, just as her mother Marie de' Medici did in the prints published after her ceremonial reception in Amsterdam in 1638. See Suzanne van de Meerendonk's contribution to this volume.

[52] On one arch, the wedding of William Frederick and Albertine Agnes was re-enacted. The motto of this arch read: 'Aij segent Heer tot 's Landts behouwen – Orangies houwlijk met Nassouwen' ('Oh, Lord, Bless Orange's Marriage to Nassau to the interest of the country'). Another arch carried the following motto: 'Lang moet hier Lieffd en hoop, Gelooff en Eendragt Groeijen – En uit Orangies Stam Nassausche Vrugten bloeijen' ('Long shall Love, Hope, Faith, and Harmony increase – And from Orange's stock grow Nassau fruits'). The motto of the third arch was different in tone and is discussed later on in this section. KV, The Hague, A25 William Frederick, inv. no. 157, Documents concerning the reception of the nuptial journey and reception of the bridal couple in Friesland, 1652.

[53] Menasseh Ben Israel, *Welkomst uijt sijn Volcks naem, aen de hoogh-gebooren Prince van Oranjen Frederic Henric als hij met de Doorluchtigste Koningin Henriette Maria* […] *onse Synagoge besocht*.

[54] Spanninga, *Gulden vrijheid?*, pp. 37–42.

10

Arthur Weststeijn

EMPIRE PORTRAYED

The Representation of Dutch Colonial Authority in the Seventeenth Century

Visitors to the court of Vimaladharmasuriya, the King of Kandy on the island of Ceylon (Sri Lanka) who ruled from 1590 to 1604, could admire a remarkable painting of a majestic figure on horseback. The portrait hung in the middle of the king's audience hall and had a truly monarchical allure, but it did not represent Vimaladharmasuriya himself. In fact, the man portrayed was not even a king, and he had never set foot in Asia. The painting had arrived in Kandy in 1602, when a Dutch delegation visited the court in the hope of reaching an agreement regarding the profitable cinnamon trade. To convince King Vimaladharmasuriya of their good intentions, the Dutch envoys proposed to form an alliance against Kandy's enemy, the Portuguese Estado da Índia. Yet they had a problem, because they sailed in the name of a private company from the province of Zeeland that did not have any political or military authority. How to make sure the King of Kandy would nonetheless accept their credentials? The only solution, the Dutch seafarers reasoned, was to pretend they represented a strong monarchical figure that had recently won an important battle against the Spanish-Portuguese Crown in Europe. As evidence, they gave King Vimaladharmasuriya a portrait of that triumphant figure on the battlefield, 'painted on a cloth full-size from life'. The king accepted it with apparent delight and made sure it was given a prominent location at his court. Thus, the portrait of Maurice of Nassau, victor of the Battle of Nieuwpoort, ended up in the audience hall of the kingdom of Kandy (fig. 10.1).[1]

This solution of using the representational strength of the stadtholder to claim military and political authority in a non-European context was not unusual in the opening phases of Dutch colonial expansion in the decades around 1600. For Dutch seafarers who sought to enter into contact, impress, and make alliance with local rulers throughout Asia, the republican nature of their homeland presented a problem since it was unclear under whose authority they sailed the seas and which ruler they represented. The portrait of Maurice of Nassau in Kandy offers an example of how they tackled this difficulty through elevating the stadtholderate to a monarchical status that befitted colonial diplomacy with sovereign rulers in Asia. As Adam Clulow has argued compellingly, the figure of the stadtholder offered officials of the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie or VOC, founded in 1602) 'a kind of royal disguise that could be draped over the company's activities […] smoothing the way for diplomatic interaction by boosting the status of Dutch envoys and providing them with a ready framework for exchange'.[2] Yet, as this chapter shows, this elevation of the stadtholderate to monarchical status also gave rise to tensions and hence to alternative ways of portraying empire, in the Dutch Republic as well as in the colonial arena. In the Dutch Republic, a first alternative representation came to the fore that depicted empire not in the shape of a concrete individual ruler but as an abstract female figure that embodied communal authority. The competition between these two ways of portraying empire reached a climax in the years around 1650. The death of William II that year and the onset of the stadtholderless period had important repercussions for the depiction of empire at home, particularly in Amsterdam, but also overseas, notably in Batavia, the centre of Dutch colonial rule in Asia. There, a second alternative emerged that did not use the individual standing of the

10.1

Crispijn de Passe, *Maurice of Nassau at the Battle of Nieuwpoort*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1600. Public domain. The portrait of Maurits given to the King of Kandy does not survive, but it was probably based upon this print.

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VIRVMQVE EQVVMQVE AD PRAELIVM EXORNES LICET: VNVM TAMEN PENES DEVM VICTORIA EST. Prover. 21.
TANDEM FIT SVRCVLVS ARBOR
Westende
Middelkercke
Isabella
Oostende
Graue Ernest
Pugna inter Auriacos et milites Austriacos
Graue Adolph
Graue Ludwig
NIEVPORT
Crispian van de Passe figuravit, sculpsit, et excudit. An. 1600.
MAVRITIVS D: G: PRINC: AVR: COM: NASS: MARC: VERÆ ET VLISS: PROV: BELG: GVB:
Sic mutat BELLONA vices, sic ludit atrocem
More suo ludum: AVSTRIACO olim vt stipite surgens
NASSOVIA de stirpe satum deuicit ADOLPHVM
ALBERTVS: zelo sic libertatis auitæ
MAVRITIVS de gente ortus NASSAVIDE flagrans
ALBERTVM AVSTRIACO generatum stemmate fudit.
Idque die (obserua lector bone) mensis eadem. Kar: Veenh: ludebat.
Vrbes et castella à Mauritio quàmdiu militiæ confœderatorum præfuit, capta: quæ etiamnum in eorum sunt potestate.
(Anno 1590. Arcem et vrbem Bredanam Vlyssiaca arte cepit 3 Mart. (An: 1591. Animosiori strata gemate fortalitium Zutphaniense capitur 24 Maij. Zutphania 30 Maij. Dauentria 10. Junij. Nouiomagum 21 Octob: (An: 1592. Stenouicum 4 Julij. Couardia 12 Sept: (An: 1593. Mons Stæ Gertrudis 25 Julij. (An: 1594. Gruningia 27 Julij. (An: 1597 Prœlium ad Turonoldum obtinet 24 Jan: Grolla capitur 28 Sept: Bredefordia 12 Octob: Enschedena 18 Octob: Othemarsia 21 Octob: Oldasela 24 Oct: Lingum 12 Nouemb: (An: 1600. Wachtendonca 27 Ian: Fortalitium Rosseminanũ, mense Maio. Periculosissimæ ad Nouiportum pugnæ, non sine mediocri suorum clade, victor euadit 2 Julij.

10.2
Pieter Isaacsz, 'Painted Harpsichord Lid of Amsterdam as Ruler of the World', Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1606. Public domain.

stadtholders to portray empire, but rather that of the local governors-general of the VOC, whose position gained importance and status over the course of the seventeenth century. This colonial context, although often neglected in historiographical discussions on seventeenth-century Dutch political culture, opened up a third front in the competition between monarchical and republican representations of Dutch power. Indeed, the prominence of the governors-general in Batavia shows there were different contenders for the monarchical title in the Dutch republican empire, of which the stadtholders, eventually, proved to be the least successful. By the start of the eighteenth century, the House of Orange-Nassau had lost its initial representational value and was overshadowed by a combination of personalized and depersonalized portrayals of authority that depicted the Dutch empire essentially as a Company-Republic.[3]

Contending colonial representations

From the moment a first small fleet set sail from the Dutch Republic for Southeast Asia in 1595, Dutch colonial enterprise employed the authority of the House of Orange-Nassau to make headway in international diplomacy and secure the support of Asian sovereigns. The fleet of 1595 carried a specific document for that purpose: a circular letter issued and sealed by Maurice of Nassau, meant to show the fleet came in peace with the sole intention to trade, asking rulers for permission and assistance to do so. Since the Dutch seafarers did not really know which rulers they would encounter overseas, the letter deliberately addressed a wide array of unnamed authorities; since the Dutch assumed the peoples they would deal with were mostly Muslim, the letter was written in Arabic. Tellingly, the letter presented Maurice of Nassau as a sovereign monarch addressing his equals, but any careful reader of the Arabic text, which had been written by the Leiden professor Franciscus Raphelengius, could have realized that the political status of Maurice, '*rayyis* of Orange, *arkun* of Nassau, Katzenellenbogen and Dietz, *mawla* of Veere and Flushing, *amir* of the Provinces of Gelderland, Holland, Zealand, Zutphen, West Friesland, Utrecht and Overijssel' was, for all this textual embellishment, essentially undetermined.[4]

This indefiniteness did not deter Southeast Asian rulers from trusting the credentials of the various similar letters they received from Dutch trading fleets in the years around 1600. Sultan Sa'id al-Din of Ternate, an important spice island in the Moluccas, replied with a letter of his own, addressed to 'the exalted king of Holland in the land below the winds'.[5] In 1602, the sultan of Aceh, a strong regional power in northern Sumatra, even sent an embassy of three envoys to the Dutch Republic to deliver a missive directly to Maurice.[6] Upon arrival on the damp Dutch soil, one of the envoys died and was duly buried with stately ceremony in Middelburg; the other two headed for the stadtholder at his military camp at the front, where he coordinated the siege of Grave. As Maurice had heard that the sultan of Aceh had welcomed an earlier Dutch delegation in his realm with much monarchical aplomb sitting on an elephant, he tried to receive the delegates from Aceh in a setting of comparable allure, surrounded by soldiers and noblemen who had to

compensate for the lack of imposing Dutch mammals. After an extensive exchange of diplomatic formalities, the delegation was toured around the army and the siegeworks and continued to visit the rest of the country, eventually leaving again for Aceh to share their impressions of the 'kingdom of Holland' back home.[7] A few years later, representatives from the kingdom of Ayutthaya in Siam also made it to the Dutch Republic to pay their respects to Maurice, 'whom they always called the King of Holland' during the diplomatic rendezvous.[8]

Dutch colonial agents played an important part in underlining this semi-monarchical status of the House of Orange-Nassau. The name of Maurice and his family was literally dispersed over the globe through colonial ceremonies of possession and place-naming, from the island of Mauritius, named after Maurice in 1598 by Dutch seafarers who made a stopover on the island, to numerous fortresses worldwide called Fort Nassau or Fort Oranje, for example on the spice island of Banda Neira, built in 1609; on the Gold Coast of West Africa, in 1612; and at the northern and southern frontiers of New Netherland, in 1614 and 1626.[9] Indeed, Dutch delegates visiting non-European rulers made no attempts to shatter the illusion that they represented a true king, repeatedly claiming that they were sent by a non-existent 'King of Holland'. As their English competitors in the Asian trade complained, the Dutch 'doe not spare to bragge very much of their King, meaning Grave [Count] Maurice, whom they call in all these parts at every word Raja Hollanda'. To debunk these royalist pretensions, an English agent in Japan did not hesitate to underline 'they had no king at all in Holland but were governed by a conte, or rather they governed him'.[10]

The essentially republican nature of Dutch political decision-making and hence, of Dutch empire, was highlighted more strongly in Dutch domestic contexts, where the authority of the House of Orange-Nassau remained contested. This was particularly the case in Amsterdam, the city with the strongest presence in the governing board of the VOC and therefore the mightiest player in the 'familial state' of Dutch colonial governance.[11] To counterbalance the representational dominance of the House of Orange-Nassau, Amsterdam's ruling elite deployed an alternative portrayal of empire based upon a communal instead of an individual persona. A clear example hereof is the recurrent depiction of Amsterdam as a female figure ruling the world, a theme first displayed in 1606, when the painter Pieter Isaacsz was commissioned by the Amsterdam burgomasters to decorate the lid of a harpsichord that was played at formal occasions in the city.[12] Isaacsz produced a remarkable painting that shows how the city maiden of Amsterdam, styled in imperial fashion next to a globe and cornucopia and seconded by Neptune, oversees the world, depicted from an unusual perspective from the North looking South, with the Indonesian archipelago to the left and the Americas to the right (fig. 10.2).

The iconography of the painted lid highlights the dominant role of the city of Amsterdam in Dutch overseas enterprise: the embodiment of imperial authority is not an individual ruler such as Maurice, but an imaginary female figure who represents the urban community of Amsterdam. The essentially imperial connotation of this female figure is made explicit in the broad panorama profile of Amsterdam made in 1611 by the engraver Claes Jansz Visscher, which again depicts the Maiden of Amsterdam 'adorned as an empress', as the accompanying text states.[13] In this portrayal, which would become a leading motif of Amsterdam's urban self-representation throughout the seventeenth century, the role of Amsterdam as the centre of a global mercantile empire is underscored by the presence of representatives from Asia, Africa, and the Americas, who happily offer Amsterdam their exotic merchandise (fig. 10.3).

Amsterdam's representational value could also be exploited as a counterweight to the House of Orange-Nassau in concrete acts of colonial claim-making. The Dutch expedition that landed on Mauritius in 1598 and named it after the stadtholder, subsequently nailed a wooden board to a tree with the arms of the provinces of Holland and Zeeland and of the city of Amsterdam to claim possession over the island (fig. 10.4).[14] Numerous locations worldwide, most famously New Amsterdam on Manhattan island, sealed Amsterdam's name in a colonial setting in the opening decades of Dutch overseas expansion. Representations of the city also held value in colonial diplomacy, for example in 1620, when the VOC offered a painting of the harbour of Amsterdam to the Sultan of Palembang on Sumatra as a marker of Dutch naval power.[15]

However, Amsterdam gradually lost its representational value in a colonial context after troops of the VOC raided the settlement of Jaccatra on Java and founded in its place a permanent headquarters for Dutch colonial enterprise in Asia: the city of Batavia. With the foundation of Batavia, the VOC obtained a concrete, physical presence in Asian politics and diplomacy, embodied by the imposing castle overlooking Batavia harbour. As a result, Dutch imperial representations dependent on the metropole became less important in diplomatic exchanges with sovereigns in Asia, which now progressively bypassed the stadtholder as they could address Batavia directly.[16] This process is illustrated by the opening account in the first Batavia registers which describes how, on 1 January 1624, a Chinese delegation was received with

10.3

Claes Jansz Visscher (II), *Profile of Amsterdam, Seen from the River IJ*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1611. Public domain.

much ceremonial, including four elephants, by the VOC officials at Batavia Castle.[17]

The most important of these officials was the governor-general, appointed by the VOC as a permanent representative of the Company in Asia. Over the years, the successive governors-general attained growing diplomatic status and authority, celebrated with the trappings that befitted a true sovereign. In 1632, for example, when the new Governor-General Hendrik Brouwer assumed office in Batavia Castle, all VOC officials pledged their allegiance, followed by cannon fire, after which representatives of the urban community paid their respects and wished the governor-general well 'to the benefit of the Company and consequently of our fatherland and also to the increase of his Excellency's singular and personal honour'.[18] The success of the governor-general was thus said to represent the fortunes of the VOC and those of the Dutch Republic at large: the interests of the highest colonial official, the Company, and the Republic allegedly coincided. This language of individual honour representing the entire community shows how the figure of the governor-general gradually became a contender for the stadtholders' semi-monarchical status in Dutch colonial enterprise.

Metropolitan representations of empire around 1650

The competition between the various representations of Dutch colonial authority – one centred on the stadtholder, the other on the city of Amsterdam, and the third on the governor-general in Batavia – intensified over the 1630s and 1640s. One reason for this intensification was the growing self-awareness of Amsterdam as an urban community that could rival with sovereign rulers from abroad. This self-awareness became particularly manifest during the festive reception of the French Queen-Mother Marie de' Medici in 1638, when Amsterdam presented itself as a communal sovereign operating on the same level as kings and queens.[19] At least as important were the growing pretensions to colonial authority of the House of Orange-Nassau. These pretensions

10.4

Anonymous, 'The Dutch Camp on Mauritius in 1598'. In *Oost-Indische ende West-Indische voyagien*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Public domain. Note the tree with the arms of the provinces of Holland and Zeeland and of the city of Amsterdam at n. 6.

10.5

Jacob Jordaens, *The Triumph of Frederick Henry*, The Hague, Paleis Huis ten Bosch (Oranjezaal). 1652. Courtesy of Paleis Huis ten Bosch.

10.6

Jacob van Campen, *Part of the Triumphal Procession with Gifts from the East and the West*, The Hague, Paleis Huis ten Bosch (Oranjezaal). 1649–51. Courtesy of Paleis Huis ten Bosch.

were fueled by the tenure of Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen as Governor-General of the Dutch colony in Brazil between 1637 and 1644. Johan Maurits had established a magnificent princely court at his colonial headquarters in Recife (then called Mauritsstad), and after his return to his personal palace in The Hague (the Mauritshuis), he tried to maintain this princely allure with a combined effort at self-aggrandizement through exoticizing courtly receptions, artworks, and printed panegyrics.[20] This public relations campaign with a colonial twist spilled over to the representation of the House of Orange-Nassau at large.

A clear illustration of the rising profile of the House of Orange-Nassau in a colonial context was the decoration in 1646 of the governor's house in the fortress of Zeelandia, the centre of power in the Dutch colony of Formosa (Taiwan). The rooms of the house were adorned with paintings of geographical, historical, and religious topics, but the most prominent collection was a series of sixteen portraits of members of the House of Orange-Nassau.[21] Such series were common in private and public locations in the Dutch Republic, for example in the town hall of Delft, and were obviously intended as tokens of loyalty to the stadtholders. In the context of Formosa, they also served to employ the princely authority of the House of Orange-Nassau as a representation of Dutch colonial power on the island. This practice, however, clashed with the rising importance of the governors-general in Batavia as the central representatives of Dutch empire in Asia. As a VOC official remarked in 1641, continuing references to the stadtholder in diplomatic exchanges in Asia threatened to undermine the position of Batavia, 'because the respect for the governor-general is thereby markedly lessened (to the Company's disadvantage)'.[22]

The colonial dimension to the status of the House of Orange-Nassau was also highlighted in the Dutch Republic, most prominently in the decoration programme of the famous Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch, commissioned by Amalia of Solms as a monument to her husband, Stadtholder Frederick Henry, after his death in 1647.[23] The main pictorial narrative of the hall is a triumphal procession that culminates in the grand victory of Frederick Henry, the massive painting by the Flemish artist Jacob Jordaens celebrating the stadtholder as a neo-Roman emperor amidst representations of other members of the Orange-Nassau dynasty (fig. 10.5). Significantly, upon entering the hall, the visitor is visually led towards this triumph through a scene immediately on the left that, as an element of the triumphal procession, displays the spoils of Dutch colonial enterprise (fig. 10.6). In the words of Constantijn Huygens, the secretary to the stadtholder's court who played a prominent part in the design of the decoration programme, this scene represents 'an embassy from the East and West Indies with presents'.[24] Painted by artist-architect Jacob van Campen, it

10.7

Jacob van Campen, *Design for the West Pediment of the Amsterdam Town Hall*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1646–50. Public domain.

10.8

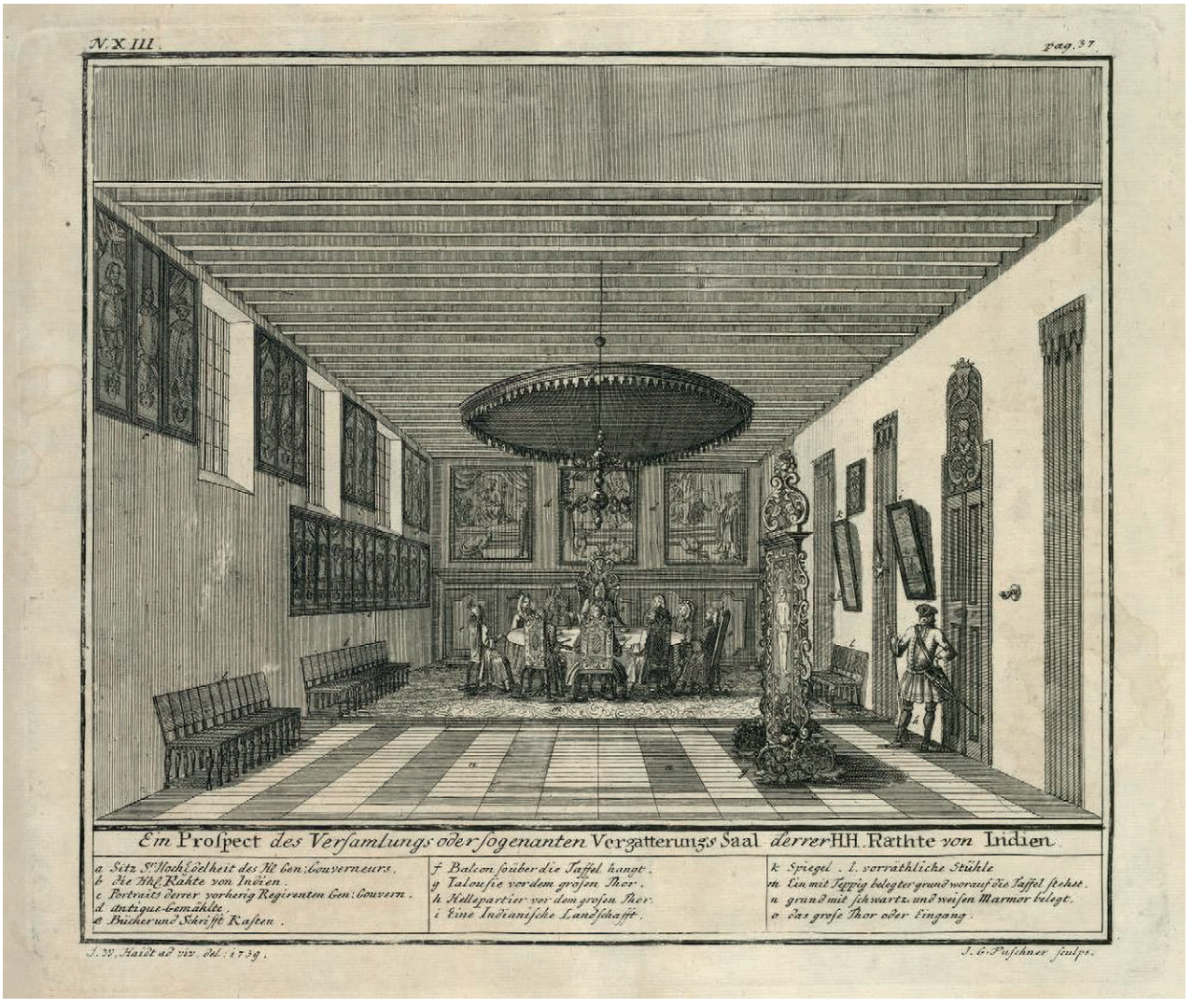
Hubert Quellinus, after Artus Quellinus, 'Relief on the West Pediment of the Amsterdam Town Hall', Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1664–68. Public domain.

combines treasures from Africa, the Americas, and Asia, including two baskets from Congo filled with fruits, a porcelain vase from China, a leather shield from Bengal in between two large parasols from Brazil, and, on top, the armour and helmet of a Japanese warrior.[25] This theme of global offerings by representatives of all continents was, as shown above, an important element of the representation of Amsterdam as an imperial centre. Now, in the Oranjezaal, a significant change of emphasis took place: no longer were the spoils of colonial enterprise offered to the Maiden of Amsterdam, but to the triumphant House of Orange-Nassau.

Yet by the time Van Campen's painting was finished in the early 1650s, the political tides in the Dutch Republic had shifted dramatically – to the dismay of the Orange-Nassau dynasty. When the States of Holland decided not to appoint a new stadtholder after the attempted coup d'état and sudden death of William II, the triumphant message of the Oranjezaal was quickly overshadowed by the regained confidence of Amsterdam as the true heart of the Republic and its epoch of self-proclaimed 'True Liberty'. The most formidable illustration of this development was the building of Amsterdam's magnificent new Town Hall, designed by Van Campen and arguably the greatest expression of urban republicanism in early modern Europe north of the Alps. Inaugurated in 1655, the Town Hall amounts to a self-declaration of Amsterdam being not just the undisputed centre of the Dutch Republic, but that of the entire world and God's universal creation.[26] In the rich iconography of the building's decoration programme, one element literally stands out: the city maiden who dominates the world from the two pediments that crown the facade. On one side, facing Dam Square, she rules over the oceans; on the other side, she receives the goods and treasures offered by representations of the four continents (figs 10.7–8).[27] This motif is based upon an initial design made by Van Campen, whose personal involvement embodies the direct connection between the Oranjezaal and the Amsterdam Town Hall. Through variations on the iconographical theme of the offering of global treasures, Van Campen served both parties in the contest over the metropolitan representation of Dutch empire.[28]

10.9

J. W. Heydt, *The Council Hall of Batavia Castle*, The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek. 1739. Courtesy of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek. The portraits of the governors-general occupy the wall on the left. The paintings on the wall behind the table depict unidentified scenes from ancient and biblical history.



The governors-general in Batavia as colonial dynasty

The establishment of the stadtholderless era turned the tables not only in Dutch domestic politics, but also overseas. The disappearance of the stadtholder as an authoritative point of reference had important implications for the diplomatic activities of the VOC in Asia, as it was now truly impossible to claim there was any 'King of Holland'. As a result, the position of the governor-general in Batavia gained in representational significance as a semi-monarchical alternative to the stadtholders. The clearest expression of this development was the decision taken in the early 1650s to adorn the council hall of Batavia Castle with a portrait gallery of the governors-general. The council hall occupied a central position in Batavia Castle: it was not only the location of the bi-weekly sessions of the ruling Council of the Indies under the presidency of the governor-general, but also that of diplomatic meetings with the partners or competitors of the VOC.[29] To impress regular and occasional visitors alike, the walls of the hall were covered with the portraits of the governors-general as individual representations of Dutch empire (fig. 10.9).[30]

This initiative was most likely taken under Governor-General Carel Reyniersz (in office 1650–53) or his successor Joan Maetsuycker, who may have been inspired by the example of the portrait gallery of Portuguese viceroys in Goa. The commissioned painter in Batavia, who has remained anonymous, made a series of portraits of all the ten governors-general who had served the VOC thus far, from Pieter Both (in office 1610–14) to Reyniersz (figs 10.10–12).[31] The portraits, painted on panels of tropical wood of the same format, created the sense of a true colonial dynasty, personalizing Dutch colonial power in the absence of the stadtholders. This proved to be a longstanding strategy of imperial representation: every consecutive governor-general henceforth added a portrait to the gallery after leaving office, a tradition that continued until the very end of Dutch colonial rule in the Indonesian archipelago in the 1940s.[32]

The figure of the governor-general thus became a central element of the representation of Dutch empire with increasingly monarchical connotations. This rising authority of the governors-general, whose images literally dominated the council hall of Batavia Castle, is corroborated by Southeast Asian sources. In 1664, for example, the *pangeran* of Jambi, a sultanate on Sumatra, sent a diplomatic letter to Batavia in which he stated that Governor-General Maetsuycker (in office 1653–78), 'sits upon the throne of power in the city of Batavia and rules the nation of Holland in [the lands] above and below the winds'.[33] Two years later, a Mughal official from Bengal addressed Maetsuycker in a diplomatic missive to Batavia as 'the noblest and the most powerful among his esteemed peers and dignitaries, the champion and protector of the merchants of this age, a lion in the show of courage, a crocodile in the sea of manhood, Joan Maetsuycker, General of the Hollanders'.[34] A Norwegian soldier in the service of the VOC, having arrived in Batavia in 1670, wrote in his journal that the governor-general was usually called 'the *Raya de Jaccatra* of the Hollanders, that is the King of Jaccatra'.[35]

This semi-monarchical status was highlighted not only in diplomatic language but also in colonial ritual. A clear example hereof is the lavish funeral ceremony that was organized when a governor-general died in office in Batavia. Like the portrait gallery, this ritual celebration of Dutch colonial authority in the shape of the governor-general started in the 1650s. The ceremony was first held after the death of Reyniersz in 1653, further codified when his successor Maetsucyker died in 1678, and brought to perfection with the funeral of Cornelis Speelman in 1684.[36] On the day of the funeral, the bells of Batavia started ringing at 5 in the morning, as the opening tune to a large funeral procession that carried the body of the deceased governor-general through the streets of the city amidst constant ceremonial cannon fire. Leaving from Batavia Castle, the cortege was headed by cavalry, trumpeters and drummers, and hundreds of soldiers and civic militiamen. In the centre of the procession, local dignitaries carried the governor-general's banner, helmet,

10.10

Pieter Both, *Governor-General of the VOC, 1610–14*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Early 1650s. Public domain.

10.11

Hendrik Brouwer, *Governor-General of the VOC, 1632–36*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Early 1650s. Public domain.

10.12

Carel Reyniersz, *Governor-General of the VOC, 1650–53*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Early 1650s. Public domain.

10.13

Jan Luyken, 'Funeral of Hendrik Adriaan van Rheede tot Drakestein'. In Havart, *Op- en ondergang van Cormandel*. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1693. Public domain. This print of the funeral procession of a Dutch colonial official in Surat (India) in 1692 gives an impression of the similar ritual held when a governor-general died in Batavia. Note the center of the procession with the deceased's regalia being carried in front of the covered coffin.

sword, tunic, gloves, and spurs: the regalia of personal authority. Twenty-six notables followed, carrying the leaden coffin, clad in black velvet. Behind the coffin walked the deceased's household members and the highest local VOC officials, including the next governor-general, all dressed in long mourning cloaks. They were accompanied by numerous envoys from Southeast Asian states and, finally, rows of representatives of Batavia's multi-ethnic population (fig. 10.13). The procession concluded in the heart of the city in the central Dutch Reformed church, where the governor-general was buried together with his regalia. To memorialize the occasion and to seal the governor general's image and authority, over two hundred silver and golden coins were struck, prominently showcasing Speelman's coat of arms (fig. 10.14). The funeral procession essentially blended the public and the private identities of the governor-general as the principal citizen of Batavia and the highest official of the VOC, embodying Dutch empire in Asia. In comparison to the funeral processions of the stadtholders in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, in which these private and public identities were markedly separated, the governors-general were celebrated with the pomp and circumstance that befitted a monarchical ruler.[37]

In the Dutch Republic, specifically in Amsterdam, the metropolitan representation of colonial authority made a striking counterpoint to that of the governors-general in Asia. While Dutch empire was personalized in Batavia in the

10.14

'Silver Medal with the Coat of Arms of Cornelis Speelman, Governor-General of the VOC', Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1684. Public domain.

10.15
Simon Fokke, *The Boardroom of the Oost-Indisch Huis*, Amsterdam, Stadsarchief. Courtesy of the Stadsarchief.

figure of the governor-general, it was essentially depersonalized in Amsterdam. This development, embodied by Amsterdam's self-representation in the new Town Hall of the 1650s, took centre stage in the boardroom of the VOC headquarters, the Oost-Indisch Huis, the Amsterdam equivalent of the council hall in Batavia Castle (fig. 10.15). In the early 1660s, this boardroom was redecorated with a series of paintings that did not portray a colonial dynasty, as in Batavia, but rather a colonial geography. The paintings, commissioned from the studio of the cartographer Johannes Vingboons, depicted important places for Dutch colonial trade in Asia, from Canton (Guangzhou) in China to the spice island of Banda Neira, dominated by two Dutch fortresses and a VOC ship (fig. 10.16).[38] The focal point of the boardroom, above the chimney, was reserved for a view of Batavia (fig. 10.17). This famous painting by Andries Beeckman represents Batavia's colourful street life and multi-ethnic population, while the castle looms in the background as the symbol of Dutch power.[39] Tellingly, the figure of the governor-general as the individual persona of empire is conspicuously absent from the scene. In Amsterdam, unlike in Batavia itself, the representation of empire was based not on individual authority, but on geographical diversity.

10.16
Johannes Vingboons (attr.), *The VOC Colony at Banda Neira*, Amsterdam, Rijkmuseum. 1662–63. Public domain.

10.17
Andries Beeckman, *View of Batavia*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. c. 1661. Public domain.

10.18

Nicolaas Verkolje, *Allegory of the Amsterdam Chamber of the VOC*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1702. Public domain.

Conclusion

By the 1670s, these parallel strategies of representation – a metropolitan strategy of depersonalized geography and a colonial strategy of personalized individuality – had become so dominant that they essentially eclipsed the initial emphasis on the House of Orange-Nassau as a marker of Dutch colonial authority. The watershed of 1650 and the (temporary) abolition of the stadtholderate had created a representational void that was soon filled, in the Dutch Republic and overseas, with contending representations of political power that drew upon alternative trajectories developed in the first half of the seventeenth century. In Amsterdam, the self-confident centre of the new era of 'True Liberty', the Town Hall and the VOC headquarters proudly proclaimed an image of Amsterdam as the centre of the world and of a republican empire without any individual ruler. In Batavia, by contrast, the disappearance of the stadtholder catapulted the figure of the governor-general into the limelight as the single embodiment of empire. Painting, language, and ritual gave the governors-general the status of a semi-monarchical dynasty.

10.19
Reynier Arondeaux, 'Silver Medal to Commemorate the Centenary of the VOC', Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1702. Public domain.

10.20
Andries van Buysen after Gerard Melder, Frontispiece of Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, vol. 1 (1724). Courtesy of Allard Pierson – Universiteit van Amsterdam.

The re-establishment of the stadtholderate in 1672 did not significantly alter this dual representation of Dutch colonial authority. While the new stadtholder, William III, became the subject of an extensive propagandistic campaign that celebrated him as a princely ruler in print, painting, and pageantry, the focus of that propaganda primarily concerned his political role in Europe as the main contender to Louis XIV. This European focus only increased after William III was crowned King of England in 1689.[40] Although the House of Orange-Nassau had now truly reached a monarchical status, this did not translate into a renewed emphasis on the stadtholder's representational value in colonial contexts. Indeed, when William III died in 1702, the centenary of the VOC that same year was celebrated with a painting and an honorary medal that essentially projected the urban self-presentation of Amsterdam on the VOC, depicting the Company as a proud female ruler without any reference to the House of Orange-Nassau. The painting, made for the Amsterdam chamber of the VOC by Nicolaas Verkolje, portrays the Company in a majestic pose on her throne holding the attributes of empire, while her foot rests

on a turtle as the symbol of steadfastness and perseverance (fig. 10.18).[41] The honorary medal reproduces this iconography, showing on one side Lady VOC who proclaims *In altera saecula pergo* ('I go on in another century'), and on the other a ship, crewed by representatives of the six VOC chambers sailing beyond the pillars of Hercules, for *Favente deo invia nulla via* ('with God's favour no road is impassable') (fig. 10.19). With this self-confident, future-oriented language, the metropolitan representation of Dutch colonial authority confirmed it no longer needed the semi-monarchical status of the House of Orange-Nassau.

Yet this self-confidence did not imply that the representation of Dutch empire was one-sided. This is shown most clearly by *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, arguably the most important early modern treatise on Dutch empire in Asia, written by the former colonial minister François Valentyn and published between 1724 and 1726. The lavish frontispiece of this work prominently portrays Lady VOC who dominates the globe while receiving the offerings from the continents (fig. 10.20).[42] The representation of colonial authority in the shape of a female figure thus took centre stage by means of the work's opening imagery. Yet throughout his text, Valentyn also highlighted the other face of the Dutch empire in Asia: that of the governor-general in Batavia. Valentyn explained in detail how the office of the governor-general had gained a semi-monarchical status by the early eighteenth century: 'The governor-general visibly displays the lustre and standing of an eminent Lord. Not only is he living in a sumptuous palace, but his entire status, entourage and household is monarchical,' Valentyn wrote. 'The power of this Lord comes very near to that of a King, or Monarch of an Empire'.[43]

This monarchical figure of the governor-general as the embodiment of the VOC in Asia merged with the communal representation of the VOC as a female figure, and together they gave shape to Dutch colonial enterprise as a Company-Republic. The imperial claim of this two-faced entity remained out of reach for the House of Orange-Nassau, even after William IV was appointed hereditary stadtholder in 1747 and, two years later, chief director of the VOC. This considerable extension of the stadtholder's colonial authority had little impact in practice.[44] Indeed, the representation of Dutch colonial authority in the later eighteenth century essentially underlined the established pre-eminence of the governors-general even in a metropolitan setting, as copies of the portrait gallery in Batavia Castle were now also displayed in the VOC chambers in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and Middelburg.[45] No longer were portraits of the stadtholders used for colonial diplomacy in Asia, as at the beginning of Dutch overseas expansion around 1600. Instead, the portraits of the governors-general in Batavia showed up in the centres of power in the Dutch Republic, as the most stable signifiers of Dutch colonial authority.

1 Lunsingh-Scheurleer, 'Uitwisseling van staatsieportretten', p. 173, note 32.
2 Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 27.
3 This chapter is a follow-up to Weststeijn, 'Empire of Riches'.
4 Leeuw, 'The First Dutch-Indonesian Treaty'. The different Arabic concepts Raphelengius used in this text to denote the authority of Maurice were variations on the term 'princeps': see Vrolijk, 'Scaliger and the Dutch Expansion in Asia', p. 304.
5 Cited in Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia*, p. 27.
6 A translation of the missive is published in *De oudste reizen van de Zeeuwen*, pp. 136–37.
7 Wassing-Visser, *Royal Gifts from Indonesia*, pp. 32–34, and see the contemporary account in Van Meteren, *Commentarien*, fols. 60–61.
8 *Ambassades du Roy de Siam*, p. 7: 'qu'ils s'appelloyent tousiours [sic] Roy d'Hollande.' For the context, see Duyvendak, 'The First Siamese Embassy to Holland'.
9 Broomhall and Van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism*, p. 142. Cf. Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, pp. 149–78.
10 Cited in Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 38.
11 Adams, *The Familial State*.
12 See Miedema, 'Het stadsklavecimbel van Amsterdam', and Kolfin, '*Omphalos Mundi*', pp. 384–85.
13 Cited in Schmidt, 'Hyper-Imperialism', p. 67.
14 Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession*, p. 166.
15 North, 'Production and Reception', p. 96.
16 Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, pp. 59–70.
17 *Dagh-Register Batavia*, I: 1624–29, pp. 1–2. See the detailed analysis in Blussé, 'Eerste vingeroefeningen in handelsdiplomatie te Batavia'; see also Blussé, 'Queen Among Kings'.
18 *Dagh-Register Batavia*, II: 1631–34, p. 97.
19 See Blocksom, 'Procession, Pride and Politics' and the chapter in this volume by Suzanne van de Meerendonk.
20 The court of Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen has been studied extensively. See Van den Boogart, Hoetink, and Palmer Whitehead, *Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen* and the useful overviews in Van Groesen, *Amsterdam's Atlantic*, pp. 158–67; Broomhall and Van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism*, pp. 143–57.
21 Zandvliet, 'Art and Cartography', pp. 581–83.
22 *Dagh-Register Batavia*, VI: 1641–42, p. 75.
23 Van Eikema Hommes and Kolfin, *De Oranjezaal in Huis ten Bosch*.
24 Cited in Peter-Raup, *Die Ikonographie des Oranjezaal*, p. 106.
25 Brenninkmeyer-De Rooij, 'Indische Exotica'. See also Zandvliet, *De Nederlandse ontmoeting met Azië*, pp. 101–06.
26 Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*; Goossens, *Het Amsterdams paleis*. See also Weststeijn, 'Imperial Republics', pp. 104–09, and the chapters in this volume by Laura Plezier and Stijn Bussels and Bram van Oostveldt.
27 Fremantle, *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam*, pp. 169–88.
28 On Van Campen's contacts with his patrons at the court in The Hague and in Amsterdam, see Huisken, Ottenheym, and Schwartz, *Jacob van Campen*, pp. 43–44.
29 Haan, *Oud Batavia*, I, pp. 156–67.
30 The portrait gallery in Batavia was first studied by Loos-Haaxman, *De landsverzameling*, I, pp. 19–34. See also Van Duuren, 'Landvoogden en burgers'; Stevens, *Gepeperd verleden*, pp. 123–35.
31 The painter may have been Philip Angel, who was in Batavia until 1651, but Kees Zandvliet argues a more likely candidate is Joost Pauwels Noorwits, who was in Batavia in 1652–53 during the last months of the governor-generalship of Reyniersz: Zandvliet, 'Art and Cartography', pp. 590–93.
32 On the curious conservation history of the gallery, see Van de Laar and De Ridder, 'De wisselvallige geschiedenis'.
33 *Dagh-Register Batavia*, XV: 1664, p. 10, cited after Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 69.
34 *Dagh-Register Batavia*, XVII: 1666–67, pp. 39–40, cited after Sur, 'Keeping Corruption at Bay' , p. 175.
35 Bolling, 'Oost-Indisch reisboek', p. 331, cited after Clulow, *The Company and the Shogun*, p. 67.
36 See the contemporary report in Stapel, 'Verslag van Speelman's begrafenis' and cf. *Dagh-Register Batavia*, X: 1653, pp. 69–71 and XXVI: 1678, pp. 10–15.
37 See Janssen, 'Dynastieke transfer'.
38 Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money*, pp. 219–23; Gosselink, *Land in zicht*, pp. 32–34; Stevens, *Gepeperd verleden*, pp. 20–25.
39 Jacobs, 'Beeckman's Batavia'.
40 See the essays in *Redefining William III* and, for a wider English perspective, Sharpe, *Rebranding Rule*. See also the chapter by Alexander Dencher in this volume.
41 Knolle and Korthals, *Nicolaas Verkolje*, pp. 88–89.
42 Weststeijn, 'Empire of Riches', pp. 53–55.
43 Valentyn, *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, IV, pp. 261–62.
44 Gaastra, *De geschiedenis van de VOC*, p. 164.
45 A series of these copies is in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, inv. nos. SK-A-4525 – SK-A-4552. The latest Governor-General depicted in this series is Reinier de Klerk (in office 1777–80).

11

Margriet van Eikema Hommes
Tatjana van Run

CHANGING HEAVENS

Political Messages in Gerard de Lairesse's Ceiling Painting for Andries de Graeff in the Year of Disaster 1672

11.1
Gerard ter Borch, *Portrait of Andries de Graeff*, New York, The Leiden Collection. 1673. Public domain.

The year 1672 has been etched in the annals of Dutch history as the Year of Disaster. A joint attack by France, England, Münster, and Cologne almost brought the Dutch Republic to its knees. Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt and his brother Cornelis were killed by an angry mob the same year, signalling the end of the regime of 'True Freedom' (*Ware Vrijheid*). That same year Gerard de Lairesse signed a monumental three-part ceiling painting of almost 4.5 meters in height (figs 11.2, 11.3a-c, 11.4). Following his arrival in Amsterdam in 1665, this painter had made a name for himself among the city's elite with his ceiling and interior paintings. When he lost his eyesight around 1690, Lairesse started to teach artists and connoisseurs art theory and practice. These classes were to evolve into his *Groot schilderboek* (1707). Lairesse's ceiling of 1672, depicting a cloud-filled sky with mythological and allegorical figures, was painted for the newly built canal house of the Amsterdam patrician Andries de Graeff (figs 1.24, 11.1).

De Graeff was from a prominent political dynasty that, together with the related Bicker family, dominated the Amsterdam city government for decades.[1] Andries de Graeff served one-year terms as burgomaster no fewer than seven times between 1657 and 1671, while his older brother Cornelis served as many as ten times between 1643 and 1662. Both brothers played a leading role in the first stadholderless period (1650–72), when there was no stadtholder in five of the seven Dutch provinces. During this period Johan de Witt became the leading statesman in the Dutch Republic. His policy of True Freedom received support from the republican elite in Holland, also from the De Graeff family, who were related to De Witt by marriage.

The year of 1672 would turn out to be a dramatic year for Andries de Graeff. Following the invasion of the Dutch Republic in the spring, he was involved in its defence. However, after the brutal murder of the De Witt brothers in August, De Graeff was removed from the city government by the new Stadtholder William III of Orange. His political career was over, and it would take many decades before the De Graeff dynasty would return to power. It is against this turbulent background that Lairesse created the ceiling series for De Graeff.

The restoration of the canvases in 2009–10 offered the opportunity to study the paintings with scientific techniques.[2]

11.2
Freedom of Trade. Detail of fig. 11.3b.

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11.3a-c

Gerard de Lairesse, Three-part ceiling painting with *Concord, Freedom of Trade, and Protection against Danger*, The Hague, Peace Palace. 1672. Photo: Eric Smits Photography. Reproduced with permission.

a *Concord Trampling Two Enemies* (Canvas, 446 × 202 cm).
b *Freedom of Trade is Crowned with a Naval Crown and Defended by the Generality Lion* (Canvas, 446 × 232 cm).
c *Protection against Danger Chasing away Envy and Harpies* (Canvas, 446 × 185 cm).

11.4

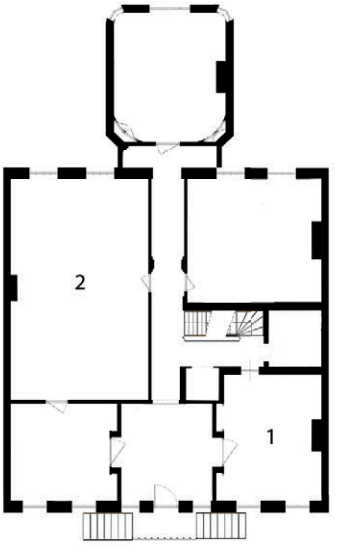
Freedom of Trade. Detail of rock with signature: 'G. Lairesse Pinxit an°. 1672.'
Photo: Eric Smits Photography.
Reproduced with permission.

11.5a

Gerrit Adriaensz. Berckheyde, *View of the Golden Bend in the Herengracht under Construction, Seen from the Leidsestraat Bridge*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1672. Public domain.

11.5b

Detail with the De Graeff House.



11.6

Floor plan of the bel-etage of 446 Herengracht, 2020, with (1) the room with the carved wooden ceiling (fig. 11.7) and (2) the reception room where de Lairesse's ceiling decorations originally hung (figs. 11.8 and 11.9a-b). Photo: digital adaptation of the floor plan made available by Carla van den Brink Estate Agency, Amsterdam. Reproduced with permission.

11.7

Carved wooden ceiling with the coats of arms of Andries de Graeff and Elisabeth Bicker van Swieten in the middle, surrounded by arms of related families, c. 1672. Photo: Carla van den Brink Estate Agency, Amsterdam. Reproduced with permission.

11.8

Rear salon of 446 Herengracht, Amsterdam, anno 2019. View of the southwest wall. The ceiling beams date from the time the house was built. The wall paneling with carving, red marble mantelpiece with white marble centrepiece on the chimney breast, shutters and frames around the fields for the wall cladding date from 1740. The paintings above the door, porte-brisée (not visible in the photograph) and on the chimney breast were installed in 1927. The parquet floor, wall cladding, windows and the plywood sheet of the ceiling are modern, as is the green colour of the ceiling beams and panelling. Photo: Carla van den Brink Estate Agency. Reproduced with permission.

This revealed that the composition of the ceiling had been changed radically during the painting process. Many of the significant characters and objects had been altered, painted out, or added. These changes, which are known as *pentimenti*, were made not at once but in several stages, as if the iconography was developed along the way. The unusual genesis of the paintings prompted in-depth research into the precise political context of the ceiling's creation. This has brought to light that the *pentimenti* are an expression of De Graeff's attempts to come to grips with the dramatic course of events during the Year of Disaster.

The De Graeff house

With its facade measuring sixteen metres, the De Graeff house – now Herengracht 446 – is one of the widest canal houses in Amsterdam. Over time the facade underwent many changes, but Gerrit Berckheyde's *View of the Golden Bend in the Herengracht* (1672) gives an impression of its original appearance (fig. 11.5a-b).[3] The interior has also changed considerably. The layout of the *bel-etage* is, however, much as it was at the time when the house was built. One entered through a large, square vestibule, leading to a central corridor with rooms on both sides (fig. 11.6). The large garden room at the end of the corridor was added in the mid-eighteenth century.[4] There is only one decoration remaining from De Graeff's day: a polychrome carved oak coffered ceiling in the front room on the right (fig. 11.7). The centre section holds the De Graeff family arms and those of his late wife Elisabeth Bicker van Swieten with their mottoes. The other four sections contain sixteen coats of arms with the names of related families. The ceiling thus provides an overview of the family tree and alliances of the De Graeff family. Against a background of olive branches, palms, and wreaths of oak leaves, which signify peace and victory, the coats of arms are secured to bundles of arrows and fasces, symbols of the Roman consulship with which the Amsterdam burgomasters liked to compare their office. The message is clear: the honourable descent of the De Graef family legitimizes their position in the urban patriciate.

The original setting of Lairesse's ceiling

Lairesse's ceiling originally hung in the reception room on the left at the back, the *zaal* (figs 11.6, 11.8). In the seventeenth century, the *zaal* (also *salet* or *sael*) was the principal room in the domestic residences of distinguished families. This salon was not meant for daily use, but as a space where important visitors were received.[5] Lairesse's ceiling was certainly ordered for this room, as the canvases and the strainers were made to fit the coffered ceiling.[6] The series was removed

11.9a-b

Digital reconstruction of the coffered ceiling of the rear salon with its original red finish. Because we have no information about the original finish of the chimney and walls, these are indicated in shades of grey. Digital reconstruction: Chiara Piccoli. Reproduced with permission.

a With second stage of Lairesse's ceiling paintings (fig. 11.19a-c)
b With final, fifth, stage of Lairesse's ceiling paintings (fig. 11.3a-c)

from the De Graeff House in 1900 and put up for auction in 1903. Since 1913, the canvases have adorned the ceiling of a conference room in the Peace Palace in The Hague.

When entering the salon today, little recalls De Graeff's time, since the room underwent a radical renovation in 1740 – the Louis XV-style wall-panelling and fireplace date from that year (fig. 11.8). Nonetheless, the room still has its original layout, with the entrance door in front of the fireplace. The coffered ceiling also largely dates from the time of building.[7] The beams and smaller cassettes were originally painted red, and Lairesse's canvases hung quite high in between the beams of the three large cassettes, with the middle canvas having chamfered corners. A virtual reconstruction of this first stage of the ceiling gives an impression of what one saw when entering the room (fig. 11.9a-b). The figures on the ceiling seem to be lit from top right. Lairesse carefully geared this lighting to the actual light in the room, so that it seemed as if an open sky stretched out above it.[8] The rock in the middle canvas was placed above the original chimney that protruded further forward than the present one. As a result, the chimney appeared to continue in the rock formation, creating a suggestion of a mountain. This made it seem as if the figures in the paintings were connected to the world of real people in the room.

The iconography

We are informed about the meaning of the allegorical figures on the ceiling series through reproduction prints by Johannes Glauber, a close associate of Lairesse (fig. 11.10a-c).[9] Lairesse made drawings after his paintings as examples for these prints; the drawings after the centre and right canvas have been preserved (fig. 11.11a-b).[10] The French titles of the prints, left *La Concorde* ('Concord'), centre *La Liberté du Commerce* ('Freedom of Trade'), right *La Seureté* ('Security') explain what we see in the paintings, as is evident from Cesare Ripa's *Iconologica* (first edition Rome 1593; Dutch edition 1644 as cited in this chapter).

The central female figure is Freedom. In accordance with Ripa's instruction, she is dressed in a white gown with a sceptre in her right hand and a freedom hat in her left, here impaled on a pike (figs 11.2, 11.3b).[11] The presence of Mercury on her right makes it clear that Freedom of Trade is represented. Two *putti* are about to crown her with a naval crown, the symbol of shipping, maritime trade, and victories at sea. She is defended by a lion, symbol of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, who carries a sword and a shield bearing the arms of the city of Amsterdam. The left canvas shows Concord (fig. 11.3a). She holds a bundle of arrows tied together with a red-and-white ribbon in her right hand, and a horn of plenty in her left, corresponding to Ripa's description.[12] She is trampling two chained enemies underfoot, one clad in a lion skin and the other in fox skin. According to Ripa, these skins represent violence and cunning in war respectively.[13] The adversary with a lion skin is holding a broken sword. On the canvas on the right there is a militant woman in armour (fig. 11.3c). According to the title on the print, she represents Security, but she does not correspond to Ripa's description of this personification, which is a woman with a spear leaning against a

11.10a-c

Johannes Glauber after Gerard de Lairesse (publisher: Leon Schenk),
Prints after ceiling painting with *Concord, Freedom of Trade and Protection against Danger*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Published after 1711. Public domain. The etchings are shown reversed so that they correspond to Lairesse's ceiling decorations and drawings.

a *La Concorde*
b *La Liberté du Comerce*
c *La Seureté*

11.11a-b

Gerard de Lairesse, Drawings made in preparation for the prints of *La Liberté du Comerce* and *La Seureté*, 1672 (figs 11.10b-c).

a *La Liberté du Comerce*, Amsterdam, Amsterdam City Archives. 1672. Photo: Amsterdam City Archives. Reproduced with permission.
b *La Seureté*, Paris, Musée du Louvre, Département des Arts graphiques. 1672. Photo: RMN-Grand Palais (Musée du Louvre) / photographer Michel Urtado. Reproduced with permission.

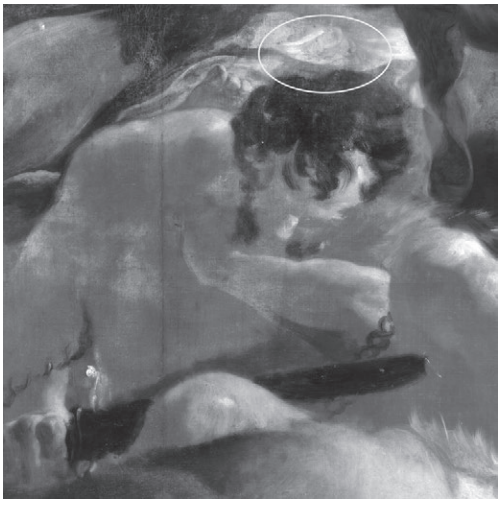
column.[14] Lairesse's woman with her antique-looking weaponry looks like Minerva. However, unlike this antique goddess, who is always armed with a spear and a (crystal) shield, she fights with a sword, like Ripa's personification of 'Protection against Danger', a concept closely linked to Security.[15] She drives three harpies, according to Ripa symbols of avarice, greed, and rapacity.[16] She also drives off a falling, naked figure, who from the snakes in her hair represents Envy (*Invidia*) or Discord (*Discordia*). But whereas Ripa describes those personifications as female figures, Lairesse's figure has a pronouncedly muscular and masculine body.[17] Two water gods enclose the outer paintings: to the left the Amsterdam bay IJ and to the right the Amsterdam river Amstel.

Most figures and attributes are explained by Ripa, while others are well-known Amsterdam symbols. But what do they signify together? Lairesse emphasized in his *Groot Schilderboek* that in an allegory 'hidden subjects are not depicted in their true appearance, but in a different guise'.[18] In order to express these hidden subjects, a painter had to make a meaningful selection and combination from the countless figures and attributes that Ripa lists. In this process Lairesse advised artists to respect the 'social circumstances, office, qualities and ideas' of the commissioning patron.[19] Evidently his circle of clients valued ceiling paintings whose content was designed to reflect their ideas. Lairesse also deemed it crucial to know whether the client preferred a 'general or particular' allegorical scene. With 'general' he meant an allegorical subject that was suitable for 'anyone who might occupy the house after' the client, while 'particular' allegories 'related only to the client and his family'.[20] If we place De Graeff's ceiling in a broader historical context and relate the allegorical figures and attributes to his 'social circumstances, office, qualities and ideas', a 'particular' meaning is revealed, in which each and every one of them refers directly to De Graeff's political ideas and his position during the Year of Disaster. The *pentimenti* furthermore show that this iconography was constantly changing.

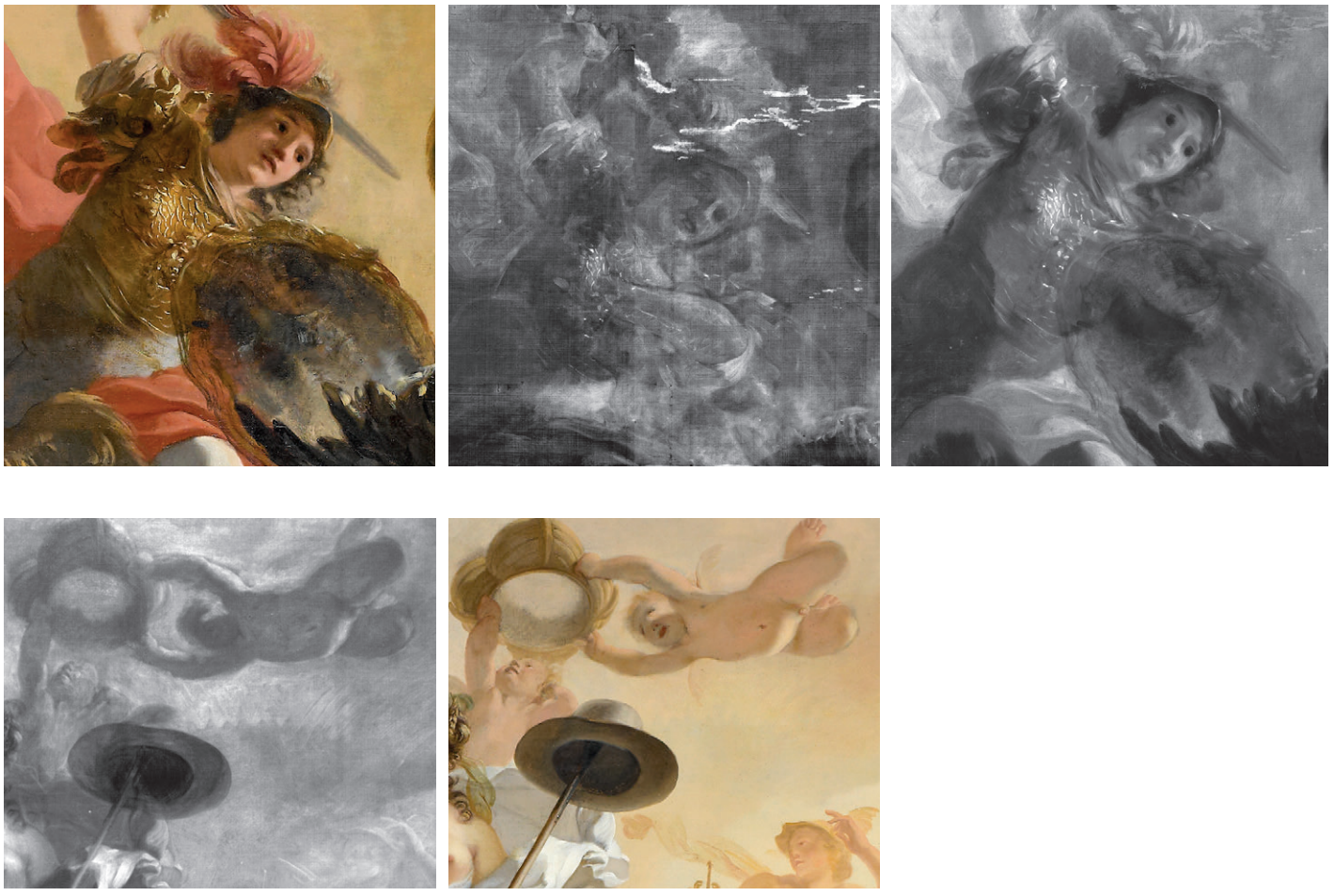
11.12
Gerard de Lairesse, *Freedom of Trade* (fig. 11.3b). Detail of the left side. Old brown frame paint (indicated with an arrow) marks the border between the visible and invisible part of the suspended canvases. The paint of the composition, including the foot of the putto with cymbals added later, extends further than this border.

11.13a-b
Gerard de Lairesse, *Concord* (fig. 11.3a).
a Infrared (IRR) image of Concord's bundle of arrows. Seven arrows are visible. The putto's head and hand are also identifiable. Photo: Arie Wallert, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Reproduced with permission.
b Detail with bundle of arrows. Photo: Eric Smits Photography. Reproduced with permission.

11.14a-b
Gerard de Lairesse, *Concord* (fig. 11.3a).
a Infrared (IRR) image. Concord's mantle is clearly visible. Photo: see 11.13a.
b Detail of Concord. Photo: see 11.13b.



11.15a-b
Gerard de Lairesse, *Concord* (fig. 11.3a).
a Infrared (IRR) image. The image shows that Concord's original foot stood firmly on the head of the adversary in the lion's skin (marked with a circle). The original intact sword shows as very dark in the IRR image, whereas the broken-off point added later is barely visible. The chains added later stand out less clearly than the original sword but more clearly than the broken-off point. Photo: see fig. 11.13a.
b Detail with adversary in the lion's skin. Photo: see fig. 11.13b.



11.16a-c

Gerard de Lairesse, *Protection against Danger* (fig. 11.3c). The earlier position of her left arm stands out in the X-radiograph and the infrared (IRR) image.
a Detail with the later added shield in which underlying brush strokes from the original arm, hand, clothing and sky show through. Photo: see fig. 11.13b.
b X-radiograph. Photo: ARRS (Applus RTD). Reproduced with permission.
c Infrared (IRR) image. Photo: see fig. 11.13a.

11.17a-b

Gerard de Lairesse, *Freedom of Trade* (fig. 11.3b).
a Infrared (IRR) image of Freedom Hat. The paint used for the Freedom's drapery and the left arm of the putto at the bottom with the naval crown runs under the Freedom Hat. Photo: see fig. 11.13a.
b Detail of Freedom Hat. Photo: see fig. 11.13b.

Pentimenti

Some *pentimenti* are partially visible in the painted surface, but most of them are revealed by X-radiographs and infrared images (infrared reflectography (IRR)).[21] Also, paint cross-sections were taken to interpret the *pentimenti*.[22] Technical analysis indicated that the *pentimenti* had all been the work of Lairesse himself or a workshop assistant under his supervision.[23] When the changes were made, the painting process was already well underway: most of the forms were finished or almost finished, although some shapes had not been fully worked up. However, the paintings still had to be installed on the ceiling when most *pentimenti* were made: along the edges of the canvases there are traces of paint from the earliest ceiling frame, which mark the border between the visible and invisible parts of the suspended canvases. The paint used for the *pentimenti* extends under the mouldings (fig. 11.12). In itself it is not so strange that a painter would adjust his composition during painting. We also know of shifts and alterations in other ceilings by Lairesse.[24] However, the enormous scale on which figures were changed in De Graeff's series seems unprecedented in his work.

11.18a-c
Digital impression of the first painting phase of figs 11.3a-c, when the composition was still an *Allegory of the Peace of Breda*. Digital impressions: L. de Moor. Reproduced with permission.

a *Concord*
b *Freedom/Peace*
c *Custody/Protection*

11.19a-c
Digital impression of the second painting phase of figs 11.3a-c when the composition was still an *Allegory of the Peace of Breda*, but the four putti making music, Mercury and the spear with the Freedom Hat had been added and *Freedom of Trade*'s clothes had been adapted. Digital impressions: L. de Moor. Reproduced with permission.

a *Concord*
b *Freedom of Trade*
c *Custody/Protection*

The prints by Glauber and Lairesse's drawings (figs 11.10–11) are crucial for the interpretation of the *pentimenti*, since it appears that some of them are depicted on the prints and drawings and others are not. This implies that Lairesse made his drawings when he had not yet made all the changes in his paintings. Hence the prints and drawings provide a unique view of an intermediate stage in the creation process of the paintings and the intellectual and pictorial exploration that preceded the final composition.[25] In the space of the present chapter, it is not possible to describe and analyse all *pentimenti*; only the most important ones will therefore be discussed.[26]

At first, Mercury, most of the *putti* and the water gods, and their surrounding landscape were not planned for. They have been painted on top of the sky paint. This indicates that they were added later, because Lairesse painted the figures that he planned from the outset directly on the brown priming layer. The water gods, Mercury, and several *putti* are

11.20a-c
Digital impression of the third painting phase of figs 11.3a-c. After July 1672. Digital impressions: L. de Moor. Reproduced with permission.

a *Concord*
b *Freedom of Trade*
c *Protection against Danger*

11.21a-c
Digital impression of the fourth painting phase of figs 11.3a-c. Probably after September 1672. Digital impressions: L. de Moor. Reproduced with permission.

a *Concord*
b *Freedom of Trade*
c *Protection against Danger*

already visible on the prints and the drawing. Other *putti*, however, are not, indicating that they were added only after Lairesse had made his drawings.[27]

Concord now holds four arrows, but the infrared image revealed that her bundle originally contained seven arrows (fig. 11.13a-b). Three of these were painted over with paint of the sky. The change took place before Lairesse made the drawing, as the reduced sheaf appears in the print (fig. 11.10a). Originally, to the immediate left of the bundle of arrows, there was also a *putto* with his head wreathed in laurel leaves, partly hidden behind a cloud (fig. 11.13a-b). He reached towards the branch with leaves that one of the *putti* on the left offered him.[28] The wreathed *putto* can be seen in the print, which means he was painted over only after the drawing was made (fig. 11.10a). Originally, as in the print, Concord had a fluttering drape behind her head, as can be seen in the infrared image (fig. 11.14). The drape was painted away with paint from the sky, but a paint cross-section shows it had a reddish

colour. Concord's left foot did not stand on the shoulder of the adversary with the sword but right on his head (fig. 11.15a-b). When the foot was moved, her yellow drapery was also altered. The print shows the foot and the drapery after these changes had been carried out. The sword of the adversary was originally unbroken: the intact sword is clear in the infrared image (fig. 11.15a-b).[29] The print still shows the unbroken sword and the enemies unchained (fig. 11.10a). Technical analysis indicates that these chains were indeed added subsequently. On the right-hand canvas, we see the woman as on the print, with shield and sword, but the X-radiograph and infrared image show that originally she had held her left hand in front of her chest in a repelling position, so she fought with only a sword (fig. 11.16a-c).

In the middle canvas the passage on the right of Freedom's head now seems overfull, with the freedom hat and directly behind it the two *putti* with the naval crown. But this freedom hat was added only later, as it is painted over all other forms (fig. 11.17a-b). The pike was a later addition as well: close to the pike there are several *pentimenti* (in Freedom's right foot and drapery and in the *putto* with tambourine) that are related to the later addition of the pike, showing that it was not conceived at the outset.[30] The final version of Freedom's foot, drapery, and *putto* can all be seen in the print and the drawing, indicating that the pike and hat had already been added to the painting when these were created. In this case, the painted attributes (the pike and the freedom hat) differ from those in the drawing and print (sceptre). The same goes for the raised right hand of Freedom. In the painting she holds a sceptre, whereas in the print and the drawing she has a *pileus* balancing on her fingertips. Technical analysis has proved that she never held a hat in this way in the painting. Lairesse's decision to give Freedom different attributes in his drawing and the print may have been prompted by his realization that on the painting, compositionally, the effect of the pike and hat and the *putti* with the naval crown was rather unfortunate. The print gave him an opportunity to present an 'improved' version of his composition to a wider public.

The dark cloud under Freedom is also a later addition. It is painted over her drapery, which was originally larger, and the lion's sword. Nowadays the sword is visible once again because the paint of the dark cloud has been abraded as a result of earlier cleaning procedures. But the cloud must first have hidden the sword, just as on the print and drawing. Also, the shield has been altered. Today, it shows an imperial crown and a small coat of arms of the city of Amsterdam. Originally it had a vertical black bar, visible in the infrared image. The remaining part of the shield was red. Lairesse must have intended to add the three white crosses of the arms of Amsterdam to it, as in the drawing and print. In the painting, however, there is no trace of the earlier large crosses, so we may assume that he had not yet painted them when he adjusted the shield. When he did so, he painted out the red with black. Nowadays, this black paint is very abraded so that the red shimmers through again.

Painted in five stages

To be able to interpret the *pentimenti* it is crucial to know when each change was made. Thanks to the drawings and prints we can work out a clear chronology of the painting process: an initial stage as the composition was planned; an intermediate stage during which Lairesse had put in some *pentimenti* and made drawings for the prints; and a final stage, after he had made the drawings, when he made additional *pentimenti*. We can refine this chronology with the aid of the differences in the execution of the *pentimenti*. For most of them Lairesse used rather thick paint, which he applied quite hurriedly with a coarse touch. This type of *pentimenti* was made before as well as after the drawings. There is also a group of *pentimenti* that was made before the drawings, which is characterized by careful execution and the use of diluted paint: the added Mercury and four *putti* making music (one with *aulos* and one with cymbals in the middle canvas and two with rams' horns in the right canvas). They would not have been added at the same time as the 'coarser' group of *pentimenti*. It is likely that this happened earlier, because 'coarse' *pentimenti* were also made after the drawings were done. In the group of *pentimenti* that can be dated to after the drawings, four *putti* (two in the left canvas, one of them with a pomegranate, one with a book in the middle canvas and one with palm in the right canvas) differ in the use of a pale colour and more precise execution. Technical analysis indicated that they were painted last of all. Thus in total no fewer than five stages can be distinguished in the execution of the paintings. Digital reconstructions give an idea of the compositional and iconographic elements of the first four stages (figs 11.18a-c–11.21a-c).[31]

The first version: allegory of the Treaty of Breda

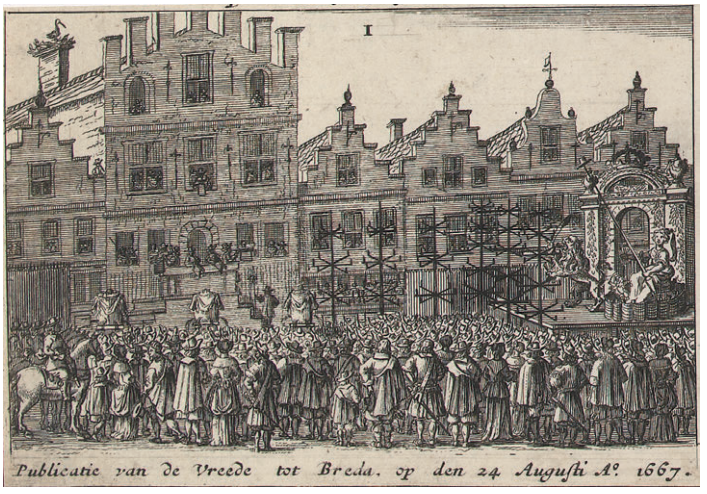
The iconography of the different stages can be explained against the background of De Graeff's political life. For this interpretation, we should realize that, although Lairesse signed the ceiling in 1672, he would have already begun designing it much earlier. It is not known when exactly the building of De Graeff's house was completed. Its construction had probably started in 1667.[32] The chronogram '*rapIDIs VeLoCIVs VMbrIs*' ('faster than the rapid shades'), that originally decorated the facade, stands for 1669, suggesting that the building shell was completed in that year.[33] A tax

11.22a

Anonymous, *Peace of Breda*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1667. Public domain. In the central scene, diplomats and authorities sign the Treaty. Above them in the clouds Peace with a palm and a laurel wreath and two trumpet-blowing putti illuminated by a divine light.

11.22b

Publicatie van de Vreede tot Breda, op den 24 Augusti Ao. 1667. Note the Maid of Holland on the right. Detail of fig. 11.22a.



11.23a-c

Engraving after three medals (a-c) on the Peace of Breda, in: Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, The Hague, vol. 2 (1726), p. 555. Photo: Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections. Reproduced with permission.

a Engraving after Christoffel Adolphi, *Medal for the Peace of Breda and the Destruction of the English Fleet off Chatham*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1668. Medal minted by order of the States of Holland and West Friesland. Obverse, within a legend: The Maid of Holland with a sceptre with the all-seeing eye and a lance with a bundle of seven arrows on it tramples Envy, who lies on the ground between a lion and a lamb. In the background the burning of the English fleet off Chatham. Exergue with inscription. Reverse: The Maid of Holland as Peace who tramples weapons. In one hand she holds a sword with an olive wreath and in the other a Mercury staff and a horn of plenty. In the background a calm sea with merchant ships. A hand from the clouds clasps the coats of arms of England and the Dutch Republic and a garland of flowers. Behind it a pennant with an inscription. Exergue with inscription.

b Engraving after Johannes Lutma II, *Medal of the Peace of Breda*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1669. Obverse, within a legend: The aggressive Generality Lion tramples weapons; in the background ships at sea. Reverse: Inscription below the arms of Amsterdam.

c Engraving after Anonymous, *Medal of the Peace of Breda*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1667. Obverse, within a legend: Peace tramples Mars, while she sets fire to weapons with her right hand and holds a horn of plenty upside down with her other hand. Reverse, within a legend: map of the city of Breda. Exergue with date.

register indicates that De Graeff had 'volbout' – completed – his house in 1672. This, however, does not necessarily mean that the building was not handed over until that year.[34] He may have delayed the official confirmation in order to avoid heavy taxation. We may assume that De Graeff would have started to think about a suitable decoration for the ceiling of his reception room well before the completion of his house. It will also become clear that Lairesse's ceiling was already well advanced by mid-1672 and had already been altered at least once. If we assume that planning the compositions, preparing the canvases, making drawn preliminary studies, and the actual painting took many months, the concept for the ceiling must have been made in early 1672 at the latest, but probably in 1671 and possibly as early as 1670.

During this period, De Graeff was the (presiding) burgomaster and as such very powerful in Amsterdam and beyond. Nevertheless, there was a constant risk that the balance of power would shift. In July 1667, the States General signed the Treaty of Breda that concluded the Second Anglo-Dutch War. A few days later, the States of Holland passed the so-called *Eeuwig Edict* ('Perpetual Edict'), which stipulated that the functions of stadholder and captain-general of the army had to remain separate in all the provinces. These events had been the apex for the De Witt brothers and their stadtholderless regime. The victory was far from total, however. The Dutch Republic risked becoming embroiled in a war with France. The hopes that the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1668), which had been forged by Johan de Witt, would bring the French desire for expansion to a halt, proved short-lived. The French threat led to increasing pressure to strengthen the position of William Henry of Orange, who came of age around this time.

De Graeff's authority in Amsterdam was also seriously challenged, especially by Gillis Valckenier, who with his faction wanted to take over the leading position in the Amsterdam college of burgomasters, the *magnificat*, from De Graeff. In the run-up to the burgomasters' election of 1671, tensions between Valckenier and De Graeff came to a head, and various members of the city government turned against the latter. Thanks to the intervention of Johan de Witt, De Graeff nonetheless managed to remain the presiding burgomaster. During the elections of 1672, De Graeff's faction succeeded in retaining a leading position. Since De Graeff had been burgomaster for two years in a row, he was not eligible for election that year, but two of his political allies were. Therefore, in early 1672, De Graeff again appeared to be firmly in charge. No one could have imagined how dramatically his career would end that very year, but it was clear that his position was vulnerable.

In these uncertain times, decisions about the iconography of De Graeff's ceiling would have been made with a certain degree of caution. It is therefore unlikely that the allegorical battle was intended as a stand against the House of Orange. In that case, all the adversaries would have been allusions to the Prince of Orange and his supporters. Such an explicitly hostile iconography was not suitable for a ceiling painting in a burgomaster's residence, especially not for the salon. At that time burgomasters and councillors frequently gathered there, including members of rival factions.[35] Hence, when Lairesse and De Graeff planned a ceiling painting referring to De Graeff's 'status, quality, office, and inclinations', it would have had to glorify his rule without offending his political opponents.

The adversaries on the ceiling must, therefore, refer to a common enemy. In the early 1670s, such an enemy was England. The Dutch Republic's hegemonic position in international trade had long been a thorn in the side of the English. Their trade sanctions, such as the Navigation Act, had led to the First Anglo-Dutch War (1652–54). When Charles II became King of England in 1660, the States of Holland and West Friesland had tried to improve diplomatic relations by presenting him with a gift of costly works of art.[36] Andries de Graeff was also involved in putting together this celebrated 'Dutch Gift'.[37] The attempt came to nothing, and in March 1665 the English had declared war again. As a burgomaster of Amsterdam in 1666, and as presiding burgomaster in 1667, Andries de Graeff played an important political role during this war.[38] Entirely against the expectations of the English, the Dutch Republic triumphed, thanks in part to the Raid on Chatham, with which a large part of the English fleet was destroyed. On 31 July 1667 the Dutch Republic signed a peace treaty at Breda, which thoroughly weakened English protectionism. The De Witt brothers had achieved a double victory: the foreign enemy had been defeated and it had been proven that the Dutch Republic could function without a stadtholder in times of war. De Graeff and the other Amsterdam burgomasters regarded the peace as a personal triumph. The ode *Bellone aen bant* (Bellona Contained, 1667) by poet and playwright Johannes Antonides van der Goes is dedicated to the 'Gentlemen burgomasters, the

11.24
Barend Graat, *Allegory of Freedom*, Assen, Drents Museum. 1667. Photo: Collection Drents Museum, Assen. Reproduced with permission.

Amsterdam fathers of peace' and praises them for their 'commendable rule'.[39]

The first version of the ceiling can be explained against this background (fig. 11.18a-c). The symbols and attributes depicted all played a part in the celebration of the 1667 victory.[40] We encounter some of them at the festivities in Breda, others in odes, such as *Bellone aen bant*, or on broadsheets (fig. 11.22a-b). The key figures on the ceiling also appear on commemorative medals (fig. 11.23a-c). Such medals were an important means of communication in political and diplomatic circles in the Dutch Republic.[41] Their iconography was devised in close collaboration with political actors and institutions. In 1668 Johan de Witt had personally approved the design for the medal that the States of Holland and West Friesland had struck to commemorate the Treaty of Breda (fig. 11.23a).[42] De Graeff was also directly involved in commissioning a medal in honour of the Treaty (fig. 11.23b).[43]

The original version of the ceiling was noticeably emptier than the later versions (fig. 11.18a-c). On the centre canvas, Mercury and the dark cloud as well as the *putti* with the book, *aulos*, and cymbals were missing. The shield of the lion had only a red background with a blackish pale. The female figure did not yet hold a sceptre and a pike with a freedom hat. The position of her hands nonetheless shows that she was meant to hold an attribute in both of them. In the drawing and the print she holds a sceptre with her left hand, which better fits the elegant and relaxed pose of this hand than the pike in the painting. The firm fist shape of her right hand again suits a pike better than it does the sceptre on the painting. This indicates that the woman was already conceived with these attributes from the very start, but held in her other hand, implying that from the outset the female personification was meant as Freedom.

The concept of freedom indeed played an important role in the political thought of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. Since the uprising against Spain, hard-won freedom had been regarded as an essential characteristic of Dutch independence. Moreover, the concept of freedom was linked to the idea of free trade without restrictions imposed by other powers.[44] From the warring figures that surround Freedom on Lairesse's ceiling, it is clear that it is about a form of freedom obtained with weapons. This ties in with the subject of the Treaty of Breda. During the celebrations in Breda, the Dutch Maiden appeared on the stage with a lance and a freedom hat (fig. 11.22a-b). A ceiling decoration dated 1667 for an unknown canal house by the Amsterdam painter Barend Graat, featuring the triumphant Freedom, would also have been a reference to this conclusion of the treaty (fig. 11.24). As in Lairesse's ceiling, Graat's Freedom is portrayed against a cloudy sky, surrounded by *putti*; her pose and billowing drapes, too, are reminiscent of Lairesse's figure. These similarities suggest that Graat's ceiling painting may have served as a source of inspiration for Lairesse's.[45]

Unlike Graat's Freedom, Lairesse's personification wears fluttering white drapery that leaves both breasts bare. This attire is not commonly used for Freedom, who is usually portrayed in concealing garments. It does, however, correspond to the attire of Peace, who mostly wears a revealing white garment and has partially exposed breasts alluding to her fertility.[46] Peace played an important role in the celebrations of the Treaty of Breda as well; we see her on medals with bare breasts as she is on Lairesse's ceiling (fig. 11.23a, c). Lairesse's Freedom thus incorporates aspects of Peace and in this way symbolizes the two most notable results of the victory.

This hybrid of Freedom and Peace more often made her appearance during the stadtholderless period. On a commemorative medal issued by the Amsterdam city government in celebration of the failure of William II's attack on the city in 1650, Peace and Freedom are merged into one woman who holds an olive branch and a pike with a freedom hat (fig. 11.25). A medal by the silversmith Christoffel Adolphi that was commissioned by the States General in 1668 to celebrate the treaties of Breda and Aix-la-Chapelle is particularly relevant to Lairesse's ceiling (fig. 11.26).[47] The inscription on the back refers to the blessings of both treaties: freedom, peace, and security are depicted on the obverse with the Dutch Maiden beside a trophy of arms, with merchantmen on a calm sea in the background. She holds a lance with a freedom hat in her right hand while her gown, appropriate for Peace, reveals her bare breast. She seems very similar to the figure on De Graeff's ceiling, particularly in the version Lairesse had initially planned, with a pike and hat in the right hand.[48]

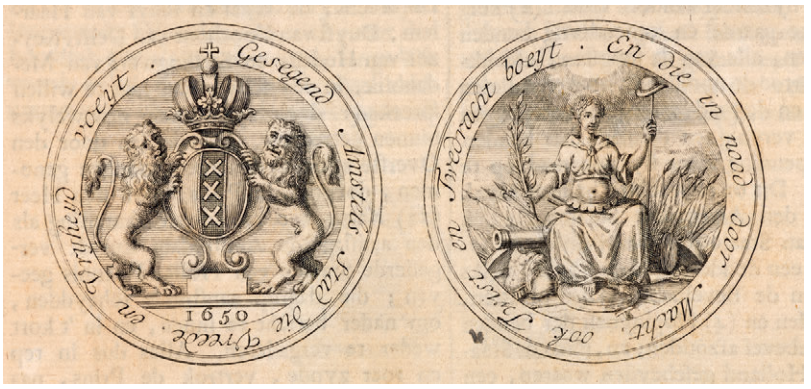
Lairesse's Freedom is being crowned with a naval crown, which was an important symbolic mark of honour in the Dutch Republic. During the Second Anglo-Dutch War, many a maritime hero was honoured in this way (fig. 11.27).[49] Freedom is supported by the warlike Generality Lion. This explicitly aggressive lion played an important role in the imagery surrounding the Second Anglo-Dutch War.[50] On a medal by the silver and goldsmith Johannes Lutma II, an aggressive beast rips English weapons to shreds with its claws (fig. 11.23b). The Generality Lion also appears, sword belligerently raised, in the stage performances during the celebrations in Breda, exactly as it is on De Graeff's ceiling (fig. 11.22b). In those scenes, the lion holds its usual bundle of arrows, but Lairesse's beast fights with a shield bearing the arms of Amsterdam. This symbolism was particularly appropriate during the Second Anglo-Dutch War. As the largest taxpayer, Amsterdam had contributed hugely to the joint defence expenditure, so the city could rightly claim to have acted as a shield for the Dutch Republic.[51]

Lairesse's lion stands firmly on a rock: for republicans the ultimate symbol of the steadfastness of the United Provinces in the absence of a stadtholder. At the Great Assembly (The Hague 1651), it had been decided that each of the provinces had the right to leave the office vacant.[52] Following the example of Holland, the provinces Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland and Overijssel, which had been united under the now-deceased Stadtholder William II, indeed chose not to appoint a new stadtholder. In commemoration of the Great Assembly, a medal featuring this 'steadfast rock' was struck. It stands amidst a rough sea, covered with the coats of arms of the seven provinces strung together, symbolizing their autonomy and unity. At the top the Dutch Maiden, holding a pike and a freedom hat, braves enemies of the Republic, symbolized by the stormy winds (fig. 11.28). On the ceiling, the rock and the Generality Lion, standing atop the rock as it wages war, both symbolize the militant and steadfast stadtholderless republic.

Initially Amstel and the three *putti* were not present on the right-hand canvas. The warlike woman did not yet carry a shield but had her left arm placed in front of her breast, in a warding-off gesture (fig. 11.16a-c). With just a sword she could not have represented 'Protection against Danger', but she does match Ripa's description of a similar personification, that of 'Custody, Guardianship, Protection'.[53] In explaining this concept Ripa notes that, in order to guard and protect matters well, it was necessary 'to foresee danger, and stand ready so as not to be overwhelmed by a surprise attack; the second is the power to ward off violence if it can be prevented neither with reason nor mature consideration (because it is so close)'. This description reflects the Dutch Republic's position in the conflict with England. At first the patricians of Holland tried to ward off the danger with diplomacy, but when it was found that this failed to stop English aggression, they opted for powerful military action.

Custody/Protection tramples the personification of Envy and Discord. This figure is also present in Dutch imagery about the Second Anglo-Dutch War (fig. 11.23a). According to the Dutch, the English had sought conflict out of jealousy. For Pieter de la Court, in his *Interest van Holland* (1662) – the famous treatise in which he provided the republican form of state with a theoretical foundation – jealousy was the reason for regarding the English as potential enemies of the Dutch Republic.[54] After the Second Anglo-Dutch War had ended, the English, and Charles II in particular, were regularly characterized as 'jealous'.[55] On the obverse of the States of Holland and West Friesland medal, the Dutch Maiden tramples Discord. The inscription PROCUL HINC MALA BESTIA REGNIS ('leave these states, wretched beast'), leaves no doubt as to the maiden's militancy (fig. 11.23a).[56] On Lairesse's ceiling, Custody/Protection thus drives away the jealous English who are inciting discord and in particular Charles II, which may also explain this figure's muscular build. The harpies also refer to the English king and his subjects. Odes to the signing of the Treaty compare them explicitly to these rapacious monsters.[57]

The water god IJ, the *putti* with the pomegranate, and the four small *putti* above Concord were not present on the left canvas, and Concord still had fluttering reddish drapery. The most important difference, however, is that her bundle of arrows originally contained seven arrows to illustrate the heraldic devices of the seven provinces 'Concordia



11.25

Engraving after a medal struck in 1650 by Amsterdam city council to commemorate the failed attack on the city by William II, in: Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, The Hague, vol. 2 (1726), p. 344. Photo: Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections. Reproduced with permission. Obverse, within a legend: The Lions of Amsterdam hold up the arms of the city with the imperial crown. Exergue with date. Reverse, within a legend: Peace and Freedom as a female figure seated on weapons. She holds an olive branch in her right hand and a Freedom Hat on a spear in her left. The exergue (obverse and reverse) reads in translation: 'Blessed is the Amstels City that conducts Peace and Freedom. And that in distress by power also captivates Strife and Discord.'

11.26

Christoffel Adolphi, *Medal of the Peace of Breda and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1668. Public domain. Obverse: The Maid of Holland with a laurel wreath, leaning against a trophy with weapons and a Bible. Her left hand on a shield bearing the Generality Lion and in her right hand a lance with a Freedom Hat on it. Reverse: Inscription surrounded by a wreath with the coat of arms of the seven provinces, alternating with bundles of seven arrows. The inscription reads in translation: 'Having assured the laws of the land, reformed the religion, supported, protected and reconciled the kings. Maintained the freedom of the seas, secured a glorious peace by force of arms and confirmed the peace of the European world, the Council of the United Netherlands has caused this medal to be struck. 1668.'

11.27

Engraving after Wouter Muller, *Medal in Commemoration of the Four Days' Battle and in Memory of Lt. Adm. Michiel Adriaansz de Ruyter*, 1666, in: Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, The Hague, vol. 2 (1726), p. 549. Photo: Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections. Reproduced with permission. Obverse, within a legend: Bust of De Ruyter under a Naval Crown held by a triton and a sea nymph, underneath a banderol with inscription. Reverse, within a legend: Naval battle.

11.28

Engraving after Sebastian Dadler, *Medal to commemorate the Great Assembly, The Hague*, 1651, in: Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, The Hague, vol. 2 (1726), p. 362. Photo: Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections. Reproduced with permission.
Obverse, within legend: The Maid of Holland with a spear with a Freedom Hat on it sits in the middle of a rough sea on a rock draped with the arms of the seven provinces. She is bathed in divine light and remains unmoved by the four winds that rage around her. Legend: UT RUPES IMMOTA MARI, STANT FOEDERE JUNCTI ('like a steadfast rock in the sea they stand firm, united by their pact'). Reverse: Latin text that refers to the Great Assembly.

11.29
Anonymous, Title print of Mattheus Smallegange, *Nederlands verquikking, of d'ontwaekte leeuw*, Amsterdam, 1673. Photo: Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. Public domain.

res parvae crescunt' (literally: 'small things grow from unity', usually translated as 'unity is strength'). Behind that bundle, the laurel-crowned *putto* reaching towards the branch with leaves was still visible. Originally, Concord's left foot was not on the shoulder but right on the head of the adversary with the sword, whose point had not yet broken off. This villain, like the enemy next to him, was still unchained. The two overpowered adversaries directly relate to the Second Anglo-Dutch War. When Ripa explained that a fox and lion skin represent cunning and violence in war respectively, he alluded to the story about the Spartan admiral Lysander who had forced the mercantile town centre of Athens to capitulate with a ruse: a trade blockade. The parallel with the cause of the Second Anglo-Dutch War is obvious. Earlier, Niccolò Machiavelli had used the lion and the fox in *The Prince* to illustrate the violence and cunning that princes employ to perpetuate their power.[58] Since then, both animals (or their skins) have been linked directly to the qualities of monarchs.[59] In the stadtholderless period, republicans used the comparison to illustrate the negative aspects of princes and monarchs, as did Pieter de la Court in his *Interest van Holland*.[60] In light of the Second Anglo-Dutch War these two adversaries were, then, a pointed representation of the criminal rule of Charles II, who thwarted Holland's trade with his shipping laws. The fact that Concord had placed her foot on the head of one of the adversaries showed their total subjection. We see this crushing of overpowered, armed opponents again on the medals commemorating the Second Anglo-Dutch War (fig. 11.23a).

The bundle of seven arrows had already played an important role in earlier peace treaties signed by the Dutch Republic, and it also occupied centre stage at the Treaty of Breda (figs 11.22a-b, 11.23a). The Second Anglo-Dutch War had once again made the seven provinces aware of how much they depended on one another for their common defence.[61] It was in part due to this united action that De Witt was able to enforce a favourable peace treaty. The putto crowned with a laurel wreath behind Concord's bundle of arrows also illustrated this victory. The first version of Lairesse's left canvas consequently showed how unity between the provinces had overcome the English foe.

In the first version of Lairesse's ceiling, we find all themes and attributes that were topical during the Second Anglo-Dutch War and the Treaty of Breda. Lairesse and De Graeff will both have been involved in inventing this iconography. Lairesse excelled in devising learned allegories. But De Graeff, a connoisseur of art and literature, is likely to have played a decisive role in this as well.[62] In his *Groot Schilderboek*, Lairesse explains that he always determined the concept of a ceiling painting in consultation with his client and that it even happened that 'Patrons or Art lovers' or 'someone who had a house built' determined the entire 'Concept' of the representation.[63] De Graeff chose an allegory of this triumph because it was a glorious military and political highpoint for the republican administration under the leadership of Johan de Witt.[64] As a presiding burgomaster of mighty Amsterdam in 1667, the year of the peace, he felt personally responsible for this triumph of freedom.

The second version: altering the allegory of Breda

The countless *pentimenti* would change this carefully considered concept, but not all at the same time. We saw that Mercury and four *putti* with musical instruments, each carefully executed with diluted paint, were added first. As Freedom's pike, hat, and sceptre are also painted precisely with diluted paint, it is likely that they were added at the same time. As explained, these attributes were planned from the outset but with Freedom holding them in different hands. We do not

11.30
Anonymous, *The Lion of Holland Drives away the French Cockerel with the Tail of a Dragon*, title print of the speech by Professor L. Wolfogen, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. 1674. Public domain.

know the reason for this change. Perhaps De Graeff and Lairesse wanted to tone down the earlier, quite explicit association with the States General's peace medal as it commemorated not only the Treaty of Breda but also that of Aix-la-Chapelle (fig. 11.26). After all, in the early 1670s it had become clear that this last peace treaty would no longer protect the Dutch Republic from France. The addition of Mercury reinforced the iconography of the Treaty of Breda, as Freedom now explicitly alluded to freedom of trade. The lifting of the English restrictions was seen as the most notable result of the peace. Moreover, freedom of trade was an essential part of Johan de Witt's ideology of 'True Freedom'; in his view these two freedoms were inextricably linked, since unrestricted trade and economic growth could take place only in a truly free republic.[65] Mercury and his caduceus therefore played an important role in the imagery around this Treaty of Breda (fig. 11.23a).[66] In this imagery, the triumph of the Dutch Republic is also symbolized by figures making music, just as the *putti* do on Lairesse's ceiling. A digital impression gives an idea of the composition of the ceiling at this stage (fig. 11.19a-c).

The third version: significant changes after July 1672

Although an allegory of the glorious ending of the Second Anglo-Dutch War seemed to be a fitting decoration for De Graeff's reception room, he and Lairesse must have quickly come up with other ideas. Even before Lairesse had completed his scene, there was a reason to radically revise it. We see the result in the drawings and prints made after the ceiling. A digital reconstruction gives an impression of the composition at this stage (fig. 11.20a-c): the number of arrows in Concord's bundle was reduced to four and her foot was shifted to her adversary's shoulder, while her yellow gown had been altered. The two water gods were also added, although IJ was different from the final version. A dark cloud was introduced below Freedom, and the addition of the shield changed Custody/Protection into Protection against Danger. These *pentimenti* were executed with thick, opaque paint applied rather hastily, even messily.

The changes had far-reaching implications for the meaning of the scene. The most significant is the change to the bundle of arrows, which is directly related to the disastrous course of the war in 1672. After the invasion in the spring, the enemy armies advanced rapidly; Overijssel, Gelderland, and Utrecht were all conquered mid-July.[67] After their fall those provinces were no longer represented in the assembly of the States General: the unity of the Union had been broken. The four remaining provinces now embodied the Dutch Republic and had the task of ensuring unity.

The reduction of the number of arrows can certainly be attributed to this constitutional amputation. Its symbolism instantly became topical. On 18 September 1672, the pastor and poet Joannes Vollenhove said during a sermon in the Kloosterkerk in The Hague: 'How our wealth and property has turned into easy prey for the enemy, our invincible cities and fortresses conquered without a fight by requisition alone, the ribbon that bound seven arrows, woefully broken, three tribes torn from our Israel'.[68]

In the title print of Mattheus Smallegange's book about the war *De verkwikking van Nederland, of de ontwaakte leeuw* ('The

11.31
Engraving after the medal commissioned by Amsterdam city council for the militiamen who were active in 1672, in: Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historiepenningen*, The Hague vol. 3 (1728), p. 72. Photo: Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam, Special Collections. Reproduced with permission. Obverse, within a legend: The Maid of Amsterdam in battledress, holding a shield with the arms of the city and a lance, stands with the Generality Lion in the garden of Holland. Reverse: inscription under garlands and above two olive branches and a flower wreath. The inscription reads in translation: 'The Amsterdam citizens defy the fury of the enemy. And stand watch bravely day and night to guard freedom.'

Comfort of the Netherlands, or the Aroused Lion', 1673) the Dutch Maiden defends, together with the Dutch lion and soldiers, the garden of Holland – another much-used symbol for the Dutch Republic. She clutches four arrows while one of the soldiers also has a shield with four arrows on it (fig. 11.29). In an anonymous print from 1674, the Dutch lion, with a reduced bundle of arrows, chases the French cockerel away. The inscription reads 'the Dutch lion lives on, although he only has four arrows' (fig. 11.30). We can detect a sense of urgency in De Graeff's decision to have the changed composition of the Dutch Republic symbolically represented in his ceiling painting. To understand this, we need to know more about De Graeff's role during the summer of 1672.

Due to the rapid advance of the enemy armies, the country seemed to be irretrievably lost. People panicked and fled on foot to the west. Nevertheless, in the midst of this chaos a heroic feeling of resistance arose in Amsterdam. In part under pressure from the population and the civic guards, the city government decided to do everything it could to protect the city against a French invasion.[69] De Graeff took part in the defence of Amsterdam and the province of Holland. As a member of the Nieuwer Amstel polder board and one of the five local commissioners charged with the flooding, he made a substantial contribution to the establishment of the Dutch waterline, which involved the flooding of large areas of pasture and polders to stop the enemy.[70] As a result of this waterline, the province of Holland, and Amsterdam, and thus the economic heart of the Dutch Republic, remained free from acts of war.

The war had far-reaching political and personal consequences for De Graeff. The swift capitulations of three provinces fed the population's suspicion that they had been arranged behind closed doors. The ruling patricians were accused of treason against the state.[71] The regime of De Witt and his allies came under heavy fire. As a supporter of De Witt's regime, De Graeff, too, was accused of treason, and narrowly escaped an attack by the populace.[72] Meanwhile, William Henry, the Prince of Orange, was seen by the people as the strong leader and saviour they needed. In Amsterdam, the inhabitants and the civil guards stepped up the pressure. In order to appease them, the city government decided to recognize the prince as Stadtholder William III on 30 June. The next day, the States of Holland unanimously renounced the Perpetual Edict. When some cities wanted to postpone the actual appointment of William III, De Graeff was vehemently opposed. He argued that a delay would embitter the people and that the Prince of Orange had to be entrusted with the title of stadtholder and be granted all privileges that came with this.[73] Although De Graeff was probably less of an anti-Orangist than he was later made out to be, his position nonetheless seems to have been dictated primarily by the popular pressure of the moment.

The deep mistrust among large sections of the population did not disappear. William III increasingly distanced himself from the urban patricians. Grand pensionary De Witt was forced to resign on 4 August. The constant stream of accusations also eroded the authority of De Graeff's faction in Amsterdam.[74] He now cautiously sought rapprochement with William III, but the new stadtholder kept him at a distance.[75] Dramatic events now followed hard on one another's heels. On 20 August 1672 an angry mob murdered Johan and Cornelis de Witt in The Hague. These murders sparked new riots in numerous towns in Holland, including Amsterdam. The States of Holland now saw only one way out: the stadtholder would be authorized to dismiss 'suspect' patricians from their offices. The city government of Amsterdam decided to appeal to this mediation. De Graeff now sought reconciliation with Valckenier, but he got rejected.[76] Left with no other options, De Graeff tendered his resignation, but the city fathers did not consider themselves authorized to accept it.[77] Eventually De Graeff was dismissed by the stadtholder on 10 September. He was not alone: his nephews Jacob and Pieter de Graeff, magistrate (*schepen*) and councillor respectively, and his brother-in-law, burgomaster Lambert Reynst, were also purged. Moreover, they had to relinquish all their other public offices. Their successors were friends and relatives of

Valckenier; the victims of the regime change therefore assumed that he had had a hand in it.[78] De Graeff and his allies had fallen from power, to their great bitterness.

The change to the arrows in Lairesse's ceiling must have been made after mid-July 1672, when Utrecht, Overijssel, and Gelderland were conquered by the French. While the ongoing war threatened the Dutch Republic's existence, De Graeff modified his ceiling to reflect the current events, reflecting a republic that stood firm and united with only four provinces. In this light, the personification of Freedom was given a new dimension. We saw how in the summer of 1672, in the four remaining provinces freedom had become something worth fighting for. This is why the Dutch Maiden on the title print of Smallegange's book, despite her reduced bundle of arrows, nonetheless firmly holds high a freedom hat on a pike; the fight, after all, is about the preservation of her freedom (fig. 11.29). The atmosphere in Amsterdam is captured by a city medal intended for everyone who had taken up arms and 'stood watch bravely day and night to guard freedom' (fig. 11.31).[79] On the front stands the Maiden of Amsterdam with the Dutch lion in the garden of Holland which is under threat from both land and sea. She is in battledress and carries a shield bearing the city's coat of arms and a lance. Together with Concord's reduced bundle of arrows and the Dutch lion with his Amsterdam shield, De Graeff's ceiling in fact conveys the same heroic message as Smallegange's title print and the medal. De Graeff and Lairesse must have realized, however, that this message could be strengthened even more by modifying some figures and adding some objects. It is in this light that we should interpret the group of 'rough' *pentimenti* that were also depicted in the drawings and prints. These all prove to be linked to the events in the summer of 1672.

First of all, there is the added dark cloud. A metaphor of dark clouds hanging over the country was used frequently to express the dreadful circumstances in the Year of Disaster. '[H]ere many dark clouds still hang over the land', wrote Adriaen van der Goes, lawyer at the Court of Appeal of Holland, for instance, in January 1672.[80] Lairesse quite literally depicted this situation with the large dark cloud directly above the Dutch lion. The change made to the militant woman on the right-hand canvas is also related to the Year of Disaster. The large shield that was added transformed her into Protection against Danger. Her presence now alludes to the fact that the Dutch Republic was under threat. The villains and monsters now no longer represented only the English, but all the foreign enemies of the republic. Viewed in that light, the change to Concord's left foot is interesting. The fact that the foot was moved from the head of her adversary to his shoulder makes his subjection less explicit. This change may have been made to indicate that the present war was still going on.

The water gods were now added as well.[81] This does not improve the composition; without these figures there was a convincing overcast sky with the heroic lion on his rocky outcrop as the only 'earthly' element. We saw that in the salon, this rocky outcrop dovetailed precisely with the chimney breast, creating a spectacular suggestion of a high mountain top. Having the gods recline on reed-fringed river banks made this mountain top shrink into a small pile of stones so that the heroic battle no longer took place high in the sky but immediately above the land. The fact that this addition was nevertheless carried out suggests a definite symbolic motive. However, the water gods did not as usual represent the rivers Amstel and IJ as symbols of the importance of shipping. Instead, in 1672, they had acquired a new meaning, and now stood for the Dutch waterline. In the aforementioned title print of Smallegange's book, the garden of Holland is separated from the enemy armies and the three defeated provinces by water, where a water god lies among the reeds with his paddle (fig. 11.29). By adding Amstel and IJ, De Graeff wanted to emphasize Amsterdam's contribution to the defence of the Dutch Republic, and in particular his own share in this contribution. The Amsterdam water gods Amstel and IJ had proved indispensable, as the polders to the east of Amsterdam had been inundated with their water, and De Graeff had been responsible for this inundation.

The four arrows on the ceiling indicate that these changes were made after mid-July 1672. The fighting spirit expressed by the new iconography suggests that they date from shortly after that, when De Graeff was still politically active and totally dedicated to the defence of Amsterdam, but his position started to weaken. We can imagine that De Graeff wanted to update his ceiling precisely because of all the insinuations and accusations, in an attempt to demonstrate how he and the members of his faction fought for the freedom of Amsterdam and the Dutch Republic. The new version of the ceiling must have been important to De Graeff and Lairesse. After all, Lairesse made drawings of it, showing that the heroic iconography was considered suitable for an edition of prints, which would spread the message conveyed by it to a wider public.

The fourth and fifth versions of the ceiling painting

Yet also this third version was far from being the final result, for most of the *pentimenti* do not appear in the drawings and prints, indicating that they were done only *after* the drawings had been made (figs 11.10a-c, 11.11a-b). Some of these *pentimenti* give figures or objects more or less emphasis: Amstel's paddle was broadened and Concord's blue cloak was reduced (fig. 11.21a-c). The claw of the harpy at the bottom left

11.32
Anonymous, *Arms of Knights of the Holy Roman Empire: Andries de Graeff and his Son Cornelis*, watercolour painting in a copy by notary Pieter Sas of the diploma of nobility granted to Andries de Graeff and his son Cornelis on 19 July 1677 by Emperor Leopold on the basis of their descent from the Von Graben family of the Tyrol, Amsterdam, Amsterdam City Archives. Reproduced with permission.

was shifted to prevent it from being transected by the ceiling frame. The removal of the *putto* with the laurel wreath behind Concord's bundle of arrows can mainly be explained by Lairesse's wish to focus attention on this bundle. However, this *pentiment* also affected the meaning in a subtle way. Crowned with a laurel wreath, he symbolized the victory of the united provinces, but this symbol was now apparently considered less relevant. Lairesse also gave the sword of the adversary in the lion skin a broken point. This villain was also chained, as was his neighbour. Initially Concord had her foot firmly on the adversary's head with the sword, thus symbolizing the victory of the Republic in 1667. Shortly after July 1672, Lairesse moved her foot to his shoulder to convey the message that the war was not over yet. With the addition of the broken sword point and the chains, the defeat of the enemies was reinforced again.

The addition of the imperial crown to the Amsterdam city arms on the lion's shield was meaningful as well. In 1489, Maximillian I of Austria had given Amsterdam the right to add his crown to the city arms.[82] Officially Amsterdam was not a free imperial city, but the right to use the crown was prestigious and reinforced Amsterdam's claim of being an autonomous city state. In the seventeenth century, the crown was a central element during ceremonial events. The crown was also a very significant symbol for the De Graeff family, as one of Andries de Graeff's ancestors had been instrumental in retaining Amsterdam's right to use the imperial crown on its arms.[83] The De Graeffs attached great importance to this event, as is evident from poems dedicated to them.[84] Tellingly, the house where Andries de Graeff was born was named 'the Emperor's Hat'.[85] With the addition of the imperial crown, the ceiling thus showed that the Generality Lion was helped by free Amsterdam, thanks to the De Graeff family.

This fourth version must have been made soon after the third, as the canvases had not yet been installed on the ceiling. Some time must have passed, however, because Lairesse first made his drawings after the summer version. This makes it quite unlikely that he would have carried out this third and extensive round of revisions before the murder of the De Witt brothers and De Graeff's subsequent dismissal.

We have seen how Lairesse carried out certain *pentimenti* in order to improve the representation's overall readability. These changes will have been prompted by the fact that the canvases were now finally placed in the ceiling of the salon. But it is imaginable that the meaningful *pentimenti* were prompted by De Graeff's new situation. In the summer of 1672, Lairesse had transformed his allegory of the Treaty of Breda into a heroic allegory of the ongoing struggle of Amsterdam and the remaining four provinces. This significance may no longer have appealed to De Graeff after the murders of the De Witt brothers and his own removal from power. Now that he no longer belonged to Amsterdam's ruling elite, he may have had reason to elevate the fight depicted on his ceiling to a more personal level, so that it referred to his own contribution, and that of his family, to Amsterdam's struggle for freedom. De Graeff and his family considered themselves as the guardians of the freedom of Amsterdam, as emerges from the poems and stage plays dedicated to them.[86] Seen in this light, the addition of the imperial crown would be a fitting tribute to their role. The crown may even have been intended to convey the message that William III's intervention notwithstanding, the city ultimately remained free. We can also imagine that, after his removal from power, the adversaries in the representation acquired new meaning for De Graeff. Would he have seen in Envy now his enemy Valckenier and other Orangist patricians? And what to make of the adversaries in the fox skin and the lion skin whom Pieter de la Court had associated with cruel and devious princes and

monarchs? Did they now represent to De Graeff Stadtholder William III and his allies? We cannot be sure, but if this is indeed the case, we may well understand why De Graeff wanted to emphasize the defeat of those enemies.

After his fall from power, the new city government gave Andries de Graeff a hard time. In 1675, he even moved to Utrecht after the amount of taxes he had to pay was doubled, only to return two years later. After their marriage in April 1675, De Graeff's son Cornelis and his wife Agneta Deutz lived in the De Graeff house. As a 'wedding present' Andries passed the canal house on to Cornelis as an advance on his inheritance.[87]

Just one more change has to be discussed. Several pale-coloured *putti* were added to the ceiling. These are four little figures in the distance above Concord's head and four larger ones with attributes: two in the left canvas, one of whom had a pomegranate; a *putto* with a book in the middle canvas; and a *putto* with a palm in the right canvas. They were added when the canvases had been installed on the ceiling, probably when Cornelis De Graeff and Agneta Deutz inhabited the building.[88] The *putti* with palm and pomegranate symbolize victory and abundance respectively, while the fourth appears to be singing a song of praise from a book. In this way they reinforce the overall theme of victory of the ceiling, in which other *putti* with symbols of triumph and abundance had already been present. Perhaps the addition was made on the occasion of the marriage of Cornelis De Graeff and Agneta Deutz, or maybe when De Andries de Graeff and his son were made knights of the Holy Roman Empire in July 1677 (fig. 11.32).[89]

Cornelis de Graeff and his wife lived in the De Graeff house for only three years. They both died in October 1678. Barely six weeks later, on 30 November, Andries de Graeff passed away.[90] He had had little time to enjoy the ceiling that had been designed with so much care. However, after his death the canvases adorned the ceiling of the De Graeff house for more than two centuries before being auctioned and moved to the Peace Palace in The Hague, where they can now still be seen.

Conclusion

Gerard de Lairesse's ceiling painting reflects the political ideas of its commissioning patron Andries de Graeff and the turbulent events around the Year of Disaster 1672. Lairesse adapted the paintings several times at De Graeff's initiative. These adjustments were prompted by changes in De Graeff's political and personal situation. Time and again the images evolved and figures and objects acquired a new meaning. Initially, the ceiling was conceived as a triumphal allegory of the Peace of Breda, to justify the republican rule of De Witt and De Graeff, which had come under increasing pressure since the early 1670s.

In the summer of 1672, the iconography was transformed into a combative and topical representation of the threatened Dutch Republic defending its freedom. After De Graeff's dismissal from the city government, the paintings were adapted again, possibly emphasizing the moral and political struggle of the freedom-loving De Graeff family. De Lairesse thus incorporated his patron's dramatic changes of fortune into his ceiling, as a painterly sublimation of his political fate.

This chapter sheds new light on the function and significance of painted interior decorations and the way seventeenth-century urban patricians used them to present an image of themselves. It is usually thought that the mythological or allegorical ceiling paintings in urban citizens' homes represented general abstract concepts. However, the case of De Graeff's ceiling illustrates that a world of specific and very topical meanings can be hidden behind the depictions in such paintings. The fact that Lairesse's ceiling painting truly expresses De Graeff's political vision shows what pivotal functions these decorations could perform in the political and social life of that time.

1 Zandvliet, *De 500 rijksten van de Republiek*, no. 17–16, pp. 149–50; Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578–1795*, I, pp. 520–21; De Balbian Verster, *Burgemeesters van Amsterdam*, pp. 59–63; Blok and Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, I, pp. 490–92.

2 For these techniques, see below in the section '*Pentimenti*'. This investigation was undertaken as part of the NWO Vidi project *From Isolation to Coherence. An integrated Technical, Visual and Historical Study of 17th and 18th Century Dutch Painting* Ensembles (2012–18), supervised by Margriet van Eikema Hommes. This chapter is based on: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom. The Changes to and Significance of De Graeff's Ceiling Painting', chapter 1 in: Margriet van Eikema Hommes, *A Ceiling Painting from the Disaster Year 1672 by Gerard de Lairesse: Political Messages, Pictorial Illusions, and Painting Techniques* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press 2024).

3 See on the building history of the De Graeff house: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'; Vlaardingerbroek, 'Beschrijving Herengracht 446'; Wijnman and Roosegaarde Bisschop, 'Beschrijving', pp. 551–53.

4 Vlaardingerbroek, 'Beschrijving Herengracht 446'.

5 Pijzel-Dommisse, *Het Hollandse pronkpoppenhuis*, pp. 54–56.

6 Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

7 As is evident from the study of its wooden structure and its paint layers: Van Eikema Hommes, *A Ceiling Painting from the Disaster Year*, chapter 2.

8 About the pictorial aspects of the ceiling in relation to the architecture of the salon, see Van Eikema Hommes, *A Ceiling Painting from the Disaster Year*, chapter 2.

9 Snoep, 'Gerard Lairesse als plafond- en kamerschilder', p. 165, explained the iconography alluding to these titles. His interpretation has been retained since then, although there remained ambiguity about the interpretation of several figures: De Vries, *Verhalen in vergulde lijsten*, pp. 123–24; Dullaart, 'Met plank of doek bekleed', pp. 79–80; Roy, *Gérard de Lairesse*; Janson, The Birth of Dutch Liberty, pp. 183–84, 249–50.

10 Van Tatenhove, 'Lairessiana (II)', p. 42, has convincingly demonstrated that these drawings were made by Lairesse and were meant as examples for the prints. See also Hillegers, 'The drawings', p. 4, who adopts Van Tatenhove's argument.

11 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 573–74.

12 Ripa, *Iconologia*, p. 97.

13 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 377–78.

14 Ripa, *Iconologia*, p. 456.

15 Ripa, *Iconologia*, p. 34. On p. 81, Ripa mentions a second personification with this armour: 'Dapperheyt en Wackerheyt des lichaems, vereenight met wijsheyt en kracht des gemoets' [Bravery and Alertness of body, united with wisdom and strength of mind]. However, this personification bears no relation whatsoever to the title on Glauber's print. Also, a serpent is wound around her sword and her helmet has a laurel wreath and bears the inscription 'His Frugibus' [with these fruits].

16 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 170–71, 544.

17 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 350–51 and p. 516, respectively.

18 De Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek*, I, p. 96: '[…] dat het al te zamen verborgene zaaken zyn, […], om dat zy niet in hun waare gedaanten, maar in een andere schyn verbeeld worden […]'.

19 De Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek*, II, p. 152: 'Ten tweden, de staat, bediening, hoedanigheid, en neiging van den geenen dien ze toebehoort.' Lairesse subsequentely explains what he means by these qualifications: 'Met de bediening, hoedanigheid, en neiging van den persoon moet men verstaan of 't een Godts-, of Rechtsgeleerde, Wysgeer, of Konstenaar zy: verder, of hy genegen zy tot geest- of zedelyke uitbeeldingen, algemeene of byzondere, dat 's te zeggen op hem of zyn geslacht slaande en betrekkelyk, of in 't algemeen op ieder een die het huis na hem zoude konnen bewoonen […]'.

20 De Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek*, II, p. 152.

21 For Lairesse's painting technique and a detailed analysis of all *pentimenti*: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter or Freedom'.

22 For this a piece of paint with the size of a grain of sand is embedded in resin and polished, so that all paint layers can be studied under the microscope. The pigments and medium in the paint and other materials can be further analysed.

23 Van Eikema Hommes, *A Ceiling Painting from the Disaster Year*, chapter 3.

24 Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter or Freedom'.

25 Because Lairesse altered the compositions of the decorations in his drawings from rectangular to a squarer shape more suitable for prints, part of the sky is missing in the drawings and prints, including the *putto* with aulos in the centre canvas and the *putti* with rams' horns in the right canvas. The distance between the main figures and the water gods is reduced as well. The three prints are also the same size, whereas the ceiling pieces differ in width. Lairesse therefore made the composition of the wide middle canvas slightly narrower, by curling the lion's tail inwards and cutting off the legs of the *putto* with the cymbals.

26 See note 21.

27 However, three *putti* high in the sky are missing because Lairesse altered the compositions of the paintings in his drawings from rectangular to a squarer shape, see also note 25. This is further argued in Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

28 It is not certain what kind of leaf branch is depicted. It looks like an olive branch, with olives recognizable by their round shape and highlight. However, the leaves are too oval for olive leaves, which have a lanceolate shape.

29 The broken-off point added later is barely visible in the infrared (IRR) image. Paint cross-sections show that this point was painted with different pigments than the sword.

30 Further explained in Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

31 For the digital reconstructions, the rejected and altered forms were visualized as fully elaborated, regardless of whether they were so when they were painted away or changed. In this way, these forms, together with the unchanged figures and objects, give an idea of the end result that Lairesse and De Graeff had in mind for each stage. Forms that were intended but never implemented – the white crosses on the first version of the lion's shield and the initial attributes of Freedom (see pp. 182, 185) – are not depicted in the reconstructions. Disturbing ageing phenomena have been corrected in the digital reconstructions.

32 On 21 June 1667, De Graeff received a building permit for two plots on Herengracht and one on Keizersgracht that he had bought in the years before. We may assume that construction would have started soon after: De Balbian Verster, 'De bocht van de Heerengracht', pp. 189, 232–33.

33 Six, 'Nogmaals Omnia Orta Occidunt', p. 147. A chronogram usually indicates the year the building or the building shell was completed. In the case of De Graeff's house it may indicate the date of the completion of the building shell. About the interpretation of the chronogram: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

34 Amsterdam City Archives (ACA), accession no. 5044 Archives of the Treasuries Extraordinary, inv. no. 235 Taxation of the new buildings for the years 1669–1739, fol. 8r: 'N.V. [nieuwe vergroting] 183 de hr. burgerm[eeste]r Andries de Graeff […] volbout anno 1672 75 –.' ACA, accession no. 5045, Archives of the 100th and 200th Penny Tax Chamber, inv. no. 17, Payment ledgers of houses in the New Expansion 1673–74, fol. 150v: '4:14:0 De Hr Burgerm[eeste] r Andries de Graeff volb[out] 1672– 600 75- - […]'.

35 As is evident from the notes of Amsterdam patrician Hans Bontemantel. See for example: Bontemantel, *De regeeringe van Amsterdam*, II, pp. 63–68.

36 Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh and Son*, pp. 64–70.

37 The States of Holland probably bought the monumental *View in St Bavo's Church in Haarlem* of 1648 by Pieter Saenredam from his collection: Panel, 174.8 × 143.6 cm, Edinburgh, The National Gallery of Scotland. See Lammertse and Van der Veen, *Uylenburgh and Son*, p. 68, notes 49 and 50.

38 He was also in charge of the defence of Amsterdam: Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg van Amsterdam*, p. 145.

39 Van der Goes, *Bellone aen Bant*, esp. p. 2: 'Opgeoffert aen de E. Achtbaere Heeren burgermeesters, De Amsterdamsche vredevaders' and p. 32: 'Gy Vredevaders die, door loffelijk regeren, […]'. De Graeff is referred to as 'Kato Graef', a reference to the Roman consul Cato who was known as a passionate defender of the republican form of government: p. 23.

40 For images concerning the Treaty of Breda: Scharloo, 'Majesteitschennis in metaal?'; Van Nispen, *De Teems in brant*, pp. 115–22; Brekelmans, 'De Vrede van Breda'.

41 Biemond, 'Historiestukken in zilver'.

42 Scharloo, 'Majesteitschennis in metaal?'.

43 Biemond, 'Historiestukken in zilver', pp. 126–30.

44 On the principle of freedom in the Republic see Haitsma Mulier and Velema, eds, *Vrijheid*, esp. the contributions by Van de Klashorst, 'De Ware Vrijheid'; and Kossmann, 'Freedom'. See also Reinders, *Gedrukte Chaos*, esp. pp. 114–21. On freedom of trade, Weststeijn, *Commercial Republicanism*, esp. pp. 224–41. On the depiction of the concept of Freedom: Maissen, 'Der Freiheitshut'; Grijzenhout, 'De verbeelding van de Vrijheid'; Janson, *The Birth of Dutch Liberty*.

45 Lairesse and Graat knew one another personally and on two occasions they undertook decoration commissions for the same owner: Van der Hut, *Barend Graat*, pp. 48–53.

46 For example: Jacob Jordaens, *Peace between the Romans and the Batavians*, 1661–1662, canvas 550 x 550 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace Amsterdam.

47 That this medal relates to both peace agreements is apparent from the inscription: Van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, III, p. 24.

48 Initially, Lairesse's Freedom had her leg more exposed as well, just like the woman on the medal: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

49 For example: Van den Vondel, 'Zeegevier der Vrye Nederlanden op den Teems (1667)', see Sterck, *De werken van Vondel*, X, pp. 310–13; Jan Vos, 'Scheepskroon der zeehelden van de vrye Neederlanden (1666)', see Vos, *Alle de gedichten*, II, pp. 119–32.

50 Van Nispen, *De Teems in brant*, p. 52. This imagery is completely different from that surrounding the First Anglo-Dutch War, where the lion did not feature at all or lies, without its sword, tamed and leashed at the feet of the Dutch Maiden: Van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, II, pp. 383–86.

51 See on Amsterdam's contribution: Hell, 'De Oude Geuzen en de Opstand', p. 247.

52 Kiesow, 'The Office of Stadholder', pp. 126–27.

53 Ripa, *Iconologia*, pp. 58–59: 'Een gewapende Vrouwe, die in haar rechter hand een blood Sweerd, en aen haere syde een Draeck heeft. Totte Bewaeringe zijn insonderheyt twee dingen van noode: het eerste is om het gevaer te voorsien, en gereet te staen om niet onversiens overvallen te worden: het tweede is de macht om het gewelt af te keeren, indien men 't selve (omdat het den Mensche soo kort op 't lijf is) noch met reden noch met rijpen raede kan afweeren'. Instead of a dragon Lairesse's woman is accompanied by an eagle, which as a symbol of power and fearlessness is also a fitting companion.

54 De la Court, *Interest van Holland*, pp. 92–116, esp. p. 108: '[…] haare geduurige jalousie over onze florisante commercie […]'.

55 For example, Swinnas, *Vermeerderde, en verbeterde Engelse, Nederlandse en Munsterse krackeelen*, p. 6. See also Scheurleer, *Van Varen en van Vechten*, II, pp. 89, 108, 160, 265, 538.

56 Charles II was certain that this 'wretched beast' represented him. De Witt could not convince him that this description should not be taken personally, but that it referred to the discord of the war itself: Scharloo, 'Majesteitschennis in metaal?' and Scharloo, 'A peace medal that caused a war?'. See also Van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, II, p. 557. Charles II would use this medal and other insulting imagery to justify a new war in 1672. His declaration of war in March of that year states that there is hardly any Dutch town '[…] that is not filled with abusive Pictures, and false Historical medals & Pillars: some of which have been exposed to the public view by command of the States themselves […] This alone were cause sufficient for Our displeasure […]': *The answer of the States Generall*, p. 18.

57 For example, *Bellone aen Bant* alludes to 'roofharpyen' and makes the comparison between Charles II and a 'roofgriffioen': Van der Goes, *Bellone aen Bant*, pp. 6, 9. For other examples: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

58 Machiavelli, *De heerser*, pp. xxxix, xlviii, 2–3, 14–15.

59 For example: Henkel and Schöne, *Emblemata*, I, p. 392.

60 De la Court, *Interest van Holland*, p. 252.

61 Scheffer, *Roemruchte jaren*, p. 20.

62 Famous artists painted, sculpted, and drew De Graeff's portrait, including Rembrandt, Govert Flinck, Jan Lievens, and Gerard Ter Borch II, while Jürgen Ovens made an overmantel painting of him and his family. About these portraits: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'. In 1661 Artus Quellinus sculpted his bust *all'antica* in marble (see fig. 1.24). De Graeff was a patron of poetry and the Amsterdam theatre. Jan Vos and Joost van den Vondel dedicated poems and plays to him. For Vos: Vos, *Alle de gedichten*, I, pp. 147–48, 561, 627–36, 637–50; Vos, *Alle de gedichten*, II, pp. 140–41, 235. On Cornelis and Andries de Graeff as patrons of Vos: Geerdink, *Dichters en verdiensten*. For the poems and plays by Joost van den Vondel: Sterck, *De werken van Vondel*, VIII, pp. 673–87; Sterck, *De werken van Vondel*, IX, pp. 23–26.

63 De Lairesse, *Het groot schilderboek*, II, p. 67: 'Patroonen of Liefhebbers […] Als mede iemand die een Huis laat bouwen'. More about the division of tasks in designing ceiling paintings: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

64 In the early 1670s, other politicians still liked to refer to these peace treaties as well. In 1670 the magistrate Pieter Schaep, for example, named his completed house on Keizersgracht (number 604) 'Int Derde Vredejaer' (in the third year of peace), alluding to the 1668 Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

65 Rowen, *John de Witt*, pp. 170–90. See also De Witt, *Manifest van de ware vrijheid*, pp. 124–25.

66 Mercury also figures on various topical prints, for example: Anonymous, *Peace of Breda*, 1667, engraving, 413 × 522 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum. For other examples: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

67 Dreiskämper, *Redeloos, Radeloos, Reddeloos*, pp. 43, 47; Roorda, *Partij en factie*, p. 110, holds that 24 June was the date the three provinces were occupied.

68 Dibbits, *Joannes Vollenhove*, p. 238: 'Hoe is onze rykdom en het vermogen voor den vyant in eenen gereeden roof verkeert, onze onwinbare steden en vestingen zonder slagh of stoot door opeischen alleen gewonnen, de bant die zeven pylen verbont, jammerlyk gebroken, dry stammen van ons Israël afgescheurt'. A constitutional meaning had already been ascribed to the number of arrows in the Generality Lion's bundle during the Dutch Revolt. At that time the northern Netherlandish

provinces' attempts to gain independence were represented on medals and seals from the northern provinces by reducing the lion's number of arrows: Kempers, 'Assemblage van de Nederlandse leeuw', p. 80.

69 The jurist and lawyer Petrus Valkenier in his *'t Verwerd Europa* (1675) describes how the Amsterdam burgomasters and councillors unanimously decided to defend the city and their freedom: Valkenier, *'t Verwerd Europa*, pp. 706–09. Whether all the burgomasters and councillors were so bold is doubtful. The diary of the civic guardsman Lucas Watering describes that the majority of the councillors had initially wanted to vote in favour of peace negotiations and yielded only when the opponents had threatened to deploy the militia as it was under their control: Reinders, *Gedrukte Chaos*, pp. 89–90; Salomons, 'De rol van de Amsterdamse burgerbeweging', p. 206.

70 For archival documents relating to De Graeff's contribution to the Holland defensive waterline: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

71 Reinders, *Gedrukte Chaos*; Dreiskämper, *Redeloos, Radeloos, Reddeloos*, pp. 60–64; Salomons, 'De rol van de Amsterdamse burgerbeweging'.

72 Valkenier, *'t Verwerd Europa*, III, pp. 689–90, describes how on 1 July, when De Graeff was on his way to The Hague, his stagecoach was stopped by an angry mob. A woman almost pulled De Graeff's hat and wig from his head. He narrowly avoided being stabbed with a sword and managed to escape. Bontemantel and Watering also mention the incident. The same evening a group of people went to the home of the former burgomaster Gillis Valkenier with a petition to raise an army of twenty thousand men to kill De Graeff. Valckenier replied that he knew nothing about treason and calmed the people. About these events: Gebhard, 'Amsterdamsche aanteekeningen uit 1672', pp. 160–165 and Gebhard, 'Een dagboek uit het "rampjaar" 1672', pp. 55–56, respectively. See also Reinders, *Gedrukte Chaos*, pp. 93–94.

73 Wagenaar, *Vaderlandsche Historie*, XIV, p. 86 (quoted from the notes of Bontemantel).

74 A pamphlet, dated September 1672 aimed at the burgomasters and city council, for instance, accused him and other members of 'De Witt's Loevestein faction' of 'foul treachery' and that only for 'their lust for power' they attempted 'to root the admirable House of Orange and Nassau from the ground and make us and our children slaves and vassals of France': '[…] grouwelycke verraderye […] alleen uyt eygen regeersucht […] soekende het loffelycke Huys van Oranje ende Nassouw tot de grondt uyt te roeyen ende ons en onse kinderen tot slaeve en Contrabutarissen van Vranckryck te maacken […]'. Andries de Graeff was also accused of this treachery, as is evident from the sixteen names listed at the end of this pamphlet: Wagenaar, *Amsterdam in zyne opkomst*, I, p. 643.

75 Bontemantel reported that when the prince attended a meeting in Amsterdam Town Hall on 13 August, De Graeff walked straight up to him, shook his hand, and bade him welcome, but that the prince did not look on De Graeff kindly: Gebhard, 'Amsterdamsche aanteekeningen uit 1672', p. 239.

76 On de Graeff's attempt at reconciliation: Bontemantel, *De regeeringe van Amsterdam*, II, p. 188. During the council meeting 3 September 1672, Valckenier even spoke out furiously against De Graeff: Valckenier, *'t Verwerd Europa*, pp. 189–90.

77 ACA, accession no. 5025, City Council Archives, inv. no. 160, 18th century 1650–1697, p. 608 (3 September 1672).

78 Roorda, *Partij en factie*, pp. 185–89. See also Salomons, 'De rol van de Amsterdamse burgerbeweging', p. 217.

79 Van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, III, p. 72: '*d'Amsterdamsche burgery / tart des vyands razerny. / En staet moedig dag en nacht, voor de vryheit op de wacht*'. The caption reads: VIGILANDO ('vigilant'). The same symbol of freedom can be seen on a medal struck in 1672 by the province of Zeeland (which together with Amsterdam maintained a militant course) on which the lion of the Republic is shown with a pike and a freedom hat and the legend states: 'Evenals ze verkreegen is, zo moet ze ook verlaaten worden' ('as she was obtained, so she [Freedom] must be forsaken'): Van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche Historipenningen*, III, p. 74.

80 Van der Goes, *Briefwisseling*, II, p. 333, letter dated 14 January 1672: '[…] hier hangen noch al donckere wolcken over het landt […]'.

81 The fact that these figures were added at the same time as the other *pentimenti* can be deduced from the use of opaque paint and the coarse execution. The iconography surrounding the Treaty of Breda also points to this: Amstel and IJ play absolutely no role in it and it solely revolves around the sea, symbolized by Neptune, large sailing ships, and more.

82 Enenkel and Ottenheym, *Oudheid als ambitie*, pp. 287–88; Van Answaarden, 'Amsterdam, zoo zwaer met gout bekroont'; Dudok van Heel, 'De blauwe keizerskroon'.

83 This was a forebear on De Graeff's mother's side, Andries Boelen, who had been elected burgomaster fifteen times. In 1497 Maximillian's son Philip the Fair, governor of the Netherlands from 1494 onwards, had wanted to declare this privilege invalid, but burgomaster Boelen took bold steps to prevent it from happening: Van Answaarden, 'Amsterdam, zoo zwaer met gout bekroont'; Dudok van Heel, 'De blauwe keizerskroon'.

84 For example, J. van den Vondel, 'Op de Wapenkroon van Amsterdam, Aen den Ed. Heer Kornelis de Graef, […], 1655', in Sterck, *De werken van Vondel*, V, pp. 909–10.

85 ACA, accession no. 76, FA de Graeff, inv. no. 227, pp. 1–2: '[…] in't huijs genaamt de keijsers hoet daar nogh de Keijsers Kroon uijt hanght […]'. The house apparently had a flag or sign board with the imperial crown.

86 For example: 'Beschryving der Vertooningen, Die voor, in, en na 't Spel van de Beleegering en 't Ontzet van Leiden, t'Amsterdam, in 't jaar 1660, in de Schouwburg, vertoont zijn', in Vos, *Alle de gedichten*, I, p. 628; 'De eeuwige vrede', in Brandt, *G. Brands Poezy*, III, pp. 219–68, esp. p. 220; 'Aan den Heer Pieter de Graaf. op zyn edts.stamboom', in Brandt, *G. Brands Poezy*, III, pp. 299–301, esp. p. 301.

87 Cornelis got the house, but it was set against his paternal inheritance at a valuation of 50,000 guilders. If Cornelis had not wanted the house after his father's death, it could have been returned to the estate. ACA, accession no. 76, FA de Graeff, inv. no. 608.

88 Technical examinations indicate that Lairesse gave the sky its final distribution of clouds and colours only after he had made the third set of *pentimenti*. Only the pallid *putti* are painted on top of this paint. By then, the canvases had already been installed on the ceiling: Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'.

89 As a private citizen, Andries went to a great deal of trouble to show that he was descended from the noble Von Graben family from Tyrol – a connection that unquestionably did not exist. Nevertheless, Andries and his son Cornelis were made knights of the Holy Roman Empire in 1677: Dudok van Heel, *Van Amsterdamse burgers*, I, p. 104.

90 As the oldest daughter, Alida inherited the house on the Herengracht: Dudok van Heel, 'Het maecenaat', p. 150. When Andries de Graeff made his 'gift' of the De Graeff house to his son, he stated that it would be offset against his paternal inheritance at a valuation of 50,000 guilders (see note 87). Because Cornelis died before his father, the building was again included in his father's estate. Archival documents show that Alida inherited the building, see Van Eikema Hommes and Van Run, 'A Matter of Freedom'. Alida did not occupy the house, but rented it out her whole life: Wijnman and Roosegaarde Bisschop, 'Beschrijving van elk pand', pp. 551–52; Dudok van Heel, 'Het maecenaat', p. 150.

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