

**THE CONSTRUCTION OF PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT IN THE
SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LOW COUNTRIES: CARTOGRAPHY, CALVINISM
AND REBEL PROPAGANDA**

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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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ABSTRACT

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by Paul John Regan

Since the 1960s, the nationalist interpretation of identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries has been replaced by a pluralist understanding of nations and identities during the period. According to the modern, pluralist approach, the sixteenth-century understanding of a country and a nation was not related to any collective sense of Netherlandish nationhood. Instead, there existed a variety of nations and identities, some of which had developed over the course of the centuries, others of which were more recent creations.

The two main purposes of this thesis are to describe the nature and development of the pluralist model and to test the validity of the model through three case studies. These three studies, an examination of the patriotic propaganda drawn up by rebel propagandists during 1568-1570, a survey of the development, spread and impact of maps of the entire Low Countries in the sixteenth century and a brief study of the 'Dutch Israel' thesis, all support the pluralist model. The studies not only confirm the existence of different nations and identities in the sixteenth-century Low Countries but also support the complementary belief in the artificial nature of identity in the 1500s. The thesis closes with a short conclusion which summarises the themes covered by the case studies and identifies the major questions which arise from the thesis.

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ABBREVIATIONS

- AGN** = Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, 12 Volumes (Utrecht, 1949-58)
- BMGN** = Bijdragen en mededelingen betreffende de geschiedenis der Nederlanden
- NAGN** = (Nieuwe) Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden, 15 Volumes (Haarlem, 1977-83)
- TvG** = Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis

CHAPTER ONE

PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT IN THE SIXTEENTH-CENTURY LOW COUNTRIES: AN HISTORIOGRAPHICAL SURVEY

Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to examine three ways in which identity was constructed in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. Expressed in such a way, the task may seem simple; a mere matter of selecting three suitable subjects and summarising the research undertaken. The 1500s, though, have never been an ordinary period in the historical consciousness of the Low Countries. In one of the earliest studies of patriotic sentiment written by a Dutch historian, the writer referred to the sixteenth century as the "geboorte-eeuw" (literally the "birth-century") in recognition of the fact that the modern states of Belgium and the Netherlands have their origins in the events which took place in that period.¹ As the *geboorte-eeuw*, the 1500s have assumed a prominent position in successive attempts by Dutch and Belgian historians to describe the history of their country and to define its nature. By understanding the period, these writers believed they could lay their finger on what was most fundamental in their country. Needless to say, what they understood by their 'country' and how they interpreted the sense of identity in the sixteenth century, varied greatly. Religious allegiances, political beliefs, national feeling, contemporary intellectual circumstances and the unpredictable nature of individual genius have all played their part in the creation of a long series of different images of patriotic sentiment in the sixteenth-century Low Countries.

The story of the development of these interpretations can be divided chronologically into three main periods, from the purely religious and political interpretations of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, through to the creation and elaboration of the national image of the Revolt during the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, finishing with the present-day stress on a plurality of identities. Although specialists have accepted the pluralist model of many nations and many identities now for thirty years or more, the triumph of the

¹ J.W. Muller, Over nederlandse volksbesef en taalbesef (Utrecht, 1915) 22.

modern approach is by no means complete. The nationalist interpretation of the Revolt, in which the troubles are represented as a nationalist uprising against the Spanish, remains as the most popular and pervasive image of the sixteenth century. The belief that the identity of sixteenth-century Netherlanders was ultimately bound up with a developing nation, whether Belgian, Dutch or General Netherlandish, is seductive in its simplicity and powerful in its appeal to national sentiment. For this reason, there is a particular need to describe how historians have come to favour the pluralist interpretation and to explain the differences between the nationalist and pluralist models. The principal purpose of this chapter, therefore, is to try and recount the development of the different images of the sixteenth-century Low Countries and to show, in particular, the shift away from the nationalist interpretation of the Revolt to the pluralist understanding of identity.

This task is fraught with problems, not the least of which is the fact that patriotic sentiment and the nature of identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries have only recently become distinct subjects in themselves. For much of the last 400 years, historians have primarily concerned themselves with the so-called 'Revolt of the Netherlands' and, in lesser measure, the development of one or more of the Netherlandish states, whether Burgundian, Dutch or Belgian. Consequently, it is impossible to write about the historiography of patriotic sentiment and identity without also taking account of changing approaches to the sixteenth century as a whole. As if this were not enough, the historiography of the Revolt is, in turn, part of another wider subject, the changing nature of historical writing within and without the Low Countries.

Such is the great number of studies on all of these subjects, patriotic sentiment, the Revolt and Dutch and Belgian historiography, that many works which touch on the central theme of identity in the sixteenth century have to be excluded from the chapter. It is particularly noticeable that very few German, French or English-speaking historians feature in the narrative. A truly comprehensive historiographical survey would have to acknowledge the contribution of such German historians as Felix Rachfahl, Ernst Marx, Eugen

Lemberg and Franz Petri² and also take account of the impact of works produced by English-speaking historians in more recent times such as James Tracy and Jonathan Israel. Lack of space precludes an examination of all these works so it is developments within Dutch and Belgian historiography which form the main subject material of this chapter.

The second purpose of this introductory chapter is to show how the three central studies of this thesis, on maps, Reformed Protestantism and rebel propaganda, are linked together as parts of a contemporary quest to understand the nature of the sixteenth-century Low Countries. As the concluding third of this chapter makes clear, each of these three studies arises out of the modern approach to sixteenth-century Low Countries history. They should be seen, therefore, as a modern contribution to an age-old historical question. There is no expectation that these studies will prove to be definitive. As Pieter Geyl, one of the historians covered in this chapter once remarked, history is a debate without end, an observation which historiographical surveys of the nature of this chapter tend to confirm. If this fact leaves historians with an uneasy sense of their own mortality, it also serves as a reminder of the privilege historians enjoy in taking part in debates which are often centuries old. It is with this sense of privileged participation in a central debate of Dutch and Belgian historiography that this chapter and this thesis have been written.

Part I: *Ancien Regime* Historiography

The main lines of historical debate on the Revolt in both the Dutch Republic and the Habsburg Netherlands were laid down in the period from 1585 to 1650. In the Republic, historical works on the Revolt, especially those written after the

² See the discussion between Rachfahl and Marx in Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien und der niederländische Aufstand, 3 Volumes (The Hague, 1906-24) I; Marx, Studien zur Geschichte des niederländischen Aufstandes (Leipzig, 1902); and the Westdeutsche Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Kunst, 22 (1903) and 29 (1910). For Lemberg, see Wege und Wandlungen des Nationalbewusstseins. Studien zur Geschichte der Volkwerdung in den Niederlanden und in Böhmen (Münster, 1934) and for Petri, the essays on the Netherlands and Germany in F. Petri and W. Jappe Alberts, Gemeinsame Probleme. Deutsche-Niederländischer Landes- und Volksforschung (Groningen, 1962).

disputes of the 1610s, served two main purposes, the first of which was the need to justify the Revolt. Such was the strength of conservative assumptions about society that a powerful motive for the Revolt had to be adduced to legitimise the creation of the new state and to remove the stigma of rebellion. During the Revolt, the two principal themes of rebel propaganda had been political and religious liberty.³ Historical debate about the causes of the Revolt thus turned upon the question of whether the Revolt was fought for religious or for political reasons, a debate expressed by the use of the terms "Haec libertatis ergo" or "haec religionis ergo".⁴

The debate about the causes of the Revolt also reflected, though, contemporary divisions within the United Provinces. There were two great poles of opposition, the 'States' and the 'Orange' parties, around which diverse and loose groupings rallied during times of crisis. The States 'party' reflected, for the most part, the interests of the Holland regents. By contrast, the Orange 'party', composed in the main of Reformed ministers, the political élite outside the provinces of Holland and Zeeland and supporters of the House of Orange, stressed the unifying power of the princes of Orange and the role of the Reformed Church in the Republic.⁵ Historical works about the Revolt were partly intended to provide an historical basis for the political views of these two opposing views. In historical works, the States' interpretation of the Revolt was certainly the predominant view during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It appeared in the works of Pieter Bor, writing in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, in Hugo Grotius (1583-1645) and P.C. Hooft (1581-1647) the two writers who established the

³ See P.A.M. Geurts, De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten 1566-1584 (Reprint: Utrecht, 1983) (Originally published 1956); A.C.J. De Vrankrijker, De motiveering van onzen opstand (Nijmegen, 1933; reprint, 1979); and M. Van Gelderen, The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590 (Cambridge, 1992).

⁴ J.M. Romein, "Het verguisde beeld. Over het onderzoek van onze Opstand" in C.B. Wels et al., eds., Vaderlands Verleden in Veelvoud. Opstellen over de Nederlandse geschiedenis na 1500, 2 Volumes (The Hague, 1980) I, 71-88, 73 (This inaugural lecture was originally given in 1939); S. Groenveld, "Beeldvorming en realiteit. Geschiedschrijving en achtergronden van de Nederlandse Opstand tegen Filips II" in Men sagh Haerlem bestormen... (Exhibition catalogue; Haarlem, 1973) 23-38, 23-24; J.J. Woltjer, "Het beeld verguisd?" in Vaderlands Verleden in Veelvoud, I, 89-98, 89.

⁵ S. Groenveld, Verlopend getij. De Nederlandse republiek en de Engelse burgeroorlog 1640-1646 (Dieren, 1984) 58 and J.L. Price, Culture and Society in the Dutch Republic During the 17th Century (London, 1974) 19-29.

classical view of the Revolt in the first half of the seventeenth century and in Jan Wagenaar (1709-73) the best known Dutch historian of the eighteenth century. According to this interpretation, the principal cause of the troubles had been the violation of the privileges and liberties of the country by the Spanish. The States, as representatives of the people, had been obliged to take up arms against the Spanish in order to protect these liberties. By emphasising the role of the States and the privileges, this interpretation gave historical support to the Holland regents. The religious motivation for the Revolt, favoured by many among the Orange 'party', was either considered secondary or was ignored altogether.⁶

Alongside the Orangist and States interpretations of the Revolt, there was a third tradition which emphasised the religious basis of the conflict. During the Revolt, Reformed Protestants drew parallels between their experiences and those of the Israelites in the Old Testament. They believed that God was acting in the world in a manner comparable to the way in which he had acted in the past. Around about the mid-seventeenth century, as the Reformed Protestants lost much of their international perspective and the Reformed Church became more identified with the Dutch Republic, a more developed theory of the relationship between the Republic and Israel came into being. According to this theory, God had made a covenant with the Republic in a manner similar to that which he had made with the Israelites. Only by observing the covenant, could the prosperity and survival of the state be ensured. As understood by many Reformed ministers, this covenant stipulated a theocratic state in which the position and doctrines of the Reformed Church were upheld and advanced. The *Neerlands Israël* tradition was closely related to the Orangist political tradition because the House of Orange was accorded a special place in the Reformed theory of the state as upholders of the

⁶ For Bor, Grotius and Hooft see A.E.M. Janssen, "A 'Trias Historica' on the Revolt of the Netherlands: Emanuel van Meteren, Pieter Bor and Everhard van Reyd as Exponents of Contemporary Historiography" and E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, "Grotius, Hooft and the Writing of History in the Dutch Republic" in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse, eds., Clio's Mirror. Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands. Britain and the Netherlands. Volume VIII (Zutphen, 1985) 9-30, 22 and 55-72, especially 61-62 and 66-67 respectively. On Wagenaar, L.H.M. Wessels, "Jan Wagenaar (1709-1773). Bijdrage tot een herwaarding" in P.A.M. Geurts and A.E.M. Janssen, eds., Geschiedschrijving in Nederland. Studies over de historiografie van de Nieuwe Tijd, 2 Volumes (The Hague, 1981) I, 117-40, 128. More generally see Ph. De Vries, "De Noordnederlandse geschiedschrijving sedert de Renaissance", AGN, 12 Volumes (Antwerp/Brussels/Louvain/Ghent, 1949-1958) 12, 458-73, 461-67.

Reformed faith.⁷

Southern Netherlandish writers were no less than their northern counterparts preoccupied during the period from 1585 to 1630 with the question of why the Revolt broke out, but unlike their northern counterparts, the southern Netherlandish writers did not seek to justify the Revolt because, for them, the Revolt was an act of rebellion against the legitimate ruler of the Netherlandish provinces. The problem the southern-Netherlandish writers faced was to explain both why an hitherto Catholic population should have embraced heresy in large numbers and why the Low Countries was driven to commit the heinous crime of rebellion. The same responses to these problems recur in the writings of all the Catholic historians whether they were based in Cologne, Antwerp, Arras or Douai, a similarity which testifies to their common monarchical and Tridentine sympathies. Generally, Orange, the States General and the Calvinists were held responsible for the troubles and, in some works, blame was also laid at the feet of the nobility.

After 1630, interest in the Revolt waned in the southern Netherlands as writers became more preoccupied by the French threat. During the remainder of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century, very little general work was done on Netherlandish history. Discouraged by the Spanish and Austrian authorities from venturing into these dangerous waters, most writers concentrated on works of a specialist or provincial nature. In this environment, there was little to challenge the assumption that the key features of southern-Netherlandish history were the dynastic loyalty and Catholicism of the southern Netherlanders. It is striking that even in the 1780s when cross-provincial opposition to the Austrian Habsburgs developed, southern-Netherlandish propagandists did not put forward a theory of foreign oppression but emphasised, instead, the traditional attachment of the southern Netherlanders to both their

⁷ On the *Neerlands Israël* tradition see C. Huisman, *Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw* (Dordrecht, 1983); H. Wansink, "Holland and Six Allies: The Republic of the Seven United Provinces" in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, eds., *Britain and the Netherlands. Volume IV: Metropolis, Dominion and Province* (The Hague, 1971) 133-55, 153-54. See chapter 5 in this thesis for a more detailed examination of the *Neerlands Israël* tradition.

natural rulers and their liberties.⁸

Although southern and northern Netherlandish writers differed fundamentally about the causes of the Revolt, they shared one thing in common: at no point, at least before the 1780s, did these writers look upon the Revolt as a national uprising. The modern concept of a nation, whether Belgian, Dutch or general Netherlandish, could not exist in the Low Countries before the later eighteenth century. In this respect, it is significant that neither southern nor northern-Netherlandish writers accorded much attention to the fall of Antwerp in 1585. The later nationalist belief that the fall of this city represented a rupture in the national body was quite foreign to the thinking of seventeenth and eighteenth-century writers.⁹ In both parts of the Low Countries, the provincial outlook prevailed over any more comprehensive sympathies during the 1600s and 1700s.¹⁰ In the northern Netherlands, this fact is obscured by the dominance exercised by the province of Holland during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Much of the historical writing of this period appears national in nature but in reality reflects an Hollandocentric view of the past.¹¹ Even Jan Wagenaar's

⁸ For the paragraphs on Catholic historiography see B.A. Vermaseren, De Katholieke geschiedschrijving in de XVIe en XVIIe eeuw over de opstand (Maastricht, 1941); F.G. Scheelings, "De geschiedschrijving en de beeldvorming over de opstand in de zuidelijke Nederlanden (16e-18e eeuw)" in J. Craeybeckx, F. Daelemans and F.G. Scheelings, eds., "1585: Op gescheiden wegen" Handelingen van het colloquium over de scheiding der Nederlanden, gehouden op 22-23 November 1985, te Brussel, (Louvain, 1988) 151-80; R. Van Uytven, "De Zuidnederlandse geschiedschrijving sedert de Renaissance", AGN, 12, 474-87, 473-78. For the 1780s see J. Stengers, "Le mythe des dominations étrangères dans l'historiographie belge", Revue belge de Philologie et d'histoire, 59 (1981) 382-401, 382-86 and E.H. Kossmann, The Low Countries 1780-1940 (Oxford, 1978) 55.

⁹ Scheelings, "De geschiedschrijving en de beeldvorming over de opstand", 166 and J. Craeybeckx, "De val van Antwerpen en de scheuring der Nederlanden, gezien door de grote noordnederlandse geschiedschrijvers van de eerste generatie" in "1585: Op gescheiden wegen", 121-50. It is true that many northern writers described themselves as good patriots and lovers of the fatherland in the preface to their works. See, for example, Emanuel van Meteren's statement, "...hoewel ick de vrijheit ende welstant des Vaderlands als een goed Patriot (vyant van vreemde tyrannije ofte regeeringe) bekenne toeghedaen te wesen...". Quoted in L. Brummel, "Emanuel van Meteren als historicus" in Geschiedschrijving in Nederland, I, 1-18, 7. Such statements should, however, be treated with care. See E.H. Kossmann, In Praise of the Dutch Republic: Some Seventeenth-Century Attitudes (London, 1963) 8-11.

¹⁰ Van Uytven, "De Zuidnederlandse geschiedschrijving", 473-78.

¹¹ H. Kampinga, Opvattingen over onze Vaderlandse Geschiedenis bij de Hollandse Historici der 16e en 17e eeuw (Reprint of original 1917: Utrecht, 1980). See also E.H. Kossmann, "The Dutch Case: A National or a Regional Culture?", Transactions of the

Vaderlandsche Historie, intended as a history of the United Provinces as a whole since the Revolt, provided, in practice, an Hollandocentric account.¹²

Part II: The Nationalist Phase c.1800-1960

The national principle first entered Dutch and Belgian historiography in the first half of the nineteenth century. This shift in thinking, by which the past began to be viewed through a nationalist lens, was brought about by the great political, economic and intellectual revolutions which affected Europe during the later-eighteenth and early- nineteenth centuries. The crucial elements in the rise of nationalism across Europe were the emergence and spread of the doctrine of popular or national sovereignty during the French Revolution, the intellectual movement of Romanticism, industrialisation, with all its many consequences and finally, French imperialism. In spite of the early manifestations of 'national' feelings in both the southern and northern Netherlands during the 1780s, nationalism played little part in the domestic history of the Low Countries until the 1830s. The patriotic fervour of the 1780s was overlaid by the 'international' thinking of the Revolution and during the years of French rule (1795-1813) and the United Kingdom of the Netherlands (1815-30), circumstances were not propitious for the development of nationalism. It was only in 1830 as a consequence of the Belgian revolt, that nationalism first became something of a popular movement in both parts of the Low Countries and really only from then, that the national principle became a fundamental part of Belgian and Dutch historiography.¹³

Royal Historical Society, Fifth series, 29 (1979) 155-68 and J.C. Boogman, "Die holländische Tradition in der niederländische Geschichte", originally published in 1962, reprinted in Vaderlands Verleden in Veelvoud. 31 opstellen over de Nederlandse geschiedenis na 1500 (The Hague, 1975) 89-104.

¹² Wessels, "Jan Wagenaar", 124.

¹³ For the Netherlands see N.C.F. Van Sas, "Varieties of Dutchness" in A. Galema, B. Henkes and H. te Velde, eds., Images of the Nation. Different Meanings of Dutchness 1870-1940 (Amsterdam, 1993) 6-16, 10-12; N.C.F. Van Sas, "Vaderlandsliefde, nationalisme en vaderlandsgevoel in Nederland, 1770-1813", TvG, 102 (1989) 471-95; and H. Reitsma, "The United Provinces" in J. Dinwiddy and O. Dann, eds., Nationalism in the Age of the French Revolution (London, 1988) 171-82. The following has details on Belgium in the same period: L. Vos, "Shifting Nationalism: Belgians, Flemings and Walloons" in M. Teich and R. Porter, eds., The National Question in Europe in Historical

This principle was to remain an essential feature of most historical writing in the Low Countries until the mid-twentieth century, so giving to the period from 1830 to 1960 an unity which distinguishes it from the preceding centuries when the modern concept of a nation did not appear in works on the Revolt and the post-1960 years when the nationalist interpretation of the Revolt became unfashionable. The unity which marks the period from 1830 to 1960 is evident in the recurrence in both Belgian and Dutch historical writing of a number of nationalist themes. During the French Revolution, when the modern concept of the nation was born, nationalism was inextricably tied up with the ideals of the Revolutionaries. The revolutionary belief that a people or nation ought to be governed by its own, preferably elected, representatives was an explicit rejection of the feudal and dynastic concepts of the state. A nation was free only if it were governed by its own representatives; a nation was oppressed if it were governed by a ruler who was neither a native nor elected. This belief had important implications for historical writers for whom the past became an account not of the rise and fall of dynasties but of the struggle of nations to free themselves from the tyranny of princes, especially foreign princes.

In the Dutch case, this nationalist idea fitted in well with much of the historical writing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. All that nineteenth-century historians needed to do was to add the national principle to the traditional States interpretation of the Revolt. The conflicts of the 1560s to the 1640s thus became not only a struggle waged by the States on behalf of the freedom and liberties of the country but a national uprising to secure the independence of the Low Countries from Spanish tyranny.¹⁴

For Belgian historians, the theme of national struggle against foreign oppression represented much more of a departure from previous historical writing. It was not until 1814-30 that the nationalist dichotomy of foreign tyranny and national servitude was first spread in the southern Low Countries. Supporters of the United Kingdom of the Netherlands introduced the myth in the form of the

Context (Cambridge, 1993) 128-47, 129-32. Kossmann, The Low Countries 1780-1940, 43-45, 87 and 101 is useful for both the Netherlands and Belgium.

¹⁴ Woltjer, in "Het beeld vergruisd" 90, has suggested that the national interpretation in Dutch historiography can be seen simply as a variant of the old freedom motif, whereby all the different protests are united together by their opposition to the Spanish national character.

traditional Dutch interpretation of the Revolt. According to this interpretation, the southern Netherlands had remained in servitude to a succession of foreign rulers from the end of the sixteenth century. Consequently, the supporters of the United Kingdom represented the reunion of the two parts of the Low Countries as the liberation of the southern Netherlands after centuries of oppression. Unfortunately for the supporters of the United Kingdom, that kingdom too, soon came to be seen as merely the latest in the line of foreign dominations. The anti-Dutch spirit which developed in the 1820s helped to give currency to the duality of liberty and tyranny so that after 1830, historians started to reinterpret the years of Spanish and Austrian rule as foreign dominations. The theme of successive foreign dominations then became part of Belgian national mythology in the nineteenth century.¹⁵

While the nationalist myth of nations striving over time to free themselves from dynastic or foreign oppression provided a ready-made central theme for historical writers, it also presented them with a number of problems. The myth presupposed that nations existed over time in a state of continuous development, at least until they had reached the point at which they were free. Historians were thus left with the two related problems of deciding what constituted the nation at various points in the past and of defining the essential qualities of the nation concerned. During the nineteenth century, the tendency among most Belgian and Dutch historians was to project the features of the contemporary state back on to the past. Accordingly, most Belgian and Dutch historians tended to write about the period of the Revolt in the sixteenth century as if there were something preordained about the split between the northern and southern Netherlands. With the exception of a few Catholic and agnostic writers, Dutch historians approached the Revolt from what may be called the Liberal-Protestant perspective, by which the Dutch were seen as essentially Protestant and Liberal in nature. The split at the end of the sixteenth century was therefore generally seen as a cause for rejoicing because it led to the establishment of a Dutch, Protestant republic. For

¹⁵ Stengers, "Le mythe des dominations étrangères", 382-401. As examples of this theme, the work of T. Juste and E. Gossart can be mentioned. See T. Juste's trilogy, Histoire de la révolution des Pays-Bas sous Philippe II, published 1855-67, which included the volume entitled Le Soulèvement des Pays-Bas contre la Domination Espagnole (1567-1572); and E. Gossart, L'établissement du Régime Espagnol dans les Pays-Bas et l'insurrection (Brussels, 1905) and La Domination Espagnole dans les Pays-Bas a la fin du Règne de Philippe II (Brussels, 1906).

their part, Belgian historians produced what can be described as the Belgian state perspective, which emphasised the unity and antiquity of the Belgian state throughout history.

During the nationalist phase, there were two alternative views to the Liberal Protestant and the Belgian State perspectives. The *General-Netherlandish* or Burgundian approach to Low Countries history saw the Revolt from the perspective of the Burgundian-Habsburg state created in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries rather than from the point of view of the states created by the Revolt. Historians of this persuasion, who were to dominate the last phase of the nationalist era, believed that the split at the end of the sixteenth century stopped the development of a general-Netherlandish nation. Proponents of the second alternative view, the *Great-Netherlandish* school, defined the nation in linguistic terms as the community, or supposed community, of all the Dutch speakers in the Low Countries.¹⁶ Although both General and Great-Netherlandish interpretations of Low Countries history were expressed throughout the 1800s, it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that these views gained prominence and even then, more so in Belgium than in the Netherlands.¹⁷

The striking predominance of the Liberal-Protestant and Belgian-State views throughout most of the nineteenth century was due, in the main, to the Belgian Revolt of 1830 and the subsequent Belgian-Dutch tensions of the 1830s. In reaction to the unsuccessful attempt to create a Low Countries state and people, the emphasis fell upon those things which were specific to either the Dutch or Belgians rather than upon what was common to both of them. The failure of the

¹⁶ The terms 'Groot-Nederlands', 'Klein Nederlands' (the Liberal-Protestant perspective) and 'Belgicist' (the Belgian State perspective) were coined in the twentieth century. For much of the twentieth century, the General and Great-Netherlandish approaches to the Revolt have been treated as essentially the same, both being described as Great-Netherlandish. See, for example, E. Baudart, "La nation des Pays-Bas anciens devant l'histoire" in Miscellanea Historica in Honorem Leonis van der Essen, 2 Volumes (Brussels/Paris, 1947) I, 15-23, 19-20. It seems better, though, to treat the two as distinct schools of thought because of the importance which the Great-Netherlandish school has attached to language.

¹⁷ Church historians in the Netherlands represent something of an exception to this point. Given the significance of Reformed Protestantism in the southern Netherlands during the period from the 1550s to the 1580s and Catholicism in the northern Netherlands after 1585, it would have been difficult for Church historians to have concentrated just on one state. Many church historians were, in consequence, far more General-Netherlandish in their approach to the 1500s than their political colleagues.

United Kingdom appeared to confirm the assumption that the split at the end of the 1500s was inevitable because the southern and northern Netherlanders were essentially two different peoples. In Belgium, the political nationalist myth of a series of foreign dominations culminating in the Dutch domination of 1815-30, lent support to the belief in the separate character of the Belgians and Dutch. The myth assumed that the Belgian state was the final outcome of a long political development, suggesting thereby that the northern and southern halves of the Low Countries were never meant to be unified. Finally, it should also be stated that the Liberal-Protestant and Belgian State perspectives represented historiographically convenient ways of approaching Low Countries history, especially for Dutch writers. It was easier to construct a continuous narrative of the Belgian and Dutch past if the two parts of the Low Countries were treated separately.¹⁸

The impact of 1830 is apparent in the work of Henri Moke (1803-62), one of the leading Belgian historians of the second quarter of the nineteenth century. In 1827, in response to an invitation from King William I to all scholars in the Low Countries to draw up a plan for the composition of a general history of the Low Countries, Moke produced a work which was General-Netherlandish in conception. After 1830, Moke abandoned the General-Netherlandish approach and concentrated on just the southern Netherlands as his *Histoire de la Belgique*, first published in 1839, indicates. The popularity of the work- it went through a number of editions in the nineteenth century and was still being read in some schools in the early twentieth century -suggests something of the demand for histories which concentrated specifically on Belgian history.¹⁹ In the northern Netherlands, the influence of the Liberal-Protestant perspective on Dutch history as well as the nationalist theme of freedom and oppression are evident in the work of the three great figures of nineteenth-century Dutch historiography, G. Groen

¹⁸ See F. Vercauteren, Cent ans d'histoire nationale en Belgique (Brussels, 1959) 165-67 (for weakness of General-Netherlandish views in the nineteenth century) and Kossmann, The Low Countries 1780-1940, 167-68 (for nationalism in Belgium after 1830). For the Netherlands, Van Sas, "Varieties of Dutchness", 12; P.B.M. Blaas, "The Touchiness of a Small Nation with a Great Past: the Approach of Fruin and Blok to the Writing of the History of the Netherlands", in Clio's Mirror. Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands, 133-61, 136; and G. Schutte, Het Calvinistisch Nederland (Utrecht, 1988) 6.

¹⁹ Vercauteren, Cent ans d'histoire nationale en Belgique, 96-97.

van Prinsterer, R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink and Robert Fruin. All three were drawn to the history of the early Revolt and all three put forward, though in different ways, a northern Netherlandish and Protestant understanding of the causes, progress and outcome of the Revolt.

Representative of the Calvinist school of thought on the Revolt was the politician and historian Groen van Prinsterer. During the mid-nineteenth century, there was much discussion among Orthodox Protestants, of whom Groen van Prinsterer was a leading figure, about the Dutch constitution. Most orthodox Protestants still looked back to the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries when the Reformed Church had had a dominant and exclusive position in the Dutch Republic. The ties between the Church and State were cut during the French Revolution when the new constitution was introduced. According to these orthodox Protestants, the constitution, at least in its present state, denied the fundamental Calvinist character of the Dutch and for that reason, they sought to change the constitution and re-introduce those political arrangements which upheld the Protestant nature of the state. Among some ministers and writers, this belief in the Calvinist nature of the Dutch was expressed through the old seventeenth and eighteenth-century notion of a Dutch Israel, now adapted to the nineteenth century. Isaäc da Costa (1798-1860) conceived of the Dutch as God's Chosen People while the minister L.G.C. Ledebroer lamented the broken covenant between God and the Netherlands. Groen van Prinsterer's work on the Revolt was a counterpart to this political thought; an attempt to demonstrate that the Dutch state and Dutch nationality were products of the Reformation and therefore predated the French Revolution. The Dutch Revolt in the second half of the sixteenth century was accordingly explained in religious terms as the work of Calvinists.²⁰

In the decades immediately after 1830, the Liberal school of thought on the Revolt was represented by Bakhuizen van den Brink. At first, Bakhuizen van den Brink emphasised the revolutionary character of the Revolt, seeing it in terms of

²⁰ See R. Kuiper, "Orthodox Protestantism, Nationalism and Foreign Affairs" in A. Galema et al, eds., Images of the Nation, 39-58, 41-43; G.J. Schutte, "Nederland: een calvinistisch natie?", BMGN, 107 (1992) 690-702; J.W. Smit, "The Present Position of Studies Regarding the Revolt of the Netherlands", J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, Volume I (London, 1960) 11-28, 13-14; Ph. De Vries, "The Writing and Study of History in the Netherlands in the 19th Century" in Geschiedschrijving in Nederland, II, 159-76, 163-65.

a rising bourgeoisie, struggling against the feudal and absolutist character of the old order. His belief in the revolutionary nature of the Revolt led him to reject the view that the Revolt was a conservative struggle in defence of the privileges and to argue that the Reformation was the principal cause of the troubles. He agreed with Groen van Prinsterer on the importance of Calvinism in the Revolt but saw Reformed Protestantism in ideological rather than religious terms, as the means by which the middle-classes were able to gain control in the northern Netherlands.²¹

Unlike Robert Fruin and later writers, Bakhuizen van den Brink did not explicitly identify the 'nation' with the northern Netherlands. His awareness of the growing unity of all the Low Countries meant that he applied the national principle to the whole of the Netherlands. Bakhuizen van den Brink, though, did not adopt a General-Netherlandish viewpoint. He valued the Burgundian state primarily for the Dutch state which it produced and did not lament, as Pieter Geyl was to do, the unrealised Great-Netherlandish nation. Furthermore, he believed that a purely Netherlandish national character developed only in those areas where the Revolt and the Reformation succeeded.²²

By the time, Bakhuizen van den Brink came to write the historical introduction to the Dutch translation of Motley's *Rise of the Dutch Republic* (1859), his position had shifted. In his introduction, Bakhuizen van den Brink no longer placed the emphasis upon religion but instead saw the Revolt in national terms as a revolt of a heterogeneous nation against a foreign power:

"Het is de opstand eener natie tegen de overheersching van den vreemdeling, ééner natie verschillend van herkomst, van overlevering, van taal, van burgerlijke instellingen, van godsdienst misschien, zoodra die zuurdesem de maatschappij deed, gisten,

²¹ De Vries, "The Writing and Study of history", 168-71; Smit, "The Present Position of Studies", 13-15; J.W. Smit, Fruin en de partijen tijdens de republiek (Groningen, 1958) 108-11; Schutte, Het Calvinistisch Nederland, 8. See Bakhuizen van den Brink's "De beweegredenen van onzen opstand tegen Spanje" (1849) in the collection of his works entitled, Studiën en schetsen over vaderlandsche geschiedenis in letteren, 5 Volumes (Amsterdam, 1860-1913) V, 309-88. Although unfinished and never published in Bakhuizen van den Brink's lifetime, much of this work was to appear in 1859 as part of the introduction to the Dutch translation of Motley's work: Smit, Fruin en de partijen, 110.

²² Smit, Fruin en de partijen, 100-01 and 110.

maar verbonden in de vestiging van eenen krachtigen volksgeest, zoo als die zich in haar verzet tegen vreemde dwingelandij, op het oogenblik dat de opstand zijn toppunt had bereikt in 1576, kennen deed."²³

Robert Fruin (1823-99) was, like Bakhuizen van den Brink, a liberal but of a different generation and with a different perspective on the sixteenth-century Low Countries. In the accounts given by Groen van Prinsterer and Bakhuizen van den Brink, the focus was upon those events which led to the formation of the Dutch nation rather than upon those phases of the Revolt which concerned the whole of the Netherlands. It was an emphasis with a clear Protestant bias, minimising the Catholic contribution to the outbreak and course of the Revolt.²⁴ By contrast, Fruin tried to create a method of historical writing and an interpretation of the past which would unite historians of all confessional hues whether Calvinist, Catholic or Liberal. Consequently, the works which he wrote on the Revolt, particularly those written in the 1850s and 1860s, showed a much greater readiness to recognise the contribution of Catholics to the Revolt.²⁵

Fruin's interpretation of the Revolt was not without its ambiguities, though, which ultimately undermined his attempt to create a conciliatory national history. It is not clear, for example, what Fruin really understood the Netherlandish nation to be in the sixteenth century because his conception of that nation shifted at various points in his work. In his essay on *"De drie tijdvakken der Nederlandsche Geschiedenis"* (1865) and at the beginning of *"Het voorspel van de tachtigjarige oorlog"* (1859), Fruin conceived of the sixteenth-century Netherlandish nation in a 'Burgundian' sense, as the nation of the entire Low Countries. It is significant

²³ "It is the revolt of a nation against the domination of the foreigner, of one nation differing in origins, tradition, language, civic institutions, and perhaps even in religion, as soon as that heaven caused the society to ferment, but united in the establishment of a powerful national spirit, such as it made itself known at the moment when the revolt had reached its climax in 1576, in the resistance against foreign domination". Smit, *Fruin en de partijen*, 110-11.

²⁴ Smit, "The Present Position of Studies", 15.

²⁵ Smit, "The Present Position of Studies", 15-16; and J. Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin. Denken over geschiedenis in Nederland sinds 1860* (Amsterdam, 1990) 13-68.

that in both works, Fruin began his narrative before the Revolt, making it easier for him to adopt a Burgundian perspective. In "*De drie tijdvakken*" he dwelt upon the achievements of the Burgundian period and acknowledged that the establishment of the Dutch Republic marked a rupture in the growing institutional and legal unity of the Low Countries.²⁶

Elsewhere, though, Fruin expressed a more exclusively northern-Netherlandish and Protestant conception of the nation. This was nowhere stated more clearly than in the conclusion to his *Tien Jaren uit de Tachtig-Jarige Oorlog 1588-1598* (1857) where he attributed the split between the northern and southern Netherlands not to a "voorbijgaand misverstand" but to "een diep geworteld verschil tussen de noordelijke en de zuidelijke Nederlanden, in afkomst, in volksaard, in geschiedenis, in godsdienst, in regeringsvorm, in maatschappelijke toestand."²⁷ Even in "*Het voorspel*", where the essay begins by treating the Netherlandish nation in a Burgundian sense, the emphasis changes over the course of the essay so that, by the end, the national nature of the struggle was tied more and more closely to Protestantism.²⁸ The northern-Netherlandish perspective, in which Dutch nationality and Protestantism were bound together, became the dominant note in Fruin's historical writing after 1868. The beginnings of the Dutch state were traced to 1568 rather than before the Revolt and there was less talk of Burgundian unity.²⁹ In spite of his original desire to broaden the historiographical framework to incorporate Catholic as well as Protestant historians, Fruin was never able to shake off the northern-Netherlandish Protestant understanding of the past which prevailed even among liberal circles. Fruin's legacy was therefore mixed: an emphasis upon an unifying national past coupled with a Liberal-Protestant conception of the nation.

²⁶ See Smit, *Fruin en de partijen*, 101-02, 111-15, 117-19, 155-56, 167-69 and Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 39-40. Fruin's essay, "Het voorspel van de tachtigjarigen oorlog" appears in P.J. Blok, P.L. Muller and S. Muller, eds., *Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften*, 10 Volumes (The Hague, 1900-05) I, 266-449.

²⁷ "a passing misunderstanding" and "a deep-rooted difference between the northern and southern Netherlands, in origins, in national character, in history, in religion, in the form of government, in social condition." R. Fruin, *Tien Jaren uit de tachtig-jarigen oorlog 1588-1598* (Reprint: Dieren, 1984) 280.

²⁸ Smit, *Fruin en de partijen*, 111-15.

²⁹ Smit, *Fruin en de partijen*, 167-69.

Fruin's interpretation of the Revolt was perhaps most influential for its imposition of a certain chronological framework upon the pattern of events in the sixteenth century. In his essay *"Het voorspel"*, Fruin created the notion of a 'voorspel' (prelude) to the Revolt, lasting from 1559 to 1567. Although most of the essay was taken up with a detailed examination of the conflict between the high nobility and the government during the 1560s, the dramatic background to these events was the clash between the Netherlandish and Spanish nations. In the beginning of the essay, Fruin traced the origins of the conflict back to 1500 when Philip the Fair, the present ruler in the Netherlandish area, became heir to the thrones of Spain and Portugal. As a consequence of this "twee natiën, ver uiteen gelegen, die niets gemeen hadden, van verschillende taalstam, van verschillende zeden, met strijdige belangen, werden als bij toeval aaneengekoppeld".³⁰ This difference in national character was evident when Philip II came to govern the Low Countries. For the Spanish, Philip II was a good king because he acted upon Spanish principles. For the Netherlanders, though, Philip was a tyrant because he did not govern in accordance with their habits and principles of government: "Want welk recht is heiliger dan het recht der natie, om naar hare zeden en herkomsten geregeerd te worden?". Philip II's government therefore was "vreemd, anti-nationaal" ("foreign, anti-national"). Thus, by opposing Philip II and Margaret of Parma in the early to mid-1560s, the Netherlandish high nobility, who were, of course, still Catholics, were acting on behalf of the nation: their claim to be fighting in the name of the nation was consequently justified.³¹

The essay closes in May 1567 with the flight into exile of all those who had been compromised by their part in the events of the 'Wonderjaar'. The tragedy, Fruin wrote, was about to begin. The whole of the preface, then, appears as a foreordained conflict, the natural outworking of the union of two incompatible nationalities. The arrival of Alba in August 1567, Orange's campaign of 1568 and the subsequent events of the Revolt, represented the inevitable end to this union of the Spanish and Netherlandish nations, the point at which the fundamental conflict between two nationalities came into the open. Such was the dramatic and

³⁰ "two nations lying far apart, that had nothing in common, of different linguistic origin, of different habits, with conflicting interests were, by accident, tied together." Fruin, *"Het voorspel"*, 272.

³¹ "For what right is more sacred than the right of the nation to be governed according to its own customs and traditions?". Fruin, *"Het voorspel"*, 271-74.

compelling quality of Fruin's representation of the events that the nationalist understanding of the sixteenth-century Low Countries was greatly strengthened. The Revolt appeared, at heart, to be a national struggle against the Spanish.

Fruin's shift around 1868 from a Burgundian to a more consistently northern-Netherlandish perspective was brought about by the emergence of a group of Dutch Catholic historians from 1865, chief among them being W.F.J. Nuyens (1823-76). Dutch Catholics in the mid-nineteenth century approached the sixteenth-century Low Countries from a wholly different perspective to that of the Liberal and Calvinist writers. By emphasising the central and decisive role of Calvinism in the Revolt and by defining Dutch national character in narrow Protestant terms, the Liberal-Protestant view excluded Catholics from participation in Dutch history. Only by concentrating on the period before the Revolt or by emphasising the Catholic contribution to the Revolt, could Catholic historians show that Catholicism was as much part of Netherlandish national character as Protestantism. These Catholic interpretations of the Revolt developed on two lines. The reactionary character of much of nineteenth-century Catholicism led Catholic historians to approach the Revolt from a monarchical point of view, thereby defending the policies of Philip II and playing down any suggestion of the 'progressive' character of Protestantism. The other line of approach was to stress the Catholic part in the Revolt by arguing that only a minority of the rebels were Protestants and that but for the intolerance of the Calvinist dictatorships in the south, the division between the northern and southern Netherlands might not have occurred.

The Catholic historians and writers of the 1860s and 1870s had a somewhat paradoxical effect upon the historiography of the Revolt and of patriotic sentiment in the sixteenth century. By considering the revolt from a general Netherlandish viewpoint and showing the Catholic contribution to the conflict, they established an alternative to the hitherto dominant Liberal-Protestant conception of the Revolt. At the same time, the attack on the Liberal-Protestant view caused Fruin, whose understanding of the Revolt was to be very influential, to resort to the liberal, northern-Netherlandish view more consistently after 1868, thus strengthening the hold of the Liberal-Protestant conception on the Dutch

historical imagination.³²

Outside the Low Countries, historians tended to approach the Revolt of the Netherlands from the Dutch perspective of a struggle for freedom against the despotic Spanish. Of all the foreign historians who studied the sixteenth-century Low Countries in this period, and in the nineteenth century there were many, John Lothrop Motley contributed most to the construction of the national image of the Revolt. Motley's interpretation of the Revolt, at least as expressed in his *The Rise of the Dutch Republic: A History*, first published in 1856, was shaped powerfully by American concerns but his work has obvious affinities with the Dutch Liberal-Protestant tradition. Motley wrote that "...the love of liberty, the instinct of self-government" was the "one prevailing characteristic and master-passion" of the "Netherland nation during sixteen centuries". The Revolt, which Motley saw principally as a long struggle for liberty, arose from the conflict between the freedom-loving people of the Low Countries and the tyranny of the Spanish. Motley tied the love of liberty closely to Protestantism, whose superior and progressive character was contrasted to the superstitious and despotic nature of Catholicism.³³

In another respect, though, Motley's work stands closest to mid-nineteenth century Belgian historiography. As is evident in its representation of the Revolt in dramatic and heroic terms, Motley's *The Rise of the Dutch Republic* was, above all, a work of romantic history. Romantic history was a form of history influenced strongly by Romanticism and, in particular, by the romantic novel. This form of history was more evident in Belgium than in the Netherlands, where classicism had deeper roots. In Belgium, the success of Sir Walter Scott's historical novels helped stimulate a desire to write history in the romantic fashion; that is, in a readable, dramatic style with the emphasis upon the colourful and heroic. Although it is difficult to determine exactly the relationship between romanticism and nationalist writing, it seems fair to say that romanticism helped create or strengthen important features of the nationalist image of the Revolt.³⁴

The bias towards the heroic in the nationalist image of the Revolt derived

³² See Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 28-29; Smit, *Fruin en de partijen*, 169-70; Smit, "The Present Position of Studies", 16-17.

³³ J.L. Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic: a History* (Reprint: London, 1874) 49.

³⁴ Vercauteren, *Cent ans d'histoire nationale en Belgique*, 29-57.

from both nationalism and romanticism. Romanticism exalted both the individual and the ethnic group: the hero was the person who embodied the virtues of the race. Nationalist ideas also encouraged the mythologisation of individuals and helped shape a particular type of hero. Since the principal theme of history was the struggle of the nation to live in freedom and to express its character, all those figures from the past who furthered the development of the nation, tended to be seen as national heroes, distinguished from their contemporaries by their greater appreciation of the national interest. The result in both cases was much the same. Statues commemorating the great heroes of the nation were constructed in both Belgium and the Netherlands and biographies detailing the lives of great Belgians or great Dutchmen were published.³⁵ In Belgian historiography, it was Jacob van Artevelde who fulfilled the role of national hero but in the Netherlands the archetypal national hero was William the Silent. In Motley's work, the figure of William takes on mythic proportions, becoming a "pure and heroic character" who stood forth "conspicuously, like an antique statue of spotless marble against a stormy sky."³⁶ Although Dutch historians never went to the same lengths as Motley in their characterisation of Orange, the tendency to see Orange and other figures from the Revolt in heroic terms and conversely, their opponents as traitors, remained an important feature of historical writing in the nationalist phase.³⁷

Motley's interest in ethnic characteristics, though, did owe more to romanticism than to nationalism. In Belgium, through the stimulus of romanticism, many scholars took an interest in the ethnic origins of the Belgians. The Flemish historian Baron J. Kervyn de Lettenhove took this a step further and in his *Histoire de Flandre*, published in six volumes from 1847 to 1850, reduced the history of Flanders to a conflict of races between the Flemish and French and within Flanders, the Frankish and the Saxon elements which made up the Flemish.

³⁵ See Vercauteren, *Cent ans d'histoire nationale en Belgique*, 42-44 and J.Th. Bank, *Het roemrijk vaderland. Cultureel nationalisme in Nederland in de negentiende eeuw* (The Hague, 1990).

³⁶ Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 501. See also 613-4, 720, 809-13, 847, 883 and 897-904. In Belgium, by contrast, Orange did not excite universal admiration. J. Kervyn de Lettenhove, the foremost romantic historian in Belgium at this time was a severe critic of William the Silent. Vercauteren, *Cent ans d'histoire en Belgique*, 53-55.

³⁷ See, for example, P.J. Blok, *Willem de Eerste, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam, 1919-20).

Kervyn de Lettenhove made clear his belief in the moral superiority of the Germanic peoples, contrasting their love of justice, freedom and moral purity with the enfeebled and corrupt Latin peoples.³⁸

In the *Rise of the Dutch Republic*, Motley expressed something akin to this. The opening pages of the work paint a stark contrast between the Gallic or Celtic elements in the Low Countries, whom Motley saw as corrupt, priest-ridden and depraved and the Germanic strains, described as strong, liberty-loving and morally upright. Like Kervyn de Lettenhove, Motley believed in the continuous existence and importance of the racial divide throughout history. In the introduction, Motley found parallels between the story of the Batavian struggle against the Romans and the sixteenth-century Netherlandish struggle against the Spanish. In both cases, the southern Celts deserted the cause and returned to foreign rule; in both cases the Germanic Netherlands resisted for longer, though unsuccessfully in the battle with Rome. When it came to the Revolt, Motley attributed the survival of Catholicism in the southern Netherlands up to 1576, in part, to what he believed was the fatal propensity of the Celt "to the more sensuous and splendid manifestations of the devotional principle".³⁹ The significance of this ethnic element in the historiography of the Revolt should not be exaggerated: it is not a feature of much serious historical thinking. Nevertheless, the ethnic stress may be said to have strengthened both Flemish and Dutch Liberal-Protestant understandings of the Revolt if only through the unstated assumption that the northern Netherlands succeeded in their struggle against Spain partly because the Germanic element was stronger there than in the south.

During the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, roughly during the period from 1880 to 1920, the 'national' image of the sixteenth-century Low Countries was transformed. In both Belgium and the Netherlands, the national-

³⁸ Vercauteren, *Cent ans d'histoire en Belgique*, 50-52 and 98-99; Van Uytven, "De zuidnederlandse geschiedschrijving", 485; and B. Lyon, *Henri Pirenne. A Biographical and Intellectual Study*, (Ghent, 1974) 31-32. Kervyn de Lettenhove's belief in the superior nature of the Germanic peoples was shared by many in Belgium during this period. It is striking that some historians argued that the Walloon parts of Belgium were originally Germanic. Vercauteren, *Cent ans d'histoire en Belgique*, 187-90. The belief in immutable "Germanic" and "Celtic" characteristics was also shared at this time by the French writer, Michelet. See P. Geyl, "Michelet and his History of the French Revolution" in his *Debates with Historians* (Glasgow, 1962) 71-111, 74.

³⁹ Motley, *The Rise of the Dutch Republic*, 624 and also 2-6, 9-10 and 797.

state interpretation, which linked the question of identity in the 1500s to nineteenth century notions of nationality, went into decline. The national-state view gradually became one among a number of different interpretations about how sixteenth-century Netherlanders understood their country. Of these new interpretations, the most important during this period and, indeed, until the end of the nationalist phase in Dutch and Belgian historiography, was the General-Netherlandish or Burgundian view of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Low Countries history. In addition to this view, though, the grounds were laid for two other influential interpretations: the Great-Netherlandish view which, drawing upon changes in Dutch nationalism and the growth of the Flemish Movement in Belgium, stressed the linguistic ties between the Netherlands and Belgium; and, to a much lesser degree before 1920, the beginnings of a more sceptical approach to the existence of a sixteenth-century Netherlandish nation. Finally, mention should also be made of the Calvinist response within the Netherlands to these changes: the creation of a myth about the Calvinist nature of the Dutch nation.

The most obvious cause of the shift away from the national-state perspectives was the declining influence of the Belgian Revolt of 1830. Historians in both countries had reacted strongly to this event and had tended to stress the distinct nature of the Belgian and Dutch nations. By the later 1800s, though, the reaction to 1830 had long since run its course and historians were preoccupied by more contemporary matters. The shift away from the national-state perspective was evident especially in two great works of historical synthesis: Henri Pirenne's *Histoire de Belgique* (1897-1933) and P.J. Blok's *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk* (1892-1907).⁴⁰ Both works show clearly the concerns and influences which shaped the character of Dutch and Belgian historiography in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The shift from a political and objective nationalism to a more cultural and subjective form, the changing nature of Dutch and Belgian society and, related to both these developments, the desire to define and to strengthen the position of the Low Countries in the world, all contributed to the character of Dutch and Belgian historiography in this period. Along with these influences, there was also a marked change in the standing and character of the historical profession within the Low Countries, a change which

⁴⁰ H. Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, 7 Volumes (Brussels, 1900-33) and P.J. Blok, *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk*, 8 Volumes (Groningen, 1892-1907).

facilitated and encouraged historians to write new syntheses of Belgian and Dutch history.

It was no coincidence that these two histories should appear in the later part of the nineteenth century. Both works represented an attempt to bring together all the new information about the Belgian and Dutch past which had accumulated over the last half-century, as archives had been opened up, libraries and collections catalogued and primary sources published. Both works were also testimony to a greater professionalism among Belgian and Dutch historians which was evident in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. In Belgium, the adoption of German style practices in the 1870s and 1880s had changed the whole nature of historical training at the universities and encouraged a more rigorous approach to the reading of sources and historical writing.⁴¹ The last quarter of the nineteenth century also saw the growth of interest in social and economic issues, a development apparent in historical works of the time. Pirenne was a social and economic historian by training and sought to write a history of Belgium which took full account of social and economic developments. Blok was more of a political historian but he declared his intention of writing a history of Dutch society as well as the Dutch state in the introduction to the first volume of the *Geschiedenis*.⁴²

The rise of social and economic history, the greater professionalism among Low Countries historians and the greater number of publications which had appeared over the course of the nineteenth century, all called for a new interpretation of Dutch and Belgian history, a call to which Pirenne and Blok felt compelled to respond. But of greater influence was the growth of nationalist feeling in Belgium and the Netherlands after 1880,⁴³ a movement which encouraged Pirenne and Blok to recount the development of the Dutch and Belgian nations. In so doing, both historians were concerned to write national histories of a conciliatory nature, histories which would bring together the differing groups in

⁴¹ Kossmann, *The Low Countries 1780-1940*, 439-43; Vercauteren, *Cent ans d'histoire en Belgique*, 10; Van Uytven, "De Zuidnederlandse geschiedschrijving sedert de Renaissance", 484; De Vries, "The Writing and Study of History", 165-68.

⁴² Blok, *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk*, I, 9-10; and Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 92-95.

⁴³ For the Netherlands: Van Sas, "Varieties of Dutchness", 13-14; Kossmann, *The Low Countries 1780-1940*, 427; Blaas, "The Touchiness of a Small Nation", 147. On Belgium see Lyon, *Henri Pirenne*, 143; Kossmann, *The Low Countries 1780-1940*, 441-42.

society in a common past. The need for such a history was especially marked in the later nineteenth century when Pirenne and Blok began their work.

Henri Pirenne was spurred on to write a consensual interpretation of the Belgian past as a response to the development of the Flemish movement. The Flemish movement had its origins in a group which opposed the "Frenchification" of Belgian life after 1830 and which argued that Flemish was a major part of what was distinctively Belgian. From the 1860s, the Flemish movement pressed for the introduction of bilingualism; that is, equal recognition in law for both French and Flemish. This campaign for bilingualism achieved its aim when in 1898 Dutch and French were recognised equally as official languages. As the campaign for bilingualism reached its closing stages, the Flemish movement began to broaden into a cultural nationalist movement which emphasised a distinctive Flemish identity and unilingualism in Flemish areas.⁴⁴ This latter development called the future of the Belgian state into question.

Pirenne's response to this was to stress the unity of the Belgian provinces over the centuries. According to Pirenne, this unity was based upon centuries of social, economic and political cooperation. He emphasised a number of times that neither race nor language had ever constituted an obstacle to the unity of the southern provinces:

"La différence des races ne pouvait constituer un obstacle à l'unité dans des pays où Flamands et Walloons vivaient côte à côte dans les mêmes cadres politiques et religieux, soumis aux mêmes influences civilisatrices, entraînés dans la même activité économique, participant au même droit et possédant des institutions analogues. Depuis l'époque franque, la frontière linguistique n'y avait jamais coïncidé avec une limite d'État, et

⁴⁴ Vos, "Shifting nationalism: Belgians, Flemings and Walloons", 133-37; T. Hermans with L. Vos and L. Wils, eds., The Flemish Movement. A Documentary History 1780-1990 (London, 1992); Kossmann, The Low Countries 1780-1940, 214-15, 256-57 and 462-73. The development of Flemish nationalism helps to explain the appearance of articles and books on language and nomenclature in the early twentieth century. Note, for example, that W. De Vreese, who produced a long article on the names accorded to the Dutch language in 1905, "Over de benamingen onzer taal, inzonderheid over Nederlandsch" in Mededeelingen van de Vlaamsche academie voor taal en letterkunde (1905) 417-592, was a Flemish nationalist who was dismissed from his post at Ghent in 1919 for cooperating with the German *Flamenpolitik* in the First World War.

aucun des deux groupes d'hommes que séparait cette frontière n'avait jamais cherché à dominer ou à exploiter l'autre..."⁴⁵

As well as indirectly attacking the Flemish nationalists, Pirenne also took care to distinguish his notion of the Belgian past from the racial ideas about nationhood put forward by some Belgian nationalists. In 1897, the writer Edmond Picard published a short article in the French *Revue encyclopédique* in which he argued that over the last two millenia, "l'âme belge" ("the Belgian soul") had developed out of the Germanic and Latin souls. Pirenne also believed that Belgian culture was the result of the fusion of Germanic and Romance civilisations but saw this fusion in social and political terms. Picard and others drew upon racist doctrines whilst constructing their understanding of Belgian culture, ideas which Pirenne carefully and explicitly repudiated.⁴⁶

Blok's desire to write a conciliatory history of the Netherlands was prompted by the increasingly *verzuilde* nature of Dutch society. Protestants, Catholics, Liberals and, more and more, Socialists, formed distinct groups with their own schools, political parties, organisations and newspapers. Although the different *zuilen* managed to co-exist in a relatively harmonious way, the need for a binding ideology was still marked. Like his mentor, Robert Fruin, Blok believed that a consensual understanding of the national past would serve to unite these different religious and political communities.⁴⁷ The problem which Blok faced was to develop an approach to the past which would not only transcend those differences but also act as a guiding theme in his account. The concept which Blok used in his *Geschiedenis*, the notion of a "Nederlandsche volk" ("Dutch

⁴⁵ "The difference of races could not constitute an obstacle to unity in the lands where Flemings and Walloons lived side by side in the same political and religious bodies, submitting to the same civilising influences, pulled along in the same economic activities, participating in the same law and possessing analogous institutions. Since the Franconian era, the linguistic frontier has never coincided with a state limit and each of the two groups of men who have been separated by this frontier have never tried to dominate or exploit the other...". Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, II, 157-58. See also volume IV, 136-37 for comments on differences between Walloons and Flemings. Paul Fredericq, a close friend of Pirenne's, noted while writing about Volume I, that one of Pirenne's two major preoccupations was "montrer que les questions de race et de langage n'ont jamais exercé une action décisive sur les notre pays." Lyon, *Henri Pirenne*, 155 and 143.

⁴⁶ Kossmann, *The Low Countries*, 311-14.

⁴⁷ Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 90-92.

People"), marked the later nineteenth-century shift to a more subjective understanding of the nation. Under the influence of Ernst Renan's famous lecture in 1882, "Qu'est ce que c'est une nation?" and the democratisation of politics in the second half of the nineteenth century, the nation came to be seen by many not just as a people living within a defined area and possessed of certain objective characteristics like language and religion but a group of people with a conscious desire to be a nation.⁴⁸ Blok's decision to deploy the concept of a 'volk' was thus in keeping with the temper of the times. The concept of a 'volk' sidestepped the problem of the varied political and confessional nature of the Dutch past by postulating the existence of a common nationality, from which all the different *zuilen* had developed and to which all still belonged.

As well as trying to strengthen internal unity, Pirenne and Blok were also determined to demonstrate the continuity and independent character of their respective countries. In the mid-nineteenth century, the independent existence of the Dutch and Belgian states had been by no means universally accepted either within or without the Low Countries. Until the later-nineteenth century, most European thinkers and writers assumed that only nations above a certain size had any right to exist. The small size of Belgium and the Netherlands, the predominance of French among educated Belgians, the 'Germanic' character of the Dutch and the recent creation of the Belgian state, all served to place a question mark over the future of the Low Countries. At this stage, the source of anxiety for the two countries differed: for Belgium, it was France; for the Netherlands, it was Germany. After 1848, these fears subsided but revived in the last quarter of the nineteenth century with the establishment of the German Empire and the imperial and colonial rivalries of the later 1800s.⁴⁹ It is significant that many Belgian and

⁴⁸ In the introduction to the first volume of the Geschiedenis van het nederlandse volk, I, page 2, Blok referred indirectly to Renan when outlining his understanding of a nation. For a good illustration of a late-nineteenth century understanding of nations, see the quotation from Karl Renner's Staat und Nation, published in 1899, in E. Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780 (Cambridge, 1990) 101.

⁴⁹ Kossmann, The Low Countries 1780-1940, 196-97, 212-13, 214 (Belgium) and 190 (the Netherlands); Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism since 1780 24-43 and 30 in particular; J. Huizinga, "Patriotism and Nationalism in European History" in Men and Ideas. History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance (New York, 1970) 97-155, 141-45 (Lectures originally given in 1940); J. Stengers, "La Belgique de 1830, une 'nationalité de convention'?" in Histoire et historiens depuis 1830 en Belgique (Brussels, 1981) 7-19, especially 7, 9 and 18; and Vercauteren, Cent ans d'histoire en Belgique, 187-95. See also Smit, "The Present Position of Studies", and J.C. Boogman, "The Dutch Crisis in the

Dutch historians from the later nineteenth century, emphasised what they saw as the intermediary nature of the Low Countries, the capacity to produce a synthesis of all that was good in Germanic and French civilisation and so create something new. This emphasis upon the synthetic nature of Low Countries civilisation was in part a response to the desire to show the independent character of Belgium and the Netherlands by defining their role in European history and indicating their place in the scheme of things.⁵⁰

The desire to affirm the existence of Belgium and the Netherlands is evident in the work of both Pirenne and Blok. In 1884, Blok wrote that "the time has come that here and there people doubt our right to be a nation; even among us there are some, who despair of our future as a people. Something vibrated in me, when I heard these words." Blok hoped to counter these fears by showing the continuity and unity of the Dutch nation throughout history.⁵¹ Blok's irritation with German historians, especially Karl Lamprecht, who treated the Netherlands as a half-German satellite of Germany, prompted him to write an article on the relationship between the two countries. Throughout the piece, which was published in 1905, Blok emphasised the autonomous nature of the Netherlands since at least the fifteenth century.⁵² In 1899, a year before the publication of the first volume of the French edition of the *Histoire de Belgique*, Pirenne gave an address entitled *La Nation Belge* in which he argued that the common cultural and historical experience of the southern Netherlandish provinces gave to Belgium a greater

Eighteen-Forties" in Bromley and Kossmann, eds *Britain and the Netherlands*, I, 11-28, 12-13 and 192-203 respectively.

⁵⁰ Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 87-90; Blaas, "The Touchiness of a Small Nation", 150; and P.B.M. Blaas, "De visie van de Grootnederlandse historiografen: aanleiding tot een nieuwe historiografie?" in "*1585: Op gescheiden wegen*", 197-220, 202-03. In the preface to the opening volume of the *Histoire de Belgique*, Pirenne asserted that "l'originalité de la Belgique" and the services which it had rendered to Europe lay "dans cette admirable réceptivité, dans cette rare aptitude d'assimilation..." which Belgium possessed: *Histoire de Belgique*, I, viii-ix. For a later example of the belief in the intermediary position of the Low Countries see J. Huizinga, "Die Mittlerstellung der Niederlande zwischen West- und Mitteleuropa", a talk originally given in 1933 and included in the *J. Huizinga. Verzamelde Werken*, 9 Volumes (Haarlem, 1948-53) II, 284-303.

⁵¹ Blaas, "The Touchiness of a Small Nation", 160, footnote 76 and 149; and Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 86-92.

⁵² P.J. Blok, "Duitschland en Nederland", *Onze Eeuw*, 5, part 1 (1905) 418-37.

antiquity than was commonly assumed. Belgium, therefore, should not be seen as a nineteenth-century creation of the great powers.⁵³

It may be thought that by emphasising both the internal unity and the antiquity of the Belgian and Dutch states that Pirenne and Blok were maintaining the 'national-state' perspective on Low Countries history and this is certainly how many later writers, chief among them Pieter Geyl, have interpreted the *Histoire de Belgique* and the *Geschiedenis*. Contrary to the belief of these writers, though, both Pirenne and Blok put forward a General-Netherlandish view of fifteenth and sixteenth-century Low Countries history, a view which emphasised the growing links between all parts of the Low Countries and explained the formation of two different states at the end of the sixteenth century as the result of religious strife and not national differences. Pirenne made clear his belief in the ties connecting Holland, Flanders, Liège and Hainault together as early as December 1894 when he sent off his plan for the *Histoire de Belgique* to Karl Lamprecht: "Vous remarquerez que je ne m'y borne pas seulement à la Flandre et au Brabant. Il est impossible de comprendre le développement de ces deux territoires sans posséder quelques notions sur les pays voisins avec lesquels ils se trouvent continuellement en contact: Hainaut, Hollande, Liège."⁵⁴ In the *Histoire*, Pirenne placed the emphasis upon Flanders, Brabant and Liège but throughout the first four volumes, which covered the period up to the early 1600s, he treated Holland and Zeeland as an integral, if minor, part of his account.⁵⁵

⁵³ Lyon, *Henri Pirenne*, 118.

⁵⁴ "You will note that I have not limited myself there only to Flanders and Brabant. It is impossible to understand the development of these two territories without possessing some notions of the neighbouring provinces with which they have found themselves continually in contact: Hainault, Holland and Liège." P.B.M. Blaas, "De visie van de Grootnederlandse historiografen", 198.

⁵⁵ See for example, Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 104-24, 159-88 and II, 157 and 381. It should be stressed that Pirenne had good practical and historical reasons for concentrating upon Flanders, Brabant and Liège. Pirenne had been commissioned to write a history of Belgium not of the Low Countries so he was contractually obliged to look mainly at the southern Netherlands. Furthermore, Blok's history of the Dutch people, which appeared before Pirenne's work, covered the northern Netherlands adequately, as Pirenne himself noted: *Histoire de Belgique*, II, vi-vii and III, vii. The emphasis upon Flanders also made historical sense: until the later sixteenth century, Flanders and Brabant were the centres of economic and cultural life in the Low Countries. It should be noted that whilst Pirenne was careful to include Holland and Zeeland in his account of the Low Countries during the Middle Ages, the north-eastern provinces received much less attention. The maps of the Low Countries at the end of the fourteenth century which

Pirenne's General-Netherlandish understanding of the Low Countries past was especially evident in his account of the Netherlandish region during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Pirenne attached great importance to what he described as "the formation and constitution of the Burgundian state".⁵⁶ Not only did the Burgundian dukes and the Habsburgs bring together the various Netherlandish provinces into one political body but they also created political and administrative institutions which were to form the basis of the constitution of the northern Low Countries up to his own day and were to survive until the end of the eighteenth century in the southern Low Countries.⁵⁷ He interpreted the Revolt as, in origins, a clash between this Burgundian state and the Spanish state which Philip II wished to create:

"C'est qu'en réalité, sous l'opposition de Philippe II et de Guillaume d'Orange, se découvre l'opposition foncière de deux États différents de moeurs, de traditions, d'idées et d'intérêts, l'État espagnol et l'État bourguignon, et que, si grande qu'elle ait été, l'importance des protagonistes du conflit se subordonne à celle des deux grandes forces collectives qu'ils représentent."⁵⁸

According to Pirenne, it was the high nobility, inspired by a Burgundian sentiment, who initiated the struggle between these two states. The Burgundian ideal which inspired them was not only a political system in which they played a leading rôle but a federation of provinces from Holland in the northwest to Hainault and Artois

appeared at the back of volume II of the Histoire, do not include Overijssel, Friesland and Groningen as part of the Low Countries; Gelderland and Utrecht were included.

⁵⁶ The phrase is taken from the title of Pirenne's article in English on the Burgundian state: "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian state (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)", American Historical Review, 14 (1908/09) 477-502. The article summarises Pirenne's views as expressed in the Histoire de Belgique.

⁵⁷ Pirenne, Histoire de Belgique, II, 157-58, 345.

⁵⁸ "Thus, in reality, under the opposition between Philip II and William of Orange, the fundamental opposition between two different states of customs, traditions, ideas and interests, the Spanish state and the Burgundian state, revealed itself, and thus, as great as it was, the importance of the protagonists of the conflict was subordinate to that of the two great collective forces which they represented." Pirenne, Histoire de Belgique, III, 362.

in the south, from Luxemburg in the east to Flanders in the west; in short, the entire Low Countries. Pirenne's belief in the importance of the Burgundian state and his consequent Burgundian vision of the sixteenth-century Netherlands, precluded the determinist view of Low Countries history. The split, so Pirenne argued, was due entirely to religious differences rather than any supposed innate national differences between the northern and southern Netherlands.⁵⁹

Contrary to the assertions made by Pieter Geyl, Blok did not conceive of the *Nederlandsche volk* before the formation of the Dutch Republic in a Liberal-Protestant or 'Klein-nederlands' sense. In the introduction to the first volume, Blok wrote that there was no trace of a division between the northern and southern Netherlands before the Revolt.⁶⁰ In the second volume, which dealt with the period from the early fourteenth century to 1559, Blok emphasised the importance of the Burgundian period in creating a sense of unity among the Netherlandish provinces. During his account of arts, letters and science in the sixteenth century, Blok paused to state that "Het boven gezegde is voldoende om te wijzen op den bloei der nederlandsche kunst op allerlei gebieden en om ook in dit opzicht de kracht der toen ontluikende nederlandsche nationaliteit te doen uitkomen". These references to "nederlandse kunst" and "nederlandse nationaliteit" did not distinguish between the northern and southern parts of the Low Countries. Blok rejected the determinist view of the split, attributing the failure of the general revolt to irreconcilable religious differences rather than pre-existing and irreconcilable national characteristics.⁶¹

The rejection of the determinist approach to late-medieval and sixteenth-century Low Countries history was even more explicit in Johan Huizinga's famous essay, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis van ons nationaal besef", which, significantly

⁵⁹ Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, IV, 136-57 and Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 335, 346.

⁶⁰ Blok, *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk*, I, 1-2.

⁶¹ "The aforementioned is sufficient to demonstrate the blossoming of Netherlandish art in all sorts of areas and also, in this respect, to disclose the power of the then burgeoning Netherlandish nationality". Blok, *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk*, II, 259-325, 522-47, quotation from 535 and III, 204.

enough, was published in 1912.⁶² The essay concentrated upon the development and manifestations of Burgundian sentiment during the fifteenth century, looking in particular at the work of the great Burgundian chroniclers, Georges Chastellain, Jean Molinet and Olivier de la Marche. Huizinga argued that a Burgundian sentiment did not develop until after 1477 when the dynastic ties with France were cut and the series of wars with France helped build up an anti-French feeling among the nobility and chroniclers. Like Blok and Pirenne, Huizinga emphasised the importance of the state created by the Burgundian dukes in the fifteenth century. Huizinga admitted that there were factors which appeared to prescribe the formation of a Netherlandish state and factors which obstructed the absorption of the Low Countries by France and facilitated the dissolution of the ties with the German Empire. He contended, nevertheless, that there was nothing inevitable about the formation of an independent Low Countries or about the split at the end of the sixteenth century. "Het is zoo gemakkelijk," he wrote, when talking about the dangers of accepting determinist views of history, "te besluiten met het oordeel, dat de Nederlanden zich zelfstandig móesten ontwikkelen, dat België en Nederland ten langen leste niet kónden samengaan."⁶³ Huizinga's aversion to determinist views of history meant that his perspective, like Pirenne's and Blok's was a General-Netherlandish one, a perspective which acknowledged the possibility that a Netherlandish state and nationality comprised of all elements of the future Low Countries might have been created.⁶⁴

After 1900, historical thought on the sixteenth-century Low Countries was increasingly dominated by those historians, of whom Pirenne and Huizinga were prime examples, who placed great emphasis on the ties which bound all the

⁶² Huizinga's essay appears in J. Huizinga. Verzamelde Werken, II, 95-160. See also his "L'État Bourguignon, ses rapports avec la France, et les origines d'une nationalité néerlandaise", published in 1930 which appears in the same volume of the Verzamelde Werken immediately after "Uit de voorgeschiedenis...", pages 161-215.

⁶³ "It is so easy to conclude with the judgement that the Netherlands had to develop independently, that ultimately Belgium and the Netherlands could not form together." Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 97 and 154-58. In "L'État bourguignon", 162, Huizinga acknowledged the integral nationality of all the sixteenth-century Low Countries "comme d'une existence coupée court, d'une possibilité historique manquée."

⁶⁴ Tollebeek, De toga van Fruin, 218. Edgard Baudart's description of Huizinga and other historians as belonging to the Great-Netherlandish school in "La nation des Pays-Bas anciens devant l'histoire", 15-23 is thus misleading.

Netherlandish provinces together in the sixteenth century.⁶⁵ For these historians, the story of the Revolt was of interest as much for what it did not produce - a general Netherlandish nation - as for what it led to eventually, the creation of two separate states. The emphasis upon a still-born general-Netherlandish nation gave an added edge to much of the historical writing of the first half of the twentieth century, a keener sense of what might have been. Nineteenth-century historians like Fruin and Blok had been just as moved by the tragedy of the Revolt as their successors in the early to mid-twentieth century, but the awareness of the possibilities of a general-Netherlandish unity was probably more deeply felt in the first half of the twentieth century.⁶⁶

The circumstances and influences which shaped the character of the histories by Blok and Pirenne, also help account for the shift away from the national-state perspective at the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries. The rise of the Flemish movement in Belgium called into question the political nationalist assumption that the Belgian state of 1830 was the final outcome of a long national development, thereby opening up the possibility that other 'Netherlandish' political entities might have been formed in the past and might still be created. Within the Netherlands, the development of the 'verzuilde' society, which prompted Blok to write his consensual history, also marked the decline of Protestantism as a political force capable of uniting all, or at least most, of the population. Historians who came from outside the Protestant pillars did not treat the supposed Calvinist character of the Dutch as a self-evident truth whether they were looking at the sixteenth century or their own time. Blok was also influenced by the resurgence of Dutch nationalism from the early 1880s to the early 1900s. During this period, Dutch nationalism was marked by an unusually racist character, which was evident in the interest in what was called the "Nederlandse Stam" ("Dutch stock"). This "Dutch stock" was defined as all those who spoke some form of Dutch, including the Flemish and the Afrikaners.

⁶⁵ For an early indication of the shift away from the belief that the split was caused by irreconcilable national differences, see P.L. Muller, "Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis der scheiding van Noord en Zuid-Nederland", Bijdragen voor Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde, 3rd Series, VII (1893) 349-439.

⁶⁶ In "L'État bourguignon", 162, Huizinga acknowledged the integral nationality of all the sixteenth-century Low Countries "comme d'une existence coupée court, d'une possibilité historique manquée." ("as of an existence cut short, of a missed historical opportunity.")

To begin with, from 1880 to the early 1900s, it was the plight of their Afrikaaner brethren in South Africa which most attracted the attention of Dutch observers but the rise of Flemish cultural nationalism from the 1890s gradually brought the question of the relationship between the Dutch and the Flemings to the fore.⁶⁷ This interest in the "Nederlandsche stam" impelled many Dutch people to look beyond the borders of their own country and to re-consider their view of the past relationship between the Netherlands and Belgium.

It would be wrong to say that these changes in Belgium and the Netherlands led to an universal rejection of the national-state views of the sixteenth-century Low Countries. Outside the circle of professional historians, the 'Belgian state' and 'Liberal-Protestant' views probably remained as popular as ever. Even among historians, there were still many who continued to put forward the older 'state' views. H.T. Colenbrander, in *De Belgische omwenteling*, published in 1905, argued that far from causing the split between the northern and southern Low Countries, the Revolt merely brought into focus pre-existing differences between the north and south.⁶⁸ Although the survival of the national-state views in the first few decades of the twentieth century, undoubtedly, owed much to their function as a weapon against the Great-Netherlands or Flemish movements,⁶⁹ it is important also to remember a more elemental reason for the persistence of the 'Belgian-state' and 'Klein-Nederlands' views. In the preface to his book, Colenbrander testified to the deep impression which his first visit to Belgium had made upon him. Initially, in the company of Flemish students at Ghent, Colenbrander had felt at home but when he travelled further into Belgium and was confronted by the Catholic and "Frenchified" nature of Belgian culture, his view of Belgium changed: he felt himself to be in another country.⁷⁰ It does

⁶⁷ See Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 324-49; H.W. Van der Dunk, "Pieter Geyl. History as a Form of Self-Expression", *Clio's Mirror. Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands*, 185-214; P.B.M. Blaas, "De visie van de Grootnederlandse historiografen", 197-220; and L. Wils, "De Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving" in *Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Filologie en Geschiedenis*, 61 (1983) 322-66. For Flemish nationalism see Vos, "Shifting Nationalism", 134-37 and for Dutch interest in South Africa from the 1880s to the early 1900s see Kossmann, *The Low Countries. 1780-1940*, 425-27.

⁶⁸ *De Belgische omwenteling* was published in The Hague in 1905. See also Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 178 and Baudart, "La nation des Pays-Bas", 21-22.

⁶⁹ Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 178.

⁷⁰ Colenbrander, *De Belgische omwenteling*, 1-5.

not seem far-fetched to suggest that this sense of the 'alien' nature of the other country, whether Belgium or the Netherlands, acted as a powerful emotional obstacle to the spread of a more General-Netherlandish perspective on Low Countries history.

What should be emphasised at this point is that the growing acceptance of the General-Netherlandish view after 1900 signified not so much a move away from the national framework as a shift within that framework. The identity of sixteenth-century Netherlanders still continued to be seen in the light of the nationalist notion of a collective nation, whose cause the rebels championed during the Revolt. Both Pirenne and Blok strengthened this conception of the conflict of the 1560s to the 1580s as a national revolt through their descriptions of the events. Pirenne identified the Revolt as a national movement when he compared the revolutions of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries: "Le révolution de XVI^e siècle a été un mouvement national et religieux. Celle du XIV^e siècle, au contraire, s'est accomplie sur le terrain social. Elle est étrangère à toute idée de nationalité...".⁷¹ He saw the Burgundian cause of the high nobility as a national cause and throughout his account of the events of the 1560s to the 1580s, referred to the "cause nationale", ("national cause").

Blok's understanding of the subject was clear when he confessed in the preface to the third volume of the *Geschiedenis*, which covered the period of the Revolt, that this part of Netherlands history made his heart beat quicker more than any other: "bij de gedachte aan de heldenkamp, door de vaderen gestreden voor de hoogste goederen der menschheid, voor wat zij recht en wijsheid achtten."⁷² Blok spoke of the rebels in the Revolt as constituting "de nationale beweging" ("the national movement").⁷³ Strikingly, he adhered to the chronology of the Revolt laid down by Fruin. He began, like Fruin, with the so-called "voorspel", the period from 1559 to 1567 in which, according to the nationalist school, the struggle for national independence against Spain began. In the closing sentences

⁷¹ "The revolution of the sixteenth century was a national and religious movement. That of the fourteenth century, was carried out on the social terrain. It was foreign to the whole idea of nationality...". Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, 345.

⁷² "...at the thought of the heroic struggle, fought by our forefathers for the supreme good of mankind, for what they considered to be wisdom and right." Blok, *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk*, III, preface.

⁷³ Blok, *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk*, II, 450.

of this chapter, Blok refers to the flight into exile in the late spring and early summer of 1567 as the beginning of the tragedy, a comment which echoes Fruin's concluding words at the end of his essay on the "voorspel".⁷⁴ Blok's belief that the revolt was a national uprising against Spain was further evident in his characterisation of Orange. The romantic and nationalist notion of great leaders as heroes who furthered the cause of the nation is present in Blok's comments on the "grooten vorst, wien de nederlandsche natie in de eerste plaats hare zelfstandigheid te danken heeft."⁷⁵

While the General-Netherlandish view of sixteenth-century Low Countries history was still a nationalist interpretation of the period, some of the changes of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries did lay the seeds for the growth of a more sceptical attitude to nationalist beliefs. The changes within the historical profession and in the approach of historians to the past served ultimately to break down the assumption that the identity of sixteenth-century Netherlands was bound up with one collective nationality. To some extent, this change in thinking was evident in the 1910s, in Huizinga's "Uit de voorgeschiedenis van ons nationaal besef" and J.W. Muller's *Over nederlandsch volksbesef en taalbesef*. Both Huizinga and Muller were influenced by nationalist assumptions about the Netherlandish past but the fact that they could treat patriotic sentiment as a distinct subject in itself, implies a measure of distance from the subject itself. Furthermore, both works and both writers were distinguished by their interest in the way words and phrases change in meaning over time. Their interest in semantics foreshadowed the modern stress on discovering what sixteenth-century Netherlands understood by terms like "patrie", "vaderland" and "patriot".⁷⁶

In addition to the first indications of a more sceptical approach to the national image, one other change during the period from 1880 to 1920 should be

⁷⁴ Blok, *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk*, III, 61 and Fruin, "Het voorspel", 449.

⁷⁵ "...[the] great prince, whom the Dutch nation, in the first place, has to thank for its independence." Blok, *Geschiedenis van het nederlandsche volk*, III, 293-94.

⁷⁶ Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", passim and Muller, *Over nederlandsch volksbesef en taalbesef*, passim. Muller's interest in names was also expressed in two later articles: "Vaderland en moedertaal", *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal en letterkunde*, 47 (1928) 43-62 and "Het ontstaan van het begrip en den naam Nederland", *Groot-Nederland*, 28 (1930) 411-32.

noted: the development of a new Calvinist concept of the Dutch nation. This new Calvinist approach is a good example of the later nineteenth-century shift within nationalism, from the objective to the subjective understanding of the nation. Over the course of the nineteenth century, most Reformed Protestants came to recognise that they would not be able to assert and maintain their primacy in the state through the political system. In response to this, Abraham Kuyper, the leader of the Calvinist Anti-Revolutionary Party in the later nineteenth century, adapted the old belief in the Calvinist nature of the Dutch state into a belief in the Calvinist nature of the Dutch nation. He described the Dutch as a spiritual unity, a "volk", stating in 1869 that "a nation is a divinely created moral being, which received its talent and gift, its calling and commandment from Him, but as a people, a nation, as a whole." According to Kuyper, the defining characteristic of the Dutch Nation through the centuries was its Christian-puritan nature, a nature which Calvinism best expressed. As the purest form of the Dutch Christian-puritan nature was Calvinism, it followed that contemporary Calvinists had an important and, indeed, central role to play in Dutch political and social life. In the long run, Kuyper's redefinition of the Calvinist nature of the Netherlands could not halt the declining political influence of the Calvinists but it did have an important historiographical influence. By updating the old belief in the essentially Calvinist character of the Dutch, a belief first developed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Kuyper strengthened an important element of the Dutch conception of the past. The extent to which Dutch identity in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was Calvinist in nature, continued to be a key historiographical question in the twentieth century.⁷⁷

From the 1920s to the 1950s, Low Countries historiography was to be dominated by the General-Netherlandish and sceptical views of the sixteenth-century Low Countries. At first sight, therefore, it may seem surprising that the most prominent historian from this period, Pieter Geyl, espoused neither of these views, at least in the years before World War Two. Geyl's ideas, though, did have similar roots to those of the other interpretations of Low Countries history; namely, the nationalist atmosphere of the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when the welfare and survival of the 'Nederlandsche stam' was the

⁷⁷ Kuiper, "Orthodox Protestantism", 46-52; Schutte, Het Calvinistisch Nederland, 7-8; and Schutte, "Nederland: een calvinistisch natie?", 690-91.

subject of some discussion. This interest in the Afrikaners and Flemish, for whom some of the Dutch felt an affinity because of their common linguistic and ethnic heritage, formed the general background to the development of Geyl's ideas. Unlike most other historians, though, Geyl placed great emphasis upon language as an important determining factor in the development of the Low Countries. Geyl, himself, identified as the particular moment at which he felt compelled to rewrite the history of the Low Countries, an encounter with Flemish students in the years before World War One. "I was deeply impressed by the moral fervour that met me there;" he wrote, concerning a students congress in Ghent in 1911,

"I felt that this was not merely a manifestation of nationalism, but that these men were conscious of a great social task, which they could fulfil only when the abnormal language conditions in their country were righted...But I felt that we of the North had an active obligation towards them, for what was at stake was the future in Flanders of our own, of our common language and civilisation. These impressions were never effaced, and they led me to question the spirit in which the history of our common past was generally written;..."⁷⁸

As his reference to "our common language and culture" suggests, the fundamental basis of Geyl's revisionary work was his identification of nations with linguistic or ethnic communities, a belief which he expressed clearly in 1925 when he stated that the "normal European state is a national state, that is, a geographically compact linguistic community which has become conscious of its national unity and found its expression in a state during the course of history".⁷⁹ In company with other members of the *Groot-Nederlands* movement, Geyl pressed this belief to its logical political and historiographical conclusions. If, as Dutch speakers, the true destiny of the Flemish lay in union with the Dutch, it followed that the Belgian state was an artificial and accidental rather than natural state. If the fundamental ties between people were linguistic in nature, then the principal

⁷⁸ P. Geyl, "The National State and the Writers of Netherlands History" in Debates with Historians, 211-33, 228. Essay first written in 1949. This article summarises very well Geyl's perspective on sixteenth-century Low Countries history.

⁷⁹ Lyon, Henri Pirenne, 423-24 and Van der Dunk, "Pieter Geyl", 193.

problem of Low Countries historiography was to explain why Dutch-speakers were split into two different states.⁸⁰

The ideas which Geyl put forward in the 1920s and 1930s followed on naturally from his linguistic approach to Low Countries history. He explicitly rejected any suggestion that the northern and southern Netherlands had split because of different innate religious sensibilities. The Protestant character of the north, Geyl argued, derived from the years after the early Revolt, when the northern Netherlands was "Protestantised" by the Calvinists.⁸¹ In a talk given in 1923, he argued that there was not a trace of a fundamental difference between the north and south and emphasised the importance of the great rivers and the military policies of Parma in bringing about the separation. As the split had torn asunder the regions of the 'Nederlandse stam', it was properly regarded not as a cause for rejoicing but as a tragedy, "de tragedie van een kleine stam, gedurig belemmerd door de grooten."⁸² As a consequence of his linguistic approach to Low Countries history, Geyl's understanding of the nature of identity in the sixteenth century was very much based upon the notion of a linguistic and cultural community embracing Flanders, Brabant and Holland. This is apparent in his general history of the Low Countries, the *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse stam*, where his emphasis was markedly different from both Blok and Pirenne.⁸³ Where Blok had placed Holland at the centre of his narrative and Pirenne, Flanders, Brabant and Liège, Geyl emphasised the ties between Holland and Flanders and for the sixteenth century, Brabant.⁸⁴ When writing about national consciousness in the Habsburg lands in the sixteenth century, he identified as the main areas

⁸⁰ See the introduction to the first volume of the *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandsche stam*, 3 Volumes (Revised edition; Amsterdam/Antwerp, 1958) I, 7. Geyl's anti-Belgian views were given added force in the early 1920s when relations between the Netherlands and Belgium deteriorated: Van der Dunk, "Pieter Geyl", 195.

⁸¹ The fact that Geyl was an agnostic with liberal sympathies would have made it easier for him to reject the Protestant view of history. Wils, "De Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving", 324 and Van der Dunk, "Pieter Geyl", 193.

⁸² "the tragedy of a small stock, continuously hindered by the great." "De Klein-nederlandsche traditie in onze historiografie", printed in P. Geyl, *De Groot-Nederlandsche gedachte. Historische en politieke beschouwingen*, I (Haarlem, 1925) 112-36, 121.

⁸³ On the background to the *Geschiedenis* see Wils, "De Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving", 339-41 and Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 338-39.

⁸⁴ Wils, "De Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving", 340-41.

Holland, Flanders and Brabant, between whom close cultural ties existed. In his description of the 'Crisis of the Burgundian State', Geyl put forward examples which supported his belief that the sense of linguistic affinity was present in the fifteenth century and that linguistic differences played a part in the development of Netherlandish nationality.⁸⁵

Among Low Countries historians, Geyl's chief contribution to the historiography of the sixteenth-century Low Countries was to accelerate the decline of the Liberal-Protestant view of Dutch history. His ideas about the "Protestantisation" of the northern Netherlands and his emphasis upon the geographical causes of the split presented a powerful, if overstated, case against Liberal-Protestant assumptions about the Dutch past. In one important respect, though, Geyl distorted the character of Dutch and Belgian historiography. Geyl believed that not only his political views but also his historical views were at odds with the historical consensus in Belgium and the Netherlands.⁸⁶ Arguably, though, Geyl failed to do justice to many Dutch and Belgian historians. To take but one example, Pirenne's ambivalent remarks in the preface to the first volume of the *Histoire de Belgique* made it possible for Geyl to characterise the Belgian historian as an advocate of the national-state view of Belgian history. This characterisation of Pirenne as a Belgian determinist did not take full account of Pirenne's Burgundian vision of Low Countries history and his belief that there was nothing foreordained about the split between the northern and southern Netherlands.⁸⁷ Indeed, Pirenne's influence was such that it was not until the 1930s that Belgian historians began to take an interest in Geyl's work, the reason being that Pirenne's Burgundian vision of Low Countries history had already familiarised Belgian historians with Geyl's argument that Belgian and Dutch

⁸⁵ Geyl, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Stam*, I, 155-56, 186-89.

⁸⁶ On Geyl's early work and its polemical character see Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 336-37.

⁸⁷ In the preface to the first volume, Pirenne declared that he intended to retrace the history of Belgium in the Middle Ages and bring out its "caractère d'unité" and to show "les grands traits de notre histoire dès les premiers temps du moyen âge, à montrer sa marche ininterrompue, à découvrir ses caractères propres, à ramener enfin à l'unité la diversité infinie des événements locaux." Pirenne, *Histoire de Belgique*, I, vii and ix. As Tollebeek, in *De toga van Fruin*, 346 noted, these comments appeared to suggest that Pirenne believed in a determinist view of Belgian history; the actual text of the *Histoire* shows that this was not the case.

historians needed to rid themselves of contemporary national frameworks in order to understand Low Countries history.⁸⁸ It seems ironic that Geyl should focus his attack upon Blok and Pirenne's defence of the autonomous and ancient character of the Belgian and Dutch states when their defence was, at least in part, originally a nationalist response to claims put forward by German and French historians.

As well as his representation of Pirenne, Blok and other historians, Geyl's stress on the importance of language also presents problems. There is little evidence that language became an important part of national consciousness before the later eighteenth century and the idea of a Dutch-Flemish unity based upon their common linguistic heritage appeared only in the nineteenth century. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Burgundian and Habsburg empires encompassed, and without distinction, both French and Dutch speaking areas. If a supra-provincial sentiment developed during this period, then it centred upon the whole of the Low Countries and not just upon the Dutch-speaking areas. Geyl himself acknowledged this in the *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Stam*: he stated that national feeling in the sixteenth century did not exclude the Walloons. Moreover, the Great Privilege of February 1477 showed clearly the principle of the solidarity of the provinces, "zonder bewust of stelselmatig onderscheid van Waals of Diets."⁸⁹

Geyl's work could not disguise the fact that the logic of Low Countries history in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries pointed in a General-Netherlandish direction.⁹⁰ It was this General-Netherlandish or Burgundian perspective on Low Countries history which was to dominate the last phase of the nationalist period of Dutch and Belgian historiography. The dominance of the General-Netherlandish perspective in the last phase of nationalist historiography was, undoubtedly, the culmination of the developments which had begun in the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. It should be noted, though, that the circumstances of the 1930s also facilitated this development. Faced with the belligerent might of Nazi

⁸⁸ Blaas, "De visie van de Grootnederlandse historiografen", 197-98.

⁸⁹ "...without conscious or systematic distinction between Walloon and Dutch". Geyl, *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Stam*, I, 186-89, 152-53.

⁹⁰ Geyl's close friend and fellow *Groot-Nederlands* enthusiast during the 1920s and 1930s, Carel Gerretson, admitted as such in 1934 when he began speaking about General rather than Great-Netherlandish historiography. Blaas, "De visie van de Grootnederlandse historiografen", 213.

Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands buried their differences and came closer together, stimulating an awareness of what was common to both countries.⁹¹

The shift towards a General-Netherlandish conception of Low Countries history was evident in a journal set up by Geyl himself in 1938, the *Nederlandse Historiebladen*. In the first volume, the Flemish historian Leo van der Essen declared his agreement with Geyl that the 'Belgische' and 'Klein-Nederlandse' approaches to Low Countries history were fundamentally flawed but the conception which Van der Essen put in their place, "De historische gebondenheid der Nederlanden", ("the historical inter-connectedness of the Low Countries") presupposed the unity of all the Netherlandish provinces, regardless of language.⁹² For the General-Netherlandish writers of the 1930s to the 1950s, one article, in particular, was of great importance: G.J. Hoogewerff's "Uit de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch nationaal besef", published in 1929.⁹³ On the basis of a study of documents collected at the Netherlandish Historical Institute in Rome, Hoogewerff argued that during the years 1570-1600, a sense of a common fatherland developed among all the inhabitants of the Low Countries, with the single exception of those from Gelderland. This consciousness of unity, Hoogewerff went on to say, persisted in both the northern and southern Netherlands until at least 1625. Hoogewerff's article was influential not only because his figures appeared to confirm the existence of a general-Netherlandish nation in the 1500s but also because it gave statistical support to the belief that nationalism was, primarily, a result of the troubles in the second half of the sixteenth century and not the cause of the conflict. Whereas historians in the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries saw nationalism as a *cause* of the Revolt, the General-Netherlandish writers of the 1930s to the 1950s placed more

⁹¹ After his appointment to the chair of History at Utrecht in 1936, Geyl, himself, began to tone down his language about Belgium. In 1938, he went so far as to call Belgium a nationality. Wils, "De Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving", 347-49.

⁹² Wils, "De Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving", 349-51 and L. Van der Essen, "De historische gebondenheid der Nederlanden", *Nederlandsche Historiebladen*, I (1938) 153-89.

⁹³ G.J. Hoogewerff, "Uit de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch nationaal besef", *TvG*, 44 (1929) 113-34. Van der Essen also drew on the work of H. Elias, though without giving a reference. The article Van der Essen had in mind was "Het nationaal gevoel in de Nederlandsche historische liederen der 16de eeuw", *Vlaamsche Arbeid*, XVI (1926) 321-37 and 364-78.

emphasis upon nationalism as a *product* of the Revolt, as a creation of the long struggle against the Spanish. Van der Essen, who may be taken as a representative example, agreed that national sentiment was not present in the Low Countries before the Revolt, but argued that the sense of a "communauté morale sans laquelle une nation et un Etat sont impossibles" was born during the struggle against Spanish despotism.⁹⁴ According to the General-Netherlandish school, then, the Revolt was of crucial importance in creating a supra-provincial sentiment which was to last into the early 1600s.

Hoogewerff's article was crucial in another respect. By the 1930s, an increasing number of historians were raising questions about the applicability of the national principle to the sixteenth century. If it had not been for Hoogewerff's apparently convincing demonstration of the development of a general-Netherlandish sentiment after 1570, the more sceptical voices among Belgian and Dutch historians might have prevailed at a much earlier stage. The first person to mount a sustained attack upon the nationalist view of the Revolt was H.A. Enno van Gelder.⁹⁵ In a series of articles and reviews produced during the 1930s, Enno van Gelder argued that to think of the Revolt as a national uprising was to misunderstand the nature of the sixteenth-century Low Countries. Nationalism, he contended, was hardly present in the 1500s: "vatten we nationalisme op als gevoel van verwantschap en saamhorigheid, voornamelijk op taalgemeenschap berustend, gepaard aan een bewustzijn van tegenstelling tot andere groepen, dan moeten we constateren, dat dit gevoel...in de Nederlanden omstreeks 1560 vrijwel niet aanwezig was." Only those groups who, by virtue of their position at court or in government, could see further than their own locality, were able to develop

⁹⁴ "a moral community without which a state and a nation are impossible". L. Van der Essen, "Comment s'est formée la patrie Belge", Pages d'histoire nationale et europeene (Brussels, 1942) 277-92, 286-88. See also his "De historische gebondenheid der Nederlanden", 171-72.

⁹⁵ H.A. Enno van Gelder, "Een historische vergelijking. De Nederlandse opstand en de Franse godsdienstoorlogen", Verslagen van de Algemeene Vergadering der Leden van het historisch genootschap gehouden te Utrecht, op 26 april 1930 (Utrecht, 1930) 21-42; Review of P. Geyl's *Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse stam*, Part One (Up to 1609), TvG, 46 (1931) 404-07; "Het streven van Prins Willem van Oranje 1568-1572", De Gids, 9 (1933) 153-89; the correspondence between Enno van Gelder and Geyl in the Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde, 9 (1937) 229-34 and TvG, 52 (1937) 312; and "De oorzaken der scheiding van de noordelijke en zuidelijke Nederlanden in de 16e eeuw", Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde, 10, 7th series (1938) 145-58.

a supra-provincial outlook.⁹⁶ As well as casting doubt upon the existence of national feelings in the 1500s, Enno van Gelder also dismissed the complementary belief in the Revolt as a national struggle against the Spanish. He emphasised that Spain and the Low Countries were tied together by a personal union of feudal nature. To speak of a Spanish oppression, thus, was wholly erroneous. Furthermore, Philip II's officials and soldiers in the Low Countries were, in general, not Spanish. This was especially the case before 1567. Margaret of Parma's principal advisers, Granvelle, Viglius and Berlaymont, came from either the Netherlands or Franche-Comté. Even after 1567, the government and administration in the Low Countries only merited the epithet of Spanish because they were servants of the King of Spain.⁹⁷

Enno van Gelder's attack upon the nationalist interpretation of the Revolt also extended to a critique of the traditional chronological framework of the Revolt. He rejected the distinction normally made between a 'voorspel', lasting from 1559 to 1567 and the war proper, which began in 1568 or, according to some, 1572. He argued that the beginnings of the struggle should be placed before 1565; the events of 1566-67 simply marked a change in the character of the revolt as resistance spread beyond government circles and the religious element became a crucial part of the troubles. The significance of Enno van Gelder's re-dating of the beginning of the Revolt was that the origins of the conflict were placed during a period before the Spanish arrived in the Netherlands with a large force under the control of the duke of Alba. In other words, the conflict was in origins a Netherlandish affair.

An important part of Enno van Gelder's understanding of the Revolt was his emphasis upon factional disputes within towns set against a background of a widespread civil war. This stress on the struggle between different parties led him to propose the existence of a centre group:

"En degenen, die tussen de partijen staan en de eenheid trachten te

⁹⁶ "If we conceive of nationalism as a feeling of relatedness and togetherness, resting principally on a linguistic community, paired to a consciousness of opposition to other groups, then we must state, that this feeling was practically absent in the Low Countries around 1560." Enno van Gelder, "De oorzaken der scheiding", 148-49.

⁹⁷ Enno van Gelder, "Het streven van Prins Willem van Oranje", 165-67. See also "De oorzaken der scheiding", 149-50 and "Een historische vergelijking", 37.

handhaven,- we moeten dus zeggen, de nationale groep -zijn de juristen en hoge edelen, die de 'Bourgondische staat' verdedigen, maar juist daarom in de woede van de partijstrijd, die werd tot een Burgeroorlog, ten onder gaan. Zo 'nationaal' was de opstand!"

Given the fact that the struggle was not a war for independence against foreign tyranny, Enno van Gelder also rejected talk of treason.⁹⁸ Enno van Gelder's emphasis upon factionalism and particularism received strong support in G. Malengreau's *L'Ésprit Particulariste et La Révolution des Pays-Bas au XVI siècle (1578-1584)*. The central theme of the book was that the notion of the homeland for the vast majority of people in the sixteenth century was limited to the village, city or province; only a very few had a supra-provincial outlook. "Étudiée de près", concluded the author, "la révolution du XVIe siècle, même dans les années 1577-1578, apparaît, non pas comme une manifestation nationale, mais comme un mouvement anarchique de révolte, une insurrection contre une autorité détestée...".⁹⁹

The picture of the Revolt which Enno van Gelder and Malengreau painted was distinctly anti-heroic in character, an emphasis which given the dramatic nature of much nationalist writing was very much to the point. This anti-heroic strain is especially evident in the biography of William the Silent written by J.W. Berkelbach van der Sprenkel and published in 1946.¹⁰⁰ To begin with, Berkelbach van der Sprenkel reiterated the objections to the national image of the Revolt which Enno van Gelder and others had made. He stated that the traditional image of the Eighty Years War, "van een 'worstelstrijd tegen Spanje'" in which

⁹⁸ Enno van Gelder, "De oorzaken der scheiding", passim. Quotation from page 156: "And those that stand between the parties and attempt to maintain unity- we should therefore say the national group -are the jurists and high nobles, who defend the 'Burgundian state', but precisely for this reason, are submerged in the rage of party strife, which became a civil war. See how 'national' the revolt was!"

⁹⁹ "Studied from close up, the revolution of the sixteenth-century, even in the years 1577-1578, appears, not as a national revolt, but as an anarchic movement of revolt, an insurrection against a detested authority." The book was published at Louvain in 1936. The quotation comes from page 205; see also pages 58-59 and 206-07.

¹⁰⁰ Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, like Enno van Gelder, combined the role of historian with that of a schoolmaster. He died in December 1944, leaving behind the complete manuscript of a biography of William the Silent, entitled Oranje en de vestiging van de Nederlandse staat (Amsterdam, 1946).

"van het begin af het Nederlandse volk, geleid door zijn nationalen held Willem van Oranje, een oorlog voerde tegen een vreemde mogendheid" was no longer considered to accord with reality. The struggle against the regime of Philip II, Berkelbach van der Sprenkel argued, was originally a revolt of malcontents which developed into a civil war. In origins, thus, the war was not a struggle for national independence. Orange, the Beggars, even the Spanish and the Netherlandish opponents of Orange all needed to be approached in a different way, not as representatives or opponents of the national spirit but against the backdrop of their own time. The Beggars, he emphasised, were not representative of a largely united nation but very much a minority: "Was dat de stem van het Nederlandse volk?", Berkelbach van der Sprenkel asked, quoting from a Beggar song of 1568, "Of was het de stem van den enkeling, die hoopte door zijn enthousiasme de anderen mede te krijgen?".¹⁰¹

Berkelbach van der Sprenkel wrote the book during the German occupation of the Netherlands and there is no doubt that the experience of occupation gave especial force to his biography. Gone is the heroic tone of nationalist historiography, to be replaced by an appreciation of human frailty in the face of a powerful and brutal occupying power. He counselled understanding before judging those like Brederode and Hoogstraten, who in early 1567 signed a declaration of loyalty of the King of Spain: "wij, die beleefden hoe tal van Nederlandse studenten maandenlang een soortgelijke verklaring weigerden, maar met de dreigende straf van gedwongen vertrek naar Duitsland voor ogen alsnog hun onderworpenheid wilden betuigen, moeten wat zachter oordelen."¹⁰² Noting the lack of response from the inhabitants of the Low Countries in 1568 to Orange's calls for help, because of Alba's threats, Berkelbach van der Sprenkel added: "En verwondert het ons, Nederlanders van deze tijd, dat offervaardigheid

¹⁰¹ The traditional image of the Revolt, "of a 'wrestling match against Spain'" in which "from the beginning, the Dutch people, led by its national hero William of Orange, waged a war against a foreign power" was outdated. As for the song: "Was that the voice of the Dutch people? Or was it the voice of one individual, who hoped to win over the others by his enthusiasm?". Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, Oranje en de vestiging van de Nederlandse staat, 8-10, 81, 85, 100, 119 and 173-74.

¹⁰² "...we, who saw how many Dutch students declined a similar declaration for months, but, with the threatening punishment of an enforced journey to Germany before their eyes, hastened to express their subjection, ought to judge more softly." Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, Oranje en de vestiging van de nederlandse staat, 74.

en moed schaars gezaaid zijn?".¹⁰³ As well as this more sober account of the revolt, Berkelbach van der Sprenkel also took care to distinguish between the Orange of nationalist myth and the historical Orange,¹⁰⁴ so paving the way for the modern re-assessment of Orange.

In spite of the work of historians like Enno van Gelder, Malengreau, Berkelbach van der Sprenkel and others,¹⁰⁵ the nationalist perspective on the sixteenth century remained as strong as ever in the 1940s and 1950s.¹⁰⁶ The survival of the national image was evident in the last major work of the nationalist period, the first *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*, which was published in the later 1940s and 1950s. Both Belgian and Dutch historians cooperated in this historical enterprise and for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Low Countries history was treated as a whole. In this respect, the work marked the vindication of Pirenne's 'Burgundian' perspective on Low Countries history rather than Geyl's Great-Netherlandish approach with its theme of the nation-forming capacities of language.¹⁰⁷

The triumph of the General-Netherlandish approach is further evident in J. Craeybeckx's two short chapters on the sixteenth-century Low Countries.

¹⁰³ "And should we be amazed, Dutch men and women of our time, that the spirit of self-sacrifice and courage were spread so sparsely?". Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, *Oranje en de vestiging van der nederlandse staat*, 78. See also 74 and 120 for Orange, 9-10, 154 and 214-18. It may be that Berkelbach van der Sprenkel's emphasis upon the fallibility of individual men and women owed something also to his Christian background: he was a leading light in the Vrijzinning Christelijke Studentenbond and Jeugdgemeenschap. See the biographical sketch by Enno van Gelder in the *Jaarboek van de maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde te Leiden 1950-51* (Leiden, 1952) 77-84.

¹⁰⁴ Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, *Oranje en de vestiging der nederlandse staat*, passim, but especially 214-18.

¹⁰⁵ See, for example, H. Smitskamp, *Calvinistisch nationaal besef in Nederland vóór het midden der 17de eeuw* (The Hague, 1947) 11.

¹⁰⁶ It is noteworthy that Enno van Gelder changed his views on the Revolt after World War Two and came to see the struggle as a war against a Spanish oppressor. P.B.M. Blaas, "Nederlandse geschiedschrijving na 1945" in W.W. Mijnhardt, ed., *Kantelend geschiedbeeld. Nederlandse historiografie sinds 1945* (Utrecht/Antwerp, 1983) 9-47 (endnotes 311-21), 10-13; Groenveld, "Beeldvorming en realiteit", 23-26; and Smit, "The Present Position of Studies", 22-23.

¹⁰⁷ Blaas, "De visie van de Grootnederlandse historiografen", 216; Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, 339, plus 295 and 338; Van der Dunk, "Pieter Geyl", 199; and Wils, "De Grootnederlandse geschiedschrijving", 349-51. See Blaas, "Nederlandse geschiedschrijving na 1945", 17, for the continuing power of the national principle in this production.

Craeybeckx set out to answer the question of the extent to which it was possible to speak of a Netherlandish national sentiment during the government of Charles V. He was careful to stress that neither Charles V nor Philip II succeeded in destroying provincial particularism. Furthermore, he believed that national feeling was not present in Charles V's reign. However, Craeybeckx expressed the view that the state-building actions of the Burgundian-Habsburg rulers had, by the end of Charles V's reign, created the conditions in which a Netherlandish national feeling could emerge. According to Craeybeckx, these conditions were fulfilled under Philip II, "toen de vreemde overheersing al te flagrant werd" and a national consciousness speedily developed. Craeybeckx concluded that "Karel V heeft het zaad uitgeworpen voor het ontluiken van een nationaal gevoel, dat pas onder Filips II zou openbloeien."¹⁰⁸ As late as 1952 therefore, historians were still expressing the nationalist understanding of sixteenth-century Netherlandish identity. The way in which the inhabitants of the sixteenth-century Low Countries understood the world continued to be tied to the notion of a collective national sentiment which was regarded as being fundamentally at odds with the corresponding national character of Philip II and the Spanish. From this nationalist perspective, the crucial question was not whether such a sentiment existed as when this national sentiment developed. Craeybeckx's belief that national sentiment developed during Philip II's reign epitomised the emphasis of most historians during the last phase of the nationalist era, on national sentiment as being a product rather than a cause of the Revolt. In this respect, Craeybeckx's short essays can be taken as the final exposition of the nationalist and, in particular, General-Netherlandish view of sixteenth-century Low Countries history.

Given the existence of an alternative, more sceptical approach to the Revolt, the question then arises of why the nationalist perspective survived into the 1950s. The role of Hoogewerff's 1929 article was very significant in this regard. In 1952, Craeybeckx quoted this article to support his belief that a common sentiment developed in the Low Countries after 1570¹⁰⁹ and Craeybeckx was not alone in using this piece to strengthen the General-

¹⁰⁸ "...when the foreign domination became all too flagrant" and "Charles V sowed the seed for the budding of a national feeling that would blossom only under Philip II". See J. Craeybeckx, "De eenmaking van de Nederlanden" and "Centralisatiepolitiek en nationaal besef" in AGN, IV (1952) 110-19.

¹⁰⁹ Craeybeckx, AGN, IV, 118-19.

Netherlandish case. "Uit de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch nationaal besef" appeared in a number of works during the 1930s to the 1950s, particularly in the work of writers who supported the General-Netherlandish view of history.¹¹⁰ In his article on "De historische gebondenheid der Nederlanden", Van der Essen used the piece to refute the argument that a Netherlandish nation did not yet exist in the sixteenth century.¹¹¹ Perhaps most significant of all was Edgard Baudart's use of Hoogewerff. In 1944, Baudart produced the first doctoral thesis, entitled *La Question de Nationalité dans les Pays Bas et le Pays de Liège aux XV et XVIe siècles*, to tackle the problem of nationality and identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. Although aware of the ways in which the image of the Revolt had changed over the course of the last hundred years, Baudart still adhered to the nationalist view of sixteenth-century identity. Guided in large part by Hoogewerff's article, Baudart came to the conclusion that a Netherlandish national sentiment existed by the end of the 1500s.¹¹²

The troubled circumstances of the 1930s and 1940s were also responsible for the survival of the nationalist interpretation into the 1950s. Although the menace of Nazi Germany encouraged Belgium and the Netherlands to draw together for mutual support, the German threat also stimulated among historians a greater awareness of the continuing value of those Belgian and Dutch characteristics perceived, correctly as it turned out, to be under threat from the extreme right. A rash of works appeared in the 1930s and 1940s, lauding the old democratic and liberal virtues of tolerance, moderation and freedom.¹¹³ This was

¹¹⁰ For example, G.N. Clark, *The Birth of the Dutch Republic* (London, 1946) 14, footnote 2 and G. Renier, *The Dutch Nation: an historical study*, (London, 1944) 14-16.

¹¹¹ It is striking that Van der Essen quotes Malengreau on one page to demonstrate the importance of particularism during the Revolt and then refers to Hoogewerff on the next page to reject the argument that a Netherlandish national sense did not exist in the sixteenth century: "De historische gebondenheid", 169-72. Hoogewerff's article also formed the starting point for Van der Essen's article, "Besef van Nederlanderschap bij uitgeweken Nederlanders in Italië in de XVIe, XVIIe en XVIIIe eeuw", *De Nederlandse Historiebladen*, 2 (1939) 33-42.

¹¹² E. Baudart, *La Question de Nationalité dans les Pays Bas et le pays de Liège aux XVe et XVIe siècles. Etude Critique des principaux historiens belges et neerlandais postérieurs a 1830* (Ph.D, Louvain University, 1944) 135-37.

¹¹³ H. te Velde, "How high did the Dutch fly? Remarks on stereotypes of Burger mentality" in *Images of the Nation*, 59-79. See, for example, A.J.C. Rüter's "De Nederlandse natie en het Nederlandse volkskarakter" in Th.J.G. Locher, W. Den Boer and

true even for a Marxist writer such as Jan Romein, whose respect for the "burgerlijke" qualities of the Dutch grew after his expulsion from the Communist Party in 1927 and the development of Fascism.¹¹⁴ In these circumstances, patriotism was seen as a virtue in the Netherlands. Carefully distinguished from nationalism, patriotism was defined as a desire to maintain those values which were seen as most characteristic of Dutch society.¹¹⁵ This greater respect for patriotic feeling was strengthened by the common experience of suffering in World War II. All told, this renewal of patriotic sentiment in the 1930s and 1940s helps to explain why the nationalist perspective persisted into the later 1940s and 1950s where it shaped the character of the first *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (AGN).

Part III: From 1960: The Pluralist Model of Many Nations, Many Identities

J.W. Smit's "The Present Position of Studies Regarding the Revolt of the Netherlands", published in 1960, is often taken as inaugurating the modern phase of studies on the sixteenth-century Low Countries.¹¹⁶ After summarising the main schools of thought during the nineteenth and early to mid-twentieth centuries, Smit concluded that historical work on the Revolt had reached a "deadlock" and called for fresh thinking and new studies on a variety of subjects. Since 1960, historical thinking on the Revolt has been transformed by works following on much the same lines indicated by Smit and others. As a result of this

B.W. Schaper, eds., Historische Studies over mens en samenleving (Assen, 1967) 303-21, especially 313-21.

¹¹⁴ Tollebeek, De toga van Fruin, 268.

¹¹⁵ See Van Sas, "Varieties of Dutchness", 15 and note the distinction Huizinga drew, in a talk given in February 1940, between patriotism, defined as "...the will to maintain and defend what is one's own and cherished,..." and nationalism, "...the powerful drive to dominate, the urge to have one's own nation, one's own state assert itself above, over, and at the cost of others" in "Patriotism and Nationalism in European History", 97.

¹¹⁶ The article appears in Britain and the Netherlands. Volume 1, 11-28. The quotation appears on pages 27-28. Although Smit's article was about Dutch historiography, his comments about the future direction of research applied as much to Belgian as to Dutch historians.

historiographical revolution, the nationalist perspective has almost disappeared from serious historical writing on the sixteenth-century Low Countries. Although, as will be clear later, the contemporary frameworks of the Belgian and Dutch states still influence the thinking of historians, few, if any, would subscribe to the belief that the fundamental purpose of the historian was to narrate the story of the development of nations, with all the political and cultural nationalist baggage of foreign oppression, national liberation, representative national heroes, perpetual national characteristics, and so on.

At first sight, it may seem that the decline of the nationalist view has also led to the disappearance altogether of works on national sentiment. In 1985, in an attempt to discover the state of research on the problem of pan-Netherlandish identity during the 1500s, the Dutch historian Ernst Kossmann read through the relevant volumes of the *Nieuwe Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (NAGN) and found only one sentence about the subject. He concluded, reasonably enough, that the authors of the section concerned, W. Blockmans and J. Van Herwerden, were reluctant to tackle the problem.¹¹⁷ Blockmans and Van Herwerden have not been alone in their reticence. Geoffrey Parker, whose book on the Dutch Revolt is the most authoritative recent work on the revolt within the English-speaking world, left the problem well alone, tucking the question away in a footnote.¹¹⁸ Nevertheless, it would be wrong to assume from these examples that the subject of national consciousness has disappeared entirely from studies of the sixteenth-century Low Countries. It is simply that the nature of the subject has changed. The absence of any serious consideration of the subject in general works is a mark of the fact that patriotic sentiment is no longer regarded either as a motivating force in the Revolt or as a product of the Revolt. If historians look for a 'cause' of the conflict, they look elsewhere than national sentiment and if they do consider national sentiment, it is simply as a secondary issue within the larger subject matter of the Revolt. As a secondary issue, the question of national consciousness has become a subject better fitted to the article or monograph than to the general survey and this is precisely what has happened since 1960. The

¹¹⁷ E.H. Kossmann, "Enkele vragen met betrekkingen tot het (Noord-) Nederlandse Nationale Bewustzijn" in *"1585: Op gescheiden wegen"*, 223-36.

¹¹⁸ G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Revised edition; Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1985) 281, endnote 8.

subject of national sentiment has disappeared from general works only to re-appear in articles and specialist books in the form of discussions about different types of identity.

The historiographical changes which have occurred since 1960 are evident in the three most significant interpretative works on the Revolt to be published in the last three decades: J.W. Smit's "The Netherlands Revolution"; H. Schilling's "Der Aufstand der Niederlande: Bürgerliche Revolution oder Elitenkonflikt?"; and J. Woltjer's "De Vredemakers".¹¹⁹ In 1960, Smit himself had urged historians to "stop treating the Revolt as a bloc" and to "become aware that there were a number of revolts, representing the interests and the ideals of various social, economic and ideological groups".¹²⁰ This attack upon one-dimensional understandings of the Revolt was developed, in particular, by Schilling. The German historian noted the changes which had taken place since the beginning of the 1960s, detailing the new approaches in social and economic history and the appearance of more regional and local histories. As a consequence of these studies, interpretations of the Revolt which concentrated on just one aspect could no longer be maintained:

"Die Erhebung war vielmehr ein vielfältig gegliederter Prozeß; die soziale Zusammensetzung der Aufständischen variierte in den einzelnen Phasen und von Provinz zu Provinz, ja von Ort zu Ort beträchtlich. Die Revolution bestand aus einer Vielzahl lokaler Erhebungen, deren konkrete politische und soziale Stoßrichtung häufig primär von den örtlichen Gegebenheiten bestimmt war und die sich erst sekundär zusammenfügten zum großen "Freiheitskrieg", wie ihn die liberale Geschichtsschreibung des 19.

¹¹⁹ J.W. Smit, "The Netherlands Revolution" in R. Forster and J.P. Greene, eds., Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe (Baltimore, 1970) 19-54; J.J. Woltjer, "De Vredemakers", Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis, 89 (1976) 299-321; and H. Schilling, "Der Aufstand der Niederlande: Bürgerliche Revolution oder Elitenkonflikt?" in H-U. Wehler, ed., 200 Jahre amerikanische Revolution und moderne Revolutionsforschung (Göttingen, 1976) 177-231.

¹²⁰ Smit, "The Present Position of Studies", 28.

Jahrhunderts beschrieb".¹²¹

This contemporary emphasis upon the multi-dimensional nature of the Revolt and the fragmented nature of the Netherlandish society, has had important effects upon the understanding of identity and patriotic sentiment. Clearly, the nationalist belief in one, collective national sense developing through the 1500s has become untenable. This belief has been replaced by an understanding of identity which links it much more closely to specific social and economic groups. In the work of Simon Groenveld, this understanding has been pushed to its logical conclusion so that the Early Modern Low Countries is seen as an assemblage of nations, each with its own identity.¹²²

As a result of the break-up of the old monolithic views of the Revolt, historians have also abandoned the romantic, dualistic account of the troubles which divided the protagonists into two camps, the pro-Orange 'patriots' and the pro-Spanish 'traitors'. Smit again pointed the way forward for historians in his 1960 article, with his call to abandon this dualistic account and to give due recognition to the significance of what he termed the 'middle group', who were "indifferent to dogmatic religion, working with Catholics or Calvinists according to circumstances...".¹²³ This middle group forms the central subject of Woltjer's understanding of the Revolt, as expressed in "De Vredemakers". For Woltjer, the fundamental question in the period from the 1550s to 1580 was not one of national independence or foreign oppression but the nature of the response to the growth of new religious conceptions in the sixteenth century. The growth of Protestantism and other forms of dissent, compelled the governing élites to consider how far the Catholic church should go to accommodate new religious

¹²¹ "The Revolt was rather a multifariously structured process; the social make-up of the rebels varied considerably in the distinct phases and from province to province, even from place to place. The Revolution consisted of a multitude of local revolts, whose concrete political and social directions were frequently determined primarily by local conditions and only secondarily related to the great 'War of Freedom', as described by the liberal historiography of the nineteenth century." Schilling, "Der Aufstand der Niederlande", 186. See also page 202.

¹²² Groenveld, "Natie en nationaal gevoel in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden", *Het Nederlands Archievenblad*, 84 (1980) 372-87; Groenveld, *Verlopend getij*, 55-65; and Van Sas, "Varieties of Dutchness", 6.

¹²³ Smit, "The Present Position of Studies", 24.

ideas. After tackling this problem of the limits of beliefs and practices, the ruling groups then had to decide upon what action should be taken against those who still stood outside the Church. Seen from this perspective, the chronology of the Revolt took on a new shape: "Wanneer wij dit politieke probleem van de houding tegenover de ketters centraal stelden, blijkt de periode van 1560 tot 1580 een eenheid te vormen".¹²⁴

According to Woltjer, disagreements about how to respond to heresy became a serious political problem from the later 1550s onwards. On one side stood those Catholics who refused any form of compromise with those they termed heretics and sought to prosecute a policy of persecution and war until heresy was banished from the Low Countries. On the other side, stood the Protestants, especially Reformed Protestants, who strove for the establishment of Protestantism, usually to the exclusion of Catholics. In the middle, there was a large group of people, mainly Catholics, who tried to effect some compromise by which a *modus vivendi* between the different confessions could be established. The Pacification of Ghent in 1576 marked the high point of this middle group. In the later 1570s and early 1580s, as it proved impossible to find a compromise which would satisfy all parties, the middle group or "vredemakers" ("peacemakers") were forced to take sides. The decline of the middle group and the subsequent polarisation within the Netherlands, changed the character of the war. It was at this point, the early to mid-1580s, that the troubles in the Low Countries became a war for independence against Spain.¹²⁵

Taken together with the emphasis upon the particularist character of the Low Countries, this notion of a broad, undecided middle group has further undermined the national conception of the Revolt. If, during the 1560s and 1570s, the troubles were caused by disagreements within the Netherlandish governing élites about how to respond to Protestantism and the struggles became a war for independence only in the 1580s, then Fruin's belief in the clash between two mutually antipathetic nations loses whatever force it once possessed. Without this framework of a national struggle against Spanish oppression, the secondary

¹²⁴ "When we focus on this political problem of the position with regard to the heretics at the centre, the period from 1560 to 1580 turns out to form an unity". Woltjer, "De Vredemakers", 299-300.

¹²⁵ Woltjer, "De Vredemakers", *passim*.

features of the nationalist approach also fall by the wayside. For example, the nationalist understanding of both treason and heroism presupposed the existence of a nation with a common purpose and agreed set of values. Treachery and heroism did, indeed, occur during the Revolt but the context in which the acts of bravery and deceit took place were quite independent of later notions of a nation.¹²⁶ The shift away from the heroic has also affected the reputation of William the Silent. In more recent articles and biographies, the prince retains much of his stature as a great and influential leader, but his motives, at least before 1572, appear less disinterested and his policies more questionable.¹²⁷

It would be wrong, though, to see the new trends in the historiography of the Revolt as wholly destructive in their implications. If, as modern studies maintain, the patriotic phrases and ideas which appeared in the literature of the Revolt were not the spontaneous expression of a Netherlandish nation because such a nation did not exist in the sixteenth century, then it follows that they were created during the course of the Revolt. Much of the most exciting work which has appeared in the last three decades, has been concerned with this creative aspect of patriotic sentiment, an interest expressed in the use of the modern phrase, the 'construction of identity'.¹²⁸ This was of particular interest to J.W. Smit in his 1970 article where he interpreted the patriotic propaganda of the rebels as a conscious attempt to construct an ideology capable of unifying the disparate

¹²⁶ For the new approach to treason, see S. Groenveld, "Trouw en verraad tijdens de nederlandse opstand", Zeeuws Tijdschrift, 37, no.1 (1987) 3-12; A.C. Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands" in A.C. Duke, Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries (London, 1990) 175-97; H. De Schepper, "De mentale rekonversie van de Zuidnederlandse hoge adel na de Pacificatie van Gent", TvG, 89 (1976) 420-28; and F.U. Ros, Rennenberg en de Groningse Malcontenten (Assen, 1964).

¹²⁷ The work of K.W. Swart has been conspicuous in this revision of Orange. See William the Silent and the Revolt of the Netherlands (London, 1978); "Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje de strijd tegen Spaanse overheersing aan te binden?", BMGN, 99 (1984) 554-72; and Willem van Oranje en de Nederlandse Opstand 1572-1584 (The Hague, 1994).

¹²⁸ As E.H. Kossmann in "Enkele vragen met betrekkingen tot het (Noord-) Nederlandse nationale bewustzijn", 225 noted: national feeling "is dan geen vanuit de bevolking opkomende emotie maar een bewust van bovenaf gepropageerd strijdmiddel. Met andere woorden, het "nationale gevoel" drukt niet iets uit over wat er is- namelijk een natie -, maar is een bewust door een elite geconstrueerd instrument." S. Schama's The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (London, 1987) is a particularly rich example of the contemporary interest in the relationship between identity and visual and literary imagery.

elements in the Revolt. According to Smit, in the later 1570s, "William of Orange employed such an appeal [to a supra-provincial, 'national' feeling] to overcome the divisive effects of the Calvinist monopolization of the revolution". This appeal could not overcome particularist and sectional differences but "it could, however, be used by the many non-Protestants among the rebels to justify their resistance and national or patriotic arguments were infused in the literature of the time, thus constituting an additional, minor element in the movement."¹²⁹

The emphasis upon the construction of identity has led not only to a great interest in the way in which Orangist and other supra-provincial identities developed but also to a more positive approach to regional and civic sentiment. For nationalist historians, regional and civic sentiment was essentially a negative phenomenon, treated either as part of a much broader Netherlandish identity or a regressive element, which held up the development of Netherlandish nationality. The very name given to regional sentiment, "particularism", testifies to the negative image of provincial and civic feeling. The modern emphasis upon the plurality of nations, though, has led to civic and provincial identities being treated as equally valid subjects of study.

From this survey of the articles by Schilling, Smit and Woltjer, it seems clear that the principal cause of the emergence of a more pluralistic understanding of the sixteenth-century Low Countries was the continuing development of ideas first expressed clearly and systematically in the 1930s and 1940s. The roots of the ideas put forward by Schilling, Woltjer and Smit are apparent in Enno van Gelder's stress on the existence of a centre group with a 'Burgundian' perspective, Malengreau's demonstration of the power of particularism and Berkelbach van der Sprenkel's call to discard the heroic image of the Revolt. What lay behind this development was the gradual expansion of academic history from the later 1800s. In both the Netherlands and Belgium, more and more lecturing posts were created and more and more students were taught so that the number of historians carrying out research and teaching on the sixteenth-century Low Countries increased. Along with this increase in numbers came a broadening in the conceptual and methodological understanding of History. The key development in this respect was the emergence of social and economic history from the later

¹²⁹ Smit, "The Netherlands Revolution", 44.

1800s, a development stimulated by the rise of Marxism.¹³⁰ The combined effect of this growth in the numbers of professional historians and the greater willingness to look beyond the confines of political history, was to increase the number of specialist studies on the sixteenth-century Low Countries. The effect of this was to deepen the understanding of the diversity of cities, provinces and social groups during the 1500s.

The monolithic understanding of the Revolt was further weakened after 1960 by the establishment of Social history and by the growing influence of the Social Sciences. The nationalist belief in a collective national sense presupposed a more consensual understanding of society. By contrast, writers influenced by social historical models of society broke down states and societies into particular social groups, the composition of each group being determined by economic position, region and social status. For most social historians, the relationship between these social groups was essentially one of conflict, with one social group exercising dominance over other groups. The modern stress on patriotic literature as primarily propaganda produced by groups within the literate classes, in an attempt to secure the allegiance of particular audiences, is based upon the conflict model. It is no coincidence that the only historical work since 1960 to try and revive the nationalist perspective on the early-modern Low Countries, Simon Schama's *The Embarrassment of Riches*, puts forward a consensual view of society and contains a direct attack upon many of the presuppositions of social historical models.¹³¹

As well as suggesting reasons behind the development of the pluralist model of sixteenth-century society, the survey of the articles by Schilling, Smit and Woltjer also suggests what is most distinctive about the modern approach to the problem of patriotic sentiment and identity. Whereas the modern emphasis on the pluralist character of the sixteenth-century Low Countries, the multi-faceted nature of the Revolt, the importance of the 'Middle Groups' and the recognition of the human rather than heroic nature of William the Silent and others, all have their roots in Inter-War historiography, the contemporary interest in the

¹³⁰ See for developments in the Netherlands, Romein, "De geschiedschrijving in Nederland tijdens het Interbellum", *passim*; and Tollebeek, *De toga van Fruin*, *passim*.

¹³¹ Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, *passim*. See especially the introduction, pages 3-11.

construction of identity is more of a post-1960 phenomenon. This is perhaps because the study of the way in which particular social groups create their own identity and the way in which those identities are then adopted by society at large, can be developed in full, only after the pluralist understanding of the past has been widely accepted. Historians like Enno van Gelder, Malengreau and Berkelbach van der Sprenkel, lived too much in the shadow of the national image of the Revolt for them to develop in more detail the implications of their ideas. Their principal concern was more negative than positive: the refutation of the nationalist view and, only in part, the substitution of a comprehensive and detailed alternative.

After outlining the rise to prominence of the pluralist model, it would be as well to point out that the historiographical changes of the post-1960 period have by no means destroyed completely the national state viewpoint in Dutch and Belgian historiography. It is not just a matter of nationalist and anti-Spanish myths surviving in works produced by non-specialists¹³² but of a persistent inability to overcome contemporary state boundaries when looking at the past.¹³³ In part, this is a matter of convenience or, as is often the case with museum exhibitions, commercial necessity. There appears to be no justification, though, for dividing major collaborative works such as the *Nieuwe Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden*¹³⁴ into sections on the northern and southern Netherlands, at least not for the period before the seventeenth century and perhaps not even after then. Comparative works, treating Dutch and Belgian history as a related whole, are still a rarity in Low Countries historiography. In one important respect, a key feature of modern historiography may actually have reinforced the national-state perspective. The contemporary emphasis upon studies of individual cities, regions

¹³² See Marie-Anne Lescourret, *Rubens. A Double Life* (Originally published in French 1990; English translation: London, 1993). Note her comments on Philip II: "His reasoning was simple: for Spanish rule to endure all that was required was to remove the native aristocracy from power and hand over the administration to the Spanish. He excluded them from all government posts....To exacerbate matters even further, Philip placed the country in the charge of Spanish troops. Finally he decreed that the inhabitants of the Low Countries would be Catholic, or cease to exist."

¹³³ The author does not mean to imply that this is a peculiarly Netherlandish phenomenon: English historians have traditionally found it difficult to appreciate the significance of developments in Scotland and Ireland for the history of the whole of the British Isles.

¹³⁴ The *NAGN* was published in 15 Volumes (Haarlem, 1977-83).

and social groups has, undoubtedly, deepened our understanding of the sixteenth century but, at the same time, has discouraged the production of works which would take a broader perspective.

Part IV: Three Studies in the Construction of Identity

It should be clear from the foregoing description of the modern approach to the problem of identity and patriotic sentiment that no one study, let alone a Ph.D, can hope to cover everything that can be known about the sixteenth-century Low Countries. The pluralist model of many nations and many identities, does not so much call for a single all-embracing survey as for as a series of studies looking at such matters as civic and provincial culture, supra-provincial forms of identity, patterns of religious allegiance, the relationship between territorial and feudal forms of identity and the role of written and visual imagery. While admitting the difficulty of writing a comprehensive study of identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries, the need for writing something more than a study of a single subject remains. Only by examining markedly different ways in which identity was constructed during the period, can the validity of the pluralist model as a whole be tested and areas for future research identified.

For this reason, the Ph.D focuses upon three distinct subjects. Two of these subjects follow on naturally from the new approach to the problem of sixteenth-century identity. If, as the modern approach maintains, the patriotic vocabulary and imagery which were present in the second half of the 1500s were created during the Revolt, then a number of questions arise. At what point did these phrases and images enter the polemical literature of the Revolt and what were the sources for these ideas? If the patriotic literature of the Revolt was created by propagandists and other writers for specific purposes, what were those original aims and how did the propaganda develop over the course of the Revolt?

Some studies of this nature have already been carried out¹³⁵ but, so far, no serious work has been carried out on the period in which patriotic propaganda first became an important part of pamphlet literature; that is, the years from 1567 to 1572. Phrases such as 'lover of the fatherland', the 'sweet fatherland' and 'traitors to the fatherland' first gained currency in the pamphlets produced by William the Silent's propaganda team and by other writers who were distinct from Orange's group but sympathetic to his cause. In spite of the fact that the patriotic propaganda which was introduced in 1568-72, became an established part of polemical literature in the Low Countries for the next two centuries, the sources which the pamphlet writers used for the patriotic phrases have not been clearly identified. The principal purpose of the chapter on 'Rebel Propaganda', therefore, is to establish the sources which Orange and others used for the patriotic vocabulary, with the secondary aims of listing and describing the pamphlets, determining their impact and finding out whether they shed any light upon mid-sixteenth century attitudes to the Low Countries.

The culture of the late-medieval and early-modern Low Countries will forever be associated with the great works of art produced by painters like Van Eyck, Brueghel and Rembrandt. Given the association of the Low Countries with the great tradition of Flemish and Dutch art, it is somewhat surprising that the contribution of other aspects of Netherlandish visual culture to the construction of identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries, has not been fully explored. From the point of view of the development of different forms of identity in the sixteenth-century, perhaps the most significant of these visual forms of Netherlandish culture were the small-scale topographical and symbolic maps produced in ever-increasing numbers through the sixteenth century. The role of these maps in the shift from a feudal to a territorial form of identity in the 1500s and their possible significance as expressions of civic and supra-provincial identity, forms the subject matter of the chapter on 'Cartography and Chorography'.

By contrast to the chapters on 'Rebel Propaganda' and 'Cartography', the work on 'Calvinism and the Dutch Israel thesis' is as much a response to four centuries of Calvinist writing on the Revolt as it is a consequence of the modern

¹³⁵ See Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country?", 190-92 for the appearance of the term 'patriot' in September 1576 and D. Horst and J. Tanis, Images of Discord. De Tweedracht Verbeeld. A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War (Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, 1993).

approaches to the sixteenth-century Low Countries. The Reformed conception of the relationship between the Dutch Republic and the Reformed Church, the revival of the Calvinist perspective on the Dutch state in the 1840s and 1850s and Abraham Kuyper's belief in the essentially Calvinist character of the Dutch nation, bear witness to a powerful tradition within the Netherlands of approaching the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries from a Reformed perspective.¹³⁶ The chapter on 'Calvinism and the Dutch Israel thesis' is a study of the beginnings of this tradition. The study approaches the problem of the relationship between religious and 'national' allegiances through the standpoint of the notion of a 'Dutch Israel'. As this thesis is concerned with identity in the sixteenth century, the chapter concentrates upon the period from the 1540s to the 1580s, a time when Calvinism was stronger in the southern than in the northern Netherlands.

The chapters on rebel patriotic propaganda, cartography and Calvinism are all detailed studies of particular problems related to identity. The chapter which follows this introduction is much more of an outline study and should be treated as such. It has been included because all of the more detailed chapters touch upon a number of different identities, most of them well-known, such as civic and provincial loyalties, others less so, such as the residual sense of a common Germanic world. The chapter on the 'sources and nature of identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries' is intended, then, as a guide to the confusing array of allegiances and ties of sentiment which existed in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. By sketching in this background and drawing out the origins of the various forms of sixteenth-century identity, the chapter should put the developments recorded in the more detailed studies into better perspective.

¹³⁶ Elements of this tradition survive still in the person of such parliamentarians as A.J. Verbrugh: H. Lademacher, Die Niederlande. Politische Kultur zwischen Individualität und Anpassung (Berlin, 1993) 11.

CHAPTER TWO

THE SOURCES AND NATURE OF PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT IN THE LOW COUNTRIES BEFORE 1559

For those who wish to know what the inhabitants of the sixteenth-century Low Countries understood by their country and their nation, the best guide is an article by the Dutch historian Simon Groenveld, "Natie en nationaal gevoel in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden", published in 1980.¹ Like all but a few historians since 1945, and especially since the 1960s, Groenveld rejected the nationalist belief in a collective national sense developing through the centuries, a collective sense which expressed itself in the form of immutable 'national' characteristics and in the guise of statesmen and heroes who embodied the 'national interest'. Groenveld emphasised instead the importance of basing an account of sixteenth-century national sentiment upon what contemporaries understood by such terms as 'nation' or 'fatherland'. After examining contemporary sources, Groenveld concluded that the nationalist model of one nation corresponding, in some form, to the modern Low Countries, was untenable. In its place, he proposed the model of a plurality of nations and countries in the sixteenth-century Low Countries, a diversity which reflected the plural character of what may be called the Burgundian state.

This chapter has a similar purpose to that of Groenveld's article; that is, to explain the different forms of identity which existed in the sixteenth-century Netherlands. This does not mean, however, that the chapter conflicts with or replaces "Natie en nationaal gevoel...". As the emphasis in this chapter is upon the origins as well as the nature of sixteenth-century forms of identity, then it should complement Groenveld's article. There are two main advantages of looking at the development of forms of identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries over a long period of time. By taking a long perspective on the subject, it becomes all the more clear how novel supra-provincial forms of identity were in the sixteenth-century Netherlandish area. The tendency to project the boundaries of modern states or political associations back into the past and so create a

¹ The article appeared in Het Nederlands Archievenblad, 84 (1980) 372-87.

'medieval Low Countries' or a 'medieval Germany' may be justified on the grounds of convenience but it makes it more difficult to understand fully the realities of political life in the past. This is as true of the Netherlandish region as of any other area: it was not until the fifteenth century that a political unit embracing most of the provinces which were later to become the Low Countries came into being and not until the sixteenth century that a term specifically denoting that political unit became widespread. It was only during and after the creation of this political unit that a supra-provincial sentiment could develop.

The study of pre-sixteenth century forms of identity also highlights the existence of more universal ties of allegiance such as the religious sense of Christendom and the more cultural sense of a common linguistic family. By the sixteenth century these forms of identity were much less marked and could easily be overlooked in a survey of the 1500s. The second advantage of looking at the medieval origins of sixteenth-century identity, therefore, is that it shows the background to forms of identity which, though in decline in the 1500s, still constituted a source of ideas and images for various groups.

After the state-building policies of the Burgundian and Habsburg rulers, the most important source of identity in the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was humanism. By making the educated members of society more familiar with the culture of antiquity, humanism changed their attitudes towards the countries in which they lived. Under the influence of humanism, many people came to see their countries in more emotive terms, a feeling which they expressed in verse, in music and in visual imagery. As the spread of humanism was largely a cultural phenomenon, this chapter treats the subject separately from the development of the Burgundian state, a development which was more political in nature. The spread of humanism was apparent in the 1550s when some leading members of the nobility expressed disquiet about their lack of influence in government. During this period, some nobles used the term "patrie" to refer to the Habsburg Netherlands, a term which almost certainly indicates the influence of humanism. The chapter concludes with a brief examination of this decade in which the beginnings of the later Revolt have sometimes been sought.

Part I: The Netherlandish Region from the Ninth to the Fourteenth Century

Before the fifteenth century, the political life of the peoples who lived along the upper reaches of the Rhine and Meuse and on either side of the more localised Scheldt, was governed by a set of political arrangements best described as being local, regional and universal in nature. Of these political arrangements or frameworks, the most long-lasting was the boundary between the Empire and the kingdom of France, which was established as early as the ninth and tenth centuries. In a series of treaties, beginning with Verdun in 843, the future Netherlandish region was divided into two kingdoms. The left, western bank of the river Scheldt became part of *Francia Occidentalis*; the right, eastern bank of the Scheldt became part of *Francia Orientalis*. In due course, these two divisions of the Frankish empire developed into the kingdoms of France and Germany respectively. The boundary which distinguished the Empire from France survived largely intact until the sixteenth century when Crown Flanders, Artois, Hainault and other northern parts of the Kingdom of France, were all incorporated into the Empire. The boundary between the kingdom of France and the Empire did not reflect linguistic divisions. Crown Flanders, a predominantly Germanic-speaking area, stood on the left or French side of the Scheldt, while the principality of Liège, mainly Romance-speaking in nature, belonged to the Imperial lands. The fact that the jurisdictional boundaries cut across linguistic divisions was of no great significance at the time.²

When the Frankish empire disintegrated in the course of the ninth and tenth centuries, the administrative districts into which the empire had been divided formed the basis of new political powers. The counts, the officials who administered these areas, became the rulers of the districts and sought by various means to increase their own power. The most successful of these were the counts of Flanders who from the late ninth to the eleventh centuries managed to extend their domain into a large part of what is now northern France. The development of independent principalities in the lands around the mouths of the Rhine, Meuse

² H. Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State (Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries)", American Historical Review, 14 (1908/09) 477-502, 481; Marie-Thérèse Bitsch, Histoire de la Belgique (Published by Hatier and printed in Turin, Italy, 1992) 20; J.A. Kossmann-Putto and E.H. Kossmann, The Low Countries. History of the Northern and Southern Netherlands (Rekkem, Flanders, 1987) 10.

and Scheldt was facilitated by the decline of imperial power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Weakened by the Investiture Controversy and the emergence of powerful regional rulers throughout the Empire, the emperor's lordship in the north-western parts of the empire became ever more nominal.

Unlike the emperor, the kings of France grew in power in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Nevertheless, they too were unable to intervene effectively in the future Netherlandish region, partly because of the strength of the Counts of Flanders. Consequently, there was little to stop the gradual emergence of autonomous principalities in the low lying areas around the Rhine and the Meuse. Through a mix of war, imperial gifts, purchases and marriages, the rulers in the region, both secular and religious, increased the extent of their rule. As a result, power became concentrated in certain principalities, such as the duchies of Brabant and Limburg and the counties of Hainault, Holland and Flanders. These principalities, whose limits were generally established in the twelfth to the thirteenth centuries, formed the basis of the provincial framework which survived until the sixteenth century and, in various modified forms, beyond then.³

The development of these principalities into well established political units was evident in their emergence as legal communities or areas subject to a common legal code. This was already the case with Brabant in the thirteenth century. In Liège, it was not until 1386 that a common new law, applicable to all parts of the territory, was accepted everywhere but the term "pays de la loi de Liège" was current as early as the 1200s, signifying the growing extent of Liégeois law throughout the episcopal principality.⁴ The development of the principalities is also apparent in the designations given to some areas, such as the "terre et pais de Namur".⁵

Perhaps the most significant indication of the establishment of the principalities, though, was the development of regional assemblies. These assemblies, which were meant to represent the interests of the subjects,

³ Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State", 481-85; Bitsch, Histoire de la Belgique, 20-22; and Kossmann-Putto and Kossmann, The Low Countries, 5, 10-11.

⁴ J. Lejeune, Liège et son Pays. Naissance d'une Patrie (XIII-XIV siècles), (Ph.D, University of Liège, 1948) 477-78 and 497-500.

⁵ Lejeune, Liège et son Pays, 477-78 and 497-500.

developed throughout the Netherlandish area in the course of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.⁶ The composition of these representative bodies varied according to the social and economic make-up of the province concerned. In the more rural provinces to the south and east, such as Hainault and Artois, the nobility and higher clergy were the dominant powers in both the province and the estates. The rulers of these provinces were able to secure a large measure of control because their interests tended to merge with the nobility. Elsewhere, though, matters were very different. On the basis of the woollen cloth industry, and the favourable trading position of the Netherlandish region, a wealthy, powerful and predominantly urban civilisation developed in Flanders and Brabant.⁷ In Flanders, the dominance of the great cities of Ghent, Bruges and Ypres was reflected in the power of the so-called *Vier Leden* ("the four members") in the assembly of Flanders. In Holland and Brabant, too, the power of the cities was such that the rulers of these provinces were unable to form the usual alliance between themselves and the nobility.

For much of the fourteenth century, these regional assemblies were in a stronger position than their respective rulers and they used this power to extort significant concessions from their rulers in the form of privileges. Many of these privileges were simply economic rights and liberties granted to particular cities and provinces but the main group of charters were those which concerned government and the administration of justice.⁸ The most significant privilege was the *Joyeuse*

⁶ For what follows on the regional assemblies see H.G. Koenigsberger, "The Beginnings of the States General of the Netherlands", Parliaments, Estates and Representation, 8, No.2 (December 1988) 101-14, 103-04; M. Van Gelderen, The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590 (Cambridge, 1992) 22-23; H.G. Koenigsberger, "The States General of the Netherlands before the Revolt" in Estates and Revolutions. Essays in Early Modern European History (London, 1971) 125-43, 126-27; R. Vaughan, Valois Burgundy (London, 1976) 113-15, 117, 120-21 and 121.

⁷ For the development of the woollen cloth industry see: Bitsch, Histoire de la Belgique, 23-25 and G. Holmes, Europe: Hierarchy and Revolt 1320-1450 (London, 1975) 17-23.

⁸ J.J. Woltjer in "Dutch Privileges, Real and Imaginary" in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, V (The Hague, 1975) 19-35 and Van Gelderen, The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 27-30. At this stage, privileges proper, that is laws granted to a city or representative body by a ruler, were still distinguished from customs, privileges which had obtained the force of law through long usage. By the 1500s, the distinction had become blurred so that rulers and subjects commonly referred to privileges, customs and freedoms as one and the same thing: G.E. Wells, Antwerp and the Government of Philip II: 1555-1567 (Unpublished Ph.D; Cornell University, 1982) 76-77.

Entrée ("the Joyous Entry") of Brabant, which was first granted in 1356. The articles of the *Joyeuse Entrée* impressed upon the ruler the obligation to maintain the privileges of the duchy and to act in such a way as not to contravene or impair them:

"Ende dat wy egheene saken geloven noch bezegelen en zullen dair onse landen, palen oft steden, oft eenige van het vanden lande voirs. oft die rechten, vrieden, previlegien gecranct, vermyndert oft onse lande ende ondersaten der zelve lande mede bescadicht mogen wordden in eeniger manieren."⁹

If the ruler contravened any of the articles, then the privilege gave his subjects in Brabant the right to refuse obedience to him:

"Ende waer dat sake, dat wij, onse hoir nacomelingen jeghen enighe van desen voirs. punten, articulen ende vesticheden ghingen, daden of daden doen/ in al ocht in deel, hoe ende in wat manieren dat dat waer, soe consenteren wi ende willecoiren onsen voirs. goiden lieden, dat si ons, noch onsen hoir, noch onsen nacomelinghen nemmermeer neghenen dienst doen en suelen noch onderhorich sijn totter tijt dat wi hen dat weder daen hadden ende afghelaten/ volcomelic."¹⁰

⁹ "And we shall not give our pledge or seal to any other act by which our countries, boundaries, or cities, or any of their inhabitants, or any of their rights, liberties or privileges might be injured or diminished or our countries and subjects damaged in any way". The quotation is taken from article 3 of the 1515 and 1549 texts. The article, along with a translation, from which the extract above is taken, appear in G. Griffiths, Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century (Oxford, 1968) 346.

¹⁰ Article 34 from the text of 1356: "...And should it be that we, our heir or our successors should go, do or have anything done against any of the aforesaid points, articles and settlements, in whole or in part, in whatsoever manner, we consent and concede to our aforesaid good members that they nevermore need do us, our heir or our successors any service, nor be obedient to them until such time as we have reversed abandoned this (policy) toward them completely." Text and translation from Griffiths, Representative Government, 350. In the 1515 text, the substance of this article appears in article 64. See H.H. Rowen, ed., The Low Countries in Early Modern Times (London, 1972) 12-16, for a translation of some articles, including article 64, from the 1515 text.

This particular privilege was then confirmed and each time slightly modified, at the inauguration of every subsequent ruler of Brabant. Although the privileges relating to government and the administration of justice were not constitutions as such, they began to take on the nature of inviolate fundamental laws, and were guarded jealously by the cities and the regional bodies which represented their interests.

Since it was within this civic and provincial framework that most people lived their lives before the fifteenth century, the medieval conception of the country was primarily local and regional in nature. This 'localist' understanding of the country was reflected in the medieval French meaning of the words 'pays' and 'patria'. The meaning of both words was still tied to the classical sense of the locality in which someone was born; in short, the 'country' could be anything from a village to a market town and to a city. For this reason, when chroniclers referred to any area larger than a region, they tended to use 'patria' and 'pay' in the plural. The chroniclers also lacked any sense of a single, territorially defined French patria; instead, they spoke about the fatherlands of France rather than the one French patria.¹¹

The same appears to have been the case for the extreme northern-most provinces of the kingdom of France and the north-western provinces of the Empire. The 'pay' or, in Dutch, the 'lant', was not a large, territorially defined area corresponding in some sense to the modern Dutch and Belgian 'states' but, instead, a hazily defined area based upon anything from a village to a province. If the provinces in this north-western part of the European mainland differed from other areas at all, it was perhaps in the importance of civic identity. The cities in the Netherlandish region became important at a relatively early stage so cities would have played a more significant part in the lives of the inhabitants than elsewhere in Europe. This being so, civic identity was perhaps the paramount sense of identity in the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. The well-being and security of each citizen was bound up with the welfare and prosperity of the city as a whole so citizens identified very strongly with the town or city in which they lived.

Although the provinces of the Netherlandish region were less developed at this stage than later, provincial sentiment does seem to have emerged during

¹¹ G. Dupont-Ferrier, "Le sens des mots "patria" et "patrie" en France au moyen age et jusqu'au début du XVII siècle", Revue Historique, 188 (1940) 89-104.

periods of conflict and rivalry between different provinces and regions. This was certainly the case with Liège and Brabant who waged a long series of conflicts between 1212 and 1383.¹² The most highly developed provincial identity was that of Flanders. The economic power of the province and the distinctive urban civilisation undoubtedly fostered among the élite of the Flemish towns a sense of pride in Flanders. This provincial awareness was sharpened during the conflict against the king of France in the later thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.¹³

There existed also a number of other sources of allegiance and identity which were more universal in scope. Of these more universal sources of identity, the most significant was the consciousness of being part of Christendom. Unlike the other forms of allegiance, this consciousness served to unite rather than to divide the great majority of the inhabitants of medieval Europe. Within Christendom, this form of identity was only rarely used to distinguish one group from another. The significance of the Christian domination of European culture, though, also lay in the extent to which the patriotic vocabulary of classical Rome which medieval Europe inherited was changed in meaning to accord with Christian ideas. Thus it was that the classical 'patria', the earthly fatherland to which all owed allegiance, became synonymous with heaven, the true and universal fatherland of all men. In medieval Dutch, the meaning of the word 'vaderland' was restricted to this sense of 'heaven' as in a fifteenth-century Bruges translation of the classical philosopher Boëthius: "Dit jeghenwoordich leven es een pelgrimage gheseit, ende hemelrike onse vaderlant".¹⁴ During the twelfth century, in particular, classical concepts such as 'pugno pro patria' and 'mori pro patria' were seen in a religious light. As the fatherland was heaven, fighting for the fatherland meant fighting for the kingdom of God. Although the religious understanding of

¹² Lejeune, Liège et son Pays, 471-79 and J. Van Gerven, "Nationaal gevoel en stedelijke politieke visies in het 14de eeuwse Brabant. Het voorbeeld van Jan Van Boendale", Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis (1976) 59, 145-64.

¹³ D. Nicholas, Medieval Flanders (London, 1992) 193-97, 201 and Lejeune, Liège et son Pays, 430-31.

¹⁴ "This present life is called a pilgrimage and the kingdom of heaven our fatherland" in J.W. Muller, "Vaderland en moedertaal", Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse taal en letterkunde, 47 (1928) 43-62, 45-47. See also the Middel Nederlandsch Woordenboek, VIII (The Hague, 1916; reprint 1971) Column 1140, E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, eds.; Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, XVIII (The Hague, 1958) M. de Vries, L.A. te Winkel et al, eds., 176-77.

these terms gradually declined after the twelfth century, there were still many in the sixteenth century who continued to emphasise heaven as the true fatherland.¹⁵

As well as an universal religious sense, there existed also the ancient political loyalties centred upon the Empire and the kingdom of France. As the whole of the future Netherlandish region lay within either the kingdom of France or the Empire, the inhabitants of these provinces could draw upon French or Imperial imagery when constructing their identity. Until the Burgundian period, the French-speaking provinces which lay within the bounds of the kingdom of France were subject to the strong influence of the French Crown. Their identity was clearly focused upon the king of France. In the Germanic-speaking provinces which lay to the north of the political divide, the imperial sense was of much less importance and became more limited in nature with the declining reputation of the emperor from the second half of the thirteenth century.¹⁶ The influence of the Imperial and French political sense is perhaps most apparent in the case of Liège which stood in the unusual, though not unique, position of being a Romance-speaking province within the Empire. The imperial status of the city and province was evident in the prevalence of the imperial eagle which could be found on the top of Liège town hall, the reverse side of the city's seal and on the coat-of-arms of such groups as the tanners and drapers of the city. The authority of the Empire and its Roman model were acknowledged, for example, by the Liègeois notaries who referred to themselves as "notaires par autorité de l'Impyre de Rome".¹⁷ At the same time, the province was subject to the powerful influence of France and throughout the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the Liègeois were generally more sympathetic to the cause of the king of France than to that of his rivals.¹⁸

The religious and political sources of allegiance were not the only forms of universal identity. There also existed an universal identity of a more cultural-linguistic nature, an identity best described as a consciousness of being part of a

¹⁵ See J.R. Hale, Renaissance Europe 1480-1520 (London, 1971) 233-34 and Verwijs and Verdam, Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, XVIII, 176-77.

¹⁶ H. Kampinga, Opvattingen over onze Vaderlandse Geschiedenis bij de Hollandse Historici der 16e en 17e Eeuw (Reprint: Utrecht, 1980; originally published 1917) 111-12.

¹⁷ "notaries by the Empire of Rome": Lejeune, Liège et son Pays, 421-42.

¹⁸ Lejeune, Liège et son Pays, 443-66.

great linguistic and cultural group.¹⁹ This linguistic sense was apparent in the designations given to the various Germanic dialects in the Netherlandish region. The Franconian dialects spoken in Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Zeeland were from as early as the thirteenth century distinguished from High German,²⁰ but the names used to designate this speech by both natives and foreigners alike, emphasised the Germanic nature of the language. In common with the other continental Germanic peoples, the inhabitants of the southern Netherlands adopted as a name for their own tongue a derivative of the Germanic translation of the Latin 'Theodiscus'. In Flanders this Germanic word became "Diets", in Brabant "Diuts", in England "Douts" and later "Dutch" and in southern Germany "Deutsch".²¹ Each of these forms was ambiguous: they could mean either the local variation of the Germanic vernacular or all of the Germanic languages together. The use of the regional designation of the language to cover all the Germanic tongues could have a powerful resonance. As the fourteenth century poet Jan van Boendale indicates in his history *Van den derden Eduward* ("Of Edward III"), "Dietsch" as the Flemish called their language, was intimately related to the sense of a common 'Germanicness'.

"Want tkerstenheit is gedeelt in twee,
die Walsche tongen die es een,
dandre die dietsche al geheel..."²²

¹⁹ J. Huizinga, "Patriotism and Nationalism in European History" in Men and Ideas. History, the Middle Ages, the Renaissance (New York, 1970) 97-155, 110-11; and R.W. Southern, The Making of the Middle Ages (London, 1967) 18-21.

²⁰ J. Huizinga, "L'État Bourguignon, ses rapports avec la France, et les origines d'une nationalité néerlandaise" in J. Huizinga. Verzamelde Werken, 9 Volumes (Haarlem, 1948-53) II, 161-215, 210.

²¹ P. Brachin, The Dutch Language. A Survey (Cheltenham, 1985) 6-13; C.A.J. Armstrong, "The Language Question in the Low Countries" in J.R. Hale, J.R.L. Highfield and B. Smalley, eds., Europe in the Later Middle Ages (London, 1965) 386-409, 386-87; "Dutch", The Oxford English Dictionary (2nd edition: Oxford, 1989) IV, 1139-40.

²² "For Christendom is divided in two/ The Walloon tongues are one/ All the others are 'dietsche'..." Huizinga, "Patriotism and Nationalism", 111 and H.H.E. Wouters, "Het Nationaliteitsbesef in de Bourgondische Nederlanden bij de kroniekschrijvers der 15e eeuw", Publications de la Société Historique de Archéologique dans le Limbourg, 85 (1949) 751-87, 780. The varieties of French spoken in the future Walloon areas were simply dialects of northern French. Although there were political and, to some extent, economic ties between these areas and Flanders, Brabant and Holland, there was

Before the fifteenth century, therefore, there existed a great variety of identities in the low-lying areas to the north and south of the Scheldt and the lower Rhine and Meuse, but the one form of identity which did not exist was any conception of a patria which corresponded to the modern Low Countries. This is evident in the use of the term, the 'Low' or 'Nether' lands. The term was certainly used before the fifteenth century but because it still had geographical rather than political connotations, the 'Netherlands' encompassed the whole coastal and delta area stretching from what is now northern France all the way to present-day north-eastern Germany including also the lower Rhineland area of Cleves and Jülich.²³ It is noticeable also that when chroniclers referred to the inhabitants of the Netherlandish region, they did not group the people of the region together under one title, but distinguished them from each other by province, city and language. This was the case, for example, with Froissart who, when describing the situation in France after 1360, wrote: "There were many men of other nations, who were great captains and great pillagers and who had no wish at all to depart so easily: Germans, Brabanters, Flemings, Hainaulters, Bretons, Gascons and bad Frenchmen who had been impoverished by the wars...".²⁴ The absence of a 'Netherlandish' form of identity and the strength of civic and provincial identity merely reflected the political realities of the region during the Middle Ages. Between the ninth and fifteenth centuries, no political power emerged to control a significant number of the different principalities. Without such a power, a cross-provincial form of identity corresponding, at least geographically, to a Netherlandish identity could not emerge.

Part II: The Establishment of the Burgundian State

otherwise nothing to distinguish them from the rest of northern France. Armstrong, "The Language Question in the Low Countries", 388-89.

²³ H. Lademacher, Die Niederlande. Politische Kultur zwischen Individualität und Anpassung (Berlin, 1993) 15; Kossmann-Putto and Kossmann, The Low Countries, 5; and J. Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis van ons nationaal besef" in J.H. Huizinga. Verzamelde Werken, II, 95-160, 98.

²⁴ Quoted in Holmes, Hierarchy and Revolt, 41. Note also how the chapters in the relevant volumes of both the old and new AGN are subdivided into accounts of the separate principalities: the old AGN, II (925-1305) and in the new AGN, II, 281-502, the section headed "Politieke ontwikkeling circa 1100-1400".

It was only in the fifteenth century that a political unit embracing most of the future Netherlandish provinces first emerged. This political body was, to some extent, foreshadowed by the development of ties of association between some of the provinces in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Dynastic policies and the accidents of birth and death combined to unite some provinces together under the same ruler: Brabant and Limburg in 1288; Holland, Zeeland and Hainault in 1299; and the cities of Mechelen and Antwerp with Flanders in 1357. Of equal importance was the growing economic unity in the Netherlandish region. The development of the woollen cloth industry in Flanders, Brabant and part of Artois in the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries, increased the commercial ties between these provinces. Brabant's trade, in particular, which had hitherto looked to the east, began from the thirteenth century to be drawn towards Flanders. The economic ties between some of the provinces facilitated the drawing up of numerous treaties of alliance and economic agreement. Although the treaty of 3rd December 1339 was concluded by the rulers of Brabant and Flanders, the towns of the two provinces were important co-signatories as were the provinces of Hainault, Holland and Zeeland. The civic magistrates in the Flemish and Brabant towns believed that the treaty would advance industrial and trading relations between the two provinces. A similar treaty was concluded between the Brabant towns of Louvain and Brussels on the one hand and Liège and Hoei on the other hand in September 1347.²⁵

Although the ties of association between the provinces were becoming stronger before the later fourteenth century, there is no evidence to support the view that an independent and distinct political entity would have necessarily developed in the low-lying delta region or that it need have taken the form which it did. It was only the development and survival of the Burgundian state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which created the political body which came to be known as the Low Countries. The Burgundian state was established by a branch of the French royal house, the Valois dukes of Burgundy, whose ancestral provinces were the duchy and county of Burgundy in eastern France. In 1384,

²⁵ Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State", 485-88 and P. Avonds, "Beschouwingen over het ontstaan en de evolutie van het samenhorigheidsbesef in de Nederlanden (14de-19de eeuw)" in J. Andriessen, A. Keersmaekers and P.L. Lenders, eds., Cultuurgeschiedenis in de Nederlanden van de Renaissance naar de Romantiek. Liber Amicorum (Louvain/Amersfoort, 1986) 45-58, 45-49.

Philip the Bold, the first of the Valois dukes of Burgundy, inherited the counties of Flanders and Artois, thus acquiring a foothold in the extreme north-western part of France. Through careful dynastic policies, Philip and his successors, John the Fearless, Philip the Good and Charles the Bold, were able to secure control of all the other principal provinces in the northern low lands. Most of these provinces were acquired in the space of 13 years: Brabant in 1430, Holland, Hainault and Zeeland in 1433 and Luxemburg in 1441-43.²⁶

In January 1477, the death of Charles the Bold, the last Valois duke of Burgundy, precipitated a crisis in the Burgundian realms, during which the Burgundian state underwent two fundamental changes. Before 1477, the Burgundian state bore a dualistic character because the lands belonging to the dukes were split into two distinct groups of territories, the northern possessions, centred upon Flanders, Brabant, Hainault and Holland and the southern possessions of Burgundy in France. However, during the crisis which followed the death of Charles the Bold, control over the duchy of Burgundy passed to the king of France. Henceforth, the northern or 'Netherlandish' provinces were to form the effective power base of the Valois dukes's successors.

The second fundamental change was the dynastic shift from Valois to Habsburg which was brought about by the marriage of Charles the Bold's heiress, Mary of Burgundy to the Habsburg Maximilian of Austria in April 1477. When Mary died in 1482, Maximilian acted as regent until their son Philip the Fair came of age in 1493-94. Although never popular in the Low Countries and troubled by a number of revolts, Maximilian still managed to hand over to Philip largely intact the Netherlandish provinces which Mary had inherited in 1477. These provinces, all of which were brought together by the dukes of Burgundy, were known as the *patrimonium* or the patrimonial provinces.²⁷ These patrimonial provinces formed the base from which Charles V was to carry out further expansion in the 1520s to the 1540s. Along the southern borders of the Burgundian lands, Charles V took control of the city state of Tournai (1521). In the lands to the east of Holland and the north and east of Brabant, Charles became the ruler of Friesland in 1523-24,

²⁶ Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State", 488-90 and W. Prevenier and W. Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands (Cambridge, 1986) 203-07.

²⁷ R. Van Uytven, "Crisis als cesuur 1482-94" in the NAGN, V, 420-35; and C.A.J. Armstrong, "The Burgundian Netherlands, 1477-1521" in The New Cambridge Modern History, 13 Volumes (Cambridge, 1957-1979) I, 224-43.

Utrecht and Overijssel in 1528, Groningen, the Ommelanden and Drenthe in 1536 and Gelderland in 1543. The conquest of Gelderland in 1543 gave to the Burgundian state what was to become its definitive form.²⁸ As a way of distinguishing these north-eastern provinces from the older patrimonial provinces, the provinces of Friesland, Utrecht, Overijssel, Groningen, the Ommelanden and Gelderland were described as the newly conquered provinces.

The emergence of the Burgundian state during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was signified by both the various proposals which were put forward in this period to turn part or all of this state into a kingdom and by the appearance of a variety of names to designate the state during the 1500s. The possibility that the Netherlandish provinces might be bound together under one title to form a distinct kingdom was first raised seriously in 1447 when the Emperor Frederick III suggested that one of the Netherlandish provinces be raised to a kingdom, the title of king being given to Philip the Good. Philip refused because he wanted all the imperial territories which he controlled to become a kingdom and because he did not wish to pay homage to the Emperor. The idea of establishing a kingdom was mooted again on at least four subsequent occasions before 1477 and, in various forms, five or more times in the sixteenth century.²⁹ Although nothing came of these proposals, the fact that the possibility of creating a kingdom was discussed seriously is highly significant. It suggests that the political body established by the Burgundian dukes and the Habsburgs was accepted as a more or less permanent feature of the political landscape.

The names accorded to the possessions of the Burgundian dukes and the Habsburgs during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries also reveal the gradual establishment of the state. It is significant that, before 1477, no name evolved to

²⁸ J. Craeybeckx, "De eenmaking van de Nederlanden", in AGN, IV, 110-14, 110; Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian state", 490-92; and G. Parker, The Dutch Revolt (2nd edition: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1985) 30.

²⁹ Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 211-13; Vaughan, Valois Burgundy, 28-29; Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 129-31; E. Gossart, "Projets d'érection des Pays-Bas en royaume sous Philippe II", Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques et de la classe des Beaux-Arts (Brussels, 1900) 558-78; P. Bonenfant, "Les projets d'érection des Pays-Bas en royaume de XVe au XVIII siècle" and M.A. Arnould, "L'Empereur Maximilien songea-t-il à ériger les Pays-Bas en royaume" both of which appeared in the Revue de l'Université de Bruxelles. Quarante et unième année 1935-1936 (Brussels, 1936) 151-69 and 263-83 respectively.

designate all the lands owing fealty to the Burgundian dukes. The absence of a common name is an indication of the novel nature of the political body created by the dukes but also of the difficulties imposed by the dualistic character of the Burgundian territories. As the name of 'Burgundy' was still associated with the duchy and county of that name in France, it could not serve as a collective name for all the Burgundian territories. When the Burgundian chronicler, Georges Chastellain, for example, spoke about "ces deux natures de nations, François et Bourguignons" ("those two characters of the nations, French and Burgundian"), he had to explain that he meant by this, the subjects of all the lands belonging to the dukes and not just the subjects in the duchy and county of Burgundy.³⁰ To designate the two territories, the Burgundian administration tended to use the phrases "pays de par deçà" ("the lands hither") to designate the area in which the duke was staying and "pays de par delà" ("the lands thither") to refer to the area where the ruler was not presently based. It is noticeable that the use of these phrases depended entirely on the proximity of the ruler.³¹

Even after 1477, when control of the duchy of Burgundy passed to the king of France and Burgundian power became concentrated in the northern possessions of the dukes, the names accorded to the Burgundian state still emphasised its plurality. Diplomatic texts during the reign of Philip the Fair (1494-1506) referred not to some common name for the territories but to "és pays monseigneur l'archiduc" ("the lands of the archiduke") (1493), the "terrae et dominia" ("lands and lordships") (1495) or the "terrae et patriae Brabantiae, Flandriae, Hannoniae, Hollandiae" ("the lands and countries of Brabant, Flanders, Hainault and Holland") (1495/1506).³² Although terms to designate the Burgundian state and its inhabitants began to appear from the later 1400s and early 1500s, these terms were still rare and the Burgundian state continued to lack

³⁰ Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 124-25.

³¹ Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 125; Wouters, "Het Nationaliteitsbesef", 782-83; L. Van der Essen, "Notre nom national. Quelques textes peu remarquables des XVI et XVII siècles", *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 24, part 1 (1925) 121-31, 121; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, 24; and P. Cockshaw, "A Propos des pays de par deçà et des pays de par delà", *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 51 (1974) 386-89.

³² J.M. Cauchies, "Die burgundischen Niederlande unter Erzherzog Philipp dem Schönen (1494-1506): ein doppelter Integrationsprozeß" in F. Seibt and W. Eberhardt, eds., *Europa 1500. Integrationsprozesse im Widerstreit. Staaten, Regionen, Personenverbände, Christenheit* (Stuttgart, 1987) 27-52, 35.

a commonly agreed name. Even the knowledgeable Erasmus, who possessed some sense of a Burgundian Netherlands, had difficulty describing the generality of the Netherlands. He tended to use not a general term but simply 'Brabant' because, by the early sixteenth century, it was the most important of the provinces. For example, when referring to his wide range of patrons, he described them as being "idque in omnibus fere regionibus, Anglia, Brabantia, Hispania, Germania, Gallia, Ungeria, Polonia...".³³

Although terms emphasising the plurality of the Burgundian state continued to be used well into the sixteenth century, some proper nouns began to appear after 1477. The first of these names was that of 'Burgundy' which, more and more after 1477, was applied to the inhabitants of the Low Countries. This was partly because, in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, the era of the Burgundian dukes acquired the aura of a golden age. By appropriating the name of Burgundy, the Habsburgs were able to exploit this prestige. Above all, though, it was the long series of wars with France which gave the term 'Burgundy' popular currency. Thus it was that when the Burgundians recaptured Saint Omer in 1488 the people cried "à haulte voix ces tres douch mots Vive Bourgogne, qui longtemps avoient estez tenus en silence"³⁴ and when Philip the Fair was inaugurated as Count of Namur in 1495 the cry of 'Vive Bourgogne!' rang out in the streets as the prince entered.³⁵ Eventually, the term was extended to the Habsburg forces which fought against France. The diarist Pasquier de le Barre, described the Habsburg army which fought at St. Quentin as "l'armée des bourguignons".³⁶

The most common of the general terms which emerged in the later fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries was that of the 'Netherlands' or the 'Low Countries'. As the Burgundian state became more established, the term gradually evolved

³³ "In practically all regions, England, the Netherlands, Spain, Germany, France, Hungary and Poland." J.J. Poelhekke, "The Nameless Homeland of Erasmus", Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, VII (1974) 54-87, especially 83-84 and J. Huizinga, "Erasmus über Vaterland und Nationen" in J. Huizinga. Verzamelde Werken, VI, 252-67.

³⁴ "loudly, those very sweet words, Vive Bourgogne, which for a long time had been kept in silence". Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 124-25 and 157.

³⁵ Van der Essen, "Notre nom national", 130-31.

³⁶ "The army of the Burgundians." G. Moreau, ed., Le Journal d'un bourgeois de Tournai (Brussels, 1975) 387.

from its original geographical sense, a term applicable, of course, to a much wider area than the future Netherlandish state, to its political sense of those areas in north-western Europe ruled by the Habsburgs. It was perhaps during the first regency of Maximilian that the term first became generally used. Maximilian used the description 'Netherlands' in contrast to the hereditary lands of the Habsburgs which were situated in High Germany. Even in this case, though, the sense was still vague and it was not until the mid-1500s that the term became closely associated with the Habsburg lands.³⁷ Thereafter, the term became widely used as was evident during the Revolt in both the pamphlet literature and the rebel songs. In the so-called *Geuzenliederen* ("Beggar songs"), the overwhelming majority of the songs used the terms 'Nederland', 'Nederlanden' or 'Neerlant' to refer to the Low Countries.³⁸ Another mark of the widespread acceptance of the term 'Netherlands' is the fact that from the mid-1500s, the term began to acquire cultural as well as political associations. In the pamphlet literature of the Revolt, the Netherlands became the 'sweet' or the 'dear' fatherland, endangered by the cruel and power-hungry Spanish.³⁹

The spread of humanism from the later 1400s brought about a revival in the use of classical terms to designate the Netherlandish region. Variants of both 'Belgica' and 'Germania Inferior' had been used throughout the Middle Ages but in the sixteenth century, these terms were increasingly used to refer specifically to the area in north-western Europe controlled by the Habsburgs.⁴⁰ From a

³⁷ Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 125-26; Cauchies, "Die burgundischen Niederlande unter Erzherzog Philipp dem Schönen (1494-1506)", 34-35; Van der Essen, "Notre nom national", 121; H. De Schepper, "De burgerlijke overheden en hun permanente kaders", *NAGN*, V, 312-49; W. De Vreese, "Over de benamingen onzer taal, inzonderheid over Nederlandsch" in *Mededeelingen van de koninklijke Vlaamsche academie voor taal en letterkunde* (1905) 417-592, 444-45.

³⁸ See the songs in J. Van Vloten, ed., *Nederlandsche geschiedzangen naar tijdsorde gerangschikt en toegelicht*, 2 volumes (Amsterdam, 1852) and E.T. Kuiper and P. Leendertz, eds., *Het Geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken*, 2 volumes (Zutphen, 1924-25) I.

³⁹ See the following chapter on Rebel Patriotic Propaganda 1568-70 for examples.

⁴⁰ Y. Lacaze, "Le Rôle des traditions dans la genèse d'un sentiment national au XVe siècle. La Bourgogne de Philippe le Bon", *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*, 129 (1971) 303-85, 332; Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 127-28; P. Bonenfant, "Du Belgium de César à la Belgique de 1830. Essai sur une évolution sémantique", *Annales de Societe Royale d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* (1958-61) 31-58; H. Van der Linden, "Histoire de notre Nom national", *Académie Royale de Belgique. Bulletin de la Classe des Lettres et des*

humanist point of view, neither term was strictly appropriate for the whole of the Low Countries because 'Belgica' originally covered northern France and the southern Low Countries and 'Germania Inferior' the northern Low Countries and north-west Germany, but political realities led to the adoption of both terms for all the Low Countries.⁴¹ Unlike the terms 'Burgundy' and the 'Low Countries', both 'Belgicus' and 'Germania Inferior' remained strictly literary rather than popular terms.

If the 'Netherlands' was the most common expression for the region within the Netherlandish provinces, then it is probable that 'Flanders' was the most popular outside the Low Countries, especially among southern Europeans and the French.⁴² Within the Low Countries, the term was used just for the province of that name but outside the area, the late-medieval glories of the Flemish economy and Flemish civilisation, led to the whole region being described by the name of 'Flanders'. As the Italian humanist Ludovico Guicciardini noted in the 1560s, it was a case of "prenant une partie pour le tout, à cause de sa puissance & splendeur d'icelle Region".⁴³ In the French case, the principal reason for describing all the provinces by the term 'Flanders' was, probably, the longstanding rivalry between France and Flanders.⁴⁴

In contrast to the other terms for the Low Countries, for which classical and medieval antecedents existed, the famous expression the '17 Provinces' or the '17 Netherlands' was a product purely of the mid-sixteenth century. The number 17 was originally understood in two senses: the dynastic and territorial. The 17 referred not only to all those territories which could be represented in the

Sciences morales et politiques, 5th Series, 16 (1930) 160-75; and L. Guicciardini, Description de tout le Pais Bas autrement dict La Germanie Inferieure ou Basse Allemagne (Antwerp, 1567) 1-3.

⁴¹ As Guicciardini noted in the Description, 4-5.

⁴² Van der Essen, "Notre nom national", 121-28 and De Schepper, "De burgerlijke overheden en hun permanente kaders", 315-16.

⁴³ "...taking a part for the whole, because of the power and splendour of that region." Guicciardini, Description, 4.

⁴⁴ Examples of the French use of 'Flanders' appear in M203: Commentaire Premier du Seign. Alphonse d'Ulloë (Paris, 1570) and K152: Conseil sacré d'un Gentilhomme Francois aux Eglises de Flandre, qui peut servir d'humble exhortation a l'excellence des tresillustres Princes Protestans du Saint Empire: et d'avertissement certain aux seigneurs des Pais Bas (Antwerp, 1567).

States General but also all the feudal titles which had the same right of representation. This being so, it is not surprising to learn that the expression was not coined until the 1540s at the earliest.⁴⁵ The ambivalent nature of the expression '17 Netherlands' is a striking testimony to the successes and limitations of the attempt by the Burgundian dukes and the Habsburgs to establish a state. On the one hand, the emergence of the term in the sixteenth century reveals that the Burgundian state was accepted as a more or less permanent political entity in north-west Europe. On the other hand, the fact that the Burgundian was described as being composed of 17 different bodies reveals the plural character of the state and the survival of provincial and local autonomy. The main forms of identity in the fifteenth and sixteenth century correspond closely to these two features of the Burgundian state: the emergence of supra-provincial forms of identity based largely upon the Burgundian state and the persistence of more localist allegiances.

Part III: Forms of Identity within the Burgundian state.

Before the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the forms of identity in the low-lying delta areas of north-western Europe were local, regional and universal in nature. The establishment of the Burgundian state in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though, created other forms of allegiance and identity which corresponded, in some measure, to the modern concept of the Low Countries. The means by which these forms of identity developed seems clear enough. Within the territory governed by the Burgundian and Habsburg rulers, some of the inhabitants began to associate more with each other through growing economic ties, through the extension of royal and ducal power and through the hierarchy of representative bodies. At the same time, as both French speakers and Germanic speakers of differing dialects were drawn more and more into common associations, so language lost much of its significance as one of the determining factors of

⁴⁵ For a variety of views on the meaning and origins of the phrase see Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 140-42; A. Van der Essen, "Quelles étaient les "Dix-sept provinces" des Pays-Bas?", Deux-mille ans d'histoire, texte élaboré et mis au point par un groupe d'historiens, présentations par Léon van der Essen (Brussels, 1946) Annexe II, 149-58; and F. Daelemans, "Oude en nieuwe problemen om de zeventien Nederlanden", Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis, 33 (1971) 273-87.

identity. The identity of the inhabitants came to be defined not only by their place of birth, their province and their cultural-linguistic group but also by the Burgundian state in which they lived and the Burgundian and Habsburg rulers to whom they owed loyalty. The emergence of these more 'Netherlandish' forms of identity was evident, first of all, in the declining power of the more universal forms of identity.

(a) The Burgundian State, France and the Empire

The decline of the more universal forms of identity resulted quite naturally from the changing relationship between the Burgundian state and the kingdoms of France and Germany in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As the state created by the Burgundian dukes began to take on more permanence and the power and influence of the rulers came to rival that of the kings of France, so the feudal and jurisdictional ties which bound the provinces to the French crown and the Empire seemed more and more anomalous. At the same time, developments within the Empire and the kingdom of France served to raise interest in the Netherlandish region. The recovery of the French monarchy and the expulsion of the English from the kingdom of France in the mid-fifteenth century, strengthened the power and claims of the French monarchy over its subjects. To the east, the continuing decline of the universalist pretensions of the Holy Roman Empire and the Empire's growing identification with the 'German' nation raised the problem of the relationship between the central imperial bodies and the peripheral areas whose 'German' identity was, to say the least, ambivalent.⁴⁶

A significant measure of the growing independence of the Burgundian state from external ties was the development of the *grand conseil* which acted as a court of appeal for the Burgundian laws. Until 1473, the *grand conseil* was, as a court, inferior to the Parlement of Paris, to which cases from the duchy of Burgundy and the county of Flanders could be taken. The ordinances of Thionville in 1473, though, laid down the establishment of a Parlement of Mechelen which, intended to serve as a supreme court of appeal for all the ducal lands, clearly

⁴⁶ B. Guenée, States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe (Originally published in French in 1971; English translation in paperback, Oxford, 1988) 14-17.

asserted the jurisdictional independence of the Burgundian state. Abolished in 1477, this body was re-established in 1504 by Philip the Fair as the Grand Conseil of Mechelen.⁴⁷ From 1521-22, Crown Flanders and Artois were no longer subject to the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris. This jurisdictional autonomy presaged the final removal of all feudal ties binding Flanders and Artois to the French crown, which took place in 1529. The Netherlandish provinces now stood in a more well defined and independent position vis-a-vis the kingdom of France.⁴⁸

By the 1520s, the rivalry between the French and Burgundian dynasties was such that the separation of the two realms did not raise any major difficulties. This was not the case, though, with the relationship between the Low Countries and the Empire. Although the relationship between the Empire and the Low Countries had been an important feature of the various proposals for a kingdom before 1477, the question was put to one side after the death of Charles the Bold in 1477 and the consequent demise of the Burgundian branch of the Valois dynasty. The question of the nature of the relationship between the Empire and the Low Countries revived again after Charles II of Burgundy became Emperor in 1519 because, for Charles, the Netherlands were an important and, indeed, for a while, central part of his empire.⁴⁹

The relationship itself was characterised by a great deal of tension and uncertainty because the Empire, the Netherlandish government and at times Charles himself, all viewed the matter from different standpoints. The first source of tension was the expansion of Burgundian power into what are now the north-eastern provinces of the Low Countries. These advances were by no means fully accepted in the Empire, especially by the Protestant forces who were concerned about the growth of a militant Catholic power in the north west.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Vaughan, Valois Burgundy, 99-100, 107-08; Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 254; W.P. Blockmans, "De Bourgondisch Nederlanden: de weg naar een moderne staatsvorm", Handelingen van de koninklijke kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst van Mechelen, 78 (1973) 7-26.

⁴⁸ Parker, The Dutch Revolt, 30 and J. Craeybeckx, "De eenmaking van de Nederlanden", 110.

⁴⁹ V. Press, "Die Niederlande und das Reich in der Frühen Neuzeit" in W.P. Blockmans and H. Van Nuffel, eds., Etat et Religion aux XVe et XVIe siècles/ Staat en Religie in de 15e en 16e eeuw (Brussels, 1984) 321-39, 325-27.

⁵⁰ F. Postma, Viglius van Aytta als humanist en diplomaat 1507-1549 (Zutphen, 1983) 94-95.

Added to this, though, was the longstanding problem of the juridical relationship between the Holy Roman Empire and the Netherlands. From the imperial side, the matter was simple. With the exception of Artois, Royal Flanders, Tournai and Tournaisis, areas which until 1529 were all fiefs of the French crown, all the Netherlandish provinces were imperial fiefs. Following the Imperial Circle division of 1512, these Netherlandish imperial provinces belonged to one of two circles: the patrimonial provinces and the Frisian lands, to the Burgundian circle; and Utrecht, Overijssel and Gelre to the Westphalian circle. As imperial fiefs, the Netherlandish provinces were subject to imperial laws and among other things, had to contribute to the maintenance of the Reichskammergericht and the *Türkenhilfe*, the money allocated to military operations against the Turks.

The Netherlands government declined to acknowledge the financial and judicial authority of the Empire, basing their viewpoint on the Burgundian tradition of Netherlandish autonomy and on the fact that the divisions of 1512 had come into being without their knowledge.⁵¹ Against the claims of the Empire, both Charles V and his government asserted the doctrine of the financial and judicial independence of the Netherlands, a doctrine which appeared clearly in a letter written by the Emperor to his brother Archduke Ferdinand in July 1526. The letter was written on the occasion of a dispute about the legal position of Maastricht. The Netherlands government claimed that the government was part of Brabant; the Empire asserted the contrary.

"J'ai chascun jour plainctes de madame, nostre tante, [Margaret of Austria] et demon conseil en mes pays d'embaz que ceulx du regiment y entreprenent jurisdiction, voire menassent de mettre au ban de l'empire ceulx de ma ville de Maestricht en Brabant; ce que je trouve bien estrange, veu que d'ancienneté lesdits pays sont exemptz de ladite jurisdiction d'empire et ne me seroit gaires d'honneur que je fusse empereur et que je souffrisse perdre les privileges et libertéz que mes predesseeurs ont eu, obtenu, joi et usé

⁵¹ Postma, Viglius van Aytta, 95-96.

en mes pays patrimoniaulx".⁵²

The disputes and problems came to a head in the 1540s. In part, this was because renewed Turkish pressure compelled the Empire to look for aid from the Low Countries, but the main reason was that Charles V was able to give much more attention to the question, particularly after his defeat of the Schmalkaldic League in 1547. The relationship between the emperor's Netherlandish properties and the Empire was eventually settled in the Transaction of Augsburg in June 1548. Throughout the negotiations leading up to the Transaction, the government in Brussels continued to assert the principle of Netherlandish independence. A memorandum addressed to the Holy Roman Empire in July 1545 was the first to lay down clearly the proposals later embodied in the treaty. The memorandum proposed that all the Netherlandish provinces be entitled to assistance and protection from the Holy Roman Empire whenever it needed help without damage being done to "iren gerechtigkaiten, freihaiten und herkommen...".⁵³ The Council of State, in a memorandum to Mary of Hungary dated November 20th 1547, declared that they had decided to write about matters which seemed best for the honour of the prince and "le repos, tranquillité, assurance et conservation de la liberté des pays subgetz de pardeça" ("the repose, tranquillity, assurance and preservation of the liberty of the lands subject over here"). Among other things, they feared that if they agreed to a general contribution by the Low Countries to the Empire for the maintenance of the Imperial Chamber, "l'on vouldra tirer les pays de pardeça à la subgection de l'empire qui seroit contre leur ancienne liberté". The Council declared further that it would be best to have as assessor in the Reichskammergericht, a "natif des pays de pardeça qui cogneust les libertez

⁵² "Everyday, I receive complaints from Madame, our aunt, and from my council in my low lands, that the government which undertakes the jurisdiction there, has threatened to put those of my town of Maastricht in Brabant under the control of the Empire. I find this very strange since for time immemorial these countries have been exempt from the jurisdiction of the empire and it is scarce honour to me that I would be emperor and that I would suffer to lose the privileges and liberties which my predecessors have obtained, enjoyed and used in my patrimonial lands". R.V. Lacroix and L. Gross, eds., Urkunden und Aktenstücke des Reichsarchivs Wien zur reichsrechtlichen Stellung des Burgundischen Kreises, 3 Volumes (Vienna, 1944-45) I, 83 (Document number 175).

⁵³ "their rights, freedoms and customs". Lacroix-Gross, Urkunden, I, 283; and Postma, Viglius van Aytta, 129.

desdits pays et eust affection pour les maintenir et deffendre...".⁵⁴

The notion of a free, independent Netherlands was further defended in a memorandum from Charles V to the Empire, dated May 10th 1548, and in a rough draft for the Transaction of Augsburg, drawn up in early 1548.⁵⁵ In the former memorandum, the writer argued that most of the Netherlandish provinces had been part of the Lotharingian Empire which had existed as a separate body between Germany and France. As such, these provinces were "von allen andern jurisdictionen und appellationen je und alwegen uber unverdechtliche zeit frei und exempt gewesen und in solcher libertet bisher pliben und noch ist".⁵⁶ According to the provisions of the treaty, all the Netherlandish provinces controlled by Charles V, including those which lay outside the Burgundian circle created in 1512, were brought together in one great circle, also called the Burgundian circle. Although the provinces were supposed to contribute an annual subsidy to the imperial bodies, they were no longer subject to imperial legislation and jurisdiction.⁵⁷

The growing constitutional independence of the Burgundian state facilitated the decline of the more universal forms of identity and the emergence of distinctively Netherlandish forms of identity. This was apparent in the development of anti-French sentiment among the populace of the Low Countries. The tense relationship between Louis XI of France and the last two Burgundian dukes, the conflicts of 1477-93 and the Habsburg-Valois wars of the sixteenth century, all served to create a tradition of hostility to France. The establishment of this tradition was facilitated by the events of 1477. Before the dynastic changeover of 1477-82, the French origins of the Valois dukes cast a shadow over the legitimacy of their claims to be independent of the king of France but when the Austrian Habsburgs inherited the possessions of the dukes, anti-French

⁵⁴ "that one would try and pull the lands over here to the subjection of the Empire which would be against their ancient liberty" and "a native of the lands over here who knows the liberties of these countries and is keen to maintain and defend them...". Lacroix-Gross, Urkunden, I, 357-58 (407) and 395 (422).

⁵⁵ Lacroix-Gross, Urkunden, I, 357-58 (407) and 395 (422).

⁵⁶ "from all other jurisdictions and appellationen and now and always has been free and exempt has been up to now in such liberty". Lacroix-Gross, Urkunden, 358 (407).

⁵⁷ Postma, Viglius van Aytta, 89-164.

propaganda could be deployed to greater effect.⁵⁸ Furthermore, the loss of the duchy of Burgundy and the consequent rise in importance of the northern possessions of the dukes, reduced even more the French influence upon the dynasty.

It is true that anti-French sentiment had long been a feature of Flemish political life but the emergence of the Burgundian state led to the development of anti-French feeling in other Netherlandish provinces. Of especial significance was the creation of an anti-French tradition in the French-speaking parts of the Burgundian-Habsburg state, a development evident in the appearance of the term 'Walloon' in the last third of the fifteenth century.⁵⁹ By the 1560s, this anti-French tradition was well established in the Low Countries, such that French Reformed ministers sometimes encountered difficulties in their travels because of their provenance.⁶⁰ This anti-French sentiment proved to be a major stumbling block to William of Orange in the later 1570s and early 1580s, when he tried to unite the States provinces under the leadership of the Duke of Anjou, a brother of the king of France.⁶¹

By way of contrast, the relationship between the inhabitants of the Low Countries and the peoples in the German-speaking lands of the Empire was much less straightforward. In part, this was because the political separation of the Burgundian-Habsburg state within the Empire occurred at a relatively late stage. From 1477, when Mary of Burgundy married Maximilian of Austria, until 1556, when Charles V abdicated the imperial title in favour of his brother Ferdinand, there existed close relations between the Burgundian state and the Empire. As

⁵⁸ Huizinga, "L'état bourguignon", 203-05.

⁵⁹ J. Stiennon, "Le Sentiment National Wallon" in J. Craeybeckx, F. Daelemans and F.G. Scheelings, eds., "1585: Op gescheiden wegen". Handelingen van het colloquium over de scheiding der Nederlanden, gehouden op 22-23 November 1985, te Brussel (Louvain, 1988) 255-68, 259. Growth of Burgundian sentiment was not necessarily caused by love of the Burgundian dynasty. There were strong francophile elements in the Walloon areas but concern about Louis XI's policies drew them towards Burgundy. Wouters, "Het Nationaliteitsbesef", 776.

⁶⁰ See A.A. Van Schelven, Willem van Oranje, een boek ter gedachtenis van idealen en teleurstellingen (Amsterdam, 1933) 107-08 and A. Henne, ed., Mémoires de Pontus Payen (Brussels/The Hague, 1861) I, 319.

⁶¹ K.W. Swart, William the Silent and the Revolt of the Netherlands (Historical Association Pamphlet: London, 1978) 35-36 and Duke, "From King and Country", 182.

members of the same family ruled both the Low Countries and held the imperial title, there was a great deal of co-operation between the government in Brussels and Vienna. The subjects of the ruler of the Burgundian state could enjoy a greater degree of freedom in their relations with members of the Empire and could hold offices at both the imperial court and at Brussels.⁶² Furthermore, although Charles V and Mary of Hungary discouraged marriages between members of the Netherlandish high nobility and the German princely and noble houses, some Netherlandish nobles had close family ties with German houses.⁶³

In the long run, the Transaction of Augsburg in 1548 was to prove to be the definitive break with the Empire, a break later legitimised at Münster in 1648, but this was not how it appeared in 1548 to most of the parties concerned. The Transaction did not provide for the separation of the Burgundian state from the Empire but, merely, established a privileged position within the Empire for all the Netherlandish provinces as members together of the Burgundian circle. Moreover, the government in Brussels was still obliged to contribute certain taxes towards the central bodies of the Empire. In practice, the ties between the Imperial institutions and the Burgundian state were largely nominal but the fact that the Burgundian state was still technically part of the Empire enabled rebel propagandists in the 1560s and 1570s to stress the Imperial connection as a counterbalance to Spain. The Transaction of Augsburg was also viewed in different ways by different parties. While most of the Netherlandish provinces, and especially Holland, saw the treaty as a confirmation of their independence from the Empire, Gelre, Utrecht and Overijssel welcomed the Transaction as a confirmation of their ties to the Empire. For their part, the German princes did not accept that the Transaction of Augsburg marked a break from the Empire. They acknowledged that the treaty gave the Netherlands a special and privileged place within the Empire but still insisted on treating the Burgundian Circle as part of the Empire.⁶⁴

⁶² Viglius van Aytta was a prime example: Postma, *Viglius van Aytta*, passim.

⁶³ See chapter 3 in this thesis, 'The Rebel Patriotic Propaganda of 1568-70', for Orange's German connections.

⁶⁴ A.Th. Van Deursen, "Het Duitse Rijk en de Nederlanden (1548-1648)", *Kleio*, 15 (1974) 381-92. Charles V and the government in Brussels also saw the Transaction as guarantee of security for the Netherlands against France.

The details of the Transaction of Augsburg and its reception in Germany and the Low Countries and the close ties between Vienna and Brussels were, of course, matters which concerned the political relationship between the Low Countries and the German Empire but their significance went beyond the realm of politics and law. Anti-French sentiment became an important part of the sixteenth-century Netherlandish identity principally because of the long period of warfare between the Burgundian-Habsburg state and France after 1477. As the political ties between the Low Countries and the Empire survived until the later sixteenth century, a tradition of hostility to the German Empire could not develop in the Netherlands and the old universal sense of common Germanic ties persisted up to and beyond the Revolt. It is true that Charles V's relations with the German princes were less than amicable after the establishment of Lutheranism but hostilities between the Burgundian-Habsburg state and the German princes were limited to short periods during the 1540s and 1550s and these campaigns took place outside the Netherlandish region. The limited nature of these conflicts and the ties between the Empire and the Burgundian state is the first important reason why the sense of difference between the Netherlandish inhabitants and the peoples of the German-speaking lands was much less sharp than was the case with the French.

The complex political relationship between the Low Countries and the German-speaking lands was an important contributory reason for the persistence of the universal sense of Germanicness until late in the sixteenth century, but the principal reason was the ambivalent nature of the cultural relationship between the Netherlands and the German-speaking lands. From the Netherlandish point of view, the relationship was perhaps best summed up in the phrase, related but distinct. When, for example, Dutch humanists in the second half of the sixteenth century set about 'purifying' and 'standardizing' their language, they were divided over their attitude towards the German language. All the language 'purifiers' were agreed that words of Romance origin should be removed from Dutch but German aroused problems. Some treated German words as borrowings from a sister language and were prepared to accept them in the language while others treated German as foreign and were determined to 'purge' the language of any German

borrowings.⁶⁵ The difference of opinion among Dutch humanists about the relationship between the Dutch and German languages mirrored that of Netherlandish attitudes to German-speakers generally. Most were aware of a cultural affinity but still insisted upon a sense of distinctiveness.

The ambivalent state of Netherlandish and German cultural relations enabled both foreign and Netherlandish writers to treat the Netherlandish provinces as part of a Germanic and Gallic world. The spread of humanism led to the revival of the political divisions of antiquity. As the Burgundian state was a modern creation, German and French humanists argued about whether to classify the Netherlands as part of 'Gaul' or as part of 'Germania'.⁶⁶ As late as the 1560s, the Italian Ludovico Guicciardini in his *Description de Tout les Païs Bas*, continued to group the Netherlandish provinces under the old names of Gaul and Germany.⁶⁷ Other writers classified the Netherlands as part of Germany because of the linguistic affinities between the differing forms of Dutch and German. In his *Cosmographia*, the German cosmographer Sebastian Münster, defined the limits of Germany by the extent of the German language. He obviously considered the Franconian dialects of Flanders, Brabant and Holland to be German because the Germanic Netherlands was included within Germany.⁶⁸ For still other writers, the motivation for grouping the Netherlands and Germany together was purely political. Thus, in early 1567, the French writer Gervais le Barbier, exhorted the German princes and the Netherlandish Reformed to take up arms together against the Spanish, who were also enemies of the French Protestants. Le Barbier stressed the ties of blood and language which bound the Germans and Netherlanders together: "L'Allemagne convient avec vous de moeurs, de vie, & de langage, & est proche de vos limites. Ce qui vous droit d'autant plus utile que les confederez sont proches & voisins: & d'autant moins suspecte & odieuse qu'ils

⁶⁵ L. Van den Branden, Het streven naar verheerlijking, zuivering en opbouw van het Nederlands in de 16de eeuw (Ghent, 1956) 57, 65-67, 93-113, 165-67, 296-97.

⁶⁶ Poelhekke, "The Nameless Homeland of Erasmus", 58 and Huizinga, "Erasmus über Vaterland und Nationen", 258-61.

⁶⁷ Guicciardini, Description, 33.

⁶⁸ Sebastian Münster, La Cosmographie Universelle, contenant la situation de toutes les parties du monde avec leurs proprieté & appartenances (Basle, 1552) 290-96, 564-78, 844-46.

approchent de moeurs, de langue, & de façons les uns des autres."⁶⁹

During the first half of the sixteenth century, religious developments reinforced the cultural ties between the Netherlandish provinces and the Empire. From 1517 until the 1550s western and central European politics were largely centred upon events in the German-speaking lands. Like the rest of western Europe, the Netherlanders quickly came under the powerful influence of the lands to the east. Most of the Protestant books and pamphlets that appeared in the Low Countries were translations of works by the major German Reformers.⁷⁰ Unlike the Reformations in other countries, which under princely or noble support could develop characteristics of their own, dissent in the Netherlands was quickly forced underground and remained for long debilitated and eclectic in nature. In such a condition there was little to mitigate the influence of the German Reformers before the 1550s. It is significant that the Protestant movement most associated with the Netherlands in the first half of the century, Anabaptism, was begun in a province outside the Netherlands, East Friesland, by a South German and emerged as a movement embracing Netherlanders and north Germans. The leader of the Anabaptists from the early 1540s, Menno Simons, spent most of his last eighteen years building up churches outside the Netherlands, in north-west Germany, in particular, Cologne, Holstein and along the north German coast.⁷¹

In the second half of the sixteenth century, by contrast, events tended to strengthen the sense of distinctiveness of the Netherlandish provinces. A key development in this respect was the spread of Reformed Protestantism in the Netherlands. During the 1550s, relations between the Lutheran and Reformed Protestants deteriorated rapidly. The Netherlandish Reformed communities which were compelled to go into exile in Germany in this period were at the sharp end of the conflict between the Reformed and the Lutherans. The Netherlandish

⁶⁹ "Germany is like you in customs, the way of life and language and is close to your frontiers. It is as much right as useful that allies are alike and neighbours and much less suspect and repellent than when they approach the customs, the language and the habits of one and the other." K152: Conseil Sacré, 96.

⁷⁰ See A.G. Johnston, The Eclectic Reformation: Vernacular Evangelical Pamphlet Literature in the Dutch speaking Low Countries 1520-1565 (Unpublished Ph.D. these, University of Southampton, 1987).

⁷¹ G.H. Williams, The Radical Reformation (Philadelphia, 1962) 485.

Reformed exiles from London who fled to northern Germany in 1553 were expelled from city after city by the actions of Lutheran pastors until, eventually, they settled in Emden. The treatment of these refugees precipitated a clash between Calvin and the German Lutheran pastor Joachim Westphal.⁷² Moreover, during the 1550s and early 1560s, many Netherlandish Reformed exiles were expelled from German cities by Lutheran civic authorities.⁷³ The tensions of the 1550s and 1560s may well have impelled the Netherlandish Reformed to distinguish themselves more sharply in confessional and 'national' terms from the mainly German Lutherans. It is certainly true that the designations used by the Netherlandish Reformed from the mid-1550s tended to be terms which specifically designated the Low Countries. There were good practical reasons for doing this but the confessional conflict with the German Lutherans also hastened the adoption of 'Netherlandish' names.⁷⁴ After 1572, when the Reformed Church was able to establish itself in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland, the division between German Lutherans and Netherlandish Reformed Protestants was made even stronger.

The course of the Revolt also served to weaken the desire to seek political and military assistance from the Empire. Throughout the 1560s and 1570s, the period in which the Netherlandish rebels most needed help, the German princes remained largely deaf to the cries for assistance and after the failure of the Cologne peace talks in 1579, Netherlandish writers ceased to use the old imperial and cultural associations as a propaganda weapon. From henceforth, the Netherlandish provinces pursued an openly independent course. It was only in the so-called north-eastern provinces and especially in the province of Overijssel, that the imperial ties were stressed. Overijssel continued to cultivate its ties with the Empire and as late as 1580 tried unilaterally to secure the aid and protection of

⁷² F.A. Norwood, "The London Dutch Refugees in Search of a Home, 1553-1554", American Historical Review, 58 (1952-53), 64-72 and A. Pettegree, "Calvin and the Second Sacramentarian Controversy in the 1550s", Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte, 78 (1987) 223-52.

⁷³ P.M. Crew, Calvinist preaching and iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544-1569 (Cambridge, 1978) 90-94; P. Denis, Les Églises d'Étrangers en pays Rhénans (1538-1564) (Liège, 1984); and R. Van Roosbroeck, Emigranten. Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600) (Louvain, 1968) 39-48.

⁷⁴ See examples in F. De Schickler, Les Églises du Refuge en Angleterre, 3 Volumes (Paris, 1892) I, 69 and III, 44-47; and Denis, Les Églises d'Étrangers, 397.

the Empire.⁷⁵

(b) Internal Centralisation and Supra-provincial forms of identity

As well as giving greater external definition to the Burgundian-Habsburg state, the Burgundian dukes and the Habsburgs also sought to create and to strengthen central institutions within the state and thereby, bring about a greater measure of internal unity.⁷⁶ The first steps towards a more unified state were taken when the various provinces were absorbed into the Burgundian state. With the exception of Brabant, whose administration had in any case been modelled on Burgundian examples, the provincial administrations were all restructured on Burgundian lines.⁷⁷ After 1435, when hostilities with France ceased, Philip the Good turned his attention away from foreign affairs to domestic policy and embarked upon a period of internal reform. The growth of central government pressure upon towns and the extension of central control over many civic functions is evident in the large number of urban uprisings which took place after 1435, each of which was in some way a response to centralisation.⁷⁸

The first significant development of the period of centralisation after 1435 was the emergence of a supreme law court, the *Grote Raad* or *Grand Conseil*. This body was never formally instituted but developed stage by stage between 1435

⁷⁵ R. Reitsma, Centrifugal and Centripetal Forces in the Early Dutch Republic. The States of Overijssel 1566-1600 (Amsterdam, 1982) 220-23 plus 19-20 and Van Deursen, "Het Duitse Rijk en de Nederlanden", *passim*. It is also worth noting that in Rome in 1577, the "Nederduitschers" were removed from the church of Santa Maria in Campo Santo, a base established in the later fourteenth century for members of the 'German' nation, because they were no longer considered to be "Teutones". This led to a dispute which was settled only when Pope Gregory XIII declared "both nations" to be equal and ordered the arms of both the king of Spain and the Emperor to be placed side by side above the church door. G.J. Hoogewerff, "Uit de geschiedenis van het Nederlandsch nationaal besef", *TvG*, 44 (1929) 113-34, 120.

⁷⁶ Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State", 495-500; Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 252-80; J. Craeybeckx, "Centralisatiepolitiek en nationaal besef", *AGN*, IV, 114-17.

⁷⁷ Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State", 496-97 and Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 205.

⁷⁸ Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 252-57 and, for the urban revolts in Flanders, Vaughan, Valois Burgundy, 136-37.

and 1445. From 1445, it was responsible for the administration of justice in all of the northern Burgundian provinces except Crown-Flanders, Artois and Picardy which were still under the jurisdiction of the Parlement of Paris. In 1473, as part of his attempt to create an independent and more centralised state, Charles the Bold replaced the *Grand Conseil* with the Parlement of Mechelen. Unlike its predecessor, the Parlement also claimed jurisdiction over those provinces which were still part of the kingdom of France. The Parlement also usurped some of the jurisdictional rights of the provincial courts, a fact which explains why it was abolished in 1477 after Charles's death. On a regional level, too, Burgundian legal bodies were introduced to the provinces. During the first half of the fifteenth century, the administration of justice in the province of Flanders gradually passed from the *schepenenbanken* in the towns to the Council of Flanders. Provincial courts subject to the jurisdiction of the *Grand Conseil* were also established in Holland, Zeeland, Hainault, Namur and Luxemburg.⁷⁹

After 1494, when Philip the Fair assumed control in the Netherlands, the central institutions were gradually re-established. In the early 1500s, the Parlement of Mechelen re-appeared under the new name of the Great Council. This body was to retain its name and function as the supreme court of justice for the whole of the Burgundian state until the end of the eighteenth century. The re-establishment of the Great Council was indicative of the growing legal centralisation which was taking place at the end of the fifteenth and throughout the sixteenth centuries. This was apparent in the reduction of some customary laws and the growth of both princely "bevolen recht" and the royal administration of justice. The trend towards a more centrally administered justice was not just a consequence of pressure from Brussels and Mechelen: about eighty percent of the regulations with general applicability issued by Charles V and Philip II, came into being at the request of towns, officials and other legal officials. The growing significance of the Great Council of Mechelen and the Privy Council in the first half of the sixteenth century can be shown by the increase in the number of final legal decisions taken at these courts between 1500-04 and 1546-50. In the first period,

⁷⁹ Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State", 499; Prevenier and Blockmans, *The Burgundian Netherlands*, 252-57; and J. Van Rompaey, "De Bourgondische staatsinstellingen", *NAGN*, IV, 144-48, 150-52.

the average number of final judgements per year was 39; in 1546-50, it was 174.⁸⁰

Under Philip the Good and his immediate successors, the political and financial counterpart to the *Grand Conseil* was the Privy Council. The range of things covered by this one body gradually became so great that in 1531 Charles V divided the council up into three separate bodies, which together were known as the Collateral Councils: the Council of state, responsible for political matters; the Privy Council, responsible for administration; and the Council of Finance. The Collateral councils, and their Burgundian predecessor, acted as central bodies for all of the ruler's territories, bringing a measure of co-ordination to Burgundian and Habsburg policies and furthering the cause of internal unity.⁸¹

Perhaps the most important agent in the creation of a pan-provincial identity, though, was the States-General which was created during the last decades of Burgundian rule. When the Burgundian dukes took control of the various provinces, the representative assemblies in each province became provincial estates by virtue of the fact that they were all now subject to one ruler. From the later 1420s, some of these provincial estates started to meet together at irregular intervals to discuss economic and financial matters. These early general assemblies did not have the character of a States-General. For one thing, Philip the Good continued to put financial demands or requests for taxes to the individual provincial bodies rather than to these general assemblies, a significant mark of their lack of authority. The situation changed in the 1460s, though. In 1463-64, on the occasion of a quarrel between Philip the Good and his son, the estates of Holland, Flanders and Brabant convoked a joint meeting to discuss the political crisis. This meeting, the first occasion on which the general assembly met to discuss political matters, is usually taken as the first States General of the Netherlands. As well as meeting to discuss political matters, the general assembly took another step further when in 1465, Philip the Good demanded, for the first time, a grant of money from the States General rather than from the individual

⁸⁰ De Schepper, 'Belgium Nostrum', 10-17.

⁸¹ M. Baelde, De collaterale raden onder Karel V en Filips II (1531-1578). Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de centrale instellingen in de zestiende eeuw (Brussels, 1965) and Pirenne, "The Formation and Constitution of the Burgundian State", 499.

states.⁸²

It was not until 1477, though, during the crisis provoked by the death of Charles the Bold, that the States General acquired a more permanent place in the political life of the Burgundian state. In the chaos which engulfed the Netherlands during the early months of 1477, the States General was the only stable and legitimate political body in the land. Capitalising on the weakness of the government, the States General claimed important rights for itself in the so-called Grand Privilege which was granted in February of that year. This charter stipulated, among other things, that the assembly had the right to meet of its own volition and that a ruler had to obtain the consent of the body before imposing new taxes or declaring war. Mary and her government were also obliged to swear to uphold and not contravene the "rechten, privilegen, oude ende nieuwe, ende ooc de costumen ende usagen van elken onsen landen ende steden...". If any of these articles were violated, Mary also confirmed the right of her subjects to refuse obedience, a right first outlined in the *Joyeuse Entrée*, and now given wider applicability.⁸³ This is not to say that the States General sought to usurp the power of the monarchy. In 1477, the States General merely wanted to place limits upon the power of the ruler, not to remove the ruler: the fact that the States General endorsed Mary's marriage and acknowledged Mary as their ruler is sufficient indication of this.

After 1494, when Philip the Fair set about restoring central authority in the Habsburg Netherlands, the claims put forward by the States General in the Grand Privilege were quickly set aside. In spite of this, the States General retained much of the authority which it had acquired since January 1477 and remained as an important part of political life in the Low Countries. The importance of the States General is suggested by the fact that, between 1464 and 1576, the States General met for about 160 times, the great majority of these meetings being held

⁸² Koenigsberger, "The Beginnings of the States General of the Netherlands", 104-14; Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, 22; Koenigsberger, "The States General of the Netherlands", 126-30; Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy*, 106-07.

⁸³ The most recent reprint of these privileges is W.P. Blockmans, ed., *1477: Het algemene en de gewestelijke privilegien van Maria van Bourgondie voor de Nederlanden, Standen en Landen*, 80 (Kortrijk-Heule, 1985). See the preamble to the Great Privilege, article 3 and in the concluding section, the paragraph beginning, "Ende waert dat wij...". The quotation is from article 3: "the rights, privileges, old and new, and also the customs and usages of each of our provinces and towns". Blockmans, *1477*, 85-95.

before 1559.⁸⁴ The States General remained as an established part of political life in the Low Countries because it fulfilled important functions for both the ruler and his subjects. The Habsburgs, and especially Charles V, were perpetually in need of money with which to finance military campaigns. Since their own resources had long ceased to be adequate for such needs, they were forced to resort to taxation, a procedure for which they needed the consent of the States General. Furthermore, the Habsburgs were obliged to secure the consent of the assembly for legislation and were expected to consult the estates when deciding upon important matters concerning the whole of the Netherlandish region, such as declarations of war and peace treaties. For the provinces, the States General was regarded as a means of safeguarding their own particular privileges and of helping to keep down the level of taxation.⁸⁵ The authority of the States General rested at a much deeper level than this, though. The events of 1477 and the Grand Privilege had served to establish the so-called "myth of the States General", the belief in the general assembly as the ultimate safeguard of political freedom within the Burgundian state and as such, a potential alternative source of authority.⁸⁶

The development of the States General from 1464 onwards was of great significance in the construction of a supra-provincial identity in the Burgundian-Habsburg state. The more established the States General became, the more it drew officials from each of the provinces together into closer association with each other and, although the loyalty of the deputies was always primarily to their own province and city, the meetings of the States General made the deputies more conscious of their common interests. This was apparent already in the months and years following Charles the Bold's death in January 1477. The crisis of 1477 forced delegates from the various provinces to co-operate more with each other and to formulate common responses to some problems. The very vocabulary they used reflected their attempt to grapple with problems hitherto the preserve of the rulers. The representatives had to find a term to designate all of the

⁸⁴ A.R. Myers, Parliaments and Estates in Europe to 1789 (London, 1975) 78-79.

⁸⁵ H.G. Koenigsberger, "Why did the States General of the Netherlands become Revolutionary in the sixteenth century?" in Politicians and Virtuosi. Essays in Early Modern History (London, 1986) 63-76, 63-64.

⁸⁶ Koenigsberger, "The Beginnings of the States General", 103, 114.

provinces, especially in the Grand Privilege which applied to all of the northern territories which had been subject to the duke of Burgundy. In articles 11 and 14, they used the term "onsen ghemeenē landen", ("our common lands") employing the adjective 'common' to refer to what was common to all of the provinces represented in the States General. The term was used in this sense also in the preamble, where the articles of the Grand Privilege are described as "dienende ten orbore, proffite ende welvaert van allen onsen vors. landen int ghemeene...".⁸⁷

In 1482, on the death of Mary of Burgundy, these expressions of common unity reached their height in the request put to the States General by the representatives of Brabant:

"dat men broeders mocht willen blijven en samen vereend, en door een ware unie en eendracht goeden wil en moed mocht hebben, de landen en heerlijkheden te bewaren. Wanneer gij en wij, en wij en gij van één overtuiging en eendracht zijn (zeiden wij), zonder verdeeldheid, dan zal de koning ons niet kunnen schaden, of wij zullen hem weerstaan, en als wij niet vereenigd zijn, zal hij sommige der landen kunnen teisteren en schaden, en het zou de algeheele ondergang van ons allen kunnen worden. En derhalve moeten wij, om ons en u te bewaren, in ware unie en zonder tweedracht zijn, en leven en sterven in de verdediging van elkanders landen".⁸⁸

It would be wrong to treat these remarks as indicative of a deep-seated common sentiment. The general assemblies of the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries were not 'national' bodies but meeting grounds for provincial bodies with agendas of their own. The expressions of unity were normally responses to

⁸⁷ "serving the advantage, profit and welfare of all our aforesaid lands in common". Blockmans, 1477, 89, 92-93 and 195.

⁸⁸ "that one must remain and unite together as brothers and preserve the lands and lordships by a true unity and union. When you and we, and we and you are of one mind and united (so we say), without division, then the king shall not be able to harm us or we will [be able] to resist him. If we are not united, he will ravage and harm some of the lands and would be able to bring about the general destruction of us all. Therefore, in order to preserve us and yourselves, we must be in true unity, without discord and live and die in the defence of each other's lands." Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 156. Huizinga, of course, modernised the spelling.

specific problems rather than indications of general policies or attitudes. Whatever the real nature of these comments, though, they helped to establish the prestige of the States General and foster an idea of common unity.

As the Burgundian state was originally a personal union and remained as such in the sixteenth century, the forms of allegiance created by that state were initially dynastic in nature. Whatever sense of loyalty the subjects of the duke felt for the wider Burgundian state, was bound up with their allegiance to the person of the ruler. It was only gradually and, only in limited circles, that a more territorial form of identity, developed. The first two Burgundian dukes do not appear to have built up much loyalty among their subjects but Philip the Good, Charles the Bold, Mary of Burgundy, Margaret of Austria, Philip the Fair and Charles V, all appear to have been regarded as 'natural' rulers; that is, as rulers who, by virtue of their birth in the Netherlands and their dynastic lineage, were regarded as the legitimate rulers of the Netherlands. Philip the Good attracted occasional criticism but was generally regarded in a favourable light. He was the first of the rulers of the Burgundian-Habsburg state to be described as the 'Father of the Fatherland'.⁸⁹ Mary of Burgundy, Philip the Fair and Margaret of Austria attracted particular loyalties because of the tragic circumstances of the years after 1477. Mary was referred to as "onze natuerlicke vrouwe" ("our natural lady").⁹⁰ Diplomatic and literary sources during Philip the Fair's reign refer to him as "Seigneur naturel" ("natural lord"), "prince et seigneur naturel" ("prince and natural lord") and "nostre souverain et naturel seigneur" ("our sovereign and natural lord"), in contrast to his father Maximilian, who was by birth a foreign prince, never attracted much loyalty.⁹¹

There were a number of other forces in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which tended to bring together people from the different provinces in a common association. Of these, probably the most important were the growing trading links between the southern provinces of Flanders and Brabant and the northern provinces of Holland, Zeeland and the Frisian area. The northern

⁸⁹ Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 198-99.

⁹⁰ Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 198 and Wouters, "Het Nationaliteitsbesef", 778.

⁹¹ Cauchies, "Die burgundischen Niederlande unter Erzherzog Philipp dem Schönen (1494-1506)", 29-31 and Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 200.

provinces continued to pursue their traditional trade in salt, herring, dairy products and grain but through their ties with Flanders and Brabant, they assimilated new techniques of commercial organization at a much faster rate than their Hanseatic competitors.⁹² As well as economic ties between the provinces there were also educational and military links. Before 1425, there were no universities within the territories controlled by the Burgundian dukes so their subjects had to go elsewhere for an university education to such places as Paris, Orleans, Cologne and Bologna. After the establishment of an university at Louvain in 1425, though, increasing numbers of students from the northern territories of the Burgundian and Habsburg rulers chose to stay in the Netherlandish area and study at Louvain. By the 1470s, over a thousand students were studying there and by the early 1500s, the numbers had grown to over 2000. Of these students, only 5% in the fifteenth century came from outside the ducal and Habsburg lands and in the sixteenth century, the majority still came from Liège and the Netherlandish area.⁹³ Finally, as well as the economy and the university of Louvain, another unifying force was the army. Although considerable numbers of mercenaries and, in the sixteenth century, Spanish and Italian troops, fought in the Burgundian forces, large numbers of French-speaking Netherlanders also took part. By fighting together under a common flag and cause against common enemies, the Walloon soldiers would have developed a greater sense of loyalty to the Burgundian and Habsburg rulers and, to a lesser extent, the territories controlled by those rulers.⁹⁴

The first and most important of the social groups to develop a broader cross-provincial outlook was the high nobility. The more 'Netherlandish' perspective of the high nobility, though, was bound up with a feudal attachment to the ruler of the Netherlands, a loyalty which was carefully built up by the Burgundians and the Habsburgs. The Burgundian dukes attached great importance

⁹² H. Van der Wee, "Trade Relations between Antwerp and the Northern Netherlands, 14th to 16th Century" in his collection of essays entitled The Low Countries in the Early Modern World (Aldershot, 1993) 126-41. For economic developments generally in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries see Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 70-126.

⁹³ H. De Ridder Symoens, "Internationalismus versus Nationalismus an Universitäten um 1500 nach zumeist südniederländischen Quellen" in Europa 1500, 397-414 and J. Roegiers, "De universiteit van Leuven 1425-1797", NAGN, VII, 301-05, 301.

⁹⁴ Vaughan, Valois Burgundy, 28.

to securing the loyalty of all those who were in high government or in close proximity to themselves. This was done through a number of means, all designed to legitimise Burgundian power and to offset the influence of France. The dukes were able to accomplish much through the judicious use of patronage, issuing letters, charters and commands to favoured subjects and controlling access to their presence. There were also a number of social bodies and occasions which served to strengthen the attachment of the élites to the ruler. The most significant of these ties was the Order of the Golden Fleece, a chivalric order founded in 1430, with the aim of matching the prestigious chivalric orders of France and England.⁹⁵ The Burgundian dukes also promoted specific Burgundian symbols and other ties of unity in an attempt to build up an esprit de corps among the nobility. The principal sign of Burgundian unity was the St. Andrews Cross, whose use and design was debated as early as 1411. In 1435, the treaty of Arras stipulated that servants of the Duke of Burgundy could not be compelled to wear any other device. The other main Burgundian symbol was the lion, a symbol taken from the Black Lion of Flanders and adopted by both the dukes and most of the provinces in the future Low Countries.⁹⁶

Finally, the loyalty of the nobility was built up through the careful use of propaganda. Although propaganda was deployed before 1417, it was during the dukedom of Philip the Good that propaganda became an essential feature of Burgundian policy. Through the use of judicial arguments and references to both the legends of antiquity and events of the Middle Ages, Burgundian writers attempted to justify the expansion and consolidation of Burgundian power. They represented Burgundy as the natural successor to a series of intermediary kingdoms whose antiquity and prestige outshone even that of the Empire and France.⁹⁷ Propaganda about the antiquity of Burgundy also served to bolster

⁹⁵ Vaughan, Valois Burgundy, 98 and Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 214-23.

⁹⁶ Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 131-38.

⁹⁷ Lacaze, "Le Rôle des traditions dans la genèse d'un sentiment national", *passim*. On propaganda in the time of John the Fearless, C.C. Millard, "The Manuscripts of Jean Petit's Justification: some Burgundian Propaganda Methods of the Early Fifteenth Century", Studia Francesi, 38 (1969) 271-80.

attempts by Philip the Good and Charles the Bold to secure a royal crown.⁹⁸

In the short run, this propaganda was only partially successful. The prestige of the French crown as well as the French origins of the Valois Burgundian dynasty all served to perpetuate unease about the legitimacy of the Burgundian cause. It is striking that until the 1460s, and even beyond then, Burgundian chroniclers were invariably respectful towards the French crown and expressed French sympathies when referring to the English and the Hundred Years War. The chroniclers gave no indication that they regarded loyalty to the duke of Burgundy as being incompatible with loyalty to the French Crown; they accepted that the king of France was the duke's feudal overlord. It was only after 1461 when pressure from King Louis XI on the French side and Charles the Bold on the Burgundian side forced people to take sides that a conflict of loyalties became apparent. Before 1477, a Burgundian sentiment does not appear to have developed among the Burgundian nobles and chroniclers, as was evident in the large number of defections to Louis XI which took place and after Charles the Bold's death in January 1477.⁹⁹

After 1477, though, when the ties with France were broken, the Habsburg successors to the Burgundian dukes were able to strengthen the loyalty of the noble élites. Employing the same methods as their Burgundian forerunners, but on a much larger scale, the Habsburgs were to enjoy a good relationship with the high nobility until the 1550s. The high nobility were given important posts such as the provincial governorships and commands of the *bandes d'ordonnance* and through these positions they were able to build up their own network of supporters and strengthen their position. At the same time, they served the ruler by maintaining order in the provinces and executing the commands of central government.¹⁰⁰ As a consequence of their responsibilities and their position in government, the high nobility were better able to approach matters from a general Netherlandish perspective and to develop some responsibility to the whole of the

⁹⁸ Lacaze, "Le Rôle des traditions", 375; Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 126-31; Prevenier and Blockmans, The Burgundian Netherlands, 211-13.

⁹⁹ Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 110-24 and Wouters, "Het Nationaliteitsbesef", 751-87.

¹⁰⁰ H.G. Koenigsberger, "Orange, Granvelle and Philip II" in *Politicians and Virtuosi*, 97-119, 99-100 and P. Rosenfeld, The Provincial Governors from the Minority of Charles V to the Revolt, *Standen en Landen*, XVII (Louvain and Paris, 1959).

Burgundian-Habsburg lands. For this reason, motivated by concern about their own prestige and standing as they were, the high nobility would have developed some conception of the whole of the Netherlands at a much earlier stage than other social groups within the Burgundian-Habsburg state.¹⁰¹

(c) Provincial and Civic Identities

In 1555, when Philip of Spain became the ruler of the Low Countries, he did so not as king of the Low Countries but as the ruler of each individual province, taking as his title, duke, count or lord, according to the status of each province. In Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Gelre, he was accorded the title of duke; in Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Holland, Zeeland and Namur, the title of count; and, elsewhere, the dignity of lord. The multiple titles of Philip II are a reminder that, in 1555, just as much as in the fifteenth century, the Burgundian state was a personal union, a collection of largely autonomous territories united only by their subjection to a common ruler. During the Burgundian period, whenever the Burgundian chroniclers referred to the ducal realms, they always spoke about the possessions and inheritances of the dukes rather than about a state or country.¹⁰² It is probably true to say that, by the mid-sixteenth century, there was a greater sense of a common Netherlands among the higher echelons of government but, even so, the Burgundian state was still mainly viewed as a collection of inherited territories and not as an unified state.

The plural character of the Burgundian state, apparent in the autonomous nature of the provinces and cities, was maintained and reinforced by the institutions and practices of government. The establishment of the States General as a regular feature of political life in the Low Countries from the 1460s to the 1550s, certainly encouraged a greater awareness of common interests but the States General was not a national parliament. The provincial estates continued to exercise effective power within the framework of the Burgundian state. When the Burgundian and Habsburg rulers laid requests before the States General, it was the

¹⁰¹ Groenveld, "Natie", 379-80 and A. Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country" in Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries (London, 1989) passim.

¹⁰² Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 154.

individual estates rather than the general assembly as a whole, which decided upon the response. This is evident in the fact that the representatives of the provincial estates who sat in the States General were delegates rather than plenipotentiaries. They were required to report back to the provincial estates before deciding on matters raised in the general assembly and the delegates at the provincial assemblies were required, in turn, to report back to the cities which had sent them to the provincial estates.¹⁰³ As the consent of each of the provincial delegations was required for such important matters as the levy of taxes, the provincial estates clearly possessed a great deal of power. Indeed, their financial power even increased in the sixteenth century. During the 1500s, the growing costs of warfare forced the Habsburg government to hand over more and more of the control of the administration of taxes and, in part, the expenditure of taxes, to the provincial estates, in order to raise enough money.¹⁰⁴

Within the regions, purely provincial institutions flourished during the sixteenth century as is apparent in the frequency with which the provincial courts met to decide upon cases. While the central *Grand Conseil* dealt with an increasing number of cases over the later fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, reaching an annual total of 97 judgements for the period 1521-35, the provincial court in Flanders averaged hundreds of judgements each year.¹⁰⁵ Indeed, it seems increasingly clear that the focus upon the development of the Burgundian state in the history of the sixteenth-century Low Countries has, to some extent, obscured the contemporaneous development of provincial government. James Tracy, in a recent study of provincial government in Holland during the period from 1506-1566 concluded that "the county of Holland showed noticably greater unity and cohesion by the 1560s than it did at the beginnings of the century". According to Tracy, pressure from central government and economic and military

¹⁰³ H.G. Koenigsberger, "The Powers of Deputies in sixteenth-century assemblies" in H.G. Koenigsberger, *Estates and Revolutions* (Ithaca, New York, 1971) 176-210.

¹⁰⁴ Craeybeckx, "Centralisatiepolitiek en nationaal besef", 116-17; Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 23; J.D. Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg Rule, 1506-1566. The Formation of a Body Politic* (Oxford, 1990) 115-46; and J.D. Tracy, *A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands. Renten and Renteniers in the County of Holland, 1515-1565* (London, 1985).

¹⁰⁵ W.P. Blockmans, "Stadt, Region und Staat: ein Dreiecksverhältnis- Der Kasus der Niederlande im 15. Jahrhundert" in *Europa 1500*, 211-26, 218-19.

problems, compelled the towns of Holland to cooperate more with each other. As a result, the provincial states of Holland became better able to act for the province as a whole and to govern the province on a regular basis.¹⁰⁶

As well as the provincial estates, the provinces safeguarded their autonomy through the various charters which had developed over the course of the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries. When Prince Philip succeeded to power in the Low Countries, he had to swear, like all his predecessors in the Low Countries, to abide by each of the provincial privileges. These privileges, which defined the nature of the relationship between the ruler and the particular province, sometimes gave rise to difficulties. When Prince Philip toured the Low Countries in 1549-50, he had to swear in Brabant to abide by the *Joyeuse Entrée*, the Brabant privilege first granted in 1356. Charles V, aware of the difficulties the privilege presented for the rulers of Brabant, wanted the resistance article deleted but the article was retained after the States of Brabant had argued that the article permitted only passive disobedience after the prince had been given due warning.¹⁰⁷ The matter was thought important enough for the publisher Pieter de Coeck to publish a work on Philip's *Joyeuse Entrée* in September 1550.¹⁰⁸

The privileges acted as a safeguard not only against the ruler but also against the other provinces. The personnel of both regional and central government as well as the languages of government and the administration of justice were carefully stipulated in the privileges of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In 1477, for example, all of the provincial privileges, except the Namur privilege, stated that only native-born officials could hold certain offices. The Flemish privilege stipulated that only "goede, souffisante ende notable personen, gheboren Vlaminghe, Vlaemsche sprekende ende verstaende" could hold offices in the administration of justice. According to the Holland privilege, only those born in the aforesaid lands (Holland, Zeeland and West Friesland) "ende niet van vreemden landen" ("and not from foreign lands") could hold a range of offices.

¹⁰⁶ Tracy, Holland under Habsburg Rule, 209.

¹⁰⁷ H. De la Fontaine Verwey, "De Blijde Inkomste en de opstand tegen Philips II" in H. De la Fontaine Verwey, Uit de wereld van het boek, I (Humanisten, dweppers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw) (Amsterdam, 1975) 113-32, 118.

¹⁰⁸ H. De la Fontaine Verwey, "Pieter Coecke van Aelst en zijn boeken over architectuur" in Uit de Wereld van het boek, I, 51-68, 62.

Likewise, the Brabant *Joyeuse Entrée* declared that "wij in onsen lande van Brabant ordineren sullen achte wettige, notable, weerdige personen, gheboeren ende geguedt in onsen landen van Brabant oft van Overmaze, ende niet meer..." to hold office in Brabant.¹⁰⁹

The importance of law and the privileges in the sixteenth century, the strength of the provincial assemblies and the provincial courts of justice and the stipulations in privileges about the appointment of suitable native office-holders all point in the same direction. They confirm that the primary forms of identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries were provincial and local in nature. That being so, it is no surprise to discover that much of the so-called 'patriotic' vocabulary of the sixteenth century reflected a provincial and local conception of the country. This is evident in the case of Holland. As the provincial government in Holland developed so did the notion of Holland as a corporate body, variously described as a "gemeen land" ("a common land"), a "communis patria" ("a common fatherland") and a "lichaem" ("body"). This notion existed by the later fifteenth century but it was only in the 1500s that it became generally accepted.¹¹⁰ By the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the phrases "het gemeene Lant van Holland" and, on occasions, the "ghemeene Vaderlande" appeared frequently on official documents. In all cases, the 'common land' and the 'common fatherland' was simply the province of Holland.¹¹¹ As the examples from Holland suggest, the term 'natie' or 'nation' was commonly used to refer to the people originating from an individual province rather than to the inhabitants of the Low Countries as a whole. In the late summer of 1571, when the general synod at Emden was being organised, the Reformed community in Cologne wrote to Orange to inform him that the "Hollandsche natie" declined to come and that it would be better if all the Netherlandish nations were present ("sonder eenighe

¹⁰⁹ See Blockmans, 1477: "good, sufficient and notable persons, Flemish born and speaking and understanding Flemish" from article 1 of the Flemish privilege on pages 129-30; article 4 of the Holland privilege on page 219; and "we in our lands of Brabant shall ordain lawful, notable, worthy persons, born and holding property in our lands of Brabant and Overmaas and no more..." from article 6 of the *Joyeuse Entrée* on page 295. The stipulations about native office holders appear in other articles of each of these privileges.

¹¹⁰ Tracy, *Holland under Habsburg Rule*, passim.

¹¹¹ Groenveld, "Natie en nationaal gevoel", 377.

Nederlantsche natie tontbrekene").¹¹² The plural use of the word 'natie' indicates the plural nature of the Burgundian state.

If the evidence of the strength of both provincial institutions and the privileges confirms the importance of particularism in the sixteenth century, it also suggests that caution should be exercised when judging the significance during the 1500s of the notion of a 'patria'. As Tracy wrote in his study of Holland, if there was a greater political consciousness during the period, it centred on the concept of privileges rather than the patria. The greater awareness of privileges in local areas suggests a wide diffusion of the concept of organized society as a federation of privileged bodies".¹¹³ The fact that the political assumptions of the sixteenth century were corporate and judicial in nature rather than territorial not only makes the nationalist notion of a collective national sense wholly untenable but also indicates just how novel the notion of a general Netherlandish 'patria' or common fatherland was in the later sixteenth century.

(d) Core and Periphery

A particular feature of the Burgundian state was the contrast between the core and peripheral areas. The provinces which lay on the coast and along the major river trading routes like Flanders, Brabant, Holland and Zeeland, were distinguished from the landward areas by their greater degree of urbanisation and economic development. The southern and eastern areas were much more rural in nature, with a more conservative social structure and a lower density of population. All but a few of the great cities associated with the Low Countries were situated in the prosperous group of core provinces. The institutions of central government were also located in the core region.¹¹⁴

The fundamental division between the core and peripheral provinces was apparent also in the central legal courts. Most of the petitions to the central legal courts came from the core provinces of Brabant, Flanders, Holland and Zeeland,

¹¹² Brieven uit onderscheidene kerkelijke archieven, eds., J.J. Van Toorenenborghen, Series III, Deel V, Pt I (Utrecht, 1882) 4-5.

¹¹³ Tracy, Holland under Habsburg Rule, 215.

¹¹⁴ Blockmans, "Stadt, Region und Staat", Europa 1500, 212.

and most of the regulations with general applicability were intended for these areas. Of the 330 customary laws registered before 1580, most came from one province, Flanders. In 1546-50, the provinces with the highest number of judgements in the central administration of justice were Flanders, Brabant and Holland, followed by Artois and Zeeland. Apart from Utrecht, all of the newly conquered lands as well as Limburg, had, on average, only one or fewer judgements a year, compared to Flanders and Holland with 41 and 40 respectively. The difference between the core and periphery was a mark of the differing social structures in these areas and the different rates of centralisation: in the agricultural provinces, with the single exception of Artois, the older legal structures continued to be powerful, making it difficult for princely central and provincial justice to gain a foothold.¹¹⁵

The core provinces were also distinguished culturally and linguistically from the peripheral areas. Since the thirteenth century, the so-called Franconian part of the Netherlandish region, Flanders, Brabant, Zeeland and Holland, had formed a common linguistic, cultural and economic region. The cultural and economic orientation of these provinces was to the south, to France and to the west, to England. The dominant influence in Holland's cultural and political life, came from Flanders and Brabant; German cultural influence in the province, even during the duke of Bavaria's rule, was negligible. After 1433, when all these areas were united under one ruler, the ties of association between the Franconian provinces were strengthened through the agency of Burgundian centralisation.¹¹⁶

The Franconian core formed a contrast to both the French-speaking provinces to the south and to the north-eastern provinces of Gelderland, Overijssel, Friesland and Groningen with the Ommelanden. The contrast was less marked in the case of the Walloon area because towns like Arras, Valenciennes and Tournai were closely tied to the economy of Flanders and Brabant. However, even here, the still largely feudal structure of the Walloon provinces, apparent in the dominance of the nobility and the fact that they were more open to influence from France, set them apart from Flanders and Brabant.

The contrast between the core and peripheral areas was most marked in

¹¹⁵ De Schepper, 'Belgium Nostrum', 10-17.

¹¹⁶ J.A. Kossmann-Putto, "Fifteenth-century Dutch towns and the Outer World", Dutch Crossing, 39 (1989) 45-52, 46-48 ;and Huizinga, "L'état bourguignon", 210.

the case of the north-eastern provinces. Whereas Holland, Flanders and Brabant looked to the south and west for their economic and cultural influences, the economic and cultural orientation of the north-eastern provinces was to the east, to Westphalia and the Lower Rhineland. The vernacular of the inhabitants of this area was more closely related to the Low German dialects of Westphalia than to the Franconian dialects in Holland, Flanders, Brabant and Zeeland. It was no coincidence that the movement of the Brethren of the Common Life, which began along the banks of the river IJssel in the north east, spread much more rapidly across the north German plain and along the Rhine valley than it did to the south and west.

The culture of the north-eastern provinces in the sixteenth century was much more Germanic than that of Flanders, Brabant and Holland. During the early part of the sixteenth century, when a dispute arose among humanists in Holland and Gelderland about the location of Batavia, the Holland humanists tended to situate ancient Batavia in contemporary Holland, whereas the Gelderlander Gerard Geldenhauer represented Batavia as part of the Germanic world.¹¹⁷ Although the towns in this area did trade with France and England, the most important economic ties were with the north German Hanseatic towns. Friesland, the most northerly province in the future Low Countries, was a case unto itself. By virtue of its isolated position and linguistic distinctiveness, it managed to preserve a large measure of independence throughout the Middle Ages.¹¹⁸

Although the Burgundian dukes certainly had hoped to annex all these north-eastern territories, they never managed to integrate successfully any of the provinces. The north-eastern lands thus remained throughout the fifteenth century as a quite distinct region from the central Burgundian lands, a fact which contemporaries like Georges Chastellain recognised.¹¹⁹ The situation began to

¹¹⁷ N. Mout, "'Het Bataafse oor'. De lotgevallen van Erasmus' Adagium "Auris Batava" in de Nederlandse geschiedschrijving", Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie der Wetenschappen, Afdeling Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks, 56 (1993) 77-102.

¹¹⁸ Kossmann-Putto, "Fifteenth-century Dutch towns", passim; D.A. Barents, "Het sticht Utrecht, Gelre en Friesland 1423-1482", NAGN, IV, 292-303, 292-93; and E.H. Waterbolk, "Aspects of the Frisian Contribution to the Culture of the Low Countries in the Early Modern Period" in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, IV (The Hague, 1971) 113-32.

¹¹⁹ Barents, "Het sticht Utrecht, Gelre en Friesland", 292-93 and Huizinga, "Uit de voorgeschiedenis", 153.

change from the end of the fifteenth century. As the Hanseatic League declined so the ties between Gelderland, Overijssel and northern Germany diminished in importance. Divided amongst themselves and increasingly provincial in outlook, the lands to the east of the Zuider Zee were less able to resist the Habsburg expansion of the 1520s to the 1540s.¹²⁰ Finally in 1548, all the north-eastern provinces were bound together with the older patrimonial provinces in the same Imperial Circle and from 1549 were permitted to send delegates to the meetings of the States General. Thereafter, the north-eastern lands were drawn more and more into the 'Netherlandish' world.

Part IV: The Influence of the Renaissance and Reformation

As Jozef IJsewijn has persuasively argued, humanism did not develop significantly in the Low Countries until the final decades of the fifteenth century. During the 1490s and the early 1500s, the number of humanists in the Low Countries grew rapidly and a native Netherlandish humanism began to develop which distinguished itself, with increasing self-confidence, from both Italian humanism and northern scholasticism. In the same period, the influence of humanism in Netherlandish society also increased, especially in education. Grammar schools in the Low Countries began to adopt a humanist approach to education, a development which, as IJsewijn noted, was fraught with significance for the future:

"In the Erasmian age, however, humanist formation began slowly but steadily to take hold of the entire grammar school teaching in the Netherlands, and, as a logical consequence, of a broad range of academic and scientific life. The time was coming when jurisprudence, medicine, mathematics, and other disciplines would be practised by men trained as humanists, a transformation which would affect not merely the language of their writings but also their scientific methods, their teaching and their

¹²⁰ Kossmann-Putto, "Fifteenth-century Dutch towns", 49-50 and W.J. Formsma, "De onderwerping van Friesland, het sticht en Gelre", *AGN*, IV, 72-96.

research."¹²¹

Humanism was further spread by both the foundation of the Collegium Trilingue at Louvain in 1517, a college which was to become a leading centre of northern humanism, and the focus of many printing houses in the Low Countries from the mid to later-fifteenth century. The progress made by humanism in the Netherlands in the first half of the 1500s was such that it can be stated with confidence that by the mid-1500s, most educated members of society had been taught on the basis of humanist principles of education.¹²²

For the scholars, lawyers, administrative officials and others whose upbringing and education were shaped by humanism, there were two sources from which they could have drawn for ideas about the patria. Many humanists would simply have taken ideas about patriotism from the works of antiquity themselves, especially from Cicero, Livy and Tacitus, like the humanist Gnapheus, who in 1557 wrote that it was natural for us to promote our own fatherland and for most of our friends to come from the place of our birth, "als Cicero leerdt" ("as Cicero taught").¹²³ The other source was the work of contemporaries or near contemporaries working in a humanist tradition. Of the contemporary bodies of thought available to humanists in the Low Countries probably the most important was that of Italian Civic Republicanism. At the heart of the Italian republican tradition was the notion of republican liberty which was first articulated in the second half of the twelfth century during the beginning of the struggle between the cities of northern Italy and the Holy Roman Emperor. In 1177, the ambassadors from Ferrara spoke at a meeting of "the honour and liberty of Italy" and asserted that the citizens of the Regnum would have "preferred to incur a

¹²¹ J. IJsewijn, "The Coming of Humanism to the Low Countries" in H.A. Oberman and T.A. Brady, Jr., eds., Itinerarium Italicum. The Profile of the Italian Renaissance in the Mirror of its European Transformation (Leiden, 1975) 191-302, quotation from 277-78.

¹²² See J.K. Cameron, "Humanism in the Low Countries" in A. Goodman and A. Mackay, eds., The Impact of Humanism on Western Europe (London, 1990) 137-63; M. Delacourt, "Humanisme et Renaissance aux Pays-Bas" in Histoire Illustrée des Lettres Françaises en Belgique (Brussels, 1958) 133-42; and the section on 'Socioculturele geschiedenis 1500-1800' in NAGN, VII, 255-381.

¹²³ "Dewijl...ons vaderland ende oock de goede vrienden het meeste deel onses gheboortes (van natueren weghe) van ons voorderende zijn, als Cicero leerdt". Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, XVIII (The Hague, 1958) M. de Vries, L.A. te Winkel et al, eds., 177.

glorious death with Liberty rather than live a miserable life of servitude."¹²⁴

As the ideology of Liberty was restated and developed over the succeeding centuries and was taken up by the humanists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, more and more attention was paid to the need to secure 'liberty' by developing a strong civic sense among the population. It was the expression of this desire for a widespread civic sense and the concern for the independence of each city that called forth the 'patriotic' statements. In Rolandino of Padua's *Chronicle of Padua*, written in the early 1260s, the archbishop of Ravenna is given a speech in which he calls upon the Paduans to "fight to defend the liberty of their fatherland". In Bruni's *Oratio* of 1428 for the funeral of his friend Nanni Strozzi, Bruni contrasts Strozzi's behaviour with mercenaries. Unlike them, "Strozzi was willing "to put the love of his country before his own safety".¹²⁵ Finally, in Machiavelli, love of the patria and the willingness to defend the patria appear as an expression of a republican desire for liberty; the patriotic love he puts forward is one without any internal connection to Christian love.¹²⁶ At the heart, then, of the republican tradition was a notion of republican liberty which was understood to mean freedom from outside interference and the maintenance of a republican form of government within the cities. Patriotic sentiment here was expressed in an emphasis on civic virtue in all of the republic's citizens. Without the exercise of this public minded virtue, the patria or city could not long survive.

That the growth of humanism did stimulate the development of patriotic sentiment is evident from a wide variety of sources. It is evident, to begin with, from the nature of language itself and from attitudes taken to the vernacular tongues. The widespread use of 'patria' or 'vaderland' in the 1500s to mean one's native country was in large part due to the Renaissance rediscovery of the classical understanding of the term.¹²⁷ In the Middle Ages, the Dutch

¹²⁴ Q. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, 2 Volumes (Cambridge, 1978) I, 7 and the rest of the first volume for what follows.

¹²⁵ Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, I, 32-33 and 77. See also pages 65 and 147.

¹²⁶ H.H. Jacobs, "Studien zur Geschichte des Vaterlandsgedenkens in Renaissance und Reformation", *Die Welt als Geschichte*, XII (1952) 85-105, 90-92.

¹²⁷ As Henri Pirenne noted in *Histoire de Belgique des Origines a nos Jours*, 4 Volumes (Brussels, Undated) II (*De la Mort de Charles le Téméraire a la paix de Munster*) 131 and also 231, 238 note 7.

'Vaderland' was used only with reference to heaven and the kingdom of God as set against the earthly kingdom through which the Christian pilgrim had to travel. To describe the native land or country, the Dutch simply used the term 'lant' as in "sijns selves lant" and "sijn lant".¹²⁸ 'Vaderland' probably entered the Dutch language as a neo-Latinism which was then given a deeper meaning by humanism.¹²⁹ This is not to say, though, that 'vaderlant' invariably or even mainly, referred to the whole of the Low Countries. According to a dictionary published at Antwerp in 1562, 'patria' was "Eens ieghelicks landt, Vaderlandt, De stede, het dorp, ghehucht of ander plaetse daermen geboren is."¹³⁰ As 'vaderland' was more commonly used for the local country, the adjective 'gemeyne' was often added to the noun wherever the writer wished to refer to all of the Netherlands. This usage had begun at least as early as the later fifteenth century.¹³¹ The role of humanism, thus, was to redirect attention away from a religious fatherland to an earthly fatherland but what shape that earthly fatherland took depended entirely on political circumstances.

As well as helping to change the understanding of some words, humanism also stimulated a greater pride in the vernacular languages. In the Low Countries, as also in France, Germany and England, the sixteenth century saw the emergence of a 'movement' to purify and to advance the vernacular. The original motivating force behind these movements was the desire to open up the 'wisdom' of antiquity to a broader audience through translations from Latin into the vernacular. Jan Gymnick revealed his interest in promoting the Dutch language in his dedication to the Antwerp town council of his *Titus Livius: Dat is /de Roemsche historie oft Gesten*, published in 1541. He declared that he had two main aims in his book, the first of which was "...opdat inden iersten doer desen onsen arbeyt de kennisse van ouden autentiicken historien in onser moederliker sprake een

¹²⁸ Muller, "Vaderland en moedertaal", 44-47; Middel Nederlandsch Woordenboek, VIII (The Hague, 1916; reprint 1971) Column 1140, E. Verwijs and J. Verdam, eds.; and Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, XVIII, 176-77; and Groenveld, "Natie", 375-82.

¹²⁹ Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, XVIII, 176-77 and Muller, "Vaderland en moedertaal", 51-53.

¹³⁰ "everybody's country, fatherland, the town, village, hamlet or any other place where one is born." Groenveld, "Natie", 376.

¹³¹ Duke, "From King and Country", 185-87 and Groenveld, "Natie", 376-77.

beginsel hebben...".

Gymnick's second reason, "Ten anderen opdat deselve onse moederlike sprake doer dese versake voortane meer ende meer gheoefent ende gheacht mach werden...", revealed another influence of humanism. Through their study of Latin language and literature, the humanists picked up a belief in the importance of purity, accuracy and elegance in language. The contrast between Latin, which appeared as a model language, and the various vernacular languages, seemingly chaotic in form and expression, impelled many humanists to call for the purification and remodelling of their own native tongue. In the Low Countries, this pressure for reform first took off in the 1550s and within the space of a few decades, interest in glorifying the Dutch language had become widespread. Indeed, it was during the first few years of the troubles that two important works on the Dutch language were begun. Cornelius Kiliaan, along with three other scholars, was entrusted in 1566 with the task of producing dictionaries for Dutch and two years later, in 1568, D.V. Coornhert began his Dutch Grammar.¹³²

In the Low Countries, as elsewhere, humanism also stimulated a desire to discover and to describe the past and to relate the lessons of the past to the present.¹³³ This desire was exemplified in the Netherlands by the interest of northern Netherlandish humanists in their 'Batavian' past. As the Batavians were regarded as a pattern for their descendants, contemporary Hollanders, who succeeded in appropriating the Batavians for themselves, were exhorted to practise the 'Batavian' values of bravery, virtue and love of freedom.¹³⁴ This

¹³² "First of all, in order that, through this work, the knowledge of old histories in our mother tongue will make a beginning..." and "and secondly so that our mother tongue might be exercised and respected better". Van den Branden, Het streven naar verheerlijking. For Gymnick see pages 12-15 and for the period up to 1575, pages 1-113.

¹³³ Erasmus, with his cosmopolitan and moral outlook and his belief that national self-love was a sort of natural weakness common to most men was not representative of Netherlandish humanism. For Erasmus see J. Huizinga, Erasmus (Originally published 1924; reprint of original English translation of 1924: New York, 1957) 43-46; J. Huizinga, "Erasmus über Vaterland und Nationen", 250-67; Poelhekke, "The Nameless Homeland of Erasmus", 54-87; Jacobs, "Studien zur Geschichte des Vaterlandsgedenkens in Renaissance und Reformation", 95-99.

¹³⁴ See I. Schöffner, "The Batavian Myth during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" in Bromley and Kossmann, Britain and the Netherlands, V, 78-101; H. Kampinga, Opvattingen over onze vaderlandsche geschiedenis bij de Hollandse historici der 16e en 17e eeuw (Originally published 1917; reprint from Utrecht, 1980); Mout, "'Het Bataafse oor'"; and K. Tilmans, Aurelius en de Divisiechroniek van 1517. Historiografie en

process can be seen taking place already in the 1520s. Cornelius Aurelius, in a work entitled *Prosopopeia Phrisiae*, which was sent to the Stadhouder of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht in early 1524, depicted Jan van Wassenaar, one of Charles V's generals in the war against Gelderland, as a national Holland hero. Aurelius described Wassenaar as being a descendant of Claudius Civilis, the leader of a Batavian Revolt against the Romans in AD 69. According to Aurelius, Wassenaar's real aim in the wars against the Duke of Gelderland was to defend Holland's freedom against the Gelderland tyrant. The councillors of the Court of Holland were called upon to stay within Holland to look after the Batavian people and to serve the fatherland. The conception of the fatherland here was closely linked to a concept of 'libertas' which was understood as freedom from tyranny and, in particular, from excessive taxation.¹³⁵

As well as in language and history, the influence of humanism is apparent in geographical works. In the 1500s, maps and chorographical works often expressed a marked pride in the area represented and described. The 'country' so described was as often as not, a city or province but examples of 'patriotic' pride in the whole of the Low Countries, or to use the sixteenth-century term, the "gemeene landen" do exist. Hieronymus Cock, in his 1558 map of the Netherlands, declared that his aim was to encourage the viewers to love the country. The dedicatory poems which preface Guicciardini's *Description de Tout les Païs Bas*, first published in 1567, were for the most part expressive of some pride in the country which Guicciardini had described.¹³⁶

The examples of language, history and geography show that humanism did bring about a deepening of and greater expressiveness in patriotic sentiment, whether focussed on a province or country. It would be wrong to conclude from this, though, that humanism explains all that needs to be known about patriotic sentiment and patriotic propaganda in the sixteenth century. For one thing, the sixteenth century was marked just as powerfully by the Reformation. The belief that the Word of God should be made available to as many people as possible made translators more sensitive to the presence of 'foreign' words in the

humanisme in Holland in de tijd van Erasmus, (Hilversum, 1988).

¹³⁵ Tilmans, *Aurelius en de Divisiechroniek*, 42-43.

¹³⁶ H.A.M. Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps of the Netherlands* (Utrecht, 1987) 57; Guicciardini, *Description de Tout les Païs Bas*. See chapter 4 in this thesis for more details.

vernacular and thereby encouraged the movement for the purification of Dutch and other Germanic languages. Furthermore, the pressure for vernacular translations and vernacular sermons raised the status of the vernacular.¹³⁷ The Bible was also partly responsible for the spread of words like 'vaderland'. The emergence of the modern meaning can be traced in successive translations of the word 'country' in Matthew 13: 53-54, which reads: "And it came to pass, that when Jesus had finished these parables, he departed thence. And when he was come into his own country, he taught them in their synagogue...". The term 'vaderland' first appeared instead of the older 'lant' in 1526, perhaps through the influence of Luther's translation of the Bible.¹³⁸ The translations of 1528, 1532 and 1548 revert to the older usage, but, from at least 1556, 'vaderland' appears to have become the standard term in the Bible for the word 'country'.¹³⁹

Care must also be taken about assuming that humanism and the works of antiquity represented the only source of patriotic thought in the sixteenth century. Such a view ignores the development of a territorial understanding of patriotism in the Middle Ages. Ernst Kantorowicz, in his work *The King's Two Bodies*, posed the question of whether the territorial concept of the patria developed "as a re-secularized offshoot of the Christian tradition" and whether "the new patriotism"

¹³⁷ Van den Branden, Het streven naar de verheerlijking, 53-63.

¹³⁸ "En het is gesceit doe Jesus dese gelijckenissen voleynt hadde ginc hy van daer en quam in zijn vaderlant en leerde se in hare scole" in Dat Oude ende dat Nieuwe Testament (Translation by J. Van Liesveldt: Antwerp, 1526). The older, medieval sense of the word can also be found in Liesveldt's Bible. See Hebrews 11, 13-16: "(Zij) hebben bekent dat si gasten ende vreemdelinghen opter aerden sijn, want die sulcs seggen, dye bewijzen, dat si een vaderlant soecken..." or in a modern English translation, "they confessed that they were aliens and strangers on earth. People who say such things show that they are looking for a country of their own." For Luther's use of 'vaterland' see the Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal, XVIII, 176; Duke, "From King and Country", 186-87; and Trübners Deutsches Wörterbuch, VII (Berlin, 1956) 366-67.

¹³⁹ The following works from the British Library were consulted (BL): De Bibel Tgeheele Oude ende Nieuwe Testament met grooter naersticheyt na den Latijnschen text gecorrigeert...(1528) (BL: L.14.b.3); Den Bible met grooter neersticheyt gecorrigeert/ op de canten gheset den ouderdom der werelt...(1532) (BL: 3041.g.13); Den gheheelen Bybel/ Inhoudende het oude ende nieuwe Testament/ Met grooter naersticheyt ende arbeyt nu corts in duytschen van nyews overghestelt uit den Latijnschen ouden text...(1548) (BL: C.128.g.1); Den Bibel in duyts dat is alle boecken des Ouden ende Nieuwen Testaments na de orsprongelijcke spraken opt alder getrouwelijcste verduyst is de gheheele Heylige Schrift/ in gemeyn Nederlandsch duytsch...(Translated by Steven Mierdman and Jan Gheillyart; Emden, 1558) (BL: 3040.e.4); BIBLIA. Dat is DE GANTSCH HEYLIGHE SCHRIFT grondelick ende trouwelick verduydschet (Emden, 1562) (BL: L.8.b.4); and the 'Staten Bijbel', Biblia, Dat is De gantsche H. Scripture...(Leiden, 1636) (BL: L.11.e.2).

thrived "on ethical values transferred back from the patria in heaven to the polities on earth" and answered in the affirmative.¹⁴⁰ In twelfth-century Christendom, patria usually signified heaven and Jerusalem: 'pugno pro patria' and 'mori pro patria' were consequently understood in religious terms as fighting and martyrdom for the Kingdom of God. From the later 1100s, canonists began to teach that war on behalf of the earthly patria was also justifiable in cases of necessity. In the thirteenth century, with the development of territorial monarchies in the west, the notion of a territorial patria was further developed and virtues and ideas hitherto seen wholly in a religious light were transferred back to this patria. At the same time, some thinkers (by no means all) began to refer to their respective territorial monarchies as the 'communis patria' rather than just reserve the term for heaven or for the Holy Roman Empire. Finally, in the early fourteenth century, these different developments were brought together by theologians and jurists working on behalf of Philip IV of France to form an ideology in defence of territorial monarchies.¹⁴¹ In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, to these legal arguments were added further indications of the development of territorial monarchies rooted in some sense, to what degree is hard to determine, of a common identity.¹⁴² Though the possibility of humanist influence in the fifteenth century cannot be excluded, the development of the territorial concept of the patria clearly constitutes a distinct tradition of patriotic thought which predates humanism and whose distinguishing characteristic was its connection with the territorial monarchies of the west.

Part V: The Habsburg Netherlands in the 1550s

¹⁴⁰ E.H. Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies. A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology (Princeton, New Jersey, 1957) 235.

¹⁴¹ Kantorowicz, The King's Two Bodies, 232-72; G. Post, "Two Notes on Nationalism in the Middle Ages", Traditio, IX (1953) 281-320; G. Post, Studies in Medieval Legal Thought. Public Law and the State, 1100-1322 (Princeton, New Jersey, 1964) 434-93. See also H. Koht, "The Dawn of Nationalism in Europe", American Historical Review, LII (1947) 265-80.

¹⁴² Guenée, States and Rulers, 49-65.

The 1550s was an unusually tense period in Low Countries history in which the towns, the representative assemblies and the high nobility all expressed discontent with the state of affairs in the Netherlands. In nationalist historiography, the decade was often seen as the precursor to the Revolt and the actions of the nobility and the estates were taken as expressions of 'national' discontent. More recent writers, though, have tended to look upon the troubles in the mid to later 1550s as matters engendered by the specific circumstances of the 1550s, troubles which were only indirectly related, if at all, to the conflicts of the 1560s and 1570s.¹⁴³

The tensions which afflicted the Low Countries in the 1550s were, in the main, due to two things: the pressures placed on the Habsburg empire by the wars of 1551-59 and the consequences of the transference of power from Charles V to his brother Ferdinand, his son Philip and his nephew Maximilian. From 1551 to the Peace of Cateau-Cambrèsis in 1559, the Habsburg realms were engaged in a series of wars with Valois France and her allies, including at one stage, the Papacy. These wars placed a heavy financial burden upon all parts of the Habsburg empire, the Low Countries included. When Prince Philip took control of the Low Countries in 1555 his financial position was far worse than it had ever been for his father Charles V. State debts were increasing rapidly while the yield from royal sources of revenue was declining rapidly. As a result, Philip began his reign in the Netherlands already heavily dependent on subsidies voted by the States General.

From 1556 to early 1559, Philip convoked a series of meetings of the States General in order to ask for subsidies with which to wage war against France. At these meetings, the States General proved to be more obstructive than Philip hoped and he was able to secure the required subsidies only after making significant concessions to the provincial assemblies. These assemblies emerged from this period much stronger by virtue of their control of the collection and disbursement of taxes.

The reluctance of the representative bodies, both general and provincial,

¹⁴³ For what follows on the 1550s, see M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, The Changing Face of Empire. Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559 (Cambridge, 1988); Parker, The Dutch Revolt, 19-41; Wells, Antwerp and the Government of Philip II; Tracy, Holland under Habsburg Rule; and Tracy, A Financial Revolution in the Habsburg Netherlands.

to accede readily to the demands of Philip II, was a natural consequence of the severe economic conditions of the mid to later 1550s. The strains which the wars placed upon the Netherlandish economy were exacerbated by the epidemics and appalling weather conditions of the period. In these circumstances, Philip II's demands for high taxes were bound to be ill-received. The belief that the other parts of the Habsburg empire were not paying as much as the Low Countries aggravated the situation and encouraged the estates to try and gain further control of the control and expenditure of taxes. Once the provincial estates had secured the level of control of taxes which they wanted and the economic conditions began to improve from 1559 onwards, then the discontent became limited to the presence of foreign troops in the Netherlands.

The problems raised by the impact of the wars of 1551-59 were compounded by the difficulties arising from Philip's succession to power in the Netherlands. Until 1548-49, it was commonly assumed in the Habsburg realms that the Low Countries would be given over to Ferdinand's son, Maximilian but, in the following year, Philip was sworn in as Charles's successor in the Netherlands.¹⁴⁴ This reversal of policy had a number of important effects. In the first place, it left, according to Mia Rodríguez-Salgado, an air of uncertainty about the Netherlands which partly accounts for the unsettled nature of the Low Countries in the 1550s and 1560s: "Nor can the attitude of the Netherlanders and the ambivalent stance of successive emperors towards this state be comprehended unless the insecurity and expectations of closer fusion with the so-called 'Austrian' Habsburgs be taken into account".¹⁴⁵

More tangibly, Charles and Philip were faced with the problem of providing for the defence and maintenance of two quite distinct geographical and political areas. In the first half of the 1540s, Charles had decided that because of the irreconcilable interests of the Netherlands and Spain, it would be better to separate the two states. By going back upon this plan in 1548-49 Charles left the problem unresolved. The death of Edward VI of England appeared to present a providential opportunity to resolve the matter. Charles's eagerness for Philip to

¹⁴⁴ Rodríguez-Salgado, The Changing Face of Empire, 33-40, especially 37.

¹⁴⁵ Rodríguez-Salgado, The Changing Face of Empire, 39-40. In this connection see D.M. Loades, "The Netherlands and the Anglo-Papal Reconciliation of 1554", Nederlands Archief voor kerkgeschiedenis, Nieuwe Serie, LX, part 1 (1980) 39-55, 41-42.

marry Mary I was based upon the belief that the marriage would act as a panacea for all the Habsburgs' problems by enabling Philip to create a powerful state in north-western Europe capable of defending itself against all comers without help from the Iberian peninsula. In the event, the marriage merely compounded the problems of satisfying the 'interests' of different areas by adding one more state to the fold: English and Netherlandish interests were not, as Charles and Philip must have hoped, identical. Hence the fear, therefore, in Netherlandish circles that the interests of the Netherlands would be sacrificed to the demands of other parts of Philip's empire.¹⁴⁶ In this respect, the presence of many Spanish and Italian officers in the Low Countries as part of Philip's entourage did not help matters. Many Netherlandish nobles found their presence irritating and, to some extent, threatening.

The evidence of aristocratic discontent in the 1550s must be treated carefully. There is no doubt that Netherlandish nobles were concerned about the impact of the wars upon the Low Countries and were resentful of the 'Spanish' nature of court life but it would be wrong to ascribe this discontent to any 'national' concerns. Rather, the complaints had more to do with noble power and influence in central government. The noble expressions of discontent in the 1550s should be seen more as comments indicative of their desire to return to the old state of affairs in which the nobility played a leading role in the government of the realm and in the formulation of policy.¹⁴⁷ The heart of their demands lay in Charles de Lalaing's declaration in December 1555, just after the reorganisation of the Council of State, "that neither the king, nor his governor-general, could expedite any business in the said Council, not transact any affairs pertaining to the Netherlands, except by their advice".¹⁴⁸

The noble discontent of the 1550s was significant, though, for the manner in which the nobility expressed their grievances. The influence of humanism was clearly apparent in two letters written by Charles de Lalaing in August 1557, in

¹⁴⁶ Rodríguez-Salgado, The Changing Face of Empire, 79-85, 195-97; Parker, The Dutch Revolt, 38; Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country?", 183; Rosenfeld, The Provincial Governors, 47-49.

¹⁴⁷ Rosenfeld, The Provincial Governors, 47-49.

¹⁴⁸ P. Rosenfeld, The Provincial Governors in the Netherlands from the Minority of Charles V to the Revolt (Ph.D. 1959, Columbia University) 250-51. See also Baelde, De collaterale raden, 176-79.

which he referred to the Low Countries as "notre patrie" ("our fatherland"). Furthermore, in the second of these letters, he also complained about the supposedly inadequate amounts of money contributed by the Spanish kingdoms to the war, writing: "Nous ne serions en ceste grand extrémité si les royaumes d'Espagne, pour lesquels la présente guerre est aussi bien et les querelles qui despendent d'icelux que pour nous, s'ils eussent payés proportionnelement la moytié seulement à l'advenant de nous aultres".¹⁴⁹ Four years previously, Lalaing had proudly distinguished himself from the Spanish and Italians, stating in reference to the threat of an attack upon his province of Hainault that, "I am neither an Italian nor a Spaniard, Madam. Consider me, rather, the sturdiest Netherlander alive".¹⁵⁰ It would be wrong to take these comments, and remarks made by other members of the nobility, as evidence of a developing patriotic vocabulary. 'Patrie' at this stage was very much tied to the feudal notion of 'King or Country': service to the 'patrie' was bound up with service to the king.¹⁵¹ Though comments about the Spanish were clearly made, they referred normally to the number and informal influence of Spanish officers at court, not to the Spanish nation as a whole. The comments about the Spanish were more a mark of heightened sensitivity to the presence of foreigners, among whom were included the Italians and Granvelle, than evidence of a longstanding national enmities.¹⁵² For all these reasons, it seems fair to conclude that it would be wrong to speak of a 'patriotic' ideology already in the 1550s. The development of a rebel ideology of a specifically 'patriotic' character, had to wait until the campaigns of 1568.

¹⁴⁹ "We would not be in such dire straits if the kingdoms of Spain, for whom this present war is being fought, paid proportionately the sum which has come from we others." A. Louant, "Charles de Laing et les remonstrances d'Emmanuel-Philibert de Savoie (juillet et novembre 1556)", *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 97 (1933) 255-69. See also Rosenfeld, *The Provincial Governors*, 14 (for an example from 1537); Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country?", 183; and Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 38.

¹⁵⁰ Rosenfeld, *The Provincial Governors*, 15.

¹⁵¹ Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country?", 184-85.

¹⁵² Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country?", 183. See also J. Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap. Het ontstaan van de zwarte legende over Spanje in de Nederlanden* (Doctoraalscriptie Nieuwe en Theoretische Geschiedenis; University of Amsterdam, 1990) 50-52.

CHAPTER THREE

THE REBEL PATRIOTIC PROPAGANDA OF 1568-1570

Part One: Historiographical Review

In the opening sentences of his work on Orange's campaign against Alba in the autumn of 1568, Emil Teubner noted:

"Es ist befremdend, dass dieses Ereignis [the campaign] in unserer Zeit noch keine eingehendere Darstellung gefunden hat; das Interesse hat sich immer mehr den späteren glänzenden Thaten des niederländischen Freiheitskrieges zugewendet; an den anfänglichen unglücklichen Unternehmungen Wilhelms des Schweigsamen ist man schnell vorübergegangen".¹

When Teubner's essay appeared in 1892, the dominant interpretation of the 'War of Independence' was that which represented the Troubles as a national revolt against Spanish tyranny.² Under the influence of this view, historians directed their attention primarily to the events of 1566-67, which they regarded as the first manifestation of national discontent, and "den späteren glänzenden Thaten" of the years after the capture of Den Briel on April 1st 1572. The intervening exilic period was generally passed by as a time of little interest and less significance. This judgement applied as much to the propaganda of 1568 as to the military campaign because the works of 1568 did not appear to mark a new stage in the development of ideas in the Revolt: according to the national-state view, they

¹ "It is disconcerting that this event has not yet found any thorough account in our time; interest has always focussed more on the later, glittering acts of the Netherlandish War of Freedom; the initial, unfortunate undertakings of William the Silent have been passed over quickly". E. Teubner, Der Feldzug Wilhelms von Oranien gegen den Herzog von Alba im Herbst des Jahres 1568 (Halle, 1892) 1.

² See the first chapter of this thesis for a detailed study of the national-state interpretation of Low Countries history.

merely continued and echoed the sentiments expressed in 1566-67.

In 1933 two works appeared which were to facilitate the development of an alternative approach to the study of the years of exile. A.C.J. De Vrankrijker provided the first serious examination of the pamphlet literature of the early Revolt with his book, *De motiveering van onzen opstand. De Theorieen van het verzet der Nederlandsche opstandelingen tegen Spanje in de jaren 1565-1581*.³ De Vrankrijker clearly distinguished between the pamphlets produced in 1565-66 and those which appeared in 1567-68 thereby opening up the possibility of a proper appreciation of the significance of the works which came off the presses in 1568. *De motiveering...* was also the first serious study of political theory in the early Revolt and, in addition, provided the first discussion of possible sources for the ideas put forward in the propaganda of the period. The greatest significance of De Vrankrijker's work, though, was the way in which he drew attention to the value of studying the pamphlet literature of the sixteenth century. As the first systematic study of the great body of pamphlets which had been collected together and catalogued in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries,⁴ De Vrankrijker's pioneering work showed the way forward for future scholars of the early Revolt. It was partly through the close study of pamphlets, arguably the most important medium of political expression in the Revolt of the Netherlands, that the national interpretation of the Revolt was weakened and ultimately replaced.⁵

H.A.Enno Van Gelder, in his article "Het streven van Prins Willem van

³ The work was originally published at Nijmegen and Utrecht in 1933. The 1979 Utrecht reprint of De Vrankrijker's has been used here.

⁴ The principal catalogues of pamphlets are the following, listed in chronological order: P.J. Tiele, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandsche pamfletten. Eerste afdeling. Verzameling van Frederik Muller te Amsterdam*, I (Amsterdam, 1858) (T); J.K. van der Wulp, *Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Is. Meulman*, I (Amsterdam, 1866) (M); L.D. Petit, *Bibliotheek van Nederlandse pamfletten. Verzameling van Joannes Thysius en de bibliotheek der rijksuniversiteit te Leiden*, I (The Hague, 1882) (P); W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de Pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de koninklijke bibliotheek*, I (The Hague, 1889), Supplement (The Hague, 1916) (K); J.F. Van Someren, *Pamfletten niet voorkomende in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken*, I (Utrecht, 1915) (VS); G. van Alphen, *Catalogus der pamfletten van de Bibliotheek der Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen 1542-1853* (Groningen, 1944) (VA).

⁵ De Vrankrijker's study was followed some twenty years later by P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten 1566-1584* (Originally published, Nijmegen, 1956).

Oranje 1568-1572"⁶ was also to influence greatly later writers on the Revolt. Enno Van Gelder emphasised a number of important points in order to show that Orange's struggle was not about national independence: provincial sentiments were still far stronger than any national sense; that Orange had little sense of a distinctive Netherlands; that Spanish government in the Netherlands began not in 1559 but in 1567 with the arrival of Alba; and that the struggle against the 'Spanish' was not so much a struggle against the Spanish nation as a battle against a system of government which merited the name 'Spanish' only because it was used by the servants of the King of Spain.⁷ Enno Van Gelder's article raised questions not only about the Black Legend and the development of Orange's thinking but also about the 'patriotic' nature of rebel propaganda. If, as Enno Van Gelder contended, the Revolt was not in the first place a national revolt then the patriotic sentiment which appeared in the Revolt was, by implication, a product of the Revolt. If the patriotic phrases and ideas which appeared in the literature of the period were not the spontaneous expressions of a Netherlandish nation because such a nation did not exist in the sixteenth century, then it followed that they were the creation of rebel propagandists.

It was not until after the Second World War that work began in earnest on the pamphlet literature of the early Revolt and on the problems specifically raised by De Vrankrijker and Enno Van Gelder; namely, political theory, the Black Legend and the patriotic rhetoric in the pamphlets as well as the related question of the development and role of William of Orange. In 1961, Robert van Roosbroeck became the first person to concern himself exclusively with the patriotic nature of the pamphlets in his article "Das Erwachsen des Nationalgefühls in der Publizistik der niederländischen Freiheitskriege".⁸ As a study of the development of patriotic ideas and expressions in the propaganda of the early Revolt, the article has serious limitations. Van Roosbroeck chose to make a series of general points about national feeling in rebel propaganda so that there is little sense in his piece

⁶ H.A. Enno van Gelder, "Het streven van Prins Willem van Oranje 1568-1572", De Gids, 9 (1953) 153-89. See chapter one of the thesis for an examination of Enno van Gelder's work in the 1930s.

⁷ Enno Van Gelder, "Het streven", 165-70.

⁸ R. Van Roosbroeck, "Das Erwachsen des Nationalgefühls in der Publizistik der niederländischen Freiheitskriege", Mitteilungen aus der Deutschen Presseforschung zu Bremen, II (1961) 5-33.

of the way in which ideas and expressions changed from the 1560s to the 1580s and, with the exception of some remarks about the influences of French monarchomach ideas in the 1570s, no discussion about possible sources for the ideas. Van Roosbroeck did put forward some important points in the article, in particular the link between the conceptions of freedom and the fatherland, but because these points are not grounded in a chronological base, "Das Erwachsen" comes across as a piece more suggestive than scholarly.

Van Roosbroeck's article did not mark a new stage in the development of the study of patriotism and the pamphlet literature of the Revolt. Compared with the number of important and groundbreaking studies that have been made of political theory,⁹ and the Black Legend¹⁰ since the war, the study of patriotic ideas and expressions in the propaganda of the Revolt appears as very much the poor relation. Most historians seem to have been content to allude to the patriotic nature of the propaganda rather than tackle it directly. Koen Swart and M.E.H. Mout both touched upon the subject in works produced in the 1980s. Koen Swart emphasised the novelty of Orange's recourse to patriotic propaganda in 1568 in a study of the reasons why Orange took up arms:

"In zijn aanmaningen aan de inwoners van de Nederlanden trachtte

⁹ The following list includes most of the important post-war works on political theory: J.K. Oudendijk, "Den Coninck van Hispaengien heb ick altijd gheeert" in Dancwerck. Opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. dr. D.Th. Enklaar ter gelegenheid van zijn vijfenzestigste verjaardag (Groningen, 1959) 264-78; J.K. Oudendijk, Het 'contract' in de wordingsgeschiedenis van de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden (Leiden, 1961); M.E.H.N. Mout, "De tirannie verdreven: achtergrond en betekenis van het Plakkaat van Verlatinge" in Plakkaat van Verlatinge (Leiden, 1581; facsimile production, transcribed, introduced and translated into contemporary Dutch by M.E.H.N. Mout: The Hague, 1979); E.H. Kossmann, "Popular Sovereignty at the beginning of the Dutch Ancien Regime", Acta Historiae Neerlandicae, XIV (1981) 1-28; M.E.H.N. Mout, "Van arm vaderland tot eendrachtige republiek. De rol van politieke theorieën in de Nederlandse Opstand", BMGN, 101 (1986) 345-65; C. Secretan, Les Privilèges Berceau de la Liberté. La Révolte des Pays-Bas: aux sources de la pensée politique moderne (1566-1619) (Paris, 1990); Martin van Gelderen, The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555-1590 (Cambridge, 1992).

¹⁰ Among the most important articles are the following: K.W. Swart, "The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War" in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann eds., Britain and the Netherlands, V (The Hague, 1975) 36-57; W. Thomas, "De mythe van de Spaanse inquisitie in de Nederlanden van de zestiende eeuw", BMGN, 105 (1990) 325-53; and J. Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft: Ursprung und Funktion der schwarzen Legende über Spanien in den Niederlanden, 1560-1581" in F. Bosbach ed., Feindbilder. Die Darstellung des Gegners in der politischen Publizistik des Mittelalters und der Neuzeit (Cologne, 1992) 73-93.

Oranje hen ertoe te brengen meer gewicht te hechten aan hun loyaliteit tegenover het gemene vaderland dan aan hun verplichtingen aan hun stad, streek, familie, religie of de koning. Het frequente gebruik van nationalistische uitdrukkingen zoals 'verlater van het land' en 'liefhebber van het vaderland'- in latere pamfletten ook neologismen als 'landverrader' en 'patriot' -vormt het origineelste aspect van Oranje's propagandaliteratuur." ¹¹

M.E.H.N. Mout, in her 1986 article "Van arm vaderland tot eendrachtige republiek. De rol van politieke theorieën in de Nederlandse Opstand", sketched the political theory of the early Revolt and noted, like Van Roosbroeck, the connection between the conception of the fatherland and the privileges and freedoms of the Netherlands.¹²

Another important development which has taken place since the 1930s has been the greater appreciation of the international context to the Revolt of the Netherlands. It is from this international perspective that the most illuminating of all the works which have touched upon the subject of patriotic propaganda has come: Judith Pollmann's 1990 *doctoraalscriptie* entitled *Een naturelicke vijantschap. Het ontstaan van de Zwarte Legende over Spanje in de Nederlanden*.¹³ Pollmann advanced the study of this subject by opening up a wide area of continental and English propaganda as a source for the ideas and expressions used in 1568 and in subsequent years, as well as by emphasising the

¹¹ "In his exhortations to the inhabitants of the Netherlands, Orange attempted to bring them to attach more weight to their loyalty to the common fatherland than to their obligations to their town, region, family, religion or king. The frequent use of nationalistic expressions such as 'deserter of the country' and 'lover of the fatherland'- in later pamphlets, also neologisms like 'traitor to the country' and 'patriot' -forms the most original aspect of Orange's propaganda literature". K.W. Swart, "Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje de strijd tegen de Spaanse overheersing aan te binden?", *BMGN*, 99 (1984) 554-72, 567. A French version without footnotes also appeared in 1984: "L'entrée en lutte de Guillaume d'Orange contre le roi d'Espagne" in *Réflexions sur Guillaume le Taciturne* (The Hague, 1984) 71-85.

¹² Mout, "Van arm vaderland", 351-55, especially 354.

¹³ J. Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap. Het ontstaan van de Zwarte Legende over Spanje in de Nederlanden* (Doctoraalscriptie Nieuwe en Theoretische Geschiedenis; University of Amsterdam, 1990); and Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", *passim*.

nature of the Black Legend "als het resultaat van keuzes die propagandisten maakten om hun doel te bereiken." ¹⁴ She traced the history of the Black Legend outside the Low Countries, looking first at Italy, where hostility to inhabitants of the Iberian Peninsula had existed since the fourteenth century, and then at Germany (1546-55), England (1553-58) and France (1560-85). By then comparing the themes found in the propaganda of these countries to those present in Netherlandish propaganda she established quite conclusively the influence of the older versions of the Black Legend.

Pollmann explained the rhetoric about the common fatherland in 1568 as a device used by Protestant propagandists to unite differing religious and regional groups in the Low Countries behind the banner of Orange. So weak was the sense of a common fatherland, though, that the pamphlet writers were forced to emphasise more strongly the idea of a common enemy; that is, the Spanish.¹⁵ If considerations of French influence on Netherlandish political theory are put to one side, then Pollmann's work can be regarded as the first serious study of possible sources for the ideas used in 1568. Her *doctoraalscriptie* also contains the first serious attempt to explain why patriotic rhetoric was employed in 1568 and to measure its effectiveness. While Pollmann's work advanced considerably understanding of the propaganda of 1568, it did not exhaust all possibilities of further research on this subject, especially with regard to the patriotic content of the pamphlets. The focus of Pollmann's work was on anti-Spanish propaganda, so that the developments of ideas about the fatherland and of patriotic rhetoric were not charted in quite the same detail. Moreover, her work did not cover all the sources that could have been drawn upon by the writers of the pamphlets of 1568.

This survey of twentieth century work on patriotic rhetoric in the pamphlet literature of the Revolt would not be complete without a consideration of an article which appeared in 1968, on the 400th anniversary of Orange's campaign, Helmut Cellarius's "Die Propagandatätigkeit Wilhelms von Oranien in Dillenburg 1568 im

¹⁴ "...as a result of choices made by the propagandists in order to achieve their goal". Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 9.

¹⁵ Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, passim.

Dienste des Niederländischen Aufstandes."¹⁶ Unlike other writers who have dealt with the propaganda of the early Revolt, Cellarius concentrated solely on 1568, treating the propaganda of that year as a subject in itself. He gave something of the Dillenburg background to the campaign of 1568 and then surveyed the propaganda, first touching upon questions of audiences, timing, authorship and the general purpose of all the pamphlets, before listing the works and considering their contents. The article contained much useful information and helpful observations but the parts devoted to the pamphlets and their contents represented really only a sketch. As regards the patriotic nature of the propaganda, Cellarius acknowledged its presence and even suggested a source for the ideas,¹⁷ but did not add greatly to existing knowledge.

In the century that has passed since Emil Teubner's work appeared, the most important developments that have taken place with regard to the subject of the patriotic propaganda of 1568, have been the decline in favour of the 'national' interpretation of the Revolt, the growth in interest in, and studies of, the pamphlet literature of the early Revolt and the greater appreciation of the international context to the Revolt. As a result of these developments, substantial works on two aspects of the propaganda of 1568, political theory and the Black Legend, have been produced. What is still lacking is a serious treatment of the third important feature of the propaganda, the patriotic rhetoric. This chapter will attempt to answer some of the questions concerning this feature of the propaganda. The specific aims of this work are: to list and describe the works of 1568; to establish the significance of the works of 1568 in the development of patriotic propaganda in the Revolt; to examine possible sources for the ideas and expressions used in 1568; and to consider the purposes of the patriotic propaganda and its effects upon the population of the Low Countries.

¹⁶ H. Cellarius, "Die Propagandatätigkeit Wilhelms von Oranien in Dillenburg 1568 im Dienste des Niederländischen Aufstandes", Nassauische Annales, 79 (1968) 120-48.

¹⁷ Cellarius, "Die Propagandatätigkeit" 136-37: "Der in einem "christlichen Humanismus" wurzelnde Gedanke der Patria wurde hier zu politischem Leben erwecke", ("The concept of a patria, which was developing within 'Christian Humanism', was here called to life".)

Part Two: The Propaganda of 1568-1570

The pamphlets with which this chapter is principally concerned are those printed works which have survived from the latter part of the first great period of Netherlandish pamphlet production, that of late 1565 to late 1568.¹⁸ The significance of the early years of the Revolt for the emergence of the pamphlet as an important part of the political culture in the Low Countries has recently been re-emphasised by Craig Harline, in his *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic*.¹⁹ Harline showed the importance of these years by comparing the production figures for pamphlets before 1565-66 with those after. Prior to 1565, the annual average production of pamphlets was between one and ten; from 1565 the annual average per decade for the forty years from 1565 to 1606 was 25, 70, 35 and 70 respectively.²⁰ What these decennial averages do not show are the variations within decades so the distinctiveness of the years 1566-68 is not made clear in Harline's work.²¹ A crude but telling indicator of the upsurge in pamphlets produced in these three years can be gained by counting all the pamphlets listed for each year in six of the major pamphlet catalogues.²² The totals for the years 1559-65 were 9, 3, 11, 15, 18, 16 and 14 respectively. The number rises to 84 in 1566 and stayed at a high level for the next two years with figures of 65 and 72. The number of pamphlets listed then dropped to 20 in

¹⁸ Over the course of the century, much ink has been spilt in an attempt to define the term 'pamphlet'. See, for example, P.J. Blok, "Wat is een pamflet?", *Het Boek*, 5 (1916) 305-10, D.J.H. Ter Horst, "Over het begrip 'pamflet'", *Bibliotheekleven*, 17 (1932) 8-30 and C.E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987) 2-3. Martin van Gelderen, the most recent writer on the subject, subsumes 'pamphlet' within a larger category of printed works which he terms 'political treatises'. 'Political treatises' are works "which discuss political issues"; the term 'pamphlet' "denotes a 'political treatise', which has no more than 50 pages": *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 288, footnote 3. Harline's more general definition of pamphlets as printed "writings of immediate and direct or indirect political significance" has been adopted here. This definition appears on page three of his work.

¹⁹ Harline, *Pamphlets*, passim.

²⁰ Harline, *Pamphlets*, 3.

²¹ He did note that production peaks coincided with important years.

²² The following catalogues were used: Van Someren, Van Alphen, Meulman, Knuttel (with the supplement), Tiele and Petit. A similar explosion of published works took place in France after 1560. See D.R. Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology. Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation* (Cambridge, 1981) 213-52.

1569 and stayed below the figures for 1566-68 until 1576 when the total exceeded 100 for the first time.

Harline's figures also disguise another novel feature of the pamphlets of 1566-68: their provenance. Edicts, laws and instructional works emanating from central and local government account for over 60% of the pamphlets produced in both 1559-65 and 1569-71. The proportion of the government works dropped to 20.3% for the intervening period. The years 1566-68, then, stand as the first period in which the population of the Low Countries was exposed, on a large scale, to political works originating from sources outside government. The works of these years and, in particular, the patriotic content of the works from the second part of this period, 1568, as well as some works published in 1569-70, form the subject matter of this chapter.

The first wave began in late 1565, just after the contents of the so-called 'Letters from the Segovia Woods' had become widely known in the Netherlands, and ended in the summer of 1567, with the restoration of rule from Brussels.²³ "Et n'est plus question de billetz ou pasquilles", noted Morillon with relief on June 7th 1567.²⁴ That no rebel pamphlet of note was produced between the early summer of 1567 and the late spring of 1568 is suggested by a remark made in the *Vermaninghe aen die gemeyne Capiteynen ende Krijchsknechten in Nederlandt*, a work published on or shortly after April 1st 1568.²⁵ Towards the end of the piece, the author gave the reasons for which he had written the work. He stated: "...maer wat soude ick doen/ siende de elende en iammer mijnder armer broederen ende susteren/ en mijns alderliefsten vaderlants/ ende dat niemant anders de sake met ghelijcke vermaninghe veur de Lant genomen hadde?"²⁶ The author of the *Vermaninghe* mentioned the kidnapping of Count van Buren so at least part of the piece must have been written after February 14th 1568, the day on which Vargas

²³ De Vrankrijker, *De motiveering*, 1-29 and Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten*, 3-24.

²⁴ "And we're no longer bothered with pamphlets or satirical songs". Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten*, 25.

²⁵ M187: *Vermaninghe aen die gemeyne Capiteynen ende Krijchsknechten in Nederlandt* (1568).

²⁶ "...but what should I do, seeing the misery and distress of my poor brothers and sisters and my beloved fatherland and that no-one else had taken up the cause for the country with any similar admonition?". M187: *Vermaninghe*, fol. 91.

took the Count into custody.²⁷ Assuming the author brought his work to a conclusion in March, it seems fair to conclude from his statement, that no noteworthy work critical of the government had appeared by that month and that the *Vermaninghe* was the first of the rebel pamphlets of 1568.²⁸

As the timing of the *Vermaninghe*'s appearance might suggest, the works which constitute the rebel propaganda of 1568 were not all directly related to Orange's military campaign in the autumn. The three justifications printed in 1568, *De Verantwoordinge des Prince van Oraengien*, published in April,²⁹ *La Defense de Messire Antoine de Lalaing, Comte de Hocstraten*, also published in April,³⁰

²⁷ F. Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien und der Niederländische Aufstand*, 3 Volumes (The Hague, 1906-24) III, 253-54.

²⁸ The point is worth making if only because no other historian has recognised this fact. This pamphlet has been curiously neglected since P. Frédéricq in *Het Nederlandsche proza in de zestiende eeuwse pamfletten. Bloemlezing* (Brussels, 1907) published extracts from it and described it as "een lijvig en zeer belangrijk pamflet" ("a substantial and very important pamphlet"). Extracts appear on pages 33-51; the quote is from page xlii. The first person to give serious attention to the pamphlet was Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 103-04.

²⁹ K160: *De verantwoordinge des Princen van Oraengien, teghen de valsche logenen, daer mede zijn wedersprekers hem soecken t'onrechte te beschuldighen* (April, 1568). We have used the reprint of the Dutch version which appears in M.G. Schenk, ed., *Prins Willem van Oranje. Geschriften van 1568* (Amsterdam, 1933) 23-81. (Hereafter referred to as Schenk, *Geschriften*). For French and English translations see K159 and K163 respectively. Historians have generally attributed this work to Orange and three assistants, the Huguenot minister Hubert Languet and the Lutherans, Jacob van Wesembeke and Johan Meixner: G. Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives ou correspondance inédite de la maison d'Orange-Nassau*, first series, 8 Volumes and Supplement (Leiden, 1841-47) III, 186; T. Juste, *Guillaume le Taciturne* (Brussels, 1873) 115-17; Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, III, 263; P.J. Blok, *Willem de Eerste, Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam, 1919) 179-83, 249; De Vrankrijker, *De motiveering*, 31-34; Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten*, 26-27; Cellarius, "Die Propagandatätigkeit", 128-30; N.E.M.N. Mout, "Het intellectuele milieu van Willem van Oranje", *BMGN*, 99 (1984) 596-625, 616; and Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 120. A dissenting voice is that of Swart, "Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje", 563, with references, who discounts Languet as a possible influence and puts forward Johan Bets and Van Wesembeke as the probable authors of the piece. We would agree with Swart, if only because the arguments and language in the *Justification*, and in all of Orange's works in 1568, can be accounted for without reference to anything other than a German-Netherlandish milieu. As Swart emphasises, Théodore de Bèze was certainly not responsible for the authorship or translation of the work, as Cellarius, "Die Propagandatätigkeit", 128-30 and Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 120 suggest.

³⁰ *La Defense De Messire Antoine de Lalaing, Comte de Hocstraten* (25th April, 1568). The work appears in P. Bor Christiansz., *Oorspronck, Begin, en Vervolgh der Nederlandsche Oorlogen, Beroerten, en Borgerlijke Oneenigheden*, I, *Bijvoegsel* (Amsterdam, 1679) 17-32 (French) and 32-48 (Dutch). Bor's history of the revolt was originally published in three volumes, spread over a number of years: 1595/1601; 1603;

and *De Bewijsinghe van de onschult van mijn Heere Philips...Grave van Hoorne*, printed in September (though not published until 1569),³¹ were all produced to explain and to justify the part played by each protagonist in the events leading up to the collapse of opposition to Brussels in April and May 1567. These three works were published in response to actions of the Brussels government: in the case of the first two justifications, as a reply to the accusations made against Orange and Hoogstraten in the citations read out on 24th January 1568 in Brussels;³² and, in Hoorne's case, in response to his execution on June 6th.³³ Related in nature to these three justifications is the *Corte Apologie ofte entschuldiginghe der Nederlantscher Christenen*, which appeared in September 1568. Unlike the other apologies, this work was written on behalf of a group of people, the Netherlandish Reformed, rather than an individual, with the aim of refuting the charge that the Reformed churches were guilty of rebellion.³⁴

A second group of pamphlets listed in the pamphlet categories as having been published in 1568, are those pieces which belong to the corpus of works known as the 'Black Legend'. These pamphlets were produced not so much to justify resistance to Alba's regime but, as Bor put it, "om 't volk tot meerder haet en onwilligheid tegen den Hertog van Alba/ sijnen Raed/ en de Spangiaerden te brengen".³⁵ There are problems with the dating of some of these works. That the *Copie van den Puncten ende Articulen ghesloten by den Hertoge van Alba ende*

and 1621/24. *La Defense* also appears in the *Soci  te des Bibliophiles de Mons*, 6 (Mons, 1838).

³¹ VS42: *De Bewijsinghe vande onschult van mijn Heere Philips, Baenreheere van Montmorency, Graue van Hoorne...* (September 1568; 1569). The work also appears in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, Bijvoegsel, 49-120. Van Wesembeke was, probably, the author of this work. See R. Fruin, "Wesenbeke of Marnix" in P.J. Blok, P.L. Muller and S. Muller eds., *Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften*, 10 Volumes (The Hague, 1900-05) VII, 111-40; Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten*, 32-33; and Cellarius, "Die Propagandat  tigkeit", 132-33.

³² Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, III, 249.

³³ Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, III, 338-60.

³⁴ T80: *Corte Apologie ofte entschuldiginghe der Nederlantscher Christenen* (September, 1568). See A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford, 1992) 158, 301 for more information on this pamphlet.

³⁵ Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 249: "...in order to stir the people to greater hate and obstinacy against the Duke of Alba, his Council and the Spanish".

zynen nieuwen Raet van twelven... was, indeed, printed in or before October 1568, as the title states,³⁶ seems certain because the work is referred to in Alba's placard against the production and spread of pamphlets on November 11th³⁷ and defended by the author of the *Getrouwe vermaninge aen den Inwoonderen den Nederlande...*, published in November after Alba's placard.³⁸ A work of a similar nature to the *Copie*, the *Derthien Artijckelen: Gheintituleert, Het Advijs der Spaengiaerden*, would also appear, from the witness of contemporaries, to date from 1568.³⁹ By contrast, however, *De Artijckelen ende besluynen der Inquisitie van Spaengnien*, containing the notorious judgement of the Spanish Inquisition upon the people of the Netherlands, is now believed to date from about 1570/71.⁴⁰ Bor also gives the titles of two other works relating to the Spanish Inquisition and summarises the contents of a third work on an international Catholic league.⁴¹ As no copies of these works have been found,

³⁶ VS 38: Copie van den Puncten ende Articulen ghesloten by den Hertoge van Alba ende zynen nieuwen Raet van tweluen... (October 1568). See also Bor, Oorspronck, I, 249. Other copies of this work were printed before October: Geurts, De Nederlandse Opstand, 37 refers to two other copies which appeared on September 16th and 17th, the former being a German text.

³⁷ Bor, Oorspronck, I, 252.

³⁸ Getrouwe vermaninge aen den Inwoonderen den Nederlande tegen de ydele en valsche hopen daarmede sy va hen verdruckers worden verleit (November, 1568). This Dutch work appeared in De Navorscher, 55 (1905) 138-47; K171 is a French version of the work. The author of the Getrouwe vermaninge's defence of Copie van den Puncten... was pointed out by Pollmann, Een naturelicke vijantschap, 71-72.

³⁹ M193: Derthien Artijckelen: Gheintituleert, Het Advijs der Spaengiaerden... See also Bor, Oorspronck, I, 250. According to R. Fruin, "Het voorspel van den tachtigjarigen oorlog" in Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften, I, 266-449, 298 this work was already known in 1567.

⁴⁰ K156: De Artijckelen ende besluynen der Inquisitie van Spaegnien, om die vande Nederlanden te overvallen ende verhinderen. K156-58 are all early seventeenth-century reprints; the earliest printed text of these works dates from 1582. See Swart, "The Black Legend", 41-41 and P.J. Blok, "Het advies der Spaensche Inquisitie", Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde, 4th Series, VI (1907) 241-57, 468-70.

⁴¹ Bor, Oorspronck, I, 251. The titles of the first two works are "...Bewijsinghe dat in 't gehele Nederland geen Papist of Catholijk persoon en is/ naer 't seggen der Spaenser Inquisitie en het concilie van Trenten..." and "...Bewijsinghe dat de Commissie die Duc d'Alba als Capitein Generael over de Nederlanden heeft/ by den Paus met sijn tyrannige adherenten/ opten naem van den Conink/ onwettelijk versiert en verleden is". Bor does not give a title for the third work but describes it as "...sekere articulen van den verborgen of secrete verbindings/ confederatie of ligue gemaekt tusschen den Paus/ den Keiser/ de Conink van Portugael/ de Hertog van Beyeren/ van Savoyen en andere henluiden

their date of publication cannot be determined but it may be significant that these three pamphlets are grouped with two works which date from 1569.⁴²

Seven of the rebel pamphlets of 1568 are concerned with Orange's decision to take up arms against the King of Spain. The first of these, the *Verklaringhe ende wtschrift des Duerluchtighsten, Hoochgeborenen Vorsten ende Heeren... Willem Prince van Oranien*, was published before the autumn campaign and, though Dutch, French and eventually English translations were produced, was meant originally for a German audience.⁴³ The other six works were produced for the people of the Low Countries; all, with the exception of Adrian Saravia's *Een hertgrondighe Begheerte*, of which only a Dutch edition is known, were published in both Dutch and French; and all followed closely the course of Orange's autumn campaign. The first of the autumn pamphlets, an address by Orange to *Allen ghetrouwen ondersaten des Con Mai in den Nederlanden*, appeared on August 31st,⁴⁴ just after his troops, moving from the monastery of Romersdorf, in the territory of Trier, crossed the Rhine on the way to the eastern

geconfedereerde...", ("certain articles of the hidden or secret ties, confederation or league made between the Pope, the Emperor, the King of Portugal, the Dukes of Bavaria and Savoy and others of allied people...").

⁴² Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 251. The two 1569 works with which these pamphlets have been grouped by Bor are: VS43 *Corte Vermaninghe aen alle christenen opt vonnisse oft aduis, met grooter wreetheit te wercke ghestelt teghen Heer Anthonis van Stralen...*; and VS44 *La Defence de Jaques de Wesenbeke iadis conseiller et Pensionnaire de la ville d'Anuers...* (Jan 1569). Bor gives a Dutch title for the latter work. The reprint of *La Defence* which appears in C. Rahlenbeck, ed., *Mémoires de Jacques de Wesenbeke* (Brussels, 1859) 3-35, has been used here.

⁴³ K164: *Verklaringhe ende Wtschrift des Duerluchtighsten, Hoochgeborenen Vorsten ende Heeren... Willem, Prince van Oranien...* (July 20 1568). A reprint of the Dutch edition appears in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 99-116. In view of the German origins of the work, a German edition, K166, has been used in preference to the Dutch edition: *Bekendtnus, Der Durchleuchtigsten Hochgebornen Fürsten...* K165 is a French edition. The fact that the *Declaration* was originally intended for a German audience was observed as early as 1873 by Juste, *Guillaume le Taciturne*, 120; Schenk himself noted on page 101, that "deze tekst is sterk Duitsch gekleurd; doch een zuiverder Nederlandsche uitgave is niet bekend", ("This text is strongly German coloured; yet a purer Dutch edition is not known"). The work was probably written by a German councillor of John of Nassau, Dr Johann Meixner. See Swart, "Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje", 564-65.

⁴⁴ K167A (Supplement): *Willem... Prince toe Oranien... Allen ghetrouwen ondersaten des Con. Mai, in den Nederlanden...* (Aug 31, 1568). The work also appears in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 253-54. A French version appears in L.P. Gachard, *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, 6 volumes (Brussels, 1850-66) I, 269-75 and the British library, reference 8079.aa.6. This pamphlet was probably intended more for Netherlandish exiles: Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, III, 482-84.

Netherlands.⁴⁵ The *Waerschouwinghe Des Princen van Oraengien, Aende Inghesetenen ende ondersaten van den Nederlanden*,⁴⁶ came out on the following day. An harangue given to the army at Arweiler on 14th September⁴⁷ and Saravia's work, published on 21st September, were the next pamphlets to be produced.⁴⁸ By October, Orange was facing serious difficulties in his campaign partly because of the failure of people in the southern Netherlands to respond to his invasion. His difficulties and desperation are apparent in the last two rebel works of 1568, the *Clachte den verdruckten Nederlandts*, published in October, after Orange's army had crossed the Meuse,⁴⁹ and the *Getrouwe vermaninge*....⁵⁰

Some of the themes and expressions of the propaganda of 1568 appear not only in letters and other pieces from that year but also in pamphlets from 1569 and 1570 which restate and develop the ideas of 1568. These works are the *Corte Vermaninghe aen alle Christenen opt vonnisse oft advis, met grooter wreetheit te wercke ghestelt teghen Heer Anthonis van Stralen*...,⁵¹ *La defence*

⁴⁵ H. Hettema, "De Route van Prins Willem in 1568", *Bijdragen van vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde*, VI, Part III (1925) 1-36, 2-4.

⁴⁶ K168: *Waerschouwinghe Des Princen van Oraengien Aende Inghesetenen ende Onderstaten van den Nederlanden*... (September 1 1568). The reprint of the work which appears in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 117-28 has been used here. K168A (Supplement), which has the same text as K168, does not have the figure of a lion with a sword and a bundle of arrows which appears on K168. It would be wrong to assume therefore that the lion appeared on Orangist pamphlets in 1568. K169 is a French edition of this work and a modern English translation of part of the *Waerschouwinghe* appears in E.H. Kossman and A.F. Mellink, eds., *Texts concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Cambridge, 1974) 84-86.

⁴⁷ K170A (Supplement): *Allen ende elckerlicken Capiteynen, Volck van wapenen ende anderen goeden ende ghetrovwen Crijchsluyden van Nederlant*... (September 14 1568). K170 is a French edition.

⁴⁸ M190: *Een hertgrondighe Begheerte, vanden ... Prince van Oraengien*... (September 21 1568). The reprint of the Dutch edition which appears in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 129-55 has been used here. See W. Nijenhuis, *Adrianus Saravia (c. 1532-1613)* (Leiden, 1980) 26-31, for comments and details on this work.

⁴⁹ "Clachte des verdruckten Nederlandts" in *De Navorscher*, 55 (1905) 132-38. See also, Frédéricq, *Het Nederlandsche proza*, 28-33. K172 is a French edition of this work.

⁵⁰ "Getrouwe vermaninge..." in *De Navorscher*, 138-47. It is probable that the same author produced both this work and the "Clachte des verdruckten Nederlandts": Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand*, 40.

⁵¹ VS 43: *Corte Vermaninghe*....

de Jaques de Wesenbeke iadis conseiller et Pensionnaire de la ville d'Anvers...,⁵² *La description de l'estat succes et occurrences, advenues au Pais bas au faict de la Religion*,⁵³ the preface to the *Der heylicher Hispanischer Inquisitie...*,⁵⁴ a translation of a work first published in 1567 and the *Libellus supplex Imperatoriae Maiestati...*, a petition presented to the Diet at Spiers in 1570.⁵⁵

Though it is impossible to be sure that the pamphlets that have come down to us from 1568 relating to the justification for armed resistance were the only ones produced, it is probable that no other major works came out at this time. There is no mention in the contemporary work of any other major pamphlets appearing and Bor, whose volumes relating to 1565-68 were published in 1595 and 1601,⁵⁶ only mentions works about which something is known from other sources.⁵⁷ It seems reasonable to conclude, therefore, that though our knowledge of the works produced in 1568 is not complete, the pamphlets that are extant are, at least, representative of the rebel propaganda of 1568.

The contrast between the contents of the works of 1568-70 and those of 1565-67 can be explained by the shift from remonstrance to resistance which

⁵² VS44: La defence de Jacques de Wesenbeke...

⁵³ K146: La Description de l'estat succes et occurrences, advenues au Pais bas au faict de la Religion (August, 1569). K147-48 and M148-49 are Dutch editions. The reprint of the French work in Rahlenbeck, Mémoires, 47-321 has been used here.

⁵⁴ M201: Der heylicher Hispanischer Inquisitie, etlicke listighe secrete Consten ende practiicken, ontdeckt ende int licht ghebracht (1569). B.A. Vermaseren, "Who was Reginaldus Gonsalvius Montanus?", Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance, XLVII (1985) 47-77, argues that the author of the original Latin text was Antonio del Corro, a former Spanish monk turned Protestant minister.

⁵⁵ K179: Libellus supplex Imperatoriae Maiestati... (1570). A contemporary English translation was produced in 1571, a copy of which appears in the British Library under C.33.a.22 (1). This English translation also appears now in M. Van Gelderen, The Dutch Revolt (Cambridge, 1993) 1-77. A Reformed minister Petrus Dathenus has traditionally been accredited with this petition but this attribution has been challenged in recent years. D. Nauta in "Marnix auteur van de Libellus Supplex aan de rijksdag van Spiers (1570)", Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis, New Series, Part LV, Afl.2 (1975) 150-70, argued that Marnix van Sint Aldegonde was the author; Van Gelderen, The Dutch Revolt, xv-xvi, footnote 12, suggests Nauta's evidence is not conclusive.

⁵⁶ A.E.M. Janssen, "A 'Trias Historica' on the Revolt of the Netherlands: Emanuel van Meteren, Pieter Bor and Everhard van Reyd as Exponents of Contemporary Historiography" in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, VIII (1985) 9-30, 21.

⁵⁷ This does not apply, of course, to the works which appear to belong the Black Legend group: Bor, Oorspronck, I, 227-30, 249-55.

took place from 1565 to 1568. In 1561, most of the great nobles of the Low Countries grouped together with the aim of securing a system of government which would give them a predominant influence in the formulation of policy. The departure of their main rival, Cardinal Granvelle, in the spring of 1564, seemed to afford them an opportunity to put their programme into place. This could not be done, however, without a change in religious policy. Accordingly, the magnates attempted in 1565 to persuade the king to abandon his insistence on the maintenance of the placards. The magnates' opposition to Philip's religious policy was shared by other groups in the Low Countries, by Reformed congregations alarmed by the religious implications of the king's commitment to religious uniformity and by civic officials concerned about the political and commercial consequences of persecution. The protests of burger and noble alike were of no avail. In October 1565, Philip II set his face clearly against change in religious policy by instructing the government in Brussels to maintain the placards in all their rigour.⁵⁸

The great explosion in pamphlet production which took place in 1566-67 was provoked by these letters from the Segovia Woods. The letters dispelled the unrealistic hopes of change which had arisen after the departure of Granvelle and made it clear to all interested parties that Philip II was still intent upon executing a militant Catholic religious policy. The main aim of the opposition groups in 1565-67, therefore, was to persuade the king to go back upon his decision. They sought to do so by using a traditional means of protest, the remonstrance. This was drawn up by loyal subjects, who moved by their duty as subjects, pointed out the consequences of current royal policy.⁵⁹ The loyalty and obligations of Philip's subjects were emphasised in all the main pamphlets so as to prepare the ground for the criticisms of royal policy which followed. The authors of the *Compromise* spoke of "the duty to which we are all bound as faithful vassals of His Majesty and particularly as nobles, that is, as His Majesty's helpers whose function it is to maintain His authority and greatness by providing for the prosperity and safety

⁵⁸ For an English translation of the letters, see Kossman, *Texts*, 53-56. For the background to events see Kossman, *Texts*, 4-8 and G. Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Originally published 1977; revised edition: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1985) 41-67.

⁵⁹ Oudendijk, "Den Coninck", 267-68.

of the country through our prompt and willing service".⁶⁰ The *Requeste vande vier Leden des Lants van Vlaenderen/ de Steden ende Casselrien medeghevoecht/ opt feyt van der Inquisitien*, which appeared on April 1st 1566, concluded with the assurance that those of Flanders and "tgemeinte int generael" have no other desire than to maintain "den ouden Catholyken gheloove allet tot dienst van uwer Maiesteit als goede getrouwe ondersaten der selver".⁶¹ The writer of a pamphlet published on June 12th entitled his work *Advertissement byde goede ende ghetrouwe ondersaten ende inwoondere der C.M Erfnederlande gedaen....*⁶²

In keeping with this approach, great care was taken to ensure that blame for the religious policy was not placed at Philip's feet. Accused of mistrusting the king, the nobles who had gathered at Duffel, carefully denied this in their *Remonstrance*, adding that they had "sulken vasten hoop op sijn Majesteit, de selve kennende voor so goeden en oprechten Prince...".⁶³ Instead, blame was attached to the counsellors or servants of the king. The Four Members of Flanders, limiting their field to the County of Flanders, named the Bishop of Bruges and Pieter Titelmans, the Inquisitor as the source of all the troubles.⁶⁴ In other works, the writers were more vague. The *Compromise* referred to "a great crowd of foreigners";⁶⁵ the *Vermaninge aende Regeerders ende Gemeynte van den vier*

⁶⁰ We have used the modern English translation of the 'Compromise' which appears in Kossman, *Texts*, 59-62. Quotation is from page 60. The original Dutch text appears in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 53-54 and also in J.W. Te Water, *Historie van het verbond en de smeekschriften der Nederlandsche edelen, ter verkrijginge van vrijheid in den godsdienst en burgerstaat*, 4 Volumes (Middelburg, 1796) IV, 68-74. The French version appears immediately after the Dutch version in Te Water's volume: 75-79. The circumstances in which the 'Compromise' was produced are described by Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, II (The Hague, 1907) 560-67 and by Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 68-69.

⁶¹ "...the commonalty in general...the old Catholic belief all to the service of your Majesty as good, faithful subjects of the same". *Requeste vande vier Leden des Lants van Vlaenderen/ de Steden ende Casselrien medeghevoecht/ opt feyt van der Inquisitien* (April 1, 1566; Utrecht University Library S oct 5152) 3. This work also appears at the end of K137B (Supplement): *Requeste Aen...dHertoginne van Parme....*.

⁶² M122: "Warning made by the good and faithful subjects of the Royal Majesty's hereditary Netherlands..." (June 12?, 1566). The work also appears in Utrecht University Library, reference S.oct.5152.4.

⁶³ "...such a fixed hope of his Majesty, knowing him to be such a good and upright Prince...": Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 93.

⁶⁴ *Requeste vande vier Leden...*, 2.

⁶⁵ Kossman, *Texts*, 59.

Hooftsteden van Brabant and the *Advertissemēt byde goede ende ghetrouwe ondersaten* spoke about the "Cardinaliste" ("the Cardinalists"),⁶⁶ and the *Remonstrance ofte vertoogh* referred to the Spanish Inquisition and those that seek "hun particulier proffyt", ("their own particular profit").⁶⁷ The big villain in the eyes of the opposition was Cardinal Granvelle who, in the *Verclaringhe van die menichvuldighe loose Practycken en Listen* appeared as the main agent of an international Catholic conspiracy to introduce the Spanish Inquisition into the Netherlands and subvert the political order of the Low Countries.⁶⁸

Various arguments were brought forward to persuade the king to change his mind. As proof of the necessity of all the remonstrances in 1566, most works emphasised that the Low Countries faced destruction if the placards were maintained and the Inquisition was not abolished. The *Compromise* put this point at length. The writer claimed that the Inquisition would lead

"to the utter ruin and desolation of these Netherlands. Under the veil of only a few men's false hypocrisy, it will inevitably destroy all law and order, do away with all honesty, wholly weaken the authority and force of the old laws, customs and ordinances observed from time immemorial. It will deprive the States of this country of all freedom to express their opinion, it will do away with all ancient privileges, franchises and immunities, and not only make the burghers and inhabitants of this country miserable and everlasting slaves of the inquisitors, who are worthless people, but even subject the magistrates, officers and all nobles to the mercy of their investigations and visitations, and finally endanger the lives and possessions of all the king's honest and loyal subjects

⁶⁶ VS28: *Vermaninge aende Regeerders en de Gemeynthe vande vier Hooftsteden van Brabant* (1566) fols 2-4; M122: *Aduertissement...*, 2-3, 6-9.

⁶⁷ *Remonstrance ofte vertoogh aen den grootmachtigen coninck van Spaenge etc.* (May, 1566) in Te Water, *Historie*, IV, 82-133. K139B-C (Supplement) and VS26 are Dutch editions; K139A (Supplement) is a German edition. The text in Te Water has been used here.

⁶⁸ M124: *Verclaringhe, van die menichvuldighe loose Practijcken ende Listen...* The French edition was published in 1866: C. Rahlenbeck, ed., *Les subtils moyens par le Cardinal de Granvelle avec ses complices inventez pour instituer l'abominable inquisition* (1566) (Brussels, 1866).

perpetually and openly...[The King] will be in grave danger of losing the whole of his estate, because normal business will cease, people will leave their trade and be continually incited to sedition, the garrisons of the frontier towns will become untrustworthy".⁶⁹

In all the works, the threat posed by the Inquisition and the placards to the traditional privileges and liberties was given prominence. Some writers took this further and argued that Philip's religious policy contravened the privileges and, in particular, violated provisions of the *Joyeuse Entrée*, the ancient privilege of Brabant, sworn upon by Philip II in 1549. This point was made by the Four Towns of Brabant in both the *Memoir* presented to the Council of Brabant on January 22nd 1566 and in the *Vermaninge aende Regeerders...*, published at the end of April. The author of the latter piece stressed that the provisions of the *Joyeuse Entrée* entitled them to withhold obedience until the king had removed the offending edicts

"...dat ghy ende eenyegelycke van u onsen Heere den Con. als Hertoch van Brabant in egeene sake eenige gehoorsaemheit en bewijst, tot dat hi de voerss ordonnantien ende placcaten gansch en geheel sal geaboleert en te niete gedaen hebbe. Dit heeft u onsen heere den Co. inde blyde incomste also geheeten te doen, ja heeft sijn Ma. geloeft en geswore te straffen deghene die u sulcx doende souden willen wederspreken oft blamere".⁷⁰

In making this point, the writer of the *Vermaninge* was not straying beyond the bounds of legitimate protest for he did not extend this privilege of Brabant to the rest of the Low Countries and did not use the provisions of the privilege to justify

⁶⁹ Kossman, *Texts*, 60.

⁷⁰ "...that you and each of you show no obedience to our Lord the King, as Duke of Brabant, until he has completely and wholly abolished the aforesaid ordinances (....). This you have been called to do for our lord the King in the Joyous Entry and, indeed, his Majesty has promised and sworn to punish those that would speak against or blame you for doing such". VS28: *Vermaninge...Brabant*, fols 1-2. See also 'The Request of the Chief Towns of Brabant to the Council of Brabant' (January 22, 1566) in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 36-39 (Dutch) and Rahlenbeck, *Mémoires*, 328-38 (French). For further examples see 'Remonstrance ofte vertoogh...' in Te Water, *Historie*, IV, 87-88, 92-94, 110, 124-25.

anything more than passive disobedience.

The most radical of the arguments adduced in favour of change was that for religious toleration. Franciscus Junius, a French Reformed minister with strong ties to some of the *Compromise* nobility, put the case for toleration right at the beginning of the agitation in *Een Corte Verhalinge*.... He called upon the king to prevent all further disturbances by conceding to the Reformed communities the right to assemble and to exercise their religion. Junius contended that persecution would be counter-productive for though it would not destroy the Reformed communities of the Low Countries, it would encourage not only the growth of scepticism, atheism and libertinism amongst groups already alienated from the traditional church but also the spread of radical religious groups such as the Anabaptists. By permitting the Reformed to assemble together in freedom, the king would strengthen his own authority because the Reformed were Godfearing men, respectful towards kings and authority and actively concerned to prevent the spread of heterodox religious groups. It is noteworthy that even in a work such as this, which puts forward an argument far removed from those normally employed in a remonstrance and one ill-suited to win the approval of the monarch, the traditional stance of loyalty was used. Junius excused the production of his piece on the grounds that it was the duty of every subject to have a regard for the preservation of the "gemeyne welvaert en ruste en tsamen d'onderhoudinge der grootheid en voorspoedicheit des Conincx".⁷¹ That the Reformed felt emboldened to address such works to the Brussels government and Philip is partly a reflection of the hope which they and other groups cherished in the spring of 1566, that Philip II, under the pressure of events, would follow his French compeer by relaxing the religious edicts and conceding a measure of toleration to the Lutherans and Calvinists.

This hope of forcing change from Philip II partly explains why expressions of a 'patriotic' nature are absent from the pamphlets produced between the end of 1565 and the autumn of 1566: there was no point in making references to the country, except with regard to its probable destruction if present policies

⁷¹ "common welfare and peace as the maintenance of the greatness and prosperity of the King". K144A: *Een Corte verhalinge gesonden aen Coninc Philips*,... (1566). P115 is a French edition; VS29 is a German edition; and part of the work has been translated into English in Kossman, *Texts*, 56-59. For this pamphlet see Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten*, 6-9.

were maintained, when the audience for the pamphlets was limited to one man, the prince. The address *aende Regeerders ende Gemeynte vande vier Hoofsteden van Brabant*, is the only work from this period which contains some of the constituents of a patriotic piece. Significantly, the work is directed primarily at civic officials within the Low Countries, rather than at Margaret of Parma and the king and the writer, again significantly, employed the notion of a patriotic duty when he brought up the possibility of conflict with the king. The writer reminded the officials that it was incumbent upon them to protect themselves, their families and work because in their oath, they had sworn to the "conservatie vande liberteyt va uwen vaderlande, en schuldigen dienst van uwen nacomelingen...". The officials could fulfill their responsibilities by refusing to obey the king, in his capacity as Duke of Brabant, until he had abolished the religious edicts.⁷²

The 'patriotic' content of this work was, however, very limited: limited in vocabulary and limited in outlook. Elsewhere in the piece, the author uses the term 'lant' rather than 'vaderland' to describe the duchy and his use of the plural 'vaderlande', a reference to the Four Towns of Brabant, shows that his field of vision was limited to Brabant.⁷³ That this was so suggests that the nature of the discontent in 1566 also accounts for the absence of patriotic expressions. The opposition to Philip II's policy was not nationally but politically and religiously motivated. The focus of the opposition was centred not on the Spanish but at the Spanish Inquisition and, more generally, on Catholicism. Jacob van Wesembeke, in his *Description de l'Estat, Succès et Occurences advenues au Pais-Bas au faict de la Religion*, published in 1569, emphasised the power with which the word 'Inquisition' was invested in 1565-66 and a fear and hatred of the Inquisition act as a leitmotif in the numerous pamphlets whose appearance in the year up to August 1566 he describes. There is no hint in these pamphlets or in Wesembeke's account of any national antagonism towards the Spanish.⁷⁴ Likewise, the *Verklaringhe van die menichuuldighe loose Practycken en Listen...* drew the attention of readers to the malevolent activities of the Pope, the Spanish

⁷² VS28: *Vermaninge...Brabant*, fols 1-2: "conservation of the liberty of your fatherlands and obligatory service to your descendents".

⁷³ VS28: *Vermaninge...Brabant*, passim.

⁷⁴ 'La Description de l'estat...' in Rahlenbeck, *Mémoires*, 103-06, 110-15, 124-27, 133-36.

Inquisition, Granvelle and certain Catholics but not the Spanish.⁷⁵ In addition, those *Geuzenliederen* ("beggar songs") which appear to have originated in 1566 are, for the most part, anti-clerical and anti-Catholic in nature, and references to the Spanish appear only in succeeding years. *Hier beginnen de Liedekens van Paepken uut*, for example, praises Brederode, Louis of Nassau and Culemborg, for liberating the people "vanden Cardinael/ En van de kettermeesters int generael,/ Van den Bisschop seer pompeus..." but said nothing about the Spanish.⁷⁶

The confidence exuded by the writer of *Hier beginnen...* was soon dispelled. By the autumn of 1566, the hope of bringing about change through legitimate forms of protest, was rapidly fading. The concessions wrung from Philip and Margaret of Parma in August were soon ignored by Brussels as force began to be deployed against Reformed groups and centres of opposition. By the late spring of 1567, Brussels had regained control over most parts of the Low Countries, thus forcing into exile all those who believed themselves to be compromised in some way by their actions during the previous two years. In August 1567, some months after their flight, the duke of Alba arrived in the Netherlands and proceeded to try and establish a new political order. The presence of 10,000 Spanish troops, the establishment of the Council of Troubles, the arrest of Egmont and Hornes, the confiscation of the property of exiles and the summons of many nobles, had made it abundantly clear to the exiles by the spring of 1568, that they would only ever be able to return to the Low Countries by resorting to arms. The central question for those forces ranged against the Brussels government in 1568 was, thus, fundamentally different to that of 1566: how to persuade the inhabitants of the Low Countries, foreign princes, native soldiers and, even for some, their own consciences, that armed resistance to the government of Brussels was justifiable.

This question was of an altogether different moment to that of prevailing upon the king, by legitimate means of protest, to adopt changes in policy. The debate within Lutheran circles from the 1520s to the early 1550s, Calvin's hesitant advocacy of resistance if carried out by a prince of the blood, and the

⁷⁵ 'Les subtils moyens...' in Rahlenbeck, ed., *Les Subtils Moyens*, passim.

⁷⁶ "...from the Cardinal, And from the Inquisitors in general and from the very great bishop...". P. Leendertz, ed., *Het geuzenliedboek naar de oude drukken uit de nalatenschap van Dr E.T. Kuiper*, I (Zutphen, 1924) 28-29. Pollmann, in particular, has drawn attention to the anti-Catholic as opposed to anti-Spanish nature of the pre-1568 works: *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 49-61; and "Eine natürliche Feindschaft...", 4-6.

Huguenot propaganda that they fought for the king and not against him,⁷⁷ testify to the abhorrence with which the act of bearing arms against a higher authority was regarded. It is against the background of the need to justify this extreme step and the need, moreover, to obtain not only sympathy, but active support from foreign princes and native Netherlanders, that the patriotic rhetoric of the works of 1568 should be considered.

The situation in 1568 was also different from that of 1566 in other important respects. In 1566, the audience for the pamphlets was limited to one man; in 1568, the rebel writers addressed themselves to an audience of thousands: to foreign princes, whose favour they sought to curry; to native soldiers of the Netherlands, whom they sought to detach from their loyalty to the government in Brussels; and, above all, to the inhabitants of the Low Countries, whose support was critical to the success of the campaign. The works of 1568 were also distinguished from those of 1566 by their provenance. The pamphlets of 1566 issued forth from a variety of sources, a reflection of the disparate nature of the opposition in 1566. In exile, especially after the death of Count Brederode in February 1568, the different wings of the opposition grouped together under William of Orange, who directed both the military and propaganda campaigns of 1568. Almost all of the rebel works of 1568-70 can be confidently classified as 'Orangist' either because they were published in his name or because they put forward the same themes and arguments as his 'official' publications.

That the works of 1568 show a greater consistency and unity is a testimony to the skill of Orange and his circle. The care Orange took to tailor the contents of documents for the audiences to whom they were addressed, emerges clearly from his correspondence. His interest in the contents of letters and pamphlets is apparent from the comments he made about Condé's *Justification*, which appeared in the autumn of 1567, at the start of the Second War of Religion in France.

"...je suis certes mari de veoir que leur requeste et justifications,
selon qu'en est couché, tend plus, comme il semble de premier

⁷⁷ De Vrankrijker, *De motiveering*, 67-78; Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, 253-82; Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 62-68; Mout, "De tirannie verdriven", 20-30; and Q. Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought*, 2 Volumes (Cambridge, 1978) II, 189-348.

face, à une particulière envie qu'ilz ont contre la maison de Guise et gouvernement de la Royne-mère, que non pas pour le faict générale de la religion, et me semble qu'ilz eussent mieulx faict de meller seulement la religion et les dangereuses traffiques et entreprinse contre icelle, item le hasart de perdre corpet biens, et plusieurs aultres justes causes, que non pas choses particulières et piquantes; ce que sans faulte eusse donné à tous les Princes de la religion plus grande compassion et occasion les favoriser...".⁷⁸

On the 19th June 1568, two weeks after the execution of Hornes and Egmont, Orange dispatched a letter to Lazarus von Schwendi, who was a member of the court of Maximilian II. Instead of giving way to an impassioned outcry against the execution, the writer produces a well structured letter, "dont le style est soigné", ("whose style is carefully prepared") as the editor puts it, in which those points and arguments which were most likely to attract the attention of the emperor were emphasised. The more emotive parts of the letter were strictly controlled, included only for effect.⁷⁹ This was how Orange and his propagandists reacted to circumstances: in a calculated manner. Events, however tragic, were regarded in the light of how they might be best used to further a cause.⁸⁰ This was also

⁷⁸ "...I am disappointed to see that their requests and justifications, according to what has been laid down, stress more, at least at first sight, a particular grievance which they have against the House of Guise and the government of the Queen Mother and not the general matter of religion. It seems to me that they would have done better just to combine religion with the dangerous traffics and enterprises against themselves, such as the chance of losing their lives and property and several other just causes, rather than particular and personal matters. Without doubt, these would have given to all the princes of the Religion much greater compassion and reason to favour them". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, Supplement, 69*. The letter is dated November 6th 1567. G.J. Hoffmann, *The French Huguenots and the Revolt of the Low Countries against Philip II, 1559-1572* (Unpublished D. Phil, University of Michigan, 1953) 144 gives an English translation of this letter. See also Orange's letter to Landgrave William of Hessen, dated 17th April 1568, in which Orange asked the Landgrave for advice about the inclusion of some phrases in his declaration. The letter appears in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III (Leiden, 1836) 209-11. The importance of this letter has recently been pointed out by Mout, "Intellectuele milieu van Willem van Oranje", 615-16 and Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 87.

⁷⁹ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III, 244-51.

⁸⁰ Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand*, 41 and, for Orange's part in decisions about the arguments to be put forward in the pamphlets, Swart, "Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje", 563-64. Orange's approach to propaganda in 1568 and afterwards was of a piece with

the way in which Orange and his circle approached the problem of resistance and of gathering people to their banner.

The importance of the problem of resistance is clearly evident in the correspondence of Orange for the first year of his exile. Its significance appears in the way that Orange took great care not to offend the monarchical sensibilities of the age in his letters to the emperor, the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hessen. It appeared also in the reluctance of the German princes, in spite of their sympathies, to countenance publicly an invasion by Orange.⁸¹ Indeed, such was the pressure upon Orange not to put forward a theory of resistance, that he did not actually advocate a right of resistance in 1568. Instead, he sidestepped the problem by representing his recourse to arms as an act both of duty and self-defence and by emphasising an alternative source of allegiance to that of the monarch: the fatherland.

Orange laid down most of the main lines of his approach in the *Bekendtnus*, the first of his works to deal with the problem of resistance. In the title, he described his action as a *Defension und Notwehr* ("Defence and Self-defence") and in the introductory paragraphs of his work, declared that he had considered it advisable to produce this work so as to remove any suspicion of rebellion and to show the causes for which he and other lords "zu dieser gegenwertigen unvermeidlichen Defension nottrentiglich gezwungen und bewegt seint worden...".⁸² He was compelled to take up arms, first of all, because of the wrongs that had been done to him. In spite of his services to the king and in spite of the sacrifices and risks he had made, a partisan and humiliating citation charging him with the crime of rebellion had been issued against him and his

other episodes in his life. During the negotiations which led to his marriage with Anne of Saxony, for example, he told Philip of Hessen that he was a Protestant and assured Philip II that he was a Catholic. Although this behaviour is quite understandable given the difficulties brought about by confessional strife and his own indifference to confessional differences, it still reveals Orange's ability to adopt different personae when the circumstances demanded that he do so. K.W. Swart, *William the Silent and the Revolt of the Netherlands* (Historical Association pamphlet no.94; London, 1978) 12.

⁸¹ Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, III, 272-74; Cellarius, "Die Propagandatätigkeit...", 134; and V. Press, "Wilhelm von Oranien, die deutschen Reichsstände und der niederländische Aufstand", *BMGN*, 99 (1984) 677-707.

⁸² K166: *Bekendtnus*: titlepage; and fol A2 "...being necessarily forced and moved to this present, unavoidable Defence...".

property had been confiscated.⁸³ Like the writers of 1566, Orange did not throw the blame for these actions upon Philip. The king was represented as a good and mild king who had been misled by his false counsellors. There was no hope of redress from His Majesty, Orange contended, because of the influence of Alba and the counsellors in Spain who had persuaded the king to imprison his own son and who prevented letters and deputations from reaching the king:

"Und aber dissals geringe hoffnung ist das die K.M noch jrer angeborenen natürlichen gute und berümbter sanftemutigkeit noch zur zeit einich insehens thun werde. In erwegung weil die widderwertigen durch jre hindrlistigs er-practiciren Ir Ko. M. auch zu jres selbst eignen und einige Sons/ des Printzen zu Hispanien gefencklicher verwarung zubewegen/ sich nicht geschewet/ das wir un andere betrangten uns viel weniger etwas guts/ das entweder unser underthenigste schreiben und Clagschriffen Irer M. trewlich vorbracht oder uns einige sichere audients verstattet werde zu verstehen haben."⁸⁴

Orange claimed to take up arms not only on behalf of the king⁸⁵ but also on behalf of the inhabitants of the Low Countries who were suffering through the unspeakable tyranny of the Duke of Alba. The kidnapping of Count van Buren, the arrest of numerous nobles, rich citizens and merchants at Brussels and elsewhere, and the execution of Hornes and Egmont were all used as examples of the "unchristlichen feindtlichen unmenschlichen vorhabens" of Alba's regime. Such was the fear aroused by Alba's government, claimed the *Bekendtnus*, that many people, both Catholic and Protestant, had fled from the country provoking Alba to

⁸³ K166: *Bekendtnus*, fols B1 and A2.

⁸⁴ "And there is scarce hope that the king, in spite of his innate, natural, good and renowned mildness, will be able to do his good will. We mention this because our malevolent opponents, through their underhand practices have forced your Royal Majesty, against your oath, to imprison your one and only son. So we and other oppressed people don't dare [to expect] any good results to come either from our loyal writings and petitions brought faithfully before your Majesty or any audiences granted to us". K166: *Bekendtnus*, B3.

⁸⁵ K166: *Bekendtnus*, B3.

declare that he would hunt down all those who had left, wherever they stayed.⁸⁶ It was partly because of the "kleglichs ersuchen vieler hochstgemelter Ko.M. gehorsamer underthanen..."⁸⁷ that Orange had been moved to resort to arms. Orange represented his struggle against Alba and his followers as a continuation of the conflict with Cardinal Granvelle and others

"die underm pretext unnd schein der berumbten Catholischen Religion nichts weniger dann die ehr unsers einigen seligmakers und Herrn Christi noch auch hochstermelter Ko. M dero Land und underthanen gedeihen un wolfart sondern viel mehr; jren selbst eigenen nutzen und weltlichen pracht mit underganct und verderben anderer unschuldiger leuth suchen..."⁸⁸

Through the practices of Granvelle and others, the Inquisition and Placards were introduced and established in the Netherlands, in spite of the protests made by Orange and other nobles, who had become aware of the misery brought about by the Inquisition.⁸⁹

So great had been the excesses of Alba's regime and so great was the threat posed to the Low Countries by Alba and the Spanish, the writer of the *Bekendtnus* argued, that the cause for which Orange had taken up arms should also be embraced by the inhabitants of the Low Countries. As Orange had been moved by his duty to bear arms on behalf of the king and his country, so too were the people of the Netherlands obliged by their oaths to support Orange. This theme formed an important part of the later works in 1568. It behooved everyone, Orange argued in the *Waerschouwinghe*, "goede achte te slaen op ten eedt, dien

⁸⁶ K166: *Bekendtnus*, B1-B3: "unchristian, hostile, inhuman plans".

⁸⁷ K166: *Bekendtnus*, B3v: "pitiful requests of many of his exalted Royal Majesty's obedient subjects".

⁸⁸ "...that under the pretext and appearance of the universal Catholic Religion they seek neither the honour of our one and only Saviour and Lord, Christ nor that of our exalted King, whose land and subjects prosper and thrive, but much more their own ends and worldly glory, to the decline and ruin of other innocent people". K166: *Bekendtnuss*, A3.

⁸⁹ K166: *Bekendtnuss*, A2-A3.

sy gedaen hebben voor het onderhoudt van slants privilegien...";⁹⁰ again, in the address to the soldiers on September 14th, he admonished the readers to be mindful, "des eedts dien ghi ghedaen hebt tot onderhoudinge van desselfs preuilegien".⁹¹

Orange grounded his notion of the binding oath in the privileges of the Netherlands. The privileges were represented in the works of 1568 as a sort of Netherlandish constitution which both Philip II and officeholders in the Low Countries had sworn to uphold: Philip to maintain them and the officeholders to protect them. If the king did not uphold the privileges then the inhabitants were released from their obedience to him.⁹² In the Orangist works, this theory is put forward at its clearest in the *Waerschouwinghe*:

"...dat de voorsz. Nederlanden van allen tijden zijn onderhouden ende geregeert geweest by hueren Princen ende overheeren met alder soeticheit, recht ende redene ende niet anders dan uitwijzen van henne vrijheden, rechten, costuymen, herbrengen ende privilegien; aldaer altijts onderhouden ende by den inwoonderen des Lants... eertijden van Keyseren, Coningen, Hertogen, Graven ende Heeren verworven ende vercregen, het onderhoudt ende volvoeren van den welcken so wel de Princen selve als ooc de ondersaten den Lants van allen tijden hebben moeten aen weerzijden by formelen contracte bevestigen ende ooc by solemnelen eede besweren, in der vuegen, dat ooc de ingesetene, mits hen onderhouden wordende, die selve alleenlick tot gehoorsaemheit verbanden zijn...".⁹³

⁹⁰ 'Waerschouwinghe...' in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 125: "to pay good attention to the oath, which they have made for the maintenance of the country's privileges".

⁹¹ K170A: *Allen Ende Elckerlicken...*, A3v: "of the oath which you have made for the maintenance of the country's privileges".

⁹² M. Van Gelderen, "A Political Theory of the Dutch Revolt and the *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*", *Il Pensiero Politico*, 19, Part 2 (1986) 163-81, 170-71.

⁹³ 'Waerschouwinghe...' in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 120: "...that the aforesaid Netherlands have been maintained and governed at all times, by their Princes and authorities with all sweetness, law and reason and have been maintained by nothing other than that revealed in their freedoms, rights, customs, and privileges, which were obtained and received, in former times, by the inhabitants of this country from Emperors, Kings, Dukes, Counts and Lords, the maintenance and execution of which, the Prince himself as

The pamphlet writers contended that the contract had been broken because Alba and the Spanish, acting in the king's name, though not on his command, had disregarded and violated the privileges.⁹⁴

As a means of attracting people to the rebel cause, though, the idea of a contract between the king and his subject had serious limitations. The oath to which the theory referred was made on the basis of the *Joyeuse Entrée*. This privilege was a privilege of Brabant and therefore, not applicable to the rest of the Low Countries. Moreover, the privilege gave to the citizens of Brabant not the right of resistance, but only the right to passive non-obedience. Only by forcing the text to mean something more than was stated could Orange justify armed resistance. In 1568 he had, in any case, no desire to advocate a right of resistance because he was intent upon avoiding the opprobrium that would attach itself to anyone who called for armed resistance to his feudal lord. Herein was another problem faced by Orange and his circle: all the traditional legitimate arguments that he put forward in defence of his cause, revolved in some way around the king. So long as Orange sought to justify resistance by reference to the king, he would be fighting, so to speak, on Philip's ground. Further, arguments that were made with reference to the monarch would not provide a cause for which all Netherlanders could fight. Orange, then, needed for his propaganda both a counterclaim to that of the monarchy, a claim on the loyalties of the Netherlanders which could be put forward without reference to the monarchy and an "ideologisch concept"⁹⁵ that would attract support from all sections of the Low Countries population.

In the *Bekendtnus*, Orange brought forward one such "ideologisch concept": the cause of Protestantism. The writer declared at the beginning of the work, in the *Summarische Anzeig*e, that the *Bekendtnus* gave the reasons for which Orange and others had been forced to take up arms in self defence against Alba's persecution of not only "alle stende der Loblichen Niderlande..." but also "die

well as the subject of the lands, established by formal customs and sworn to by solemn oath, must stand by and further, the inhabitants, on condition that the rights are maintained, are bound to obedience...". See also Kossman, *Texts*, 84.

⁹⁴ 'Waerschouwinghe...' in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 123-25.

⁹⁵ The phrase comes from Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 75.

armen und unschuldigen Bekenner Gottliches worts und heiligen Euangelij...".⁹⁶ When the author of the *Bekendtnus* related the effects of the Inquisition and of Alba's government, the sufferings of the "poor innocent Christians" received prominent attention. Even though their only desire had been to follow the pure doctrine of the Gospels and in spite of their willingness to pay a large sum of money in order to be granted the right to preach God's Word and exercise their religion after the way of the prophets and apostles, they had been mercilessly persecuted.⁹⁷ Margaret of Parma had actually given them permission to preach God's Word but Alba and his followers had ignored this ruling and had forced many good and faithful subjects to leave the country simply because they had attended such preachings.⁹⁸ Alba's designs were thus clear: to destroy Orange and all good hearted people, whether noble or not, and to suppress the true teaching of the Gospel and plant the Papist religion:

"Dieweil nhun ab dem allem gnugsam abzunemen und zuverstehen ist/ wohin des Duca de Alba und seiner guts und blutsdürstigen Rott intent/ thun/ und vornemen gerichtet/ als nemblich nit allein uns und andere unsere Mitherrn und Stende/ auch andere guthertzige leut/ Edel und Unedel ohn allen unterscheidt / umb unsere zeitliche von Gott dem allmechtigen verliehnene güter/ sondern auch umb unsere ehr/ leib und leben/ und darzu noch weiter durch endtliche auszrottung/ underdruckung/ und verdilgung der rechten Leer des Evangelij/ und pflantzung jrer Papistischer Religion/ Abgötterey und gewel/ in verlust unser seelen/ und des ewigen (welches doch allem zeitlichen vorzusetzen ist) so viel an jnen zubringen".⁹⁹

⁹⁶ K166: *Bekendtnus*, A1: "all estates of the laudable Netherlands" and "the poor and innocent Confessor of God's Word and the Holy gospel...". It is noteworthy that the Protestant faith of the 'Christians' was always described vaguely.

⁹⁷ K166: *Bekendtnus*, A2-A3.

⁹⁸ K166: *Bekendtnus*, A3.

⁹⁹ "Because it is clear to everyone what the Duke of Alba's and his bloodthirsty rabble's aim and intent is, as namely [to destroy] not only us and other Confederate nobles and Estates, also other good people, noble and non-noble without distinction, the property which God has lent us, but also our honour, body and life and the endless destruction, oppression and eradication of the upright teaching of the Gospel and the establishment

This threat, the writer emphasised, extended also to the whole of the empire; Orange, consequently, was taking up arms for the well being of Protestants in the Empire, as well as in the Low Countries.¹⁰⁰

The *Bekendtnus* represented Orange's campaign as a religious cause because it was aimed at a different audience, the German Protestant princes. The pamphlet appeared at a time when Orange's attempts to secure German aid had taken on an urgent note. In the early summer of 1568, Orange began to develop plans for his own campaign and to assemble troops.¹⁰¹ Mindful of the costs of a campaign, he pressed his German compeers and superiors for support. In May and June the atmosphere at the Viennese court became more favourable to Orange, especially after Louis of Nassau's victory at Heiligerlee on May 23rd. Encouraged by these developments, William of Hessen asked Orange to come to a meeting at Friedelshausen in late June to answer questions about his military preparations and about his chances of success in the campaign. At the same time, John of Nassau was at Dresden, pleading for assistance from the Elector of Saxony. Attention continued to be directed at the Elector in July as Orange tried frantically to capitalise on his brother's victory. The *Bekendtnus* of July 1568 should be seen in the light of these attempts to gain aid from the evangelical princes of the empire: it emphasised the religious nature of the struggle because this was of interest to the princes and because it countered Alba's argument that Orange's campaign was political in nature and, therefore, an act of rebellion and treason.¹⁰²

The *Bekendtnus*, though, was in this respect, unrepresentative of the Orangist works of 1568. Elsewhere in 1568, Orange chose to minimise religious differences.¹⁰³ In his letters of credence to Jan Basius in March 1568, just before the spring campaign, Orange ordered Basius to spare "de gemeente van de

of their Papist religion, false gods and horrors, to the loss of our souls and to bring eternity (which is the destiny for all men) to everyone before his time". K166 *Bekendtnus*, B3.

¹⁰⁰ K166: *Bekendtnus*, B3.

¹⁰¹ Swart, "Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje", 562-63.

¹⁰² Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, III, 379-400.

¹⁰³ Saravia's *Een hertgrondighe Begheerte...*, which is more explicitly Protestant in tone, is an exception to the rule.

Papisten" as much as possible and win them over "met sachtmoedicheyt ende deuchsamheyt". The Reformed and the Catholics would then fight "eendrachtelycken tot defensie van byde relligien".¹⁰⁴ These letters to Basius and the pamphlets produced to accompany the autumn campaign emphasised religious toleration because the deployment of a Protestant crusading tone would have been wholly inappropriate for a country where the vast majority of the inhabitants were Catholics and where Protestants formed a small and, after the Iconoclasm in 1566, despised minority. Religious toleration, though more calculated to win the support of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, was in itself not enough.

The problems attendant upon striking an emphatically Protestant pose were such that Orange played down the religious nature of the struggle in 1568; instead, he represented his struggle against Alba as a national cause. In his letters and pamphlets he exhorted the inhabitants of the Low Countries to remember their duty to the fatherland and to join together with the "liefhebbers van't gemeen Vaderland" ("the lovers of the common fatherland") in a common cause against a common enemy, Alba and the Spanish.

At the centre of this patriotic propaganda stood a notion of the various provinces of the Netherlands as one common fatherland. This common fatherland was no mere appendage to the king as in the phrase 'King and Country': it usually appeared in the Orangist works as an independent entity in itself. According to Orange and his circle, this fatherland had a claim on the loyalties of each inhabitant of the Low Countries:

"Verhopende oock ende ons vastelijck betrawende, dat ghyliden ende elck van ulieden van sijnder sijden ooc sal gedachtich wesen, hoe hij schuldich in de sake te voorderen ende na zijn uuterste macht hem sal stellen om hem daer in wel te quijten met lijve ende met goede ende met al dat hi can, soo zijn eigen vaderlant ende de verbintnisse, die hy aen den selven heeft, hem daertoe

¹⁰⁴ "...the commonalty of the papists"; "with softness and virtue"; and "in union for the defence of both religions". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III, 196-205, especially 198 and 200.

Those who refused to recognise this duty and their obligation to support Orange were condemned as faithless traitors, men without honour.¹⁰⁶ Conversely, those who strove to rid the land of the Spanish and supported Orange were honoured as "liefhebbers des Vaderlants" ("lovers of the fatherland").¹⁰⁷

This concept of the fatherland was closely tied to the privileges of the Low Countries. The word 'fatherland' often appears together with "vryheid" while the term "liefhebber" is also used to describe the attitude of the Netherlanders to their privileges and freedom.¹⁰⁸ The terms are connected for three reasons: the fatherland's claim on the loyalties of the people of the Low Countries derived, in the main, from the privileges; the notion of the privileges as a national constitution was strengthened by their association with patriotic vocabulary; and because Orange wished to obscure the novel nature of his appeal.

The national nature of Orange's struggle was also emphasised in other ways. In the works of 1566, some writers had already made the point that the Netherlands was distinguished from surrounding countries by the range and scale of its trading and commercial base.¹⁰⁹ The writers of the Orangist works of 1568 took this point much further, contrasting the former commercial and economic glories of the country with the misery of the Netherlands under the rule

¹⁰⁵ 'Waerschouwinghe' in Schenk, Geschriften, 126: "We hope and firmly trust that each of you shall bear in mind his obligation to put all his strength to the cause, acquitting himself with his life and property and all that he has, as his own fatherland and the ties that he has to it, admonish him so to do....". See also 'Willem...(Aug 31)' in Bor, Oorspronck, I, 254: "En want elk oprecht mensche schuldig is de eere Gods, de grootheid sijns Lands-Heeren, met de vryheid en welvaren sijns Vaderland te helpen vorderen en beschutten".

¹⁰⁶ 'Willem...(Aug 31)', Bor, Oorspronck, I, 254 which speaks of those people who shall be considered "als eerlose luiden, en trouwelose verraders van't Vaderland" ("as dishonourable men and faithless traitors to the fatherland"); Getrouwe vermaninge... in De Navorscher, 147; and Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, III, 203.

¹⁰⁷ 'Getrouwe vermaninge' in De Navorscher, 139, 147; 'Willem...(Aug 31)', in Bor, Oorspronck, I, 254; and the assurance of payments given to Orange on 23rd April 1568: "Il est accordé entre quelques gens de bien, amateurs de la patrie..." ("It is agreed among some propertied men, lovers of the fatherland"), Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, Supplement, 87-88.

¹⁰⁸ For example, 'Waerschouwinghe', in Schenk, Geschriften, 120.

¹⁰⁹ K144a: Een Corte verhalinge..., B8v.

of Alba.¹¹⁰ The mother who appears in the *Clachte des verdructe Nederlandts* as an allegory of the Low Countries, began the work by bemoaning the loss of her economic greatness:

"Helaes ick arme verdructe, ende te voren weeldige Nederlant, mach wel clagen ende kermen, als ick aenmerke den tegenwoerdighen ellendighen staet daer ick my als nu in vinde, daer tegen ouerdenckeden voerspoet ende ouervloedicheyt daer ick my soe langen tijt ende tot noch onlancx inne heb gehouden. Och waer is nu den naem, rijckdom, weelde ende macht daer ic soe plach mede verciert te wesen, doer de hulpe, bystant ende by blyven van mijn eerste geboerne dochter *Vryheit*, met heur naegeuochde dry susteren *Coopmanschappen*, *Hantwerkinghe* ende *Zeylagie* de welcke soe lange ick heb alle vier moegen behouden, ben ick van elckerlycken van by ende van verre besocht, geacht, gesterckt ende verheuen geweest..."¹¹¹

The purpose of this contrast is clear enough: to arouse indignation against Alba and to stir up feelings on behalf of the Netherlands.

The sense of the past and the future, which is such an important part of patriotic rhetoric, was present in the works of 1568, though in a very rudimentary form. The Netherlands are exhorted by Saravia in *Een hertgrondighe begeerte...* to assist Orange because, if he fails, "so sullent ons kinderen ende kintskinderen beclaghen ende eeuwich int servituyt moeten blyven, jae in meerder servituyt dan oft sy van den Turcken ghevanghen waren."¹¹² This spectre of slavery for their

¹¹⁰ See 'Willem...(Aug 31)' in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 253-54; 'Waerschouwinghe' in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 121, 123; and K170A *Allen ende elckerlicken Capiteynen...*, A2v.

¹¹¹ "Alas, I poor, oppressed and formerly prosperous Netherland, might well lament and moan, when I observe the present pitiful state in which I now find myself, and consider against that the prosperity and abundance which I for so long a time and until quite recently held. Oh, where is now the name, richness, wealth and power with which I used to be adorned, through the help and assistance and perseverance of my first born daughter FREEDOM, with her following three sisters, COMMERCE, MANUFACTURING and NAVIGATION, and so long as I could preserve all four, I was visited from far and near, respected, strengthened and exalted by everybody..." 'Clachte...' in *De Navorscher*, 133.

¹¹² 'Een hertgrondighe begeerte' in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 142: "so shall our children and children's children complain and stay perpetually in servitude, yes in more servitude than if they had been taken by the Turks".

children and their children's children constituted the standard reference to the future Netherlands in the works of 1568.¹¹³ As regards the past, the forebears of the Netherlands appeared, in the Orangist works, to be distinguished only by their love of freedom and by the love of their privileges, a characteristic emphasised by some of the writers.¹¹⁴

Orange's command to Basius to treat most Catholics with mercy and with moderation so that Protestants and Catholics would then fight together for both religions represented another important facet of the patriotic propaganda. The rebel propagandists played down religious differences because Catholic support was vital to the success of their venture but they did not, of course, state this explicitly in the pamphlets. Instead, they argued or implied, that a common cause was of more importance than religious ties. In keeping with this stress on national ties, the propagandists emphasised in place of a common religious enemy, a common national enemy: the Spanish.

In their works on the Black Legend, Swart, Thomas and Pollmann are all agreed that, from the second half of the 1560s, the fear and hatred of the Spanish Inquisition that existed in the Low Countries began to broaden out *in the propaganda* into a more general hostility to Spanish leaders and Spanish government and eventually, to the whole of the Spanish nation.¹¹⁵ This shift in emphasis- from a concentration on Catholicism and the Spanish Inquisition to a concentration on Alba, Spanish soldiers, the Spanish Monarchy and the Spanish nation - was initiated by the propagandists of the exile period in both the works which deal exclusively with the Black Legend and in the pamphlets issued by Orange. That the shift took place in both groups of pamphlets is a reminder that the development of the Black Legend and the appearance of patriotic rhetoric were closely linked. The Orangist pamphlets put forward the same themes as the works of the Black Legend, though in a more muted and understated form while the Black Legend pamphlets echo the 'patriotic' propaganda of the works concerned

¹¹³ 'Willem...(Aug 31)' in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 254; and 'Clachte' in *De Navorscher*, 136-37.

¹¹⁴ 'Clachte...' in *De Navorscher*, 136; 'Ghetrouwe vermaninge...' in *De Navorscher*, 139.

¹¹⁵ Pollmann, "Eine Natürliche Feindschaft...", 76-77, 87-93; Thomas, "De mythe van de Spaanse Inquisitie...", 343-53; Swart, "The Black Legend", 47.

with Orange's decision to take up arms.

The switch from anti-Catholicism to the Black Legend appears clearly in Orange's works of 1568. To begin with, Granvelle rather than Alba appeared as the main villain. In the *Justification*, produced in April, Orange represented his actions over the preceding nine years as an attempt to thwart Granvelle's plans to seize control of the Low Countries.¹¹⁶ Already in the same month, though, Orange was looking ahead to the future works of propaganda. In April, he wrote a letter to Landgrave William of Hessen, in which he asked the German prince for advice on the contents of "eine erklerungschrift" ("an explanatory work") which his counsellor, Dr Meixner, was drawing up. Orange's questions reveal that he had already decided to direct the thrust of his propaganda against the Spanish and Alba and was concerned only to ensure that, by so doing, he would not appear to be attacking his sovereign, Philip II.¹¹⁷

The new approach is apparent in the works of the summer and autumn, where the focus of opposition has moved from Granvelle and the Inquisition to Alba and the Spanish. The *Bekendtnuss* of July directed its animus at Alba; the address of August 31st began by declaring that few in the Netherlands could be unaware "hoe dat de Spangiaerden over lange jaren gearbeid hebbende om na haerluiden moet will te mogen regeren des Conincklijken Majesteits Nederlanden..."; the *Waerschouwinghe*, likewise, related that since the lands of Spain have had the same lord as the Netherlands "...eenige groote van Spaengien van over vijftich jaren alijt hebben uitgeweest om in eeniger manieren in hen handen te gecrijgen het regiment ende dominatie over sulcken overvloedigen Lant om daer te gouverneren ende tiranniseren nae hennen appetijte ende ghelijck sy elders doende zijn..."; the harangue of September 14th and the *Hertgrondighe Begheerte* emphasised the tyrannous designs of Alba and his followers.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁶ Pollmann, "Eine Natürliche Feindschaft", 87.

¹¹⁷ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III, 208-11; Pollmann, "Eine Natürliche Feindschaft", 87; Mout, "Intellectuele Milieu", 615-16.

¹¹⁸ K166: *Bekendtnus*, passim; 'Willem...(Aug 31)' in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 253: "...how the Spanish have worked over a long time to be able to govern His Royal Majesty's Netherlands according to their will"; 'Waerschouwinghe' in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 121: "some great lords of Spain have tried for over 50 years, by any means possible, to get the government and power of such a bountiful country in to their own hands in order to govern and tyrannise it after their appetite as they are doing elsewhere"; K170A: *Allen ende elckerlicken Capiteynen*, passim; and 'Een hertgrondighe begheerte...' in Schenk,

Various supposed characteristics of Alba and the Spanish soldiers were stressed by the propagandists. Special emphasis was placed on the cruel and bloodthirsty nature of Alba as well as on his rapacity and megalomania.¹¹⁹ The barbarity and cruelty of Alba was mirrored by the cruelty of his Spanish soldiers who, wrote Saravia, had committed unspeakable crimes against the women of the Low Countries:

"Hoe menighe Jonghe dochter hebben sy in desen Nederlanden schandich vercracht ende ghevioleert, jae, menich mans vrouwe hebben sy in dese landen ghebruyct door cracht foortse ende in des mans presentie. Hebben sy niet in Vrieslant twee hondert jonge dochters deyrlijck vermoordt, om dat sy haren wille niet en wilden doen? Dit is gheschiet by Heiligerlee; ende by Wijnschoten hebben sy wel driehondert dertich vrouwen en kinderen vermoort, omdat die Spaengiaerts, op die plaetse gheslagen waren als Arenburch gheslagen was".¹²⁰

Saravia then added that the soldiers also committed acts of sexual perversion: "Haer buggerie ware een schande om te schrijven, die sy daer met beesten bedreven hebbe...".¹²¹ The author of the *Clachte* and the *Getrouwe vermaninghe* added a further dimension to the conflict by claiming that Alba's intention was no less than to exterminate the populace of the Low Countries and replace the

Geschriften, passim.

¹¹⁹ See K170A: Allen ende elckerlicken Capiteynen...., passim.

¹²⁰ 'Een hertgrondighe begheerte' in Schenk, Geschriften, 139: "How many young daughters have they scandalously raped and violated in these Netherlands? How many men's wives have they used in these countries through force and in the husband's presence? Did they not terribly murder 200 young daughters in Friesland because they would not do their will? This happened at Heiligerlee while at Wijnschoten they murdered three hundred women and children because the Spanish in this area had been killed when Aremberg was defeated".

¹²¹ 'Een hertgrondighe begheerte' in Schenk, Geschriften, 139: "Their buggery, which they have committed there with animals, was a disgrace to write about".

Netherlanders with the riff-raff of other lands.¹²²

In the series of works which, published from 1567 to c.1570, laid the foundations of the Netherlandish Black Legend, the same themes of Spanish cruelty, barbarity and lust for power were emphasised and for the same purpose, that of arousing hatred against the Spanish among all parts of the Low Countries. The same aspects of the patriotic propaganda also appear and sometimes in a more developed form. All the Black Legend pamphlets treat the Low Countries as one country, describing it sometimes with the singular 'Vaderlant' or 'Nederlant' and sometimes, with the plural, 'Vaderlanden' or 'Nederlanden'.¹²³ As well as treating the Low Countries as one country, the pamphlets also had a marked sense of the Netherlanders as one people. For the most part, this was merely implied by the contents of the works, which concerned all the Netherlands equally, but in the *Artijckelen ende besluynen der Inquisitie van Spaegnien*, the Netherlanders were even referred to as a 'nation': "Want in der gantscher Christenheit en is geen Natie die dwaser ende onvoorsichtigher sy/ ende diens lichtveerdichepot ende ontrouwe beter bedraghen can worden dan dese Netherlanders...".¹²⁴ Moreover, the spurious sentence of the Inquisition was pronounced upon "het volck vande Nederlanden", ("the people of the Netherlands").¹²⁵

This sense was particularly strong in the anonymous foreword to *Der heyliger Hispanischer Inquisitie, etliche listighe secrete Consten ende*

¹²² 'Clachte' in *De Navorscher*, 136; and 'Getrouwe vermaninge', 140. This may be a reference to article IX of K156: *Artijckelen ende besluynen der Inquisitie van Spaenien*, 2 which prescribed the extermination of the Netherlanders and the establishment of "een nieuwe Rijck ende een nieuwe Volck" ("a new kingdom and a new people").

¹²³ "Nederlant" and "nederlanden" in M193: *Derthien Artyckelen*, A1v, B2v, B3v, D1v-D2r; "Vaderlant", "Vaderlanden", "Nederlanden" and "Nederlant" in M201: *Der heyliger Hispanischer Inquisitie*, foreword and Printer's comments to the reader on fol.144r; and "Nederlanden" in K156: *De Artijckelen*, A1r-A2r.

¹²⁴ K156: *De Artijckelen...*, A1v: "...For in the whole of Christendom there is no nation that is more foolish and careless than they and whose rashness and disloyalty can be better deceived than these Netherlanders". The idea of a Netherlandish 'natie' also appears in M193: *Derthien Artijckelen*, A4v-B1r and C3v, though in a more indirect way. The ninth article proposes that the king build a fleet of 20-30 ships to protect trade from, among other things, the pirates of the "Enghelsche Natie". The author argues against this suggestion by saying that this would pit one "natie" against another.

¹²⁵ K156: *De Artijckelen...*, A1v.

practijcken..., a 1569 Dutch translation of the *Sanctae Inquisitiones Hispanicae Artes aliquot detectae, ac palam traductae*, first published in 1567. In his opening address to all the inhabitants of the Netherlands, the author described the people of the Low Countries as "mijnen seer lieven ende beminden Lantslieden" ("my very dear and beloved compatriots"). The author then went on to reproach the Netherlands for their failure to acquit themselves of their duty and throw off the tyranny of Alba, especially during Orange's campaign and, further, to urge them to join together against the government in Brussels. It was for this latter purpose, he stated, that he had translated the Latin work. Through his translation the Netherlands would learn about the terrible things committed by the Spanish Inquisition and so understand why they need to join together against the tyrant. As a way of encouraging his readers to unite and fight against the 'foreign tyranny', the author reminded them of the deeds of their forebears and of the consequences for their relatives and descendants, should they fail to act. Like the writers of the autumn pamphlets, the writer then tied this sense of the past and future to the fatherland and the privileges and freedoms of the fatherland.¹²⁶

The aspect of patriotic propaganda which the author developed most, certainly to a greater degree than in the earlier Orangist pamphlets, is the supersession of religious differences by a national cause. He contended that the attacks upon the privileges and economy were matters which concern everyone, regardless of their religious creed:

"Oft wy alschoon in Religie niet eens zijn /sullen wy den ut
veria ghen van onsen alghemeenen vyant oneens moeten blijven?
het berooven van onse vryicheyt ende priuilegien/ gaet het ons niet
ghelijck aan? Gaet het ons niet ghelijck aen /dat ons Vaderlant
vanden meesten ende treffelycsten Adel /vrome oprechte lieden
/Cooplieden /ende van soo vele Inwoonderen berooft wort? Gaet
het ons niet ghelijck aen (segghe ick) dat onsen Coninck ende
Lantsheere soo iammerlick door der Inquisiteuren tyrannye wort
vervoert / ende wt syne Majesteyts Nederlanden (onse Vaderlant)
alle handelinghe /coopmanschappe /neeringe ende welvaert wort
veriaecht? Worden de onlydelicke schattinghen /niet so wel van den

¹²⁶ M201: *Der heylicher Hispanischer Inquisitie....*, preface.

Catholijcken (soo mense noemt) als vanden anderen ghevoordert?
 Wie isser inde Nederlanden /van wat Religie hy sy/ die
 /achtervolghende de Spaensche Inquisitie /zijns lijfs ofte goets seker
 is /als hy wat heeft te verlienen? seker niemant: want men bevindt
 /dat alsoo wel die vande Roomsche als andere Religie der
 Inquisiteuren straffe onderghegaen /ende van goederen ende leven
 berooft zyn /so oock de armen in hare armoede oock niet en
 worden ghespaert:...Laet ons sulcx met ghemeender handt /alle
 tweedracht ter syden stellende /den tyran met alle syne tyrannye wt
 onsen Vaderlande wt roeyen /ende ghestadelick den Almoghenden
 God bidden /dat hy om zijns Soons Christi Jesu wille /ons met
 malcanderen vrientlicken inde Religie wil vereenighen".¹²⁷

The patriotic propaganda of the Orangist pamphlets and the patriotic themes of the Black Legend works of 1567-70 may thus be said to have served two main purposes. On the one hand, Orange had to deal with the problem of justifying armed resistance to the legitimate ruler of the Netherlands. The stress upon the 'fatherland' dealt with this problem by providing a counterclaim to the feudal claims of the prince. Further, the stress placed on the duty of a subject to his afflicted fatherland also meant that the problem of resistance could be avoided in the pamphlets. On the other hand, the patriotic propaganda also served to emphasise the unity of the Low Countries and the ties between the inhabitants. The notion of a Netherlandish fatherland acted again as a counterweight but in this

¹²⁷ M201: Der heyliger Hispanischer Inquisitie..., preface: "Although we disagree in Religion, must we therefore remain disunited about the expulsion of our general enemy? Does the robbery of our freedom and privileges not concern us equally? Does it not concern us equally that our fatherland is bereft of its most outstanding Nobility, pious upright people, Merchants and many of its inhabitants? Does it not concern us equally (I say) that our King and Nobility are so pitifully deceived by the Inquisitor's tyranny and all trade, commerce, industry and welfare are chased out of his Majesty's Netherlands (our fatherland)? Are the insufferable tributes not demanded from Catholics (as one calls them) as from others? Who is there in the Netherlands, whatever religion he is, that, being persecuted by the Spanish Inquisition, can be certain of his life or property, especially if he has something to lose? Without doubt no-one: for one finds that those of the Roman as of the other Religion have undergone the punishment of the Inquisitors and have been robbed of goods & life. Even the poor in their poverty are not spared....Let us now with common hand, putting all division to one side, throw the tyrant with all his tyanny out of our Fatherland and continually pray to the Almighty God, that he, by His Son Christ Jesus's will, will unite us amicably with each other in Religion".

case not to the prince but to the many and various claims of towns, guilds, estates and provinces. Hence the importance of the adjective "gemene" in the pamphlets: the people of the Low Countries fought in a "gemene saecke" ("a common cause"), for the "gemene vaderland" ("common fatherland") against their "gemeine vianden ende verdruckers" ("common enemies and oppressors").¹²⁸

It is clear enough that, in 1568, Orange embarked upon a propaganda campaign quite distinct from that of 1566. The patriotic nature of the propaganda in 1568 was not the result of some emotional outpouring of indignation and pride but was the result of a conscious decision to stir up support for Orange by directing the loyalty of the people away from their cities and provinces to a broader notion of a fatherland. What remains unclear about the patriotic propaganda of 1568-70 is the matter of sources. As the patriotic propaganda of 1568-70 was the first of its nature in the Low Countries, it seems clear that Orange tapped non-Netherlandish sources. Parts III and IV of this chapter represent an attempt to discover the foreign background to the propaganda of 1568-70. Part III describes the development of German and French propaganda up to the 1560s and Part IV takes another look at the period from 1559 to early 1568, but this time, primarily from an international perspective.

Part Three: German and French Propaganda

To do full justice to the manifest complexity of the rebel propaganda of 1568-70, any search for the sources of this propaganda would have to be wide and deep and long: wide enough to comprehend the international nature of much propaganda of this period; long enough to trace back the late-medieval roots of many rebel arguments; and deep enough to take in the contributions of differing groups within Netherlandish society. Such a perspective becomes necessary once

¹²⁸ See Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III, 197 ("ghemene saecke"), ("common cause"); 'Willem...(Aug 31)', Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 254 ("gemene vaderland"); and *Waerschouwinghe* in Schenk, *Geschriften*, 119 ("gemeine vianden ende verdruckers"), ("common enemies and oppressors").

the Revolt is no longer seen as the earliest of a series of rebellions which laid the foundations for the modern world but, instead, is approached from a sixteenth-century point of view. From this perspective, the propagandists of the Revolt appear as heirs to a series of earlier movements, conflicts and propaganda campaigns, each of which might have exercised some influence upon them.

Such an approach was taken by Donald Kelley in his study of *Consciousness and Society in the French Reformation*. Writing about the sixteenth century as a whole, he observed that "in a long perspective what is remarkable about this century is less its philosophical innovativeness than its eclecticism and conservatism. Ideologists showed their virtuosity not by devising new formulas but by adapting and re-arranging old ones".¹²⁹ That this was so is apparent from his analysis of the elements which together made up "the Protestant ideological creation". Kelley distinguished eight main elements in this ideology: "the psychological element, the taproot of discontent and of social and generational upheaval"; "the evangelical element"; the "corporate element", that is, the privileges of groups, estates and institutions; "the feudal element"; the "classical element"; "the civic element"; "the national element"; and, finally, philosophy and theology, as expressed, for example, in natural law.¹³⁰

To look in depth at all the different ideological strands brought out by Kelley and at other influences which lay outside his interests would be neither feasible nor fruitful. Such a survey would not be fruitful because this chapter is concerned with just one element of the Netherlandish rebel ideology which was created in 1567-70. The different store houses of ideas and expressions are of interest then, only in so far as they help to determine the sources and significance of the patriotic propaganda.¹³¹ As it seems clear that the rebel propaganda drew largely upon foreign works, the following part of the chapter will focus upon German and, to a lesser extent, French propaganda during the 1540s and 1550s.

The Black Legend and Patriotic Propaganda

¹²⁹ Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, 307.

¹³⁰ Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, 314-22.

¹³¹ Moreover, some of the more important sources such as humanism, are summarised in chapter two of this thesis.

A distinctive feature of the rebel propaganda of 1568 was the anti-Spanish element, a feature which suggests that any search for possible sources should begin with the 'Black Legend'. The term was introduced in 1913 by the Spanish journalist Julian Juderías to designate "den Komplex von Vorurteilen und klischen über die spanische Geschichte und den spanischen Volkscharakter" ¹³² which originated in the Italian peninsula in the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries.¹³³ To begin with, works about the Spanish had an anti-Catalonian flavour because of Aragonese expansionism in the Mediterranean but, after the union of the monarchies under Ferdinand and Isabella, a more anti-Castilian and finally, more generally anti-Spanish view developed.¹³⁴ Anti-Spanish sentiments which, in the Italian peninsula, were quite widespread among different groups in society, focussed on a number of things: the actions of Spanish soldiers in the Italian Wars; the Inquisition; Spanish control of important parts of Italy; certain alleged characteristics of the Spanish character; and the actions of the Spanish in the Indies.¹³⁵ With the advent of the Reformation and the growth of Spanish power and influence throughout Europe, additional layers of the Black Legend developed outside the Italian peninsula. The extent to which these later versions drew upon Italian sources has been a matter of some dispute but that they differed significantly from the earlier myths cannot be doubted. As the Italian Black Legend was more removed, geographically and chronologically, from the Netherlandish Black Legend, this chapter shall concentrate on the later, northern versions, looking first of all, and, in greater depth, at the propaganda deployed in Germany in the 1540s and 1550s and then, in more cursory fashion, at France. Since the main concern of this chapter is not the development of anti-Spanish sentiment, the broader tradition of patriotic writing out of which the German Black Legend grew, shall also be examined.

¹³² "the complex of prejudices and cliches about Spanish history and the Spanish national character" from Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft...", 73. See also W.S. Maltby, The Black Legend in England. The development of anti-Spanish sentiment, 1558-1660 (North Carolina, 1971) 3-11.

¹³³ Swart, "The Black Legend", 36; Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 77; Pollmann, Een naturelicke vijantschap, 11-13.

¹³⁴ C. Gibson, The Black Legend: Anti-Spanish Attitudes in the Old World and the New (New York, 1971) 31.

¹³⁵ Pollmann, Een naturelicke vijantschap, 11-13.

i) Germany

A patriotic German note echoed many times in the pamphlet literature of the German Reformation. The pamphlet writers adopted this element because they were trying to strengthen the cause of Reform by associating it with a long anti-papal tradition which had grown out of the Papal-Imperial conflicts of the High Middle Ages. This tradition had two basic themes, the corruption and failings of the Papacy and the achievements and character of the German Nation, themes which were to continue well into the sixteenth century and beyond, though subject to considerable modification. Something of this tradition was apparent in the *Gravamina nationis germanicae*, the grievances of the German nation. These grievances were based upon complaints made at the Council of Constance, which were then tidied up in the 1456 Diet and repeated thereafter by German princes, both secular and ecclesiastical, at numerous diets.¹³⁶ The redrawn statement of grievances presented to the Diet of Worms in 1521, talked about the "burdens placed on the German nation by His Holiness the Pope and other ecclesiastics". The grievances portrayed a Germany which, in one way or another, was being continually fleeced of money by greedy prelates from Italy.¹³⁷

The *Gravamina*, of course, gave no scope for eulogies about the achievements and character of the German nation. There was no shortage, though, of writers prepared to take up this role, especially from the later fifteenth century as humanism became more influential in Germany. The discovery and publication of Tacitus's manuscript *Germania* and the publication of Aenea Silvio's letter to Martin Mayr, originally written in 1458, the former praising the Germany of antiquity, the latter, modern Germany, gave an especial stimulus to German humanism. A call for the production of works which would describe the glories of Germany, so making these glories known to foreigners, was made by Konrad Celtis in 1492. This call bore fruit in the sixteenth century in the form of many

¹³⁶ A.G. Dickens, The German Nation and Martin Luther (London, 1974) 2-8.

¹³⁷ G. Strauss, Manifestations of Discontent in Germany on the Eve of the Reformation (London, 1971) 52-63, 54.

regional descriptions.¹³⁸

To the older anti-papal tradition, the humanists added, or gave added emphasis to, other elements. The older tradition had emphasised religious and financial grievances; the humanists dwelt on cultural matters. The belief that German achievements had not been sufficiently appreciated by foreigners and that foreigners, generally, spoke slightly of the Germans, was one of the main spurs to the movement to describe the German lands. It also made much more explicit something which had always been latent in the anti-papal tradition: anti-Italianism.¹³⁹ The humanists also added, as a complementary strand to the belief in deceitful and envious foreigners, a myth of teutonic integrity and purity. In 1521, Eberlin von Günzburg referred in a pamphlet to the "ancient honesty of the German nation", claiming that "we are endowed by nature with so much openness and simplicity of heart that we think others are as unlikely to deceive us as we are unwilling to defraud them"; this in stark contrast to "the trickery and fickleness of Italians".¹⁴⁰ The works of Tacitus provided fertile ground for the humanist mythmakers. Drawing on Tacitus, Ulrich von Hutten, one of the more outspoken German humanists, was able, in his dialogue called *Arminius*, to create a picture of Arminius as an ideal German prince and to represent certain virtues like simplicity as specifically Germanic. Arminius in this dialogue speaks of rescuing his countrymen from their "slavish yoke", of the "love of country and freedom", of "the love of liberty" among the Germans and of bringing "liberty to my fatherland".¹⁴¹ For the most part, all these different elements existed in an

¹³⁸ See the following works by Strauss: Manifestations of Discontent, 35-48, 64-88; Sixteenth-Century Germany. Its Topography and Topographers (Madison, Wisconsin, 1959); "The Course of German History: the Lutheran Interpretation" in A. Molho and J.A. Tedeschi, eds., Renaissance Studies in honor of Hans Baron (Illinois, 1971) 663-86. See also Dickens, The German Nation, 21-48; H. Van de Waal, "Nederlandse-Duitse tegenstellingen in de geschiedschrijving der Renaissance", De Gids, CXII (1949) 98-108, especially 100-105; and P. Joachimsen, "Tacitus im deutschen Humanismus" in his Gesammelte Aufsätze (Aachen, 1970) 275-95.

¹³⁹ Dickens, The German Nation, 1-48; Strauss, Manifestations of Discontent, 35-88.

¹⁴⁰ G. Strauss, Law, Resistance, and the State. The Opposition to Roman Law in Reformation Germany (New Jersey, 1986) 242. See also Dickens, The German Nation, 36.

¹⁴¹ Strauss, Manifestations of Discontent, 75-82 and S. Wheelis, "Ulrich von Hutten: Representative of Patriotic Humanism" in G. Hoffmeister, ed., The Renaissance and Reformation in Germany (New York, 1977) 111-27 and Joachimsen, "Tacitus im deutschen Humanismus", 292-95.

unorganised form. It was left to the Lutherans to create a general history of Germany which drew on all the strands of the anti-papal and patriotic tradition and provided an explanation for the fate which had overtaken Germany during the Middle Ages.¹⁴²

The Lutherans adapted the patriotic tradition to create not only an overarching interpretation of German history but also, to meet specific propaganda aims during the Schmalkaldic League War in 1546-47 and during the time of the so-called 'Conspiracy of the Princes' in 1551-52. In 1546-47, the propagandists for the League had two main aims: to legitimise the struggle against the Emperor and to attract as much support from Catholics as possible. The propagandists sought to do so by representing the cause of the League as the cause of Germany: the opposition of the Emperor was attributed to the influence of 'false counsellors' and the war was presented not so much as a struggle against Catholicism as a 'national' conflict with an alien, foreign clergy.¹⁴³ As a complement to the negative side of the propaganda, the threat from foreigners, the propagandists dwelt on the qualities of Germany and emphasised the obligations of all Germans to their "vatterland". Germany was described as "eerlich", "lieb" and "edle".¹⁴⁴ According to the author of the *Vermanung an den...Kriegsman*, each "frommen hertzhafftigen Kriegsman" should be prepared to render help "fur diss nation" in which he was born and raised, "nit weniger dann als für Vater und muter/ ya auch sein aigen leib unnd blut zusetzen".¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Strauss, "The Course of German History", passim. The Lutherans of course turned what was an anti-clerical tradition into an anti-Catholic tradition.

¹⁴³ See Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 78-81 and *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 14-27.

¹⁴⁴ Expostulation- das ist Klag und Verweiss Germanie/ des Teütschen Lands/ gegen Carolo Quinto dem Kayser...(1546; BL: 11517.d.38 (3)) B3r, B3v: "honest", "dear"; Warhaffte und gegründte meldung/ und anzeigen der geschwinden/ tuckischen bosen anschleg und practick/ so wider die Loblichen Protestirenden Stende/ und Evangeliums Einig verwanten/ durch die grossen Feind Gottes/ den Babst/ und seinem anhang/ furgenommen/ und zu jemerlichen unwiderbringlichem undergehen/ und verderben des Deutschen Lands/ erdacht seind. Item Ursach der genotigen/ und gedrungen Defension und gegenwehr...(1546; BL: 11517.ee.58) A2v: "noble".

¹⁴⁵ Vermanung an den Teütschen unnd Evangelischen Kriegsman...(1546; BL: 8079.c.19 (4)) A2r-A2v: "pious, stalwart, soldier"; "...for this nation"; "no less than for his father and mother, yes also put forward his own body and blood". See also Balthasar Guttlinger's speech to the troops in 1546 in J. Sleidan, *Chronica: das ist Warhafftige und gewisse Beschreibung/ deß Hochgelehrten herrn Johannes Sleidani/ darinn angezeigt/ was*

Who were the foreigners who, according to the League propagandists, sought to take over Germany? Chief among them was the Pope who, along with the Council of Trent, was described as the instigator of the war in the manifesto and apology issued by the leaders of the League, the Landgrave of Hessen and the Elector John Frederick of Saxony, in 1546. The leaders declared that they had issued their apology to show they were innocent of the accusations flung at them by Charles V "und das solch E. Kai. Mai. thatlich und gewaltig fürnemen un fürhaben / auss anstiftung des Antichrists zu Rom / und seins unchristlichen Concilij zu Trient / allain zu vertilgung unser waren Christlichen Religion / Gottes Worts / und seins hailigen / hailwertigen Evangelij / auch zu undertruckung der freyhait / und libertet der Teutschen Nation...".¹⁴⁶ The foreigners, though, including the Pope, were usually designated in more general fashion by the term "wahlen" or by the adjective "welschen".¹⁴⁷ These terms, and especially that of "welschen pfaffen", normally meant 'Italian' and, in particular, the Italian clergy but it also referred in a more general sense to all of the Romance peoples, so the Spanish and French were included too. Sometimes, the nationalities were specifically mentioned by name, the "Italiener" and the "Spanier" predominating.¹⁴⁸

sich Geistlichen und Weltlichen sachen under dem Großmechtigsten Keiser Carolo dem fünfften/ verlossen hab/ auff ein neues Teütschen Nation zu gut verdolmetschet...(Originally published 1555; 1557 German edition; BL: C.68.e.5) 254 and Ein gesprech des Teütschen Lands/ und der hoffnung/ dise gegenwertige kriegsleüff betreffend/...(1546; BL: 3906.dd.38) A4r.

¹⁴⁶ "...that such (charges) stem from Your Imperial Majesty's real and great design, instigated by the Anti-Christ at Rome and his unChristian council at Trent for the eradication of our true Christian religion, God's Word and his holy, worthy Gospel and also for the suppression of the freedom and liberty of the German nation..." in Der Durchleüchtigt/ un Durchleüchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten und Herren/ Herren Johans Friderichen/ Hertzogen zu Sachssen...Unnd Herren Philipsen Landgraven zu Hessen...(1546; BL: 3905.ee.109) A3v. See also Warhaffte und gegründte meldung, C1v-C2r; Guttlinger's speech in Chronica, 254; and the Expostulation, B2r-B3v.

¹⁴⁷ Examples can be found in the Expostulation, the Warhaffte und gegründte meldung, Eyn ermanung an die Keyserliche Maiestat/ dess Evangeliums halben/ inn seinen Erblendern. Darinnen auch ein trewe warnung an Unns Teutschen (1546; BL: 3905.f.60), Ursprung und ursach Gegenwertiger Uffrur/ Teütscher Nation (1546; BL: 11501.b.1) and Ain Kurtzer Bericht dess Pfaffenkriegs Den Kaiser Carl der Fünft wider Teütsche Nation und das Vaterland geführt hat...(1546; BL: 1226.a.57).

¹⁴⁸ See the Ewiger/ Gottlicher/ Allmechtiger Maiestat Declaration Wider Kaiser Carl/ König zu Hispanien etc. Und Bapst Paulum den dritten (1546; BL: 3906.f.23) E4v, F2r and Warnung. D Martini Luther/ an seine liebe Deutschen...Mit einer Vorrede Philippi

The propagandists set against the "Wahlen", whom they stigmatised as deceitful and cunning,¹⁴⁹ the image of the pure and upright German. The German people, for whom the Leaguers had also taken up arms, were variously described as "arme", "frommen", "freyen" and "edlen".¹⁵⁰ In the *Expostulation...*, Johannes Schradin stressed the great loyalty of the Germans and contrasted their behaviour with that of the priests:

"Wann hast u solchen falschen mut/
Bey meinen frommen Teutschen funden/
Haben sy nit zu allen stunden/
Trew/ und eerlich mit dir gehandelt/
Auffrecht/ warhafft allweg gewandelt/
Noch wilt u sy zu Feinden han/
Und bey dem falschen Pfaffen stan".¹⁵¹

Bound up with the myth of Germanic integrity was the notion of 'German blood', a notion which might have originated in Tacitus's *Germania*.¹⁵² In the eyes of the writer of the *Ermanung*, Charles V's actions against Germany are even more reprehensible given that he was of German blood: "Du bist vom Teutschen Blut geborn/ Vom Hertzogthumb von Osterreich".¹⁵³ The mix of the themes of

Melanchthon (T546; BL: 3905.e.61) A3r and B1v (from the foreword).

¹⁴⁹ Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 79-80 and Skinner, The foundations of modern political thought, II, 54.

¹⁵⁰ "poor" in Eyn ermanung, A3v and the Expostulation, C1v; and "pious...free...noble" in the Expostulation, B2r, B3v.

¹⁵¹ "When have you such a false heart/ Found by my pious Germans/ Have they not at all hours/ Faithfully and honourably acted with you/ Walking in all ways uprightly and truthfully/ If you want them as enemies/ then stand by the false Priests". Expostulation, A1v-B2r, quotation from B2r.

¹⁵² In the 'Germania', Tacitus described and gave support to the view that very little interbreeding had taken place between the Germans and other peoples: "For myself, I accept the view that the peoples of Germany have never contaminated themselves by intermarriage with foreigners but remain of pure blood, distinct and unlike any other nation". The Agricola and the Germania (Translation first published by H. Mattingly, 1940; revised translation published 1970: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, 1970) 104.

¹⁵³ Eyn ermanung, A4v: "You were born of German blood/ From the duchy of Austria".

'German blood' and Germanic virtue is apparent in the Landgrave's and Elector's response to the *Instrument of Proscription*, the edict accusing them of sedition and rebellion. The two leaders indignantly rejected the charge that they had been engaged in such conspiracies, stating that they were born of German blood and were, therefore, unused to such deceptions!¹⁵⁴

The League propagandists also dwelt upon the nature and the subject of the threat posed by the "Wahlen". The propagandists emphasised, in particular, the threat to 'freedom'. In the *Warhaffte und gegründte meldung*, the representatives of Germany's glorious past were told of the Emperor's threats:

"Der wolt jtzet unser Vaterland/
Gern mit gewalt under sich bringen
Uns von der alten freiheit dringen/
Sie er solt schirmen auff das best"¹⁵⁵

One of the representatives warned the author, Johannes Schradin, that the "Wahlen" held no brief for freedom and it would be better to die, "Dann alle tag in schand verdorben".¹⁵⁶ 'Freedom' in the sixteenth century, of course, meant all things to all people but in these works the sense is clear enough. What the writers were referring to was princely freedom, the liberty of the princes to strengthen control over their territories without interference from the Emperor.¹⁵⁷

The writers did not forget to point out the threat to Protestantism. The prospect of the "vertilgung unser waren Christlichen Religion/ Gottes Worts/ und seins hailigen/ hailwertigen Evangelij..." was given by the League leaders as one

¹⁵⁴ *Chronica*, 269.

¹⁵⁵ "He would gladly take control of our fatherland through force And drive from us our old Freedom which he ought to protect for our good".

¹⁵⁶ "Than to go to ruin everyday in shame": *Warhaffte und gegründte meldung*, A3v and A4v.

¹⁵⁷ See E. Hühns, "'Nationale' Propaganda im Schmalkaldischen Krieg", *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, 5 (1958) 1027-48, 1035. On different notions of freedom see Strauss, *Law, Resistance, and the State*, 115-26.

of the main reasons for their action.¹⁵⁸ This religious element was picked up by most of the writers sympathetic to the League. The authors of both the *Vermanung an den Teütschen unnd Evangelischen Kriegsman* and *ain Kurtzer Bericht dess Pfaffenkrieg* declared that the papists had long sought to suppress the Holy Gospel and evangelical truth and subject them to the tyranny of the Roman priests.¹⁵⁹

Although Charles V's actions were normally explained away by reference to the influence of foreign priests, more direct criticism of the Emperor and the Habsburgs generally, did appear in 1547-48. The author of the *Ursprung und ursach Gegenwertiger Uffrur/ Teutscher Nation* admonished his readers for not paying attention to the Habsburg motto: "Wilt u das welsch nit leeren/ Plus Ultra zu verstan".¹⁶⁰ In *Ein gesprech des Teutschen Lands*, the writer stated that it was clear to everyone that the foremost lord of the world was determined "sein muter das Teütschland/ inn ellende dienstbarkeit zu bringen". This tyranny, argued the writer, would affect everyone because Charles approached religion only in the light of whether or not it would be useful to his tyranny.¹⁶¹

With the exception of the warnings about Habsburg expansionism, the only significantly new element in the Schmalkaldic propaganda of 1546-47 was the anti-Spanish element. Up until the 1520s and 1530s, German animus was concentrated on the Italians and French because the Spanish had few direct relations with Germany. On the rare occasions when the Spanish were mentioned, it was usually in a favourable light because of their crusading inclinations and their frequently hostile relations with France. This perception of the Spanish changed in the early decades of the Reformation as Protestantism spread in Germany and as Spanish influence at the Habsburg court grew. According to one study, whatever sympathy the Spanish might have enjoyed before 1545, disappeared during the Schmalkaldic League War. Henceforth, the Spanish were to feature

¹⁵⁸ "The destruction of our true Christian Religion/ God's Word/ and his holy/ saving Gospel". *Der Durchleüchtigst*, A3v.

¹⁵⁹ *Vermanung*, A2r-A2v; *Ain Kurtzer Bericht*, A2r-A2v.

¹⁶⁰ *Ursprung*, A2v-A3r: "Will you not learn Latin in order to understand 'Plus Ultra'?". See G.L. Pinette, "Die Spanier und Spanien im Urteil des deutschen Volkes zur Zeit der Reformation", *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte*, 48 (1957) 182-91, 186.

¹⁶¹ *Ein gesprech*, A3v-A4r: "...to reduce his mother Germany to piteous servitude".

strongly in German 'patriotic' propaganda as enemies of the country.¹⁶²

In 1546-47 the Spanish were ascribed with a number of characteristics. The assertion that the Spanish were cunning and false was repeated a number of times, an assertion which harked back to the old theme of Italian cunning and deceitfulness in the anti-papal tradition. In addition, the propagandists levelled the charges of pride, mendacity, megalomania and sexual perversion at the Spanish. In Italian works, the charge of mendacity had already appeared but the Italian writers had accused only Spanish merchants of lying; the Germans extended this attribute to the whole of the nation.¹⁶³

Comparison between the writings of 1546-47 and those of 1551-55 reveals a significant shift in the propaganda. Like their counterparts in 1546-47, the propagandists of 1551-52 chose to draw upon the store of patriotic myths which had been built up over the preceding centuries but they emphasised a different element. Unlike the writers of the Schmalkaldic League War, the leading German participants in the 'Conspiracy of the Princes', Maurice of Saxony and Albert of Brandenburg, played down religious motives. Concern about the possible destruction of the Lutheran faith was listed by Maurice of Saxony in his 1552 *Declaration to the States of the Empire* as one of the three causes of the war but he does not appear to have attached great weight to this aspect of the conflict.¹⁶⁴ Instead, like the other leaders, he placed the stress upon what were called "German liberties".

There are plenty of examples of this concern for "liberties" in the works of 1551-52. In May 1551 the north German princes who banded together to form the League of Torgau declared that as well as securing the release of the Landgrave of Hessen, their aim was to protect princely liberty against the "bestly, insufferable and everlasting servitude, as [it is practised] in Spain" which they accused Charles V of intending to impose upon them. The Treaty of Chambord in January 1552 concluded between the French king and the German conspirators, picked up on this fear; it stated that the Germans "de tomber de leur ancienne franchise et liberté en une bestiale, insupportable et perpétuelle servitude

¹⁶² Pinette, "Die Spanier", 182-84.

¹⁶³ Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 21-24.

¹⁶⁴ *Chronica*, 375-77.

comme il a été fait en Espagne et ailleurs".¹⁶⁵ The league established by the Treaty of Chambord quickly adopted symbols for this new Franco-German alliance. The French propagandists heralded Henry II as the protector of German Liberties and praised the union of the Franks and Germans who shared, they emphasised, a common origin. Together the Franks and Germans would strive against the Spanish oppressors. The emblem for the League was the Roman republican bonnet with the device "pro patria".¹⁶⁶ Henry II, in his Declaration to the princes and estates of the Empire explaining why he had taken up arms against Charles V, claimed that he had received complaints from many Electors, princes and other people of the "teutscher Nation":

"dass sie mit untraglicher Tyrannei und servitut von dem Keyser würden vertruckt/ und in ewige dienstbarkeit und verderben...geführt wurden".

They further understood that such a change,

"auss der Freiheit/ in eyne ewige dienstbarkeit/ nicht konte oder mochte geschehen/ one merckliche zerruttung unnd entlichs verderben/ der gantzen Teutschen Nation unnd des Heyligen Reichs".¹⁶⁷

Maurice of Saxony, in his *Declaration*, referred to the lamentable condition of the

¹⁶⁵ "[have] fallen from their ancient freedom and liberty into a bestial, insupportable and perpetual servitude as has happened in Spain and elsewhere." I. Cloulas, *Henri II* (Paris, 1985) 308.

¹⁶⁶ Cloulas, *Henri II*, 309; V. Bibl, *Maximilian II. Der Rätselhafte Kaiser* (Hellerau bei Dresden: Avalun, 1929) 61; and *Chronica*, 378-79 and 386. The republican hat appeared again at the head of Henry's *Sendschriefften...*, mentioned in the following footnote. On this occasion, the hat appeared with the device "Libertas".

¹⁶⁷ "...that they would be oppressed with unbearable tyranny and servitude by the Emperor and would be led into eternal slavery and ruin..."; "...from Freedom into eternal slavery could not or should not happen without the considerable destruction and ruin of the whole German nation and the Holy Empire". *Sendschriefften der Koniglichenn Maiestat zu Franckreich/ rc. An die Chur und Fursten/ Stende und Stett des Heyligen Romischen Reichs Teutscher Nation/ darinn sie sich irer jetzigen Kriegrustung halben uffs Kurtzest erclert* (1552; BL: 10902.h4.(1)) A2v-A3r. See also, Cloulas, *Henri II*, 315.

country, the introduction of foreign soldiers into the Empire, the attacks upon the ancient Liberty and the "alten hergebrachten Freyhait", ("old, traditional Freedom") and the exclusion of friendly ambassadors from the Diets of the Empire. Unless action was taken soon, everybody would be subjected to a foul and ignominious servitude, "schnode unnd schmahliche dienstbarkeit" and posterity would have just cause to condemn the cowardice of the age.¹⁶⁸

The rhetoric about 'liberties' and 'perpetual servitude' was a reflection of German and French fears about the growth of Habsburg power in the aftermath of Mühlberg. Despite German disquiet, Charles had separated the Low Countries from the jurisdiction of the Empire in the 1548 Transaction of Augsburg. He then ensured that control of the Netherlands would pass to his son Philip, much to the chagrin of Charles's nephew, Maximilian. German princes were most alarmed, though, by the news of Charles V's plan to have Philip proclaimed as King of the Romans instead of Maximilian, when Ferdinand became emperor. Such a proposal challenged the constitutional rights of the princes and especially those of the Electors because if the Habsburgs could decide upon the succession to the imperial throne without the agreement or even knowledge of the Electors, then the Electors would lose their principal function. Furthermore, with Philip of Spain as emperor, the Holy Roman Empire would become part of an empire centred on Spain. Hence the rhetoric about German liberties, which in this instance meant the liberty of the Electors to choose the King of the Romans and Emperor but also of all the princes to rule as they wished in their dominions. When the German princes took up arms they believed that they represented the German nation; that is, the corporate rights of the German Nation.

As is well known, Charles's proposal also soured relations between the Austrian and Burgundian sides of the family. Although Ferdinand and Maximilian never openly broke with Charles and Philip their attitude in 1551-52 was ambivalent. There is no evidence that Maximilian conspired with Maurice and Albrecht in 1551-52 but their aims were similar. Maximilian even stated in 1553 that if Charles had been caught at Innsbruck then it would have been a just conclusion to the affair. In contrast to Philip, Maximilian appears to have been the more popular candidate in the Empire. The English ambassador at the emperor's court claimed in 1552 that the Germans wanted Maximilian for an emperor while

¹⁶⁸ Chronica, 375-77.

the Flemish wanted him as Count.¹⁶⁹ The Succession plan also led to the emergence in 1548-51 of a reversionary interest in Ferdinand's court. Headed by Ulrich Zasius, a member of the Habsburg privy council, the purpose of this group was to build a pro-Ferdinand party in Germany. The faction campaigned principally against Prince Philip and the emperor's trusted adviser, the Bishop of Arras, Anthoine Perrenot. In letters to Maximilian and Ferdinand, Zasius denounced the "Arrasische und spanische Regiment" ("the Arras and Spanish government").¹⁷⁰

Perrenot was able to act as an effective focus of discontent because of his part in the imprisonment of the Elector John Frederick and the Landgrave Philip of Hesse and also because of the part he played in Charles V's government. The fact that he was not German enabled his opponents to play the anti-foreigner card.¹⁷¹ The anti-foreigner line featured strongly in the declarations and speeches of 1552, as each of the participants in the league against Charles V denounced the influence of 'foreign' counsellors, thus focussing their attacks upon Charles' advisers rather than the emperor himself.¹⁷² In his declaration, Albrecht of Brandenburg claimed "das die Freyhait Teütscher Nation/ eben vonn den jhenigen/ die sie auss schuldiger pflicht sollten mehren unnd handthaben/ undergetrucket werde" and that the imperial seal had fallen into the hands of foreigners.¹⁷³ Maurice began also with the grievance that the Empire "so in sonderer freyhait stehn solte/ von ausslendischen regiert",¹⁷⁴ while Henry II asserted that Charles had placed his creatures in the "Judicature of the Imperial

¹⁶⁹ Bibl, Maximilian II, 53-55 and 61-63.

¹⁷⁰ P.S. Fichtner, Ferdinand I of Austria: The Politics of Dynasticism in the Age of the Reformation (New York, 1982) 175-76 and M. Van Durme, Antoon Perrenot Bisschop van Atrecht, Kardinaal van Granvelle, Minister van Karel V en Filips II (1517-1586) (Brussels, 1953) 93.

¹⁷¹ Van Durme, Antoon Perrenot, 56-57.

¹⁷² Van Durme, Antoon Perrenot, 91-93.

¹⁷³ Chronica, 377: "that the Freedom of the German Nation was oppressed by the very people who, by their office, ought to maintain and enlarge the same".

¹⁷⁴ Chronica, 385: "that the Empire, which ought to be free, was in the hands of Strangers;...".

Chamber and Diet of the Empire".¹⁷⁵ Brandenburg further claimed, in a reference to Granvelle,

"dass alle rathschleg zum meisten theil/ schier noch eines Manns/
der weder vom Adel noch von Geburt ein Teütscher/ oder dem
Reich verwandt/ gefallen müssen/ gericht werden/ nicht ohn
merckliche schand und schaden aller Teütschen".¹⁷⁶

In summary, it appears that in both 1546-47 and 1551-52, evangelical propagandists represented their cause as a national struggle against foreign powers intent upon enslaving Germany. The aim of the propagandists in both conflicts was to attract support from German Catholics as well as German Protestants and to legitimate their struggle against the emperor. Although a patriotic note was common to the Protestant propaganda from both periods, there were a number of features in the later works which were significantly different from the Schmalkaldic propaganda. There was a greater emphasis on Germanic 'Liberty' as well as several references to the malign influence of Antoon Perrenot, the bishop of Arras, who was stigmatised as foreign and low born. Like their German counterparts, French propagandists in 1551-52 also resorted to the use of patriotic propaganda but drew instead directly from classical sources. Furthermore, by 1551-52 German princes and propagandists appear to have become much more conscious of the growth of Spanish power in Europe. There are no references, so far as we know, to the Italians or "Wahlen" in either the speeches or comments of 1551-52 but there are plenty of indications from the early 1550s that anti-Spanish sentiment had grown. This was, undoubtedly, mainly a consequence of the Succession plan, though the continued presence of Spanish troops in the Empire would have contributed to such sentiments. The rift between the two branches of the Habsburg family also made it possible to distinguish between the more Spanish and the more Germanic Habsburgs.

¹⁷⁵ Chronica, 378-79.

¹⁷⁶ "that all discussions were dependent on one man who was neither a nobleman nor a German by birth nor even a member of the Empire, a circumstance of great shame and injury for all Germans". Chronica, 377. The reference to a gentleman may be accounted for by the fact that Antoine Perrenot was the grandson of a blacksmith.

ii) France

Like the Schmalkaldic propagandists, the main aim of French Protestant writers in the 1560s was to legitimise their struggle and to attract support from as many quarters as possible.¹⁷⁷ To do this, they adopted a similar approach to that used by their German counterparts in the 1540s and early 1550s, representing their cause as a national rather than a religious struggle. This approach was evident as early as 1560 in the aftermath of the so-called Conspiracy of Amboise. During this period, the Protestant propagandists were concerned, above all, to refute the charges of treason and sedition. To this end, they argued that the Protestant conspirators were good and faithful subjects who sought only to save the king from the evil designs of the Guise family. As a result of his youthfulness, the king was unaware of the extent to which the Guise controlled the court and tyrannised the kingdom. Although the conspirators had all died, the conspiracy had succeeded in revealing the machinations of the Guise. Now everybody knew that the Guise's plans "tendent à la ruine et extermination de toute la nation Françoise, si Dieu ny obvie."¹⁷⁸

The main themes here are clear. The propagandists juxtaposed the Huguenots, whom they represented as good, true Frenchmen and the Guisards, whom they painted as foreign usurpers. As the Guise, fulfilling here the role of false counsellors, were bent first, on subverting the political order and second, on destroying the French nation, the Huguenots had been compelled to take up arms. They took up arms, thus, as loyal Frenchmen and on behalf of the king and the kingdom. First outlined in 1560, these themes were to form the substance of Huguenot propaganda until the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's Day in August

¹⁷⁷ Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 84-87 and Een naturelicke vijantschap, 38-48; Kelley, The Beginning of Ideology, 253-336; M. Yardeni, La Conscience Nationale en France, pendant les Guerres de Religion (1559-1598) (Paris, 1971); De Vrankrijker, De motiveering van onzen Opstand, 67-78; and Skinner, The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, II, 239-301.

¹⁷⁸ "would lead to the ruin and extermination of all the French nation, if God does not intervene". Yardeni, La Conscience Nationale, 123-27, quotation on 127.

1572.¹⁷⁹

The Guise featured as the main villains in Huguenot propaganda in this and subsequent periods because of their predominance in court and their militant Catholicism but they were by no means the only group to be given the role of 'false counsellors'. Catherine de Medici's prominence at court from the early 1560s impelled the Huguenots to cast the Italians in the role of national enemy. According to the Huguenots, France was in danger from the deceit, lechery, ambition and "machiavellianism" of the Italians.¹⁸⁰ As was the case in Germany, this 'national' propaganda was able to draw upon already existing national antagonisms. The campaign in France to purify the French language and to elevate French so that it would be recognised as the equal of any other language was motivated in part by antagonism between French and Italian humanists.¹⁸¹ By concentrating on the Italians, the Huguenots could also strengthen their 'national' propaganda by representing Catholicism as something alien to France, as a feature of Italy. The contrast between the French and the Italians was also hammered home by the stress on the 'Frankish' nature of the French: the Germanic-Romance divide thus appeared in another guise.¹⁸²

As well as the Italians, the Spanish also featured in Huguenot propaganda. Although the role of the Spanish in Huguenot propaganda was very much subordinate to that of the Italians until the 1580s, the rudiments of a French Black Legend can be discerned already in the 1560s.¹⁸³ The Huguenots focussed upon Philip II because of the support which he accorded to the Guise and because of his interference in French affairs. Philip's actions enabled the Huguenots to

¹⁷⁹ Yardeni, La Conscience Nationale, 121-40; Kelley, The Beginning of Ideology, 253-87.

¹⁸⁰ M. Yardeni, "Antagonismes nationaux et propaganda durant les guerres de religion", Revue Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, 13 (1966) 273-84, 274-77; Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 84-85; and Pollmann, Een naturlijke vijantschap, 38-41.

¹⁸¹ L. Van den Branden, Het streven naar de verheerlijking, zuivering en opbouw van het Nederlands in de 16de eeuw (Ghent, 1956) 236-59.

¹⁸² Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 85. The common 'Germanic' bond between the French (Franks) and the Germans had already been stressed in 1552. See Sleidan, Chronica, 378-79 and 386-87 and also the Sendschriefften, A2v.

¹⁸³ Yardeni, "Antagonismes nationaux...", 277-80. Yardeni emphasises the explosion of anti-Spanish sentiment after 1585.

emphasise the 'national' side of their struggle even more by stressing 'foreign' interference and the terrible consequences of Philip's ambition. It was Philip's desire for power rather than his religion which was the issue at stake. The Protestant propagandists were able to avoid direct criticism of Catholicism by describing Philip's religion as the religion of Saracens and Marranos, thus picking up on an older stereotype of the Spanish. As elsewhere, the propagandists extended their criticism to all the Spanish, describing them as corrupt and arrogant.¹⁸⁴

The national element was also an important part of *politique* propaganda. The *politiques* were for the most part moderate Catholics who acknowledged the superiority, as they saw it, of a state united in one faith, but argued that the attempt to re-establish such a state by force would be more disastrous than permitting a degree of toleration. As justification for this point of view, some emphasised a 'national' approach, stressing the common 'national' ties of French Catholics and French Protestants and the consequences for the 'patrie' should the country be engulfed in civil war. In the early 1560s, this approach was taken by the government itself and expressed in the speeches of the Chancellor of France, Michel de l'Hôpital.¹⁸⁵

An example of this *politique* approach was the *Conseil a la France desolée* produced in 1562 by Sébastien Castellio.¹⁸⁶ Structuring his piece in the form of a medical examination, Castellio first identified the illness which afflicted France as a bitter civil war, a war horrible in nature "car ce ne sont pas estrangers qui te guerrayent" as before, but France's own children:

"Tu entens bien ô jadis florissante, & maintenant tempestée France,
ce que ie dy. Tu sens bien les coups & playes que tu recois, ce
pendant que tes enfans s'entretuent si cruellement: tu vois bien que
tes villes & villages, voires tes chemins & champs, sont couvers de

¹⁸⁴ Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 85-87 and Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 41-42.

¹⁸⁵ Yardeni, *La Conscience Nationale*, 77-97 and Skinner, *The foundations of modern political thought*, II, 249-52.

¹⁸⁶ *Conseil a la France desolée* (BL: 901.a.6.(4); 1562). See Yardeni, *La Conscience Nationale*, 87-88 and F. Buisson, *Sébastien Castellion. Sa vie et son oeuvre (1515-1563)*, 2 Volumes (Originally published 1892; reprint edition: Nieuwkoop, 1964) II, 225-42.

corps mors, tes rivières en rougissent, & l'air en est puant & infect...Voilà ton mal, ô France, voilà la maladie qui sans respit, ne relâche jour & nuit te tourmente".

Castellion criticised both the Huguenots and the Catholics for their response to the illness and firmly rejected the view that the only remedies were warfare to the death or foreign help. The true cure for this illness, Castellió contended, was for both parties to accept a co-existence of faiths. Such a remedy was not commanded by God but also provided the only way of preventing the destruction of France.¹⁸⁷ The patriotic propaganda in France had, therefore, two main sources: the Huguenot works, which also incorporated an anti-Spanish element; and *politique* propaganda, which stressed religious toleration.

Part Four: The Development of Rebel Propaganda 1559-1568

(a) 1559-1565

Accounts of the years from 1559 to 1567, the so-called *voorspel* ("prelude") usually begin with and, sometimes, concentrate exclusively on events within the Low Countries. This is not an approach that contemporaries would necessarily have taken. For, as opponents of Philip II's religious policy argued many times, the Netherlands was not a world unto itself, independent of and isolated from, the strife and ideas of surrounding lands. What took place in the Netherlands, could not but be influenced by developments outside its borders. This was especially true after April 1559, when Henry II of France and Philip II of Spain put an end to

¹⁸⁷ "because it is not foreigners who wage war against you...You understand well O formerly flourishing and now ravaged France, what it is I am saying. You are well aware of the blows and plagues which you receive while your children are looked after so cruelly; you see clearly your towns and villages, [you] see your roads and fields covered by dead bodies, your reddening rivers and the stinking and infected air...There is your pain, O France, there is your illness which, without rest or respite, torments you day and night." Conseil, 3-4 and Skinner, The foundations of modern political thought, II, 250.

the long series of conflicts now known as the Italian Wars. The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis inaugurated what is now thought of as the 'Confessional Age', when a new and potent source of allegiance was added to the already complex mesh of loyalties to which people were subject in the sixteenth century. The significance of the confessional loyalties is that they cut across, to a greater extent than other sources of allegiance, 'national' lines, a point made by Michel de L'Hôpital, the Chancellor of France at a meeting of the Estates General in 1560: we "voyons que deux François et Anglois qui sont d'une mesme religion ont plus d'affection et d'amitié entre eux que deux citoyens d'une mesme ville, subjects à une même seigneur, qui seroyent de diverses religions".¹⁸⁸ The effects of the confessionalisation of European politics were manifold. Not only did it encourage members of one confession to seek out alliances with their co-religionists in other countries, but it also created problems and opportunities for those who were largely indifferent to the religious questions pressing upon their contemporaries. Furthermore, confessionalisation made men more aware of developments taking place in other countries: the foreigner, to whose fate the people of neighbouring lands had previously been indifferent, now became "the afflicted co-religionist".

The effects of the confessionalisation of European politics were apparent in German Lutheran propaganda even before 1559: Sleidan's *Chronica*, for example, published in 1555, was punctuated with references to the fate of the Gospel throughout Europe.¹⁸⁹ Lutheran concern for the well-being of their co-religionists outside Germany was particularly evident, though, in the case of the Netherlands. In the mid-1540s, propagandists for the Schmalkaldic League began to use developments within the Low Countries to strengthen their cause. The destruction of the powder magazine at Mechelen in August 1546, a magazine containing munitions intended for use against the League, was seen by many evangelical pamphlet writers as a favourable omen for the League.¹⁹⁰ The 1546 *Ewiger*:

¹⁸⁸ "[We] see that two French and English men who are of the same religion have more affection and friendship between themselves than two citizens of the same town, who are subjects of the same lord but are of different religion." Hoffmann, The French Huguenots and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 5.

¹⁸⁹ Sleidan, *Chronica*, passim.

¹⁹⁰ A.C. Duke, "The Spectre of the Spanish Inquisition in Northern Europe, 1546-1550: some German Evangelical Pamphlets with Low Countries' Associations", (Unpublished typescript, 1989) 1-20, 1-4. Duke also discusses other examples of German evangelical

Gottlicher / Almechtiger Maiestat Declaration refers to the persecution, "in gantz Deutschland ruchtig", ("notorious throughout Germany"), of many innocents, "im Niderland / der rechten Gottlichen Lere halben vergossen / unter dem schein / als were sie Widerteuffer / auffrurer und dergleichen...".¹⁹¹ The Justification produced by the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hessen, claimed that the persecution of the "armen Christen" in the Low Countries was the prelude to an assault on Germany:

"Sich auch wider uns / und unsere ainungs verwandten / in disen gewalt baren / unbillichen handlungen / zu verfolgungen unnd durch achtungen Gotlichs worts und warhait / wie dann nit vergebens inn den Niderlanden / mit grawsamer beschwarung und todtung der armen Christen / der anfang gemacht / und darnach die Teutschen Nation / in ain servitude und dienstbarkeit zudringen angefangen nit bewegen lassen".¹⁹²

The author of a 'zeitung', supposedly sent from Antwerp in July 1546, argued that the fate of Christians in the Low Countries was dependent upon the outcome of the war between the League and Charles V: if Charles won the war, then the *Sancta Inquisitio Hispanica* ("the Holy Inquisition of Spain") would be introduced into the Netherlands.¹⁹³ German interest in the Low Countries continued after 1547, as is evident in the pamphlets produced in the mid-1550s concerning the

interest in the Low countries during the period 1546-1550. See also R. Foncke, *Die Explosion den Melchener Sandtoren (1546) in Flugschriften der damaligen Zeit* (Antwerp, 1932).

¹⁹¹ *Ewiger* E3r: "...in the Netherlands who have shed blood on behalf of the true Godly teaching, as if they were Anabaptists, rabble rousers and such like...". This may have been a reference to the execution of two women from Overijssel in November 1544. The women were said to have been Anabaptists. German songs describing these deaths were produced in 1545-46. See Duke, *"The Spectre"*, 3-5.

¹⁹² *Der Durchleüchtigt...*, C4v-D1r: They refer to their enemies "who have made a beginning in the Netherlands with the horrible execution of the poor Christians and afterwards shall force the German nation into servitude and slavery".

¹⁹³ Duke, *"The Spectre"*, 5. The reports were probably occasioned by the reform of the Inquisition in the Netherlands in 1546.

trial and execution of two Netherlandish Lutherans at Mechelen.¹⁹⁴

The treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis and the advent of the troubles in France added another dimension to Lutheran interest in developments abroad. From as early as 1560, rumours had spread among Protestant forces of a Catholic League which, composed of princes and estates from different countries, was intent upon destroying Protestantism. German fears about such a league and developments in the Low Countries were picked up by both Egmont and Orange, who relayed the rumours back to Brussels and Madrid; Egmont was given the task of dispelling these rumours.¹⁹⁵ Some of the rumours specifically concerned the Low Countries. One report, dated 29th August 1560, stated that a rumour was going round that the Spanish intended to use the troops which they then had garrisoned in the Low Countries, to keep the Netherlands enslaved and defenceless so as later to overcome Germany:

"Pensentz que toutz les desseings et pretensions des hispaignolz etendent a ce, pour premierement mettre les Pays-Bas en perpetuelle servitude, et les rendre inermes, par les continuelles garnisons, affin quilz ne peullent faire aultre chose et puis aprez de semblent oprimer la Germanie, et enfin lon ne leur peult oster de la teste telle suspicion quoy que lon leur en dise".¹⁹⁶

¹⁹⁴ R. Foncke, Duitse Vlugschriften van de tijd over het proces en de terechtstelling van de Protestanten Frans en Nikolaas Thys te Mechelen (1555) (The Hague/ Antwerp/ Paris, 1937).

¹⁹⁵ Egmont told Hornes in a letter of 8th July 1560 "que iay trouve que le Roy nostre maistre ha si peu de serviteurs et amys en Allemagne, et les françois en font toutz les iourz davantage, ilz font tout leur mieulx verz les allemans, pour nous faire encores piz avecq eulx, leurs fais ont entandre beaulcoup de bourdes" in P.B. De Troeyer, Lamoraal van Egmont. Een critische studie over zijn rol in de jaren 1559-1564 in verband met het schuldvragestuk (Brussels, 1961) 49-50. These rumours were also reported by William of Orange and Lazarus Schwendi: Gachard, Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, I, 465-68 (Orange to Margaret of Parma, 30th November 1560) and II, 376-77 (Schwendi to Margaret of Parma, 13th September 1561). See also Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 190-91 and N.M. Sutherland, "William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands: A Missing Dimension" in N.M. Sutherland, Princes, Politics and Religion, 1547-1589 (London, 1984) 207-36, 211-12.

¹⁹⁶ "Thinking that all the plans and pretensions of the Spanish tend to the following. First, to put the Low Countries into perpetual servitude and, by permanent garrisons, render them passive until they end up being unable to anything and, after that, in like manner, oppress Germany. One could not rid them of this suspicion which they spread among themselves." De Troeyer, Lamoraal van Egmont, 50. (Letter dated 29th August

Even after the Spanish troops had left the Low Countries in January 1561, references to German fears about Catholic leagues recur in the correspondence. Elector Augustus of Saxony, in a letter to Orange dated 23rd November 1561, wrote about the King of Spain, the Inquisition and the threat to Lutheranism as well as about Catholic alliances involving the Guise.¹⁹⁷ Philip II's decision in the spring of 1562 to send help to French Catholics revived German concern. It was even reported in both 1562 and 1563 that some German princes were so determined to ensure that aid was not sent over the border that they were prepared to invade Brabant.¹⁹⁸ In 1563, the events in the Netherlands reminded some German princes of Charles V's actions in the Empire. William of Hessen wrote that: "Es mag sich die Königliche Majestät zu Hispanien wohl vorschen, dass Ihr der Kardinal in ihren Erblanden nich ein gleiches Spiel anrichten, wie vordem Ihrem Vater, Kaiser Karl seligen Andenkens, im Reiche".¹⁹⁹

The confessionalisation of west European politics not only caused rulers to take a greater interest in affairs outside their realms but also placed many individuals under great pressure as they were caught between competing demands. William of Orange was a prime example of such an individual who, principally through the force of circumstances, came to adopt an ambivalent and strained position in Netherlandish politics. The story of Orange's re-alignment to Germany from the later 1550s was set out as early as 1906-07 by Felix Rachfahl and, more recently, has been outlined by Georg Schmidt.²⁰⁰ This re-alignment, which took place only gradually, was facilitated by a number of developments, the first of which was the resolution of the Catzenelnbogen dispute on 30th June

1560)

¹⁹⁷ K.E. Demandt, "Nassau-oranische Korrespondenzen, 1553-1570", Hessisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte, 38 (1988) 78 (Number 115).

¹⁹⁸ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 197-201 and 204-05; Demandt, "Nassau-oranische Korrespondenzen...", 87 (Number 148); and Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, I, 155-56.

¹⁹⁹ "The King of Spain ought to ensure that the Cardinal doesn't get up to the same tricks in his hereditary lands as before him, Emperor Charles, may he rest in peace, in the Empire". Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 319.

²⁰⁰ G. Schmidt, "Des Prinzen Vaterland? Wilhelm I von Oranien (1533-1584) zwischen Reich, Deutscher Nation und den Niederlanden" in R. Melville et al, eds., Deutschland und Europa in der Neuzeit. Festschrift für Karl Otmar Freiherr von Aretin zum 65 Geburtstag (Stuttgart, 1988) 223-39.

1557. The dispute had bedevilled relations between the House of Nassau and the two leading Protestant Princes of the Empire, the Landgrave of Hessen and the Elector of Saxony, for some years and had been one of the main ties binding the House of Nassau to the Habsburgs. The resolution of the dispute in 1557, though not greatly to the favour of Orange, made it possible for closer ties to develop between Orange and the Protestant princes.²⁰¹ Next, in 1559, Orange's father, William the Rich, died leaving Orange as the head of the family. Even though Orange took no part in the government of Nassau, and remained very much a Netherlandish lord, he was still largely responsible for the welfare of his house and did not neglect the German interests of his family.²⁰²

The final, and perhaps most important, step was Orange's marriage in August 1561 to Anna of Saxony. As the daughter of Maurice of Saxony, the German prince who had forced Charles V to flee to Villach, and ward of the two leading German Evangelical princes, Anna was not the bride whom Philip II, Granvelle and Margaret of Parma would have wished for Orange. To satisfy their concerns about the effects of the marriage on his religious position, Orange had to give assurances of his fidelity to the Catholic faith and of his wife's attendance at Mass. To defend his choice, Orange was also compelled to emphasise his German roots. It was in the spring of 1560, during a discussion between Margaret of Parma, Granvelle and Orange about the marriage that Orange gave his first known reminder that he was, after all, of German blood and that even if his possessions were in the Netherlands, his house was still German.²⁰³ Two and a half years later, in different circumstances, Orange repeated this statement.²⁰⁴

²⁰¹ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, I, 203-06; G. Schmidt, "Die Lösung des Katzenelnbogischen Erbfolgestreits-Ausdruck der Wiederherstellung Traditioneller Verfassungsverhältnisse im Reich", Archiv für Hessische Geschichte und Altertums-Kunde, Neue Folge, 42 (1984) 9-72, 55; and Schmidt, "Des Prinzen Vaterland?", 228-29.

²⁰² Schmidt, "Des Prinzen Vaterland?", 230-31; Press, "Wilhelm von Oranien, die deutschen Reichsstände und der niederländische Aufstand", 681-82; and Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, I, 236-38.

²⁰³ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 96-97.

²⁰⁴ Letter of Margaret of Parma to Philip II, dated 21st November 1562 in M. Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas, I (Brussels, 1848) 228.

Before August 1561, and in spite of numerous stays in Germany,²⁰⁵ Orange was still regarded with some suspicion by German evangelical princes. His marriage to Anna of Saxony was supported only by the Elector of Saxony; the Landgrave Philip of Hessen, in company with the Elector Palatine, Palatine Count Wolfgang and Duke Christian of Württemberg, opposed the match.²⁰⁶ After the marriage, Orange's ties to Saxony and to Hessen grew stronger and Orange began passing on information and seeking their advice on difficult matters.²⁰⁷ What is significant about Orange's re-alignment in the early 1560s is that during this period he became acquainted with the German evangelical attitude to Philip II, the Spanish and the Low Countries.

German concern about matters in the Low Countries and about possible Catholic leagues was undoubtedly provoked in large part by events in France. After the death of Henry II in 1559, the French Crown had at best only an uncertain authority as at first one minor and then another became king. As a result the Crown was unable to control either the struggle for power between the powerful noble houses of the Guise, Montmorency and Bourbon or to prevent the rapid growth of Protestantism in 1559-62. The resulting tensions led to the outbreak of the First War of Religion in 1562. The willingness of both French Catholics and French Protestants before, during and after the war, to look outside France for assistance was probably the main cause of the heightened tensions in Western Europe in the early 1560s.²⁰⁸

The country which was most at risk of being drawn into the conflict in France was the Netherlands. The growth of Reformed Protestantism in the southern Netherlands and noble discontent with the state of affairs in the Low Countries, encouraged the Huguenots to take an active interest in developments in the Netherlands. It was in the interests of the Huguenots, especially after 1562 when the wave of conversions to Protestantism in France subsided, to extend the

²⁰⁵ Schmidt, "Des Prinzen Vaterland?", 229-32 and Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, I, 218-21, 223-24 and 235-38.

²⁰⁶ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 98-100, 102-03, 106-09 and 112-13.

²⁰⁷ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 360-63, 371.

²⁰⁸ See the following by N.M. Sutherland, The Massacre of St.Bartholomew and the European Conflict 1559-1572 (London, 1973) 1-19 and "William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands", 212-13.

war front by allying with forces in the Low Countries. Such an alliance would relieve the pressure on the hard-pressed Reformed communities in northern France and offset the influence of Philip II. The evidence for Huguenot involvement in Netherlandish affairs in the early to mid-1560s is not as substantial as that for the period 1566-68 but it does suggest that the Huguenots took at least an interest in the Low Countries. Certainly Huguenot writers referred to the possibility of giving aid to their brethren to the north. "Ceux du Pays-bas", claimed the author of a pamphlet produced in early 1561, "sont très-mal-content du Roy Philippes, pource qu'ils sont cruellement persécutez, meurdri, & tourmentez pour la Religion & tendent les bras aux François, pour les secourir & recevoir en protection...de façon que s'ils ne sont retenus par la force, ils seront pour nous".²⁰⁹ Information about developments in France was passed on to the Netherlandish nobility, probably through the family ties which existed between members of the nobility in both countries.²¹⁰ Moreover, Huguenot works, of both a religious and political nature, also circulated among the Reformed communities in the southern Netherlands as is evident from the popularity of Clement Marot's translation of the psalms and the appearance of many French works among the Protestant books and pamphlets found in the lodgings of a man arrested in Valenciennes in December 1561.²¹¹

In the event, neither the Huguenots nor Philip II succeeded in persuading the Netherlanders to participate in the conflict of 1562-63. There was a natural reluctance on the part of the Netherlandish nobility and estates to get involved in another conflict so soon after peace had been reached in 1559. The Netherlandish refusal to send aid to the French Catholics though should not necessarily be taken

²⁰⁹ "Those of the Low Countries are very unhappy with King Philip, because they have been cruelly persecuted, murdered and tormented for the Religion and hold out their arms to the French, to help them and take them into protection....such that if they were not restrained by force, they would be for us." Agrippa d'Aubigné wrote in the same period, "O François, & Flamands, car je ne fay de vous / Qu'un peuple, qu'une humeur, peuples benins et doux,". Hoffman, The French Huguenots and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 44-45.

²¹⁰ The Huguenots were aware of the Treaty of the Triumvirate, concluded in April 1561, and passed on information about this to the Netherlanders. The Huguenot leader Coligny was a cousin of the leading Netherlandish noblemen Hornes and Montigny. N.M. Sutherland, "William of Orange and the revolt of the Netherlands", 213-14.

²¹¹ Hoffmann, The French Huguenots, 36-40; and G. Moreau, "Un colporteur calviniste en 1563", Bulletin de la Société d'Histoire du Protestantisme Française, 118 (1972) 1-31.

as a mark of sympathy for the Huguenots. Certainly, the Netherlandish nobility had no wish to participate in a Catholic crusade, especially if it entailed fighting against their relatives. There is, however, little indication of any Reformed leanings amongst the nobility. Indeed, it is probable that William of Orange, whose ties with Germany were strengthening at this point, would have regarded any links with the Huguenots as highly undesirable.²¹² Until 1567-68, Huguenot-Netherlandish relations remained ambivalent: the Huguenots, anxious to broaden their support, were willing to ally with the Netherlanders: the Netherlandish nobility, although unwilling to give aid to the French Catholics, were determined to keep their distance from the French Reformed.

The reluctance of the Netherlandish nobility to get involved in French affairs may also have had something to do with the deterioration of the state of affairs in the Low Countries in the early 1560s. In 1559 Philip II returned to Spain, leaving behind as governess, Margaret of Parma. It soon became apparent that all the important decisions at Brussels were being taken not by all members of the Council of State, but by Margaret, Philip and Antoine Perrenot, the bishop of Arras who in 1561 became Cardinal Granvelle.²¹³ In the late spring and early summer of 1561, conflict broke out between Granvelle and a number of *grandeess* in the Low Countries, headed by Orange, Egmont and, after his return from Spain, Hornes. This conflict lasted until Granvelle's recall in 1564.²¹⁴ As in the 1550s, the nobles concerned were motivated primarily by a desire to preserve and, in this instance, to extend their control of government in the centre and the peripheries so as to maintain their standing in society, their "*honneur et réputation*". From 1559, though, what mattered above all was not so much access to the king,

²¹² For Orange's attitudes to the Calvinists and the French in the early to mid-1560s see Louis of Nassau's letter to Orange, dated November 11th 1563, in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, Supplement, 19-20; J. Decavele, "De edelman Oranje en de calvinisten", *Spiegel Historiae* (April 1984) 201-06, 202-03; and P.L. Muller, "Prins Willem I en Frankrijk" in his *Verspreide Geschriften* eds., P.J. Blok and S. Muller (Leiden, 1906) 256-81, 258.

²¹³ Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 44-46.

²¹⁴ Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, 173-221; De Troeyer, *Lamoraal van Egmont*; M. Dierickx, *L'Erection des Nouveaux Dioceses aux Pays-Bas 1559-1570* (Brussels, 1967) 53-94; H.G. Koenigsberger, "Orange, Granvelle and Philip II" in H.G. Koenigsberger, *Politicians and Virtuosi. Essays in Early Modern History* (London, 1986) 97-119; A.A. Van Schelven, *Willem van Oranje, een boek ter gedachtenis van idealen en teleurstellingen* (Amsterdam, 1933) 67-99.

because the king was not present, but control of the Council of State and hence of patronage.²¹⁵

In the late spring of 1562, the leading members of the noble opposition to Granvelle formed a league and instituted a campaign against the Cardinal. The principal purpose of the campaign was to persuade Philip II to recall Granvelle and to concede greater power to the nobility.²¹⁶ Through the use of pamphlets, rumours, accusations and, at a slightly later stage, plays and special dress, the noble league vilified Granvelle and his supporters, whom they termed "Cardinalists".²¹⁷ In a pasquil, published in 1563 or 1564, and entitled *Advertissement du roy Salomon en ses proverbes*, Granvelle was singled out among other leading figures of the time, as low-born, proud and deceitful.²¹⁸ Elsewhere, he was portrayed as an ambitious man, intent upon destroying the nobility and introducing the Spanish Inquisition.²¹⁹ As well as impugning his

²¹⁵ See especially Koenigsberger, "Orange, Granvelle and Philip II", *passim* and Swart, "Wat bewoog Willem van Oranje", 568-69.

²¹⁶ Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, II, 257-58; Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, 197-99; De Troeyer, *Lamoraal van Egmont*, 98-100; Swart, *William the Silent and the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 10; and Fruin, "Het voorspel", 317-18.

²¹⁷ More generally see Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, 180, footnote 28. See also De Troeyer, *Lamoraal van Egmont*, 102-04, 112-16; Fruin, "Het voorspel", 318-19; and Dierickx, *L'Erection des Nouveaux Dioceses*, 72, 74. For a theatrical performance attacking Granvelle see Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, 220. On the clothes adopted by members of the anti-Granvelle league see Fruin, "Het voorspel", 331-32; De Troeyer, *Lamoraal van Egmont*, 176-78; Van Durme, *Antoon Perrenot*, 212-13; and Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 53-54. For an example of the use of the term "Cardinalist" see Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II*, I, 238. Granvelle held Simon Renard responsible, at least in the later part of the campaign, for many rumours: see De Troeyer, *Lamoraal van Egmont*, 104 and his letter to Margaret of Parma, dated 3rd May 1564, in which he refers to rumours concerning himself as "inventions Renardesques". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, I, 2nd edition (1841) 246. Granvelle was not the only person to be attacked strongly from the later 1550s. Franciscus Sonnius, in his role as Inquisitor and instigator of the New Bishoprics scheme, also received some attention: see Th. Goossens, *Franciscus Sonnius in de pamfletten. Bijdragen tot zijne biografie* ('s-Hertogenbosch, 1917) and J. Van Vloten, *Nederlandsche geschiedzangen naar tijdsorde gerangschikt en toegelicht*, I (863-1572) (Amsterdam, 1852) 264-65.

²¹⁸ A. Tihon, "Analyse et extraits de documents relatifs à l'histoire des Pays-Bas au XVI^e siècle", *Bulletin de la Commission Royale d'Histoire*, 77 (1908) 37-133, 52-57.

²¹⁹ Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II*, I, 202-03 and 207-08; De Troeyer, *Lamoraal van Egmont*, 104, 174; Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, I, 2nd edition (1841) 163-65 (Louis of Nassau to William of Hessen, 8th July 1563); P.J. Blok, *Correspondentie van en betreffende Lodewijk van Nassau en andere onuitgegeven documenten* (Utrecht, 1887) 8-9 (Louis of Nassau to William of Hessen on Granvelle as a "rothen bluthund", 7th

character, the nobility also cast doubts on his Netherlandish identity by using his Burgundian origins to suggest that he was a 'foreigner'. This claim has added significance for what it reveals about the way some nobles were seeking to redefine what was meant by 'foreign' and 'native'. As Margaret of Parma and Philip II both observed, it was inconsistent on the part of the nobles to describe someone of Burgundian birth as 'foreign' when some nobles, Orange prominent among them, were of German origins.²²⁰ The willingness to describe Granvelle as 'foreign' and to take the 'Netherlandish' credentials of those with German origins for granted is a further indication of the marked re-alignment to Germany in the early 1560s of Orange and other nobles.

The focus of the noble league's campaign always remained Granvelle but, from the beginning of the campaign, the nobility also emphasised the same themes as other opposition groups. In a letter to Philip II in October 1562, Granvelle accused his opponents of wanting to increase the authority of the estates and the people, "sous prétexte de soutenir les privilèges et la liberté du pays...".²²¹ Margaret of Parma in 1563 reported that Egmont had been urging everyone that "ils devraient s'unir pour la liberté et le bien du pays".²²² Like the estates and the Brabant abbeys, the nobility also invoked the *Joyeuse Entrée*, as is evident from a remark by Granvelle in a letter dated April 1564. Granvelle claimed that he has done more than anyone else to protect the liberty and privileges of the Low Countries:

"...et qu'il n'y a quoy que ce soit d'eulx quoy plus hardiement et résoluement que moy voulust employer sa personne et sa vie pour le soustenement de la liberté et privilèges du pays, mais non pas

June 1563) and 20-21 (Anonymus, 11th December 1563, "Der Rote fux ennd der president..."); and Demandt, "Nassau-oranische Korrespondenzen", 94 (No 234) (Orange to...) and 98 (No 250) (Orange to...). See also Van Durme, Antoon van Perrenot, 180.

²²⁰ Fruin, "Het voorspel", 284-86. For the remarks by Margaret and Philip see Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II, I, 224, 231. Granvelle himself emphasised his credentials as a subject and, therefore, a native in April 1564: Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, I, 239. According to Cellarius, "Die Propagandatätigkeit", 122, Orange had to defend himself against the charge of being foreign when he went into exile.

²²¹ "Under the pretext of maintaining the privileges and the liberty of the country." Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II, I, 216-20.

²²² Gachard, Correspondance de Philippe II, I, 248.

pour étendre la Joyeuse-Entrée contre raison, au préjudice de l'auctorité du maistre, pour corrompre et perdre la justice, et consentir à ce que Brabant et, sous Brabant, les autres pays soient tyrannisés d'aucuns qu'ont leurs fins et desseins peult-estre bien différent de ce que les seigneurs entendent...".²²³

The use of the singular 'Liberty' by the nobility instead of the more usual plural 'liberties' is striking. What it may indicate is a more comprehensive outlook on the part of the nobility, a perspective which saw the individual privileges and liberties of each city and province as part of a more general 'national' liberty.

In order to safeguard the privileges, the noble opposition also called for the convocation of the States General but along the lines first employed in the later 1550s where all the provincial delegates met together rather than separately. The strong resistance put up by the States General in this period to Philip II's financial demands made it easy for the noble opposition to suggest that the provincial estates, if allowed to confer among themselves at the States General, would resolve the country's problems.²²⁴ The nobles first proposed calling the States General in mid-1562.²²⁵ That the nobility used the language of the estates and called for the States General to be convoked does not necessarily mean that the noble, civic and estates opposition were working in concert. The work of Koenigsberger and Wells has shown that, on the contrary, the attempts by Orange and Granvelle, to build up clienteles in the Low Countries were not as successful as they intended: the Antwerp civic magistrates, for one, were determined to

²²³ "...and there was no one more firmly and resolutely determined than me to employ his person and his life for the maintenance of the liberty and privileges of the lands, but not to extend the Joyeuse Entrée beyond reason, to the prejudice of the master's authority, to corrupt and lose justice and to agree to Brabant and, under the influence of Brabant, the other provinces, tyrannising anyone for their own ends which are perhaps different from what the lords understand...". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, I, 237. See also Granvelle's letter to Morillon, dated 2nd April 1567 in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, Supplement, 42-43.

²²⁴ H.G. Koenigsberger, "Why did the States General of the Netherlands become Revolutionary in the 16th Century" in Koenigsberger, *Politicians and Virtuosi*, 63-76, 66.

²²⁵ Letter from Margaret of Parma to Philip II, dated 14th June 1562 in Gachard, *Correspondance de Philippe II*, I, 202-03. See also De Troeyer, *Lamoraal van Egmont*, 140, 143-45 and G.E. Wells, *Antwerp and the Government of Philip II: 1555-1567* (Unpublished Ph.D; Cornell University, 1982) 376-86.

maintain their independence from the great lords.²²⁶

In 1563, the noble league's agitation against Granvelle took on a more serious note.²²⁷ In successive letters sent in March and July, Orange, Egmont and Hornes became more insistent in their demand for the Cardinal's recall and more threatening about the consequences should their demands go unanswered. They began by withdrawing from both the Council of State and the court, thus isolating Margaret of Parma. As the year wore on, their impatience grew. In early December, Egmont complained to Margaret of Parma about the king's silence and mentioned that he and the other lords had been accused of treason. Also in later 1563, in what was the first indication of a willingness to resort to arms, Orange encouraged his brother Louis of Nassau to become Captain-General of the Westphalian Circle.²²⁸ Finally, in December 1563, Philip II agreed to the demands and ordered the Cardinal to leave, which he did so in March of the following year. At the same time as the campaign against Granvelle intensified, the composition and programme of the noble opposition changed. By the time Orange, Hornes and Egmont wrote their second main protest letter of March 1563, Aremberg and Glajon had left the league and the nobles had failed to persuade Aerschot to join with them. The defection of Aremberg and Glajon was both a symptom and cause of a growing radicalisation in the noble opposition which became especially evident in 1564-65.

The most pressing problem for all members of the governing élites in the 1560s was that of responding to the growth of heresy. Although the problem had existed since the early 1520s, it was not until the 1560s that persecution first became a political problem.²²⁹ The failure of persecution to halt the spread of Reformed Protestantism in the early 1560s and the growing reluctance of many civic and provincial bodies to implement the heresy laws, compelled many to question the efficacy and necessity of persecution. Prominent among those who did so was William of Orange. The crucial period in the evolution of Orange's

²²⁶ Wells, *Antwerp*, 195-386 and Koenigsberger, "Orange, Granvelle and Philip II", 108-11.

²²⁷ For what follows see De Troeyer, *Lamoraal van Egmont*, 112-82.

²²⁸ Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, II, 319-20; Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, I, 2nd edition, 181-82 (08/11/1563).

²²⁹ J.J. Woltjer, "De vredemakers", *TvG*, 89 (1976) 299-321.

thought appears to have been 1559-63. In the Low Countries, the growth of Calvinism exposed the limitations of persecution; in France, freedom of conscience appeared to be the only way of pacifying the factions in the Principality of Orange; and in Germany, the system of religious peace created in 1555, seemed to have lessened religious tensions. Furthermore, the conflicting pressures placed upon Orange before and during his second marriage pushed him further along the road to freedom of conscience. Not only was he forced to give contradictory assurances to Philip II and the German Protestant princes before the marriage but after the marriage, both Granvelle and the German princes watched carefully to ensure that Orange was keeping his promises.²³⁰ Added to this was a genuine abhorrence for some of the practices involved in persecution, especially the death penalty.²³¹ Although there are indications of his support for freedom of conscience before 1564, Orange gave public utterance to his sentiments only in late 1564 or early 1565.²³²

The noble campaign against Granvelle, the calls for the States General and the growing opposition to religious persecution are all evidence not only of noble discontent but of the attempts by the nobility to bring about a new political order in the Netherlands. This search for a new political order was made with the international situation very much in mind. At about the same time that Orange was expressing his opposition to religious persecution, he was encouraging talks among the Lutherans and Calvinists with the aim of creating a common front against Catholicism and, ultimately, a common confession.²³³

Throughout the period in which the noble league was campaigning against Granvelle and beyond, Orange continued to keep in close touch with the German evangelical princes. The correspondence of William and Louis during the years 1563-64 is dotted with the exchange of pamphlets and news ("Zeitungen"),

²³⁰ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 349-58, 364-74; Schmidt, "Das Prinzen Vaterland", 232; and Press, "Wilhelm von Oranien", 681-84.

²³¹ Mout, "Intellectuele Milieu", 606 and Woltjer, "De vrede-makers", 301-02.

²³² Swart, William the Silent, 11.

²³³ Mout, "Intellectuele Milieu", 607-08 and Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 374-80. These discussions were paralleled by talks which took place at the same time among French and German Protestants. See the correspondence between Louis of Nassau and William of Hessen in Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, I, 2nd edition, 353-55 (25/02/65) and Blok, Correspondentie, 30-32 (03/06/95).

an indication of the flow of information which passed between Orange, Louis and the German princes. Reports from as far away as Poland, Sweden, the Huguenot army, Paris, Rome, Venice, Madrid and Vienna came to Orange and Louis and were passed on to Saxony and Hessen.²³⁴ Landgrave William of Hessen acknowledged the value of the information and reports sent by Louis in a letter to his father, Philip in July 1563:

"Ich bitte gehorsamlich, Euer Gnaden wollen Graf Ludwigs Schreiben in gutem Geheimnis bleiben lassen, damit es dem guten Männlein keine Ungnade bringe; es sind gleichwohl grosse Zeitungen und geben die Hoffnung, es sollen die grossen Potentaten mit ihren eigenen Untertanen so viel zu schaffen bekommen, dass sie uns zu reformieren vergessen".²³⁵

These contacts probably encouraged Orange and Louis of Nassau to seek support within the Empire and at the Imperial Court. Orange's correspondent in Vienna was Lazarus von Schwendi, who kept Orange informed about the Austrian Habsburgs. In 1564 the death of the Emperor Ferdinand and the election of Maximilian, whose Protestant sympathies were well known, appeared to bode well for the noble opposition in the Low Countries. Schwendi cautioned Orange on the necessity of moderation and assured him that if the Netherlandish people remained calm and stable, the credit of the nobility with the emperor would rise.²³⁶ It is possible that the old hopes and ideas of the early 1550s concerning Maximilian and the Low Countries were revived upon Maximilian's accession to the Imperial throne. In July 1565, Granvelle was informed by his brother Chantonay, then resident in Vienna, that the Imperial court had heard that the Netherlands wanted

²³⁴ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 360-61. See Blok, Correspondentie, 5-6, 15-16 and 19-20; Demandt, "Nassau-oranische Korrespondenzen", 93 (No 226) and 96 (No 242); and Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, I, 223.

²³⁵ "I ask respectfully that Your Grace keeps Count Louis's writing a secret so that it doesn't cause the good little man any misfortune; they are just as important as the larger pamphlets and give us the hope that the greater powers will have enough problems with their own subjects that they will forget to reform us". Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 319.

²³⁶ Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, I, 2nd edition, 295-97 and 313-16.

the Emperor or one of his children as their head: "...J'entends, il a diverses foiz, par desà que tous les Pays désiroient l'Empereur ou ses enfans, sinon nostre maison, laquelle luy contrarioit tout ce qu'elle pouvoit...".²³⁷

There is no evidence that either Orange or the other members of the noble opposition seriously entertained such a view but the rumour does indicate the emphasis placed on Netherlandish ties to the Empire by the opposition in these years. At some point during the years 1560-65 an apocryphal text of the Transaction of Augsburg was produced. This text was drawn upon by the author of a pamphlet which was spread in December 1565. The text differed from the original in its claim that it was the right of Brabant "te ghenieten ende ghebruycken alle Previlegien, Patrocinien, Tutelen, Protection, Immuniteyten ende Liberteyten geliyk andere Staten ende des Rycken leden genieten ende ghebruycken" rather than just enjoying the protection of the Empire. Furthermore, the text in the pamphlet referred to the pre-1548 Westphalian Circle rather than the Burgundian Circle created in 1548. Under the Westphalian Circle, a number of Netherlandish lords enjoyed rights which they did not have in the Burgundian Circle. In addition to circulating this pamphlet with an apocryphal text, there were also plans mooted in 1565 to summon Philip II before an Imperial Law Court.²³⁸ As well as drawing attention to the imperial ties of the Low Countries, the noble opposition also continued to call for the convocation of the States General²³⁹ and to emphasise the *Joyeuse Entrée*. In the spring of 1564, a Cologne printer Godfried Hertshorn (Cervicornus) published the text of the *Joyeuse Entrée*; reprints also appeared in 1565 and 1566.²⁴⁰

²³⁷ "I have heard, on several occasions, that over there the lords want the Emperor or his children, without our house, which is contrary to everything that is possible..." Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, I, 2nd edition, 393-94.

²³⁸ "to enjoy and use all privileges, patronages, tutelages, protections, immunities and liberties just like the other estates and the Empire's members enjoy and use theirs". P.J. Van Winter, "Een apocriefe tekst van het verdrag van Augsburg van 1548" in *Verkenning en Onderzoek. Bundel aangeboden aan de schrijver bij zijn aftreden als hoogleraar aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen* (Groningen, 1965) 77-81 and A. Th. Van Deursen, "Het Duitse Rijk en de Nederlanden (1548-1648)", *Kleio*, 15 (1974) 381-92, 383-84. Jacob van Wesembeke summarised the work in his *mémoires*: Rahlenbeck, ed., *Mémoires*, 132.

²³⁹ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, I, 2nd edition, 291-92.

²⁴⁰ H. De la Fontaine Verwey, "De Blijde Inkomste en de opstand tegen Philips II" in H. De la Fontaine Verwey, *Uit de wereld van het boek*, Two Volumes (Amsterdam, 1975) I (*Humanisten, dweppers en rebellen in de zestiende eeuw*), 113-32, 118-20.

Something of the propaganda and concerns of 1563-65 can be gained from an examination of some pamphlets from 1566-67 whose content seems more suited to the events of the pre-Compromise period.²⁴¹ The three pamphlets, *Les subtils moyens par le Cardinal de Granvelle avec ses complices inventez pour instituer l'abominable inquisition*,²⁴² *Verclaringhe, van die menichuuldighe loose Practijcken ende Listen...*,²⁴³ and *'t Boecxken van De dry Pausen...*,²⁴⁴ contain virtually the same material and are, at many points, identical. The structure of each work was similar: all began with the Transaction of Augsburg in 1548 and carried the narrative through to 1566. All three presented a conspiracy theory in which Catholics from different countries, through deception, murder and the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition, attempted to establish control in Europe. Although only the last pamphlet had the title of the 'Three Popes', all three gave a central place to this unholy Trinity, which was composed of the Pope of Rome, the Pope of France (Cardinal Lorraine) and the Pope of the Low Countries (Granvelle) who were also designated respectively as God the Father, God the Son and God the Holy Spirit.²⁴⁵ This fable of the three Popes established as part of an international Catholic conspiracy to exterminate Protestantism was very reminiscent of the atmosphere of the years 1560-65. The prominence accorded

²⁴¹ The possibility that some of the pamphlets from 1566 reflect pre-1566 circumstances was first raised by Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, II, page 25 in references, note 248, 3. One example is *Een pot van rosen ontdekt daarin geseit werd dat de cardinael den Coninck riet dat hij den Cop soude doen afhouden vande meeste menigte vande groote heeren van't land*, published in June 1566. To judge from the title, the work appears to refer back to rumours, first raised in 1563, that Granvelle had advised Philip II to chop off the heads of the leading magnates in the Low Countries, a threat which still seemed topical in 1566. No copy of the work is extant: it is mentioned in Rahlenbeck, ed., *Mémoires*, 218.

²⁴² Appears in edition edited by Rahlenbeck (Brussels, 1866) under same title.

²⁴³ Appears in the Meulman collection, number 124.

²⁴⁴ Appears in the Knuttel collection for the year 1580 as numbers 549 and 550. These two works are clearly reprints of originals from around 1566: see Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 5.

²⁴⁵ The *Verklaringhe* may originally have had the same title as the third pamphlet. A bookprinter Peter Warners of Kampen was arrested and tried in the autumn of 1566 for possessing a piece entitled, *Van den dry Pauwsen, offte verclaringen van die mennichfoldige looze practijcken van d'inquisitie...* A High German translation with the same title was also published. J. Nanninga Uitterdijk, "Vervolging van boekdrukkers te Kampen wegens het drukken van fameuse libellen en Geuzenliederen, 1566-67", *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde* (1875) 192-203.

to Lorraine suggests that the work dates from the latter part of that period because up until his assassination in February 1563, the Duke of Guise rather than the Cardinal Lorraine was the leader of the French Catholics.²⁴⁶ Lorraine returned from the Council of Trent to the French court at the end of January 1564. As soon as he did so, rumours of Spanish and Catholic 'practises' began to abound.²⁴⁷

Another feature which is reminiscent of the years 1564-66 especially is the evident concern of the writer to establish the Netherlands' ties with the Empire. All three pamphlets state that in 1548 Charles V bound, in perpetuity, all the Netherlands to the Empire and furthermore, that after his defeat in 1551-52, Charles agreed to revoke the Interim and to permit the Confession of Augsburg to be practised in the Netherlands: "dat men nyemant en soude dooden om der Religie wille / welcke Confessie heeft de Keyse oock beloeft in die Nederlanden te doe ondhouden". It was for this reason, stated the writer that the papists had persuaded Charles V to return to Spain where they later murdered him.²⁴⁸ Incidents from the later 1540s and early 1550s were also recalled: the imprisonment of Landgrave Philip of Hessen in 1548; and Henry II's adoption of the title of "protecteur de la liberté germanique".²⁴⁹ This interest in the events of the 1540s onwards suggest strongly that the writer came from noble circles; the emphasis on the continuing ties of the Netherlands to the Empire and the application of the Treaty of Augsburg to the Low Country point to the Lutheran wing of the noble opposition who were probably also responsible for the spread of the apocryphal text of the Transaction of Augsburg and the printing of the *Joyeuse Entrée*.

The final point to note about these three works is their anti-Catholic quality.

²⁴⁶ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 248 discusses the work in relation to the circumstances of 1562-63. See Sutherland, The Massacre of St.Bartholomew, 25 for details of situation in France.

²⁴⁷ N.M. Sutherland, The Huguenot Struggle for recognition (New Haven, Connecticut; 1980) 147-48 and Sutherland, The Massacre of St.Bartholomew, 31-32.

²⁴⁸ "...that no-one should die for the sake of religion; which Confession, the Emperor has also promised to maintain in the Netherlands". M124: Verclaringhe van die menichuuldighe loose Practijcken, 2-5; Rahlenbeck, Les Subtils Moyens, 1-5; and K549: tBoecxken van de dry Pausen, 3-6.

²⁴⁹ Rahlenbeck, Les Subtils Moyens, 1-5; M124: Verclaringhe, 3; and K549: tBoecxken van de dry Pausen, 4-5.

The chief conspirators in this tale were the 'papists', especially the Pope, the Guise and Granvelle. Although there are references to the "papen" in Spain, there are also indications that the nobles have allies in Spain: according to the works, Egmont owed his life to the actions of 14 great lords of Spain.²⁵⁰ Philip II, moreover, is not treated as one of the conspirators but is instead represented as a simple and ignorant soul, governed entirely by the papists in Spain.²⁵¹ As noted earlier, anti-Spanish propaganda did not become a feature of *Netherlandish* pamphlets, songs and prints until 1568; until then, opposition propaganda was anti-Catholic and anti-Granvellian in nature. The presence of Spanish troops in the Low Countries in the later 1550s and early 1560s did arouse discontent but so also did mercenaries from other countries. If the Spanish troops aroused particular concern, then this might have been due to the fact that they were paid from Spain and so were likely to wreak havoc if their payments were delayed. After the troops left the country in January 1561, there was no more talk of Spain until the beginning of the revolt.²⁵²

As Judith Pollmann has observed, the only 'Spanish' subject to find a place in opposition propaganda and to enjoy widespread attention before 1568 was the Spanish Inquisition. Reports and rumours about the Spanish Inquisition had been filtering through into the Netherlands since the 1520s but opposition to the Inquisition, or rather to the alleged introduction of the Inquisition, even on a minor scale, did not appear until 1550 when Antwerp was able to modify provisions in the so-called Placard of Blood.²⁵³ The campaign against the inquisition proper, though, should really be dated to 1559 when the matter was raised in the States General and Egmont referred to the problem in a letter to Orange.²⁵⁴ As a result principally of the plans for the New Bishoprics but also because of the influence

²⁵⁰ Rahlenbeck, Les Subtils Moyens, 30-31.

²⁵¹ Rahlenbeck, Les Subtils Moyens, 6.

²⁵² Pollmann, Een naturelicke vijantschap, 50-51 and Enno van Gelder, "Het streven", 166.

²⁵³ See Thomas, "De mythe van de Spaanse Inquisitie", 325-35 and Mulder, "De uitvoering der geloofsplakaten", 1-13.

²⁵⁴ M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, The Changing Face of Empire. Charles V, Philip II and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559 (Cambridge, 1988) 200 and N. Japikse ed., Correspondentie van Willem den Eerste, Prins van Oranje, I (The Hague, 1934) 143-44.

of Spanish Protestants and certain publications, especially those by Enzinas, the Spanish Inquisition began to assume a central place in Netherlandish concerns from early 1561 and by 1566 the 'Spanish Inquisition' had become so important that it filled the pages of remonstrances and pamphlets.²⁵⁵

(b) 1565-1567

For good reasons, the great surveys of political thought in the early Revolt by De Vrankrijker, Geurts and Van Gelderen, accorded much less attention to the second half of the *Wonderjaar* than to the first. Far fewer works were published after August 1566, and those that were, were easily shuffled into the two categories of justificatory pamphlets and works relating to the development of the right of resistance.²⁵⁶ In consequence, the character of the period from September 1566 to May 1567, has been somewhat obscured. From late 1565, the opposition groups had warned about the consequences for the Low Countries should Philip II continue to enforce the placards rigorously. Towards the later part of 1566, though, these warnings about the future took on an added edge as the hope of compromise faded and the sense of crisis grew.

That sense of crisis derived, in part, from the events leading up to and including the iconoclasm and, in part, from fears about the consequences of those events. The early 1560s had also been marked by demonstrations and outbreaks of disorder but Brussels was able to reassert control and to put a break on the growth of the Reformed movement in the South.²⁵⁷ From the mid-1560s, though, central government control on events in the provinces began to slacken

²⁵⁵ Pollmann, Een naturelicke vijantschap, 52-61 and Thomas, "De mythe van de Spaanse Inquisitie", 336-43.

²⁵⁶ De Vrankrijker, De motiveering, devotes only seven pages (19-26) to this period and discusses within those pages subjects which were not particular to later 1566 and early 1567. Geurts concerned himself with just the meeting at Dendermonde, the Reformed Request of November 1566, the Third Request and the Conseil Sacré, De nederlandse opstand, 19-24. In The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, Van Gelderen considered works which had been neglected by other writers but his choice of pamphlets was determined by his choice of subjects: 82-94, 110-15.

²⁵⁷ P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569 (Cambridge, 1978) 67-70.

as more and more cities refused to implement rigorously the placards and the nobility stamped their own authority on affairs. The events of the first part of the 'Wonderjaar', the presentation of the Request, the Hedge-preaching and, above all, the image-breaking, were symptomatic of the political deadlock in the Low Countries, of a central government powerless to direct affairs, of a nobility reluctant to aid Brussels and of cities unsure of which way to turn. To all these groups, the events of 1566 appeared not as a series of wonders and marvels but as heralds of the breakdown of order; it was the aim of the governing groups to turn the country away from the threat of anarchy.

The response to this threat, though, led to another crisis: the prospect of civil war. Civil war became a real threat in the Low Countries from September onwards as Brussels began to rebuild its authority by force and the Catholic backlash to the iconoclasm set in. Margaret of Parma began enlisting more troops even before the Accord of August 23rd was signed; more continued to be enlisted after the Accord. In the southern provinces of Artois, Hainault and Namur, the Duke of Aerschot, a noble opponent of Orange and Egmont, formed a Catholic noble league. Meanwhile, in late September, in Spain, Philip II and his council decided that force should be used to restore order in the Low Countries and the necessary organisation for this was set in motion.²⁵⁸ As the intentions of Brussels became clearer, the Reformed communities began to respond in kind. In October, plans for the collection of three million guilders, which were to be offered to Philip II in return for freedom of conscience, were approved; the money, though, was clearly meant to be used for the defence of the Reformed communities.²⁵⁹ The growing polarisation of forces within the Low Countries and the growing realisation that Philip II would never accept any of the agreements which had been reached earlier, presented the high nobility with the dilemma of either realigning

²⁵⁸ Parker, The Dutch Revolt, 87-90, 92-99 and Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, II, 769-800.

²⁵⁹ Parker, The Dutch Revolt, 93. For more details on the Request see, A.A. Van Schelven, "Het verzoekschrift der drie miljoen goudguldens (October 1566)", Bijdragen voor vaderlandsche geschiedenis en oudheidkunde, 9, Series 6 (1930) 1-42 and J. Scheerder, "Eenige nieuwe bijzonderheden betreffende het 3,000,000 goudguldens rekwest (1566)" in Miscellanea historica in honorem Leonis van der Essen, I (Louvain, 1949) 559-66. On Protestant concerns in September see the letter, dated 19th September 1566, from Charles Utenhove the younger to Louis of Nassau in Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, II, 295-98.

themselves with Brussels, and facing possible punishment for their actions, or taking up arms against their sovereign lord, with all the risks attendant upon that. For Orange, and probably for others, this period, as is clear from the memoirs produced in this time, was a long period of soul-searching, a long agony of indecision and uncertainty as things hung in the balance.²⁶⁰

The first and most evident signs of this sense of crisis were the repeated references to the threat of impending destruction. From August 1566 to April 1567, the phrases of "ruyne", "la totale ruyne", "la grande ruyne" along with various synonyms recur repeatedly in correspondence, memoirs and more official works. References to the likely destruction of the country were made by Brederode,²⁶¹ Orange,²⁶² Margaret of Parma,²⁶³ John of Nassau,²⁶⁴ the States of Brabant,²⁶⁵ the magistrates of Antwerp²⁶⁶ and the Reformed Communities.²⁶⁷ What each person and group meant by ruin and destruction, of course, differed. Margaret of Parma, in a work addressed to the Towns and Provinces of the Netherlands on July 21st, spoke of destruction primarily with reference to Catholicism: "Lieve en wel beminde. Also men siet het aenstaende apparent perijkel van een generael bederf, destructie, en subversie van onse oude Catholijke Religie, mitsgaders van de gemenen staet van herwaers-over...".²⁶⁸ In the remonstrances produced by the States of Brabant and Antwerp, destruction referred to the threat to the maintenance of order within towns and to the

²⁶⁰ The memoirs can be found in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 429-50 (Orange and Louis of Nassau) and 468-72 (Hornes?) and Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 129-31 (Anon).

²⁶¹ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 251-56, 253 (27th August 1566).

²⁶² Gachard, *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, II, 202-03 (29th August 1566) and 357-59 (13th April 1567).

²⁶³ Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 79-80 (21st July 1566).

²⁶⁴ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 266-69, 267 (1st September 1566).

²⁶⁵ Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 125 (October/November 1566), 126-27 (31st December 1566).

²⁶⁶ Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 164 (22nd March 1567).

²⁶⁷ Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 145. See also the letter by Petrus Dathenus, dated 17th April 1567, in Th. Ruys, Jr, *Petrus Dathenus* (Utrecht, 1919).

²⁶⁸ "My dear and well-beloved. When we see the near apparent threat of the general deterioration, destruction and subversion of our old Catholic religion, as well as the general situation of these lands...". Bor, *Oorspronck*, I 79-80.

continuance of trade and industry.²⁶⁹ The Calvinists, in their representation to the nobility which appeared in the spring of 1567, warned about the probable fate of Protestants in the Low Countries. They argued that His Majesty clearly intended to punish not only those who had participated in the iconoclasm but also to prosecute the placards rigorously against those who had left Catholicism: "daer uit groot rumoer / seditie / bloedstorting / confiscatie van goeden / verlatenisse / en gehele bederffenisse van dese Landen / en ook een eeuwige slavernye en servituit geschapen is te volgen".²⁷⁰ As a great nobleman, Orange was naturally concerned about his own standing in a country at risk of civil war and his works reflect this personal sense of ruin and destruction. However, it would be wrong to deny that he and other nobles were also motivated by concern for the welfare of the Low Countries as a whole. Clearly many of these statements were put in for 'effect', to strengthen the case for reform, foreign aid or even the cause of reaction. The events of mid-1566 and the very real threat of civil war, only averted because of the quick defeat of the Reformed, suggest that, even if the writers overstated their case, there was still much that was genuine in their protestations of alarm.

The sense of crisis and concern about the cause of events was also evident in the increased emphasis placed upon loyalty to both the king and the country. That such expressions of loyalty to the king and the country should be found in the documents is not surprising but the frequency with which they occurred and the replacement in many instances of the term 'pays' by 'patrie' is significant. In July 1566, d'Assonleville wrote to Hornes stating that Orange "fait ung fort grand et notable service au Roy et à la Patrie".²⁷¹ In her letter to the towns, written on 26 August 1566, Margaret of Parma called upon them to act "pour la conservation de la Foy Catholique, service de la Maiesté, repos & tranquillite de

²⁶⁹ Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 125, 126-27, 164-65.

²⁷⁰ "from which great tumult, sedition, bloodshed, confiscation of property, desolation and the complete destruction of these lands and also perpetual slavery and servitude shall follow". Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 145.

²⁷¹ "...has done a very great and noticeable service to the king and to the fatherland". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 183 (24/29th July 66).

la Patrie...".²⁷² In the Accord of the 23rd August, the Confederates agreed that: "Ilz s'employeront et ayderont suivant l'obligation et serment de fidelité qu'ilz ont vers Sad'te Majesté au repoussement de tous estrangiers, ennemis et rebelles d'icelles et de la patrie".²⁷³ Later on, in March 1567, when Orange was being pressed to take a new oath of loyalty, Margaret of Parma described it as being "à sa Maté et à la patrye..." ("to His Majesty and to the fatherland...").²⁷⁴ Orange described it as an oath to "la service de Sa Maté et le bien de la patrie" ("the service of His Majesty and the well-being of the fatherland").²⁷⁵

The notion of loyalty to King and Country, however expressed, was still a traditional one and in making a claim upon the loyalties of the nobility and the towns, Margaret of Parma was not making any new demands. Orange's use of the formula in 1566-67 was also traditional; Orange made no revolutionary step forward in these two years.²⁷⁶ The sense of crisis and the problem of ultimate loyalty, though, put the question of loyalties themselves and the nature of the country to the fore in the latter part of 1566 and in 1567, a discussion which cleared the way for the patriotic propaganda in 1568. This is apparent in Orange's memoir of November 1566 and in another anonymous work produced about the same time. Orange began his work by claiming that he had repeatedly considered "l'estat de ce pays" ("the situation in these lands") and deplored the things which all tended "à la ruine perpétuelle d'icelluy" ("the perpetual ruin of them"). The reason for this was both the great variety of opinions and the small numbers of people who were prepared to search for a remedy for the problems of the country. Elaborating on the second point, he argued that some people could not provide a solution because they scarcely ever bothered about such affairs, "les autres à cause qu'ils cherchent plus leur particulier que le bien commun de patrie" ("others

²⁷² "for the maintenance of the Catholic Faith, the service of Majesty, repose and tranquillity of the fatherland". K139: Copie des lettres patentes en forme d'assurance que la Duchesse de Parme, Regente etc. a donné aux Gentilzhommes confederez..., B2r.

²⁷³ "They would employ themselves and help according to the obligation and oath of allegiance which they have to His Majesty to repel all foreigners, enemies and rebels of his and of the fatherland". Hoffmann, The French Huguenots, 83-84.

²⁷⁴ Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, III, 43-45.

²⁷⁵ Groen van Prinsterer, Archives, III, 46-48.

²⁷⁶ Mout, "Intellectuele milieu van Willem van Oranje", 614-15.

because they were more concerned about their own interests than the common good of the fatherland") and others because of timidity. He considered, though, it to be "le debvoir d'ung chacun, soit vieux ou jeusne, d'ayder et assister en une nécessité si grande, la patrie de tout son pouvoir, n'ay voulu ny pour bon, ny pour mauvais gré passer par silence, chose que me semble convenir en saine conscience pour le service et réputation du maître et le bien du pays". He had put forward the discourse for no other reason but the one given above, of duty, "et pour la grande affection que je porte à ce pays, méritant plus que nul autre louange pour les fidèles, longues et loyaulx services par luy faictes à ses Princes et seigneurs naturels". After considering a range of possibilities, Orange argued that the best option allowed for freedom of worship and the allocation of certain quarters to each faith.²⁷⁷

The work attributed to Hornes declared, in response to the problem of the country, that "avons nous trois Srs délibéré à nous déclairer serviteur très humbles à Sa Maté et protecteurs de la Noblesse et de la Patrie, ensamble de tout le peuple..." ("We three lords have decided to declare ourselves the very humble servants of His Majesty and protectors of the Nobility and the fatherland, together with all the people"). Whereas Orange's memoir avoided any mention of the part played by Philip II or the government in the troubles, the author of this memoir blamed the troubles upon the Pope and Cardinals, who having lost all authority in Spain and most of their respect in Germany, France and England, had induced the king to act against "ces pays" ("these lands"). It was against these people that the three were acting:

"protestans que ne emprendrons ceste protection par nulle ambition ou affection particulière, ains tant seulement pour le service de Dieu, la conservation de nostre pays, et désirons à jamais demeurer très humbles serviteurs de Sa Maté et de ses successeurs...et ne

²⁷⁷ "the duty of everyone, whether old or young, to help and assist the fatherland with all their power in a matter of such a great necessity and did not wish to pass by the good or bad in silence, something which seemed suitable in all good conscience for the service and reputation of the master and the well being of the country" and "...and because of the great affection which I bear to these lands, deserving more than any other praise for the faithful, long and loyal services which it has made to its princes and natural lords". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 429-45. F. Harrison, *William the Silent* (London, 1897) 63-67 summarised and translated part of this memoir.

permectant que soyons tyrannisez, ny reduictz en servitude; car ayman trop mieulx mourir pour la deffence et liberté de nostre patrie, que de vivre avecqs toutes les richesses et mercedes que l'on nous pourroit faire sous une telle tyrannie...".²⁷⁸

As well as wrestling with the problems of loyalty and the future of the country, the noble opposition also tried to secure help from abroad. Already in late 1565, Netherlandish nobles had looked for support for their cause in the Empire from both the Emperor and the Protestant princes. Hoogstraten was present in Augsburg in early 1566 to attend the Diet and, according to the Spanish envoy at Vienna, managed to pass on a petition to the Emperor.²⁷⁹ Gilles le Clercq, acting as Louis of Nassau's secretary, also went to the Diet at Augsburg and it was perhaps through him that two Reformed petitions were handed over to the Emperor.²⁸⁰ Orange and Egmont corresponded with their German relatives throughout 1566 in an attempt to secure aid.²⁸¹

Initially sympathetic, German and Imperial support, which was, in any case, never substantial, declined after the Iconoclasm and the growing evidence that most of the Protestants in the Low Countries were Reformed rather than

²⁷⁸ "affirming that we do not offer this protection because of any ambition or particular affection, but only for the service of God and the maintenance of our lands. We desire always to remain very humble servants of His Majesty and of his successors...and to permit no-one to be tyrannised or reduced to slavery because we would prefer to die for the defence and liberty of our fatherland than to live with all the riches and gifts that we could have under such a tyranny...". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 468-72.

²⁷⁹ B. Chudoba, *Spain and the Empire. 1519-1643* (Chicago, 1952) 134-35.

²⁸⁰ Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 90-91. The two Reformed works entitled 'Libellus supplicis Christianorum in Germania inferiore propter veram religionem afflictorum, imperatori in comitiis Augustanis exhibitus Ao 1566' and 'Oratio Ecclesiarum Christi, per varias Germanicae belgicae provincias, sub Antichristi iugo gementium, ad Potentissimum Dominum, Dominum Maximilianum...' appear (along with later Dutch translations) in J.J. Van Toorenenbergen, ed., *Eene bladzijde uit de geschiedenis der Nederlandse geloofsbelijdenissen ter gedachtenisviering bij haar derde eeuwgetijde beschreven en met de oorspronkelijke bescheiden uitgegeven* (The Hague, 1861) LVII-CLXIII. For comments on these works see De Vrankrijker, *De motiveering*, 17-18; Geurts, *De nederlandse opstand*, 9-10; Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, II, 572 (and in the reference pages at the back of the volume, 55, note 572, 2); and Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, 84-85.

²⁸¹ Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 91. See also Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 27-30, 65-66 and 69-73.

Lutherans.²⁸² Orange's response to waning support from within the Empire was twofold. On the one hand, he encouraged attempts in later 1566 and early 1567 to persuade the Reformed communities to accept the Confession of Augsburg.²⁸³ On the other hand, he tried to persuade the German princes, in a manner reminiscent of the works of 1568, that events in the Low Countries had a direct bearing on the fate of Lutheranism in the Empire. In a letter to William of Hessen, dated November 5th 1566, Orange wrote:

"Und ist laider zu erbarmen dasz diesze hehrliche und schöne länden umb solicher ursachen willent so jämmerlich überzogen und verderbet werden sollen, da sie doch sunst der Kön. Mat, als irem angebornen herrn, alle gehorsame treuw, volge, und dhienst zu erzaigen geneigt seint. Und solten diesze länden, solcher ursachen willent so erbarmlichen verheheret, auch in schwerer dhienstbarkeit gestecket, und dem Babstumb uffs new underwürffig gemacht werden, so haben E.L. vernünfftig abzunehmen zuw was abbruch solichs dem gantzen heiligen Reich Teutscher Nation und allen umliegenden Reichen und länden gereichen, auch was der Augspürgischen Confeszion verwanten Chur-Fürsten und Stenden vor ein nachtheil und verkleinerung hiedurch endstehen wurde".²⁸⁴

²⁸² Hoffmann, *The French Huguenots*, 85 and see the letters to and from the German princes during the period September to December 1566 in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II. For an example see William of Hessen's letter to Orange, dated 27th November 1566 in volume II, 489-94.

²⁸³ Wells, *Antwerp*, 489. The strong appeal for Protestant unity in K152a: *Epistre Et Amiable Remonstrance d'un Ministre de l'Evangelie de nostre Redempteur*, published in January 1567, should be seen in the light of the attempts to unite Calvinists and Lutherans in late 1566.

²⁸⁴ "And it is terrible that these wonderful and beautiful lands should be so piteously taken over and destroyed for these reasons, for otherwise they are inclined to render His Royal Majesty, as their natural lord, all obedient loyalty and service. And should these lands, for such reasons, be so mercilessly destroyed and enslaved and made subject to the Papacy once more, you will have to draw your own conclusions about the consequences to the whole of the Holy Roman Empire and all the surrounding kingdoms and lands, as well as the disadvantages and dismembering which will arise for all the princes and estates of those of the Augsburg Confession". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 453. See also Orange's instructions for Wittgenstein in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 304-06 (16th September 1566) and II, 299-300 (20th September 1566) and the

That these comments were part of a general orientation to the Empire is suggested by Orange's view, expressed in his memoir of the same month, that it would be more desirable to be joined with the Empire than with any other country. By this, he envisaged some form of institutional conformity with the Empire as well as common membership of a perpetual league or confederation.²⁸⁵

As 1568 approached and the prospect of civil war became more and more real, so the frequency with which phrases reminiscent of the Black Legend appear to have grown. Until the beginning of 1567, the only examples of such phrases appeared in letters and instructions written by Louis of Nassau and Orange. Louis, in a letter dated 10th August 1566, and addressed to his brother John, claimed that the King would, through the false counsel of some clergymen, rob the country of all its freedoms and traditional privileges and "under dem schein der Spanischen Inquisition und der Religion in eine unleidliche und unmenschliche dienstbarkeit ires gewissens, irer leib, ehr und guter zwingen wolle...".²⁸⁶ A month later, in instructions drawn up by Louis and Orange for a Monsieur de Varich to take to Egmont, Louis warns Egmont that the king and his council intend "mestre le pais, nous aultres, et nous enfans en la plus misérable servitude qu'on n'auroit jamais veu...".²⁸⁷ In a memoir drawn up in November 1566, Louis suggests that one policy the king might have with regard to the Low Countries was to place foreign soldiers ("estrangers") into fortresses in order to keep in subjection any possible dissenters. Furthermore, he suggests that the king might wish to leave "les Espagnols" in the Low Countries on the pretext of relieving the country of the costs of maintaining garrisons. This policy, he argues, would arouse suspicion among his subjects, partly because "ils craindient qu'ils pourroient estre traictés en

Request to Emperor Maximilian in December 1566, II, 500-04. The theme is already present in the letter dated 19th March 1566 in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 65-66.

²⁸⁵ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 435-36.

²⁸⁶ "Under the pretence of the Spanish Inquisition and Religion will want to force [them] into an unbearable and inhuman slavery of their consciences, their bodies, honour and property". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 207.

²⁸⁷ "to put the lands, ourselves and our children into the most miserable servitude ever seen". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 324.

la subjection d'Italie, on tomber en aultre servitude...".²⁸⁸ At the turn of the year, phrases recalling those of the Black Legend also appear in other sources;²⁸⁹ in a letter to Granvelle, written on April 30th 1567, Morillon claimed that he had seen a copy of the letters which Orange, Hornes, Hoogstraten and Nieuenar had written to Egmont on February 10th. According to Morillon, these letters argued that their enemies had the forces to destroy them and "que les estrangers viennent pour mectre le pays en perpétuelle servitude...".²⁹⁰

The appearance in the spring of 1567 of phrases recalling the French and German Black Legends may well reflect the influence of a work entitled *Conseil sacré d'un Gentilhomme François aux Eglises de Flandre...*²⁹¹ As the title suggests, the work was written by a Frenchman, probably Gervais le Barbier, sieur de Francourt, one of the Prince of Condé's counsellors.²⁹² The Huguenots had taken a great interest in developments in the Low Countries. They hoped to profit from the Troubles by securing the alliance of disaffected groups within the Low Countries and so relieve the pressure on the isolated Huguenot communities in

²⁸⁸ "They fear that they could be dealt with like the subjection of Italy and fall into another servitude". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 448, 450. See also Louis of Nassau's letters to William of Hessen, dated January 4th 1567 in Blok, *Correspondentie*, 50-62 and to Philip of Hessen, 15th February 1567 in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, Supplement, 52-57. Louis in the latter letter, speaking of the future suggests two possibilities: "erstlich die Lande, iren privilegien zuwidder, in subjection zue pringen, das vor nie gewest sey, vestung in die stet zue legen, und die Spanier in die Regierung zue setzenn; zum andern, die Religion zue grunt auszurotten und zue dempfen, derwegen von nöthen das sich der Prinz uf einen oder den andern weg erklere...".

²⁸⁹ See the Representation of the Calvinists to the Nobility, produced in the spring of 1567 in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 145. The document warned about the coming of the Spanish, Italians and other foreigners into the country. It declared that the government intended to punish not only those who committed iconoclastic acts but also to prosecute the placards rigorously against those who had left the Catholic Church, from which only bloodshed and perpetual slavery could be expected. See also the anonymous discourse produced in late 1566, early 1567 in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 129-131 and the Remonstrance of the Reformed to the Antwerp magistrates on February 27th 1567 in Bor, *Oorspronck*, I, 153-55.

²⁹⁰ "...that foreigners would come to put the lands into perpetual servitude". Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, Supplement, 46-47.

²⁹¹ K152: *Conseil sacré d'un Gentilhomme François aux Eglises de Flandre, qui peut servir d'humble exhortation a l'excellence des tresillustres Princes Protestans du Saint Empire: et d'avertissement certain aux seigneurs des pais bas...* (1567).

²⁹² Fruin, "Het voorspel", 441-43; *Dictionnaire de Biographie Francaise* (Paris, 1951) V, 342; Eugene and Emile Haag, *La France protestante, ou vie des protestants francais* (10 volumes; Paris, 1846-58: new edition, revised, by Henri Border, 6 volumes; Paris, 1877-88) I, 794-96.

northern France. Meanwhile, at the French court, the Huguenots pressed for a strong anti-Spanish line and were helped by the news of the Spanish massacre of French colonists in Florida which was reaching Europe in early 1566. Unfortunately for the Huguenots, the Netherlandish nobility and Orange and Louis of Nassau in particular, were intent on securing imperial and German aid for their cause and had no wish to associate themselves with the Huguenots on both religious and national grounds. Consequently, French offers of assistance were rebuffed.²⁹³ The *Conseil Sacré* then, appears as a final attempt to influence the direction of affairs in the Low Countries in a way favourable to the Huguenots.

As the *Conseil Sacré* stood within the French Protestant tradition of propaganda, it differed from other works produced in 1566-67 in a number of key respects. The work was addressed to three main audiences, the first of whom were the Reformed churches in the Low Countries. They were urged to take up arms against Philip II on the grounds of self-defence, and civic and religious duty. The need to fight had arisen because of the nature of the threat which faced the Reformed. Philip II, as head of the Catholic cause, and as a monarch whose inclinations would be to punish those whom he considered to be rebellious subjects, could not be trusted.²⁹⁴ The Spanish, moreover, would not only act against the Reformed but against the whole country; hence the notion of civic duty, of defending "l'ancienne liberté" and the "patrie".²⁹⁵

By calling for armed resistance and by identifying Philip II directly as an enemy, the *Conseil Sacré* was putting forward a much more radical approach than the Netherlandish works of 1566-67. The same was true also of the way in which the writer identified the Spanish as the cause of the troubles. The consequences of Spanish rule were spelled out at length by the writer. The Reformed were referred to the example of Sicily, Naples and Milan whose treatment would seem mild compared to the treatment of the Low Countries. The Netherlanders' goods would be taken away; the property of all the towns would be seized; the Spanish

²⁹³ Hoffmann, *The French Huguenots*, 63-123 and C. Paillard, "Relations entre Louis de Bourbon, Prince de Condé et les insurgés des Pays-Bas (1566-1567)", *Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français*, XXVII (1878) 130-38.

²⁹⁴ K152: *Conseil sacré*, 33-51. See also Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 93-94.

²⁹⁵ K152: *Conseil sacré*, 67-75.

would carry out massacres and would dishonour all the women; the children would be enslaved; the Spanish Inquisition would be introduced; and the Spanish would establish great garrisons and build mighty fortresses.²⁹⁶ Le Barbier's lurid description of the state of the Netherlands under Spanish rule derived clearly from the French Black Legend and the descriptions of France racked by civil war and strife. Without doubt, the image of a Netherlands oppressed by the Spanish would have given added concern to those who feared for the future of the country.

The writer also exhorted the Netherlandish Reformed to think about their faith in international terms and to see the French Reformed, in particular, not as national enemies but as brothers in faith, engaged in an "cause commune de la piete" ("common cause of piety") against an "ennemi comun" ("common enemy"), the Papacy, the House of Habsburg and the Spanish.²⁹⁷ This same message was addressed to the Evangelical princes of the Empire who were urged, on various grounds, to aid the churches in the Low Countries. The "cause" was represented as a matter of justice, self interest and honour. In putting forward the view that it was in their interests to intervene, the writer referred, by way of an example, to the treatment of John Frederick of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hessen in 1548-1553.²⁹⁸ Finally, the "seigneurs des païs-bas" ("lords of the Low Countries") were warned about what they could expect from Philip II and the Spanish even if, at this stage, they supported Brussels.²⁹⁹

A number of references made in 1567 regarding the *Conseil Sacré* suggest that the work was regarded at the time as being important. Morillon wrote a description of the pamphlet in a letter to Granvelle, dated April 19th/20th, describing it as a "livret bien pestilent" ("very pestilential little book").³⁰⁰ Pontus Payen noted its publication in his work and described it as being "fort en vogue" ("very much in fashion"); Hubert Languet also described and praised it in a letter

²⁹⁶ K152: Conseil sacré, 51-58.

²⁹⁷ K152: Conseil sacré, 5-15.

²⁹⁸ K152: Conseil sacré, 98-148 and for the Habsburgs and the German princes, 133-41.

²⁹⁹ K152: Conseil sacré, 166-86.

³⁰⁰ Hoffmann, The French Huguenots, 116.

to a friend.³⁰¹ The *Conseil Sacré* was also considered important enough by Michel de Castelnau to be included in his memoirs, where he noted simply that the Huguenots "firent publier un petit livre intitulé le Sacre Concile, qu'ils dedierent aux habitans du Pays-Bas...".³⁰² Most commentators agree in placing the publication of the work to January or February 1567.³⁰³ Certainly, the work must have been written and published after December 17th 1566 because the *Conseil Sacré* referred to Margaret of Parma's proclamation declaring Tournai and Valenciennes to be guilty of treason.³⁰⁴ Since the *Conseil Sacré* did not refer to Tournai, it is likely that it appeared after the town had opened its gates on January 2nd. As Morillon noted in his letter,³⁰⁵ the work was published before the battle of Oosterweel which took place on 13th March 1567. At what point between those dates the work appeared is difficult to determine, but account must be taken of the fact that letters, memoirs and pamphlets produced after January 1567 might have been influenced by the *Conseil Sacré*.

(c) 1567-1568

In the spring and early summer of 1567, the message of the *Conseil Sacré* appeared to fall on deaf ears. As neither the great nobility of the Netherlands nor the German princes were prepared to risk a confrontation with Philip II, the government forces in the region were able to regain control of the Low Countries. Orange and a host of other people, nobles, merchants, craftsmen and ministers were forced into exile. In the aftermath of the collapse of the so-called 'First Revolt', the first person to try and organise resistance against Margaret of Parma and Alba was Count Brederode. After a brief stop at Emden, Brederode spent the

³⁰¹ Fruin, "Het voorspel", 441-42.

³⁰² "published a little book entitled the *Conseil Sacré* which they dedicated to the inhabitants of the Low Countries...". Hoffmann, *The French Huguenots*, 116.

³⁰³ Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 93; Hoffmann, *The French Huguenots*, 116; Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 45 ("In het voorjaar").

³⁰⁴ K152: *Conseil sacré*,

³⁰⁵ Fruin, "Het voorspel", 442.

next few months travelling around north-west Germany in an attempt to build up support for an invasion. He managed to assemble troops on Lüneberger Heath but lack of funds forced him to discharge the troops in late July. In August, he sent messengers to the Netherlandish merchants at Wesel who were told that they were responsible for the failure of "onse oprecht guerille opt huys van Bourgoindien". After the failure of his attempts to raise a force capable of invading the Low Countries, Brederode went to Gemen castle in Westphalia, where he spent the remaining months of his life, dying in mid-February 1568.³⁰⁶

In late 1567, early 1568, shortly before Brederode died, he and other members of the lesser nobility signed an agreement to contribute a sum of 12,000 Carolus guilders to help bring about "die vryheyt ende Liberteyt onses Vaderlandts ende die verlossinghe aller onze armer gevanghenen...".³⁰⁷ The vocabulary of this work is highly significant. Whereas in August 1567, Brederode was still thinking in terms of a traditional "guerille opt huys van Bourgoindien", in the noble compact, the war had become a struggle against Alba and the Spanish. Features characteristic of the Netherlandish Black Legend appear for the first time in this work. The writer not only described Alba as "eenen Verloochenden Maran" ("an apostate marrano") and "onsen Vyant Morisque" ("our Morisco enemy") but also referred to the Spanish treatment of the American Indians. According to the writer, the Spanish "anders niet en soucken dan deese onse Vaderlanden te bringhen conforme die Nyewe Indiën, die zy eertytz gewonnen hebben...".³⁰⁸ As well as introducing the themes of the cruel and heathenish nature of the Spanish, the agreement also emphasised the notion of a "vaderlant", in the sense of a common fatherland. With the exception of the references to the Spanish desire to turn the Netherlands into a 'New Indies', the writer used the singular form of the noun. Furthermore, as the quotation above indicates, the writer also tied the

³⁰⁶ "our just war against the House of Burgundy". Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, III, 281-82 and P.J. Van Herwerden, Bij den oorsprong van onze onafhankelijkheid. Een studie over het aandeel van de standen aan het verzet tegen Spanje in de jaren 1559-1572 (Groningen, 1947) 59-60.

³⁰⁷ "the freedom and liberty of our fatherland and the liberties of all our poor prisoners". The agreement, entitled Verbintenis van eenige edelen appears in Te Water, Historie van het Verbond, IV, 60-67, 65.

³⁰⁸ "seek nothing other than to make these our fatherlands conform to the New Indies, which they have won before". Te Water, Historie van het Verbond, IV, 62, 65, 61.

concepts of Freedom and Liberty to the notion of a fatherland.³⁰⁹

The shift towards the distinctively anti-Spanish and patriotic character of rebel propaganda from 1568 onwards was also evident in another pre-Orangist work: the *Vermaninghe aen die gemeyne Capiteynen ende Krijchsknechten in Nederlandt*. As noted earlier,³¹⁰ the *Vermaninghe* was signed on April 1st 1568 and presumably published shortly afterwards. The pamphlet appears to have been written during the preceding two months and both the date of publication and internal evidence suggest that the *Vermaninghe* was the first rebel pamphlet to be produced after the collapse of the various opposition groups in May 1567. The audience for the pamphlet was neither the inhabitants of the Low Countries nor the German princes but, instead, the native soldiers serving under Alba. Using a range of arguments, the author attempted to persuade the soldiers that their true allegiance was not to Alba but to the Beggars.

There are various reasons for thinking the *Vermaninghe* was a pre-Orangist work rather than an early form of Orangist propaganda. The Orangist propaganda machine could begin only after Orange had decided to take up arms, a decision which Orange appears not to have made until after his property was confiscated in January 1568 and his son, the Count van Buren, was kidnapped in the following month. Since time would have been needed to co-ordinate both a military and propaganda campaign, it is unlikely that Orangist works would have been produced until March and April 1568. To begin with, Orange's prime concern was to produce a justificatory work, a work explaining the conduct of Orange up to 1568 and refuting the accusations made against him in the summons of January 1568. The publication of the *Vermaninghe* in early April 1568 seems, therefore, to be out step with the natural development of Orangist propaganda because it appeared before the publication of Orange's *Justification* in April 1568.

The second curious feature about the pamphlet is that in a work 92 folio pages long, Orange was not mentioned once by name. The writing does refer to the kidnapping of Orange's son the Count van Buren but used the incident as an example of Alba's tyranny rather than as justification for Orange's decision to take

³⁰⁹ Te Water, *Historie van het Verbond*, IV, 61, 63, 64, 65. See also Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 74-75, 83-84.

³¹⁰ See page 129 in this chapter.

up arms.³¹¹ The fact that in a work whose subject is resistance to Brussels, Orange's name is wholly absent, strongly suggests that Orange's decision to take up arms was not yet public when the pamphlet was written.

The other reasons which suggest the *Vermaninghe* was a non-Orangist work concern the contents of the pamphlet. Unlike the Orangist pamphlets, the *Vermaninghe* is an explicitly anti-Catholic work. The native soldiers, described as "der Papen en des Duvelsknechten" ("the soldiers of the Pope and the Devil") or as "Papeknechten" ("the Pope's soldiers"), are admonished for helping the Pope to establish control over the Netherlands. The writer describes the troubles afflicting the Netherlands as a punishment meted out to "Nederlant" for despising the evangelical preachers. In the pamphlet, the papist government was tied very closely to the Spanish tyranny while by contrast, the cause of Christ was linked to the Freedom of the dear, beloved fatherland.³¹² The *Vermaninghe* also differed from the later Orangist works in its stress on the duty of resistance. Whereas the Orangist pamphlets carefully skirted round the problem of resistance, the *Vermaninghe* was more forthright in calling upon the soldiers to take up arms against Alba.³¹³

Where the pamphlet differed most fundamentally from the Orangist works, though, was in its attitude to Philip II. For much of the pamphlet the writer put forward the same approach to Philip II as other rebel writers in 1568. The writer argued that in taking up arms against Alba the native soldiers would be fighting for the king and not against him.³¹⁴ However, in the early part of the pamphlet, the author's main concern was not so much to argue that it was the duty of the soldiers to fight Alba as to demonstrate that everybody was accountable for their actions. According to the writer, God would judge not only those who decided upon and planned the campaigns against the Beggars and determined the policy of persecution, but, also, all those who carried out these policies. By following the commands of Margaret of Parma and Alba, the soldiers had reduced the

³¹¹ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fol. 65.

³¹² M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 15 and 26-36.

³¹³ See Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 103-04 for an analysis of the pamphlet's position on rights and duties.

³¹⁴ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 70-74.

Netherlands to misery, an action for which the soldiers, just as much as Alba and Margaret of Parma would be held responsible.³¹⁵

In order to support his case, the writer used a number of examples from the Bible to demonstrate that ordinary soldiers as well as leaders would be held to account for their deeds. The most striking of these examples is the story of the Assyrian siege of Jerusalem in the time of king Hezekiah. In the story, Sennacherib, king of Assyria sends a large army under the command of his field commander, called Rapsake in the pamphlet, to besiege Jerusalem. The siege was lifted when the "angel of the lord" went among the Assyrian army killing 185,000 men and forcing Sennacherib to retreat to Nineveh. Sennacherib was then murdered in a temple by two of his sons.³¹⁶ The author of the *Vermaninghe* compared the contemporary situation with the siege of Jerusalem so that the Assyrian army represented the Netherlandish soldiers, Rapsake stood for Alba and Sennacherib for Philip II. The fate of the Assyrian army, the author wrote was the fate which awaited the soldiers of Alba's army if they continued with their latterday siege of Jerusalem; that is, the campaign against the Beggars.³¹⁷

By inviting the soldiers to compare their eventual fate with that of the Assyrian soldiers, the writer was also making a statement about Philip II. The comparison implied that, like Sennacherib, Philip was responsible for the campaign in the Low Countries and would meet the same end as the Assyrian ruler. In the biblical story, Sennacherib's field commander, Rapsake, speaking on behalf of Sennacherib, calls upon Hezekiah and the citizens of Jerusalem to surrender. According to Rapsake, Sennacherib was contemptuous of both Hezekiah and his Egyptian allies and urged the people of Jerusalem not to trust in the words of their king. In the *Vermaninghe*, Alba also claimed to speak for Philip II. The king of Spain, Alba claimed, called upon the Netherlands to accept his Spanish Inquisition, his cardinals and his bishoprics. Philip ridiculed the Beggars for their weak forces and dismissed the idea that the Beggars and the Netherlands could resist Alba. After all, Philip asked, had not Alba introduced the Spanish Inquisition into Naples, imprisoned and oppressed the Protestant princes in Germany and introduced the

³¹⁵ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols. 3 and 7.

³¹⁶ See the book of Isaiah, chapters 36 and 37.

³¹⁷ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 9 to 11 and 7 to 37 generally.

Interim of 1548? How then would the Netherlands survive against Alba and the thousands of Spanish and Italian soldiers?³¹⁸

Later on in the pamphlet, the writer also dismissed the idea that the Reformed Protestants in the Netherlands should give up their religion in favour of Catholicism. At this point, the writer directed his defiance straight at Philip II:

"Ende dese onse erffenisse, o heer Coninck (Philips II), souden wy geven in uwen handen, om daervoor van u stinckende papen te ontfanghen haer selfs met looghnenen vercierde vaghevier? haer *Requiem eternam*? haer *Benedicite Dominus*? haer *Absolvo*? haer *Libera me, Domine*? haer quispelen ende stoolen? haer sielmissen ende sielvesperen? haer bevaerden ende aflaten? ende haren duymsoudt, daermede die conscientien der armer menschen nimmermeer connen ghestillet of smaek of cracht ghegheven worden, dan alleen nut daertoe zijn om uutgheworpen ende met voeten ghetreden te worden?"³¹⁹

The point about these two examples, the analogy with Sennacherib and the refusal to accept the imposition of Catholicism, is that the writer attributed to Philip II a degree of responsibility for the troubles which would be inconceivable in an Orangist work from this period. The malevolent role ascribed to Philip II, even if was only implied by the nature of the analogy, was fundamentally at odds with the official Orangist line that Philip II was the naive and innocent dupe of Alba and the Spanish Inquisition.

The significance of the fact that the *Vermaninghe* was a pre-Orangist work becomes clear when the contents of the pamphlet are examined in more detail. The advent of the duke of Alba and the Army of Flanders in the Low Countries was clearly signified in the pamphlet. Alba was referred to repeatedly in the work

³¹⁸ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 9-11.

³¹⁹ "And should we give into your hands, O Lord our King, these our inheritances, in order to receive in exchange from you the stinking papists' purgatory decked out with lies? their *Requiem eternam*? their *Benedicite Dominus*? their *absolvo*? their *Libera me, Domine*? their sprinklings and stolas? their soul masses and their vespers for the dead? their pilgrimages and indulgences? and their pittances, with can bring neither tranquillity to the consciences of the poor nor give spiritual enjoyment nor power, but are only fit to be thrown out and trodden underfoot?" M187: *Vermaninghe*, fol. 15.

and was described in various ways, appearing as "Calf" or "DuCalb", "De Witte Ducaert" ("the white ducat"), "Duc del Rey" ("duke the king"), the "Spaenschen rasenden hont DuCalb" ("Spanish raging hound Duke Alba"), "Duc Diable" ("the devil-duke"), the tyrant Alba and sometimes just as Alba.³²⁰ References to "de Spaensche moordadige tyrannie" ("the murderous Spanish tyranny"), "de eewige Spaensche servituyt ende slavernie" ("the perpetual Spanish servitude and slavery") and even on one occasion, the "Spaenscher honden, wolven, leeuwen ende beeren" ("the Spanish hounds, wolves, lions and bears") also appear in the pamphlet.³²¹ The appearance of these references to Alba and the Spanish does mark a shift from the propaganda of 1565-67. Unlike the earlier works, the *Vermaninghe* does contain an anti-Spanish element.

In other respects, though, the *Vermaninghe* harked back to the pre-1568 propaganda. There were far more references in the pamphlet to the Spanish inquisition than to the Spanish in general.³²² Furthermore, the anti-Catholic element was more pronounced in this work. Not only was the Pope referred to as the "anti-Christ" and the "whore of Babylon"³²³ but the Spanish Inquisition was linked to the Council of Trent.³²⁴ While Alba received the lion's share of attention, both Granvelle and Margaret of Parma were also mentioned frequently. In some places, Granvelle or the "Rooden drake" ("Red Dragon") was blamed for causing the troubles.³²⁵ The inclusion of Margaret of Parma in the pamphlet represents a more unusual feature. For much of 1566, Margaret of Parma was not singled out by critics of the regime. Since the pamphleteers knew that it was Philip II and not Margaret of Parma who had ultimate responsibility for national policy in the Low Countries, there was little point in directing requests to her. In the Orangist works of 1568, Margaret of Parma received little attention simply

³²⁰ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 29-30 ("Calf" or "DuCalb"), 42, 43, 50 ("De Witte Ducaert"), 45 (as the tyrant) 54, 55 ("Duc del Rey") 63 ("Spaenschen rasender hont DuCalb") and 50, 72 ("Duc Diable").

³²¹ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 10, 35, 43 and 88.

³²² M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols. 6, 18, 29-30, 53, 59, 61.

³²³ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 8, 45, 52-53.

³²⁴ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 70-71, 76.

³²⁵ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 73, 76.

because the blame for the troubles was laid principally upon Alba and the Spanish; moreover the audience for these Orangist works was much more general than was the case for the works of 1566. The striking appearance of Margaret of Parma in the *Vermaninghe* was a mark not only of the hatred with which she was regarded after her actions in later 1566, early 1567 but also of the more unfocused nature of the pamphlet generally. In contrast to the Orangist work of 1568, the *Vermaninghe* attacks the enemies of the Beggars in a more indiscriminate manner, a fact which strengthens the case for its being a pre-Orangist work.³²⁶

The anti-Catholic element in the work and the presence of references to Granvelle and Margaret of Parma suggest that this work cannot easily be accommodated among the 'Black Legend' pamphlets of the 1568-70 period. It is difficult to see how the author could have developed the themes of specifically Spanish vices of pride and bestiality given that the pamphlet contained some strong denunciations of crimes committed by native soldiers in the Low Countries. Furthermore, the writer mentioned on three occasions the dangers from Italian as well as Spanish monks and soldiers, a feature wholly absent from the later Netherlandish Black Legend.³²⁷ These features of the contents of the *Vermaninghe* all set the pamphlet off from the other works in 1568 so that it appears as a hybrid, a largely indiscriminate mix of themes and phrases from both 1565-67 and 1568.

The deployment of the patriotic motif in the pamphlet is also strikingly different from the works of both 1565-67 and 1568. Unlike the earlier works the 'fatherland' featured strongly in the *Vermaninghe*. Throughout the pamphlet, the writer used the concept of the fatherland and the image of a suffering Netherlands in an attempt to draw the native soldiers away from the service of Alba. In contrast to the later Orangist works, the range of adjectives and images used to describe the Netherlands was very broad. The Netherlands and the 'fatherland' were described not just as "lieve" ("dear"), "arme" ("poor") and "bedructe" ("oppressed") but also as "naeste en beminde" ("close and beloved"), "schoone heerlycke" ("beautiful, fine") and "edel vrye" ("noble, free"). The native soldiers were castigated for destroying "die edele, vruchtbare, lieflijcke, vrije, met

³²⁶ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 7, 8, 14, 37, 39, 42, 43, 73.

³²⁷ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols. 10, 42, 44.

allerhande scoone, heerlijcke gaven vercierde Nederland".³²⁸

The strong rhetorical character of the *Vermaninghe* was also apparent in the way in which the writer developed patriotic themes familiar from German, French and Orangist propaganda. Soldiers were often exhorted to fight for their fatherland as if they were fighting for their father and mother. In one passage, the writer of the *Vermaninghe* developed this theme further by comparing the Netherlands, their "vaderlant", to the families in which the soldiers had been raised:

"dat ghy, die in de Nederlanden geboren syt, u eyghen vaderlant, dat ghy oock na den regel ende wet der naturen als uwen eyghen vader ende moeder alle eere, beschuttinghe ende bescherminghe schuldich sijt, daervan ghy alle uwe heerlycke ende costelycke ghaven, die ghy hebt ende bedencken meucht, ontfangen hebt; sult ghy dan, seg ick noch eens, soo onbescheyden zyn, dat ghy u lieve Vaderlant sult branden, verherren, vernielen ende ruyneren? Wat hebt ghy doch ontfangen, dat ghy niet schuldich en sijt uwen lieven vader ende moeder, ende uwen lieven vaderlande? Wie heeft u leeren spreken? Wie heeft u opgebracht? Wie heeft u van alle elende ende jammer, als ghy machteloos ende crachteloos waert, beschermt? Wie heeft u, als ghy honger ende dorst gehadt hebt, gespyst ende gedrenct?...".³²⁹

From passages such as these, it is clear that the *Vermaninghe* occupies an intermediary stage in the propaganda of the years 1565-1570. Unlike the earlier works of 1565-67, the pamphlet had a marked patriotic and anti-Spanish

³²⁸ "the noble, fertile, dear, free and richly blessed with many gifts Netherlands". M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols. 6, 46, 47, 50, 54, 55, 59.

³²⁹ "...that you, who were born in the Netherlands, your own fatherland, that you, by the law of nature, are obliged to give all honour, defence and protection, as if it were your own father and mother; from which you have received all your fine and precious gifts that you have and might think about; should you then, I say again, be so shameless, that you would burn, lord over, destroy and ruin? What has happened to you, that you should not be obligated to your dear father and mother and your dear fatherland? Who taught you to speak? Who brought you up? Who protected you from all misery and suffering when you were powerless and helpless? Who gave you food and drink when you were hungry and thirsty?..." M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 48-49.

character. Unlike the later works, though, the *Vermaninghe* still bore a strong anti-Catholic strain and used the patriotic and anti-Spanish themes in a much less measured and controlled way.

Part Five: Conclusion

(a) Sources

Whenever historians have drawn attention to the introduction of a patriotic theme in the propaganda of 1568-70, they have usually stressed the importance of humanism as a source for these expressions. Humanism was, undoubtedly, of great importance in the sixteenth century for the way in which it introduced educated groups to the patriotic literature of antiquity. The direct influence is evident clearly in the *Vermaninghe aen die gemeyne Capiteynen ende Krijchsknechten*. As part of his attempt to persuade the native soldiers of the Low Countries that they were not bound by their oaths, the writer mentioned examples of the high value that the Greeks and Romans placed upon their fatherland. In one example, King Xerxes is told by a certain Buris and Spartis tell Xerxes:

"Hoe connen wij/ O Heer Coninck/ hier leven/ en ons ghemack hebben/ verlatende onse lieve vaderlycke wetten ende manieren/ om wyens wille wij dese moeyelicke reyse aengenommen hebben: wij die bereyt zijn liever te sterven/ dan dat ons lief vaderlant soude verderven ende ommecomen?"

Unusually, Pneumenander also gave the sources for each example so providing some idea of which works writers were drawing upon.³³⁰

The *Vermaninghe*, though, was the only pamphlet from 1568 in which

³³⁰ "How could we, O Sire, live here at our ease, neglecting our dear laws and customs on whose account we have undertaken this difficult journey, we that are prepared rather to die than to see our dear fatherland destroyed and put to an end?". M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols 46-51.

classical works were referred to directly. There is no evidence in any of the other works that the writers took ideas and expressions directly from classical sources. Indeed, the popular nature of the pamphlets, songs and letters of 1568 with their complex mix of themes was such that a straight borrowing from the works of antiquity seems improbable. It seems proper to conclude that humanism was of general rather than specific importance: humanism was of crucial significance in creating the circumstances in which the writers of the 1568 works were able to use patriotic propaganda but those writers drew not upon classical works but on some intermediary sources.

One of the principal themes of this chapter and, indeed, of the thesis as a whole, has been the emphasis upon approaching problems of sources and ideas from an international as well as national perspective. Seen from this point of view, what is so striking about the rebel propaganda of 1568-70 is how much it fits in with the propaganda of the international Protestant movement of the 1540s to the 1560s. Within the Low Countries, the patriotic and anti-Spanish nature of the propaganda in 1568-70 marked a distinct break with the past; within the context of west-European Protestantism, the Netherlandish propagandists displays a marked continuity with the propaganda of German Lutheranism, French Calvinism and, possibly also, English Protestantism. As a general conclusion, therefore, it seems fair to state that the "intermediary source" which the Netherlandish propagandists used in 1568-70 was the storehouse of themes developed by Protestants throughout western Europe from the 1540s.

Within the international reformed movement, though, there were separate traditions which, for want of a better term, could be described as 'national' variations on the basic themes of Protestant propaganda. As the emphasis upon the development of German 'patriotic' propaganda in Part III of this chapter might suggest, it is the contention of this work that German Lutheran propaganda exercised more influence upon the Netherlandish propagandists than any of the other traditions. Historians who have studied the pamphlet literature of the Revolt have traditionally discounted or even ignored the possible influence of German works from the 1540s to the 1570s. De Vrankrijker dismissed German influence in the early part of the Revolt as negligible, asserting that Orange would not have read any Lutheran political works and that, in general, the German princes always

advocated moderation and obedience.³³¹ In his article on the Black Legend, Koen Swart rejected the view that "German Protestant influence was responsible for those features of the Black Legend in the Netherlands in which it differed from the Italian prototype" arguing, instead, that "in matters of hispanophobia, the Netherlands influenced Germany rather than vice versa."³³² Werner Thomas, in a study of the development of the Netherlandish Black Legend referred in passing to the appearance of German pamphlets in 1546 but did not develop this angle.³³³

Some lesser-known studies, though, suggest that German influence upon Dutch works in the sixteenth century has been much under-estimated. It appears that much of Dutch popular literature in the sixteenth century, particularly songs and chap books, derived originally from German sources. Given the importance of songs as a way of spreading patriotic and anti-Spanish propaganda, the German influence upon Dutch song writers may be highly significant.³³⁴ Furthermore, a short study by Nicolette Mout on prophecies during the Dutch Revolt concluded that whereas the political and religious ideas developed in the Revolt were sometimes connected to France, the form and content of prophecies was inspired more by works from the German Empire.³³⁵ These two examples point to a still largely unrecognised German influence upon Dutch popular literature and propaganda during the sixteenth century. There are two main reasons for stressing the German influence on the propaganda of 1568-70: the textual evidence and the circumstantial evidence.

The textual evidence for German influence rests both upon the similarity of themes and phrases between the German and Netherlandish works and the way in which the Netherlandish works picked up on specifically German concerns. First

³³¹ De Vrankrijker, De motiveering, 62-64.

³³² Swart, "The Black Legend", 37, footnote 4.

³³³ Thomas, "De mythe van de Spaanse inquisitie", 334.

³³⁴ M. Bülbring, The Literary Relations between Germany and the Netherlands in the Sixteenth Century (Unpublished M.A, University College London, 1939-40) 64-86, 124-26.

³³⁵ M.E.H.N. Mout, "Prognostica tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand" in C. Augustijn, et al, eds., Kerkhistorische opstellen aangeboden aan Prof. dr J. Van den Berg (Kampen, 1987) 9-19, 16-17.

of all, there was a remarkable correspondence between the phraseology employed by German and Netherlandish writers in the period. As Dutch, Low German and High German were cognate languages, it was easy for Dutch and German writers to adapt phrases current in one language for use in the other. This is apparent in the adjectives used to describe the fatherland, the country and the people. In both the German and Netherlandish works, the terms "arme" ("poor"), "lieve"/"liebe" ("dear"), "vrye"/"freyen" ("free"), "edel" ("noble"), "soet"/"sussen" ("sweet"), "gemeyne"/"gemain" ("common") and "eigen"/"aigen" ("own") appeared frequently.³³⁶ German as well as Netherlandish pamphlets drew a contrast between the lovers of the country ("liefhebbers des Vaderlandt" in Dutch and "liebhaber seins süssen vatterlands" in German) and the traitors to the country.³³⁷ Furthermore, in order to describe the future condition of a country dominated by the Spanish, both German and Dutch writers used variants of slavery, tyranny, servitude and oppression.³³⁸

The similar vocabulary of the Netherlandish and German works was an indication of the fact that contents were very similar. Both the German and Netherlandish pamphlets and songs deployed the concept of an endangered fatherland threatened by the evil designs of a foreign, particularly Spanish, power. Both sets of works emphasised a national threat in an attempt to gain the support of Catholics as well as Protestants. As well as using similar conceptions of the fatherland and the related theme of Spanish ambition and pride, German and Netherlandish propagandists also shared a concern for the 'freedom' of their country, although they understood 'freedom' in different ways. In addition to these thematic similarities, a surprising number of the protagonists in the propaganda of 1568-70 had already played a part in the events of the later 1540s and early 1550s. In both sets of works, the duke of Alba and Granvelle play an

³³⁶ See for examples, the Netherlandish works, M187: Vermaninghe; the 'Clachte' in De Navorscher; and the 'Waerschouwinghe' in Schenk, Geschriften. German examples appear in the Expostulation, the Vermanung and Ain Kurtzer Bericht.

³³⁷ For Netherlandish examples see 'Willem...(August 31)' in Bor, Oorspronck, I and for German examples, Ain Kurtzer Bericht and Ein gesprech des Teütschen Lands.

³³⁸ In the German works, examples appear in Der Durchleüchtigst, the Warhaffte und gegründte meldung and Ain Kurtzer Bericht; in the Netherlandish works, see 'Willem...(August 31)', Bor, Oorspronck, I and 'Waerschouwinghe' in Schenk, Geschriften and M187: Vermaninghe.

important part in the propaganda as foreign enemies of the respective fatherlands.

The propagandists of 1568-70 were obviously aware of the parallels and apparent continuities because a number of letters and pamphlets from 1568-70 referred back to the events of the later 1540s and early 1550s. Already in the *Vermaninghe aen die gemeyne Capiteynen ende Krijchsknechten in Nederlandt* of April 1st 1568, Alba's actions in 1548 were emphasised. Philip II (alias Sennacherib) dismissed the suggestion that the Beggars could resist Alba by recalling the duke's actions:

"die in Hoochduytslant met mynen Heer vader niet alleen die hoochgeboren/ deurluchtighe/ en vermogende Heeren en Vorsten/ beenghen/ benaut/ verdruet/ en etlycke van de machtichste in ghevanckenisse...ghebracht: maer oock byna in alle stercke en geweldige Oostersche en Duytsche steden/ Graefschappen/ en Vorstendomen/ dat subtyl/ cloeck/ heerlyc/ en wijtberoemt Interim...inghevoert heeft?"³³⁹

The events of this time were also recalled in a letter sent by Orange to the Elector Palatine in September 1568³⁴⁰ and in a German pamphlet from the same year.³⁴¹

The most extensive references to the events of the later 1540s and early 1550s, though, appeared in the 1570 *Libellus Supplex Imperatoriae Maiestatis*. The *Libellus*, a petition presented to the Reichstag at Speyer in October 1570, was

³³⁹ "who in High Germany with my Lord Father, not only constrained, intimidated and oppressed the high-born, illustrious and powerful Lords and Princes and led some of the most powerful into prison but also introduced into almost all the strong and powerful Low and High-German towns, counties and principalities, that cunning, fine and well-known Interim?" M187: *Vermaninghe*, fol.10.

³⁴⁰ The letter, dated 04/09/1568, was sent from Misenheim by Orange to the Elector Palatine. It can be found in the Nordrhein-Westfälischen Hauptstaatsarchiv, Düsseldorf (Kurkoln, VII). The letter was described by Rachfahl, *Wilhelm von Oranien*, III, 473-75 and included in a summarised form in A. Kluckhohn, ed., *Briefe Friedrich des Frommen Kurfürsten von der Pfalz mit verwandten Schriftstücken gesammelt und bearbeitet*, Volume 2, 1st half (Braunschweig, 1870) 244-45. See also Orange's letter in 1574 to Count John of Nassau, in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, V, 61-65, 63.

³⁴¹ *Neuwe zeitung von Franckreich und Niderlandt* (1568; BL 9210.ccc.21), fols. A2v-A3r

an attempt to gain the support of Imperial princes for the rebel cause. In order to do so, the author presented the events in the Low Countries as part of a much broader and long-term campaign by the Spanish Inquisition and its servants to gain control in Europe. In this scheme of things, the attempt to establish the Spanish Inquisition in the Low Countries and the arrival of Alba appear as the natural sequel to the defeat of the Schmalkaldic League in 1547, the Interim and the imprisonment of the German princes. For those who doubted what he had written about the Netherlands, the writer urged them to think about what had happened in Germany:

"You shall perceave truly theyr old artes, you shall know these old Spaniardes, you shall know these old Inquisitors, for even these be they which with grevous cavils and sclaunders, & with the terror of the Popes name have oppressed the most famous princes of Germany before Charles the V...".

The author claims that the actions of Granvelle and Alba during this period were well known in Germany:

"For to whom is Grandvellanus the Cardinall of the Germaynes unknowen, or who knoweth not the Duke of Alba? both the which have emprisoned the most noble princes of Germany, overcommying them partly by violence, and partly by their fraude and deceyte, and have slaundered them with most reprochful contumelyes...".³⁴²

The propaganda of 1568-70 also picked up on a number of themes current in German and Imperial circles during the 1540s to 1560s. Charles V's decision in the later 1540s to bestow the succession to the Low Countries upon his own son Prince Philip rather than upon Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, caused much tension in the Habsburg family. The possibility that Maximilian rather than Philip might still govern the Low Countries appeared as a rumour in both the early 1550s

³⁴² Quoting from the contemporary English translation, A Defence and true declaration, 123-25. See also 29-32.

and mid-1560s. There is a hint in this direction in a letter written by Orange to Maximilian himself in August 1568. In the letter, Orange tried to justify his decision to take up arms by emphasising the cruel and tyrannous acts of Alba. To strengthen his case, Orange suggested that Alba was also determined to take the government of the Low Countries away from Philip II and his sons, an act which, in consequence, would deprive Maximilian and his heirs of their place in the succession to the Low Countries: "et finalement desrober et démectre Sa Majesté Catholique et son fils de leur possessions et gouvernement, et par conséquent aussi Vostre Majesté Impériale et ses hoirs de la succession desdicts Pays-Bas."³⁴³ While the reference to the Imperial as well as Spanish succession to the Low Countries was no more than a hint to Maximilian, it does suggest again an awareness of the international situation of the 1550s. The rumour about the possible succession of Maximilian to the Low Countries and the reference to the acts of Alba and Granvelle in the later 1540s and early 1550s suggest that the events of this period were still fresh in the minds of Germans and Netherlanders or, at least, were still considered to be pertinent to the understanding of international affairs in the 1560s.

When referring to the events of the later 1540s and early 1550s, the rebel propagandists tended also to stress what might happen to Germany should Alba and the Spanish take control of the Low Countries. In his letter to Maximilian, written in August 1568, Orange not only drew attention to Alba's supposed desire to wrest the succession from Philip II but also dwelt upon the consequences for Germany should Alba succeed in his aims. According to Orange, after subduing the Low Countries, Alba would then invade the Empire and introduce the very tyranny which he had instituted in the Low Countries.³⁴⁴ By raising the prospect of the future enslavement of the Empire by Alba, Orange and other writers from

³⁴³ "and finally steal and deprive His Catholic Majesty and his sons of their possessions and government and by consequence, also Your Imperial Majesty and his heirs from the succession to these Low Countries". Letter dated 12/08/68 and appears in Gachard, Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, III, 6-19, 15 and also 11-12.

³⁴⁴ Orange to Maximilian, 12/08/68, Gachard, Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne, III, 12, 15.

the time,³⁴⁵ were, of course, merely following one obvious line of propaganda; that is, appealing to the self-interest of the German princes. However, the idea that events in the Low Countries were, in some sense, a foretaste of things to come in the Empire at large, had also been a significant theme in German Protestant propaganda. The same was also true of the emphasis in the *Bekendtnus* and in Orange's letters to the German princes on the fate of the "arme Christen" ("poor Christians").³⁴⁶

The circumstantial evidence for German influence upon the propaganda of 1568-70 falls into two parts. First of all, there is the evidence for Orange's growing ties to the German Protestant princes from the later 1550s and early 1560s. The resolution of the conflict between the House of Nassau and the Landgrave of Hessen, Orange's marriage to Anna of Saxony and the tensions within the Low Countries from 1561 onwards, all facilitated the development of greater contacts between Orange, his brother Louis of Nassau and the German Lutheran princes. These contacts continued to be regular and close until the autumn campaign of 1568. One of the striking things about these contacts was the constant exchange of news and "zeitungen" between Orange, Louis of Nassau and the German princes. It is fair to assume that Orange himself and not just his assistants would have kept abreast of developments within Europe and would have learnt quickly the German evangelical attitude to European affairs. It would be odd, indeed, to suppose that Orange only became interested in pamphlet literature and propaganda in 1568. Added to this, it should also be noted that Orange spent almost the whole of the exilic period before the autumn campaign of 1568 in the German Empire. Although he travelled much during this period, his movements were confined to north-west Germany, with the exception of a brief trip to Strasbourg in early June 1568 and a sortie to Limburg in early July

³⁴⁵ See also Orange's letters to Schwendi, 19/06/68 and to Duke Christopher of Wurttemberg, 17/09/68 in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III, 244-51 and 291-95 respectively; Bor's summary of some letters sent by Orange and his brother Louis of Nassau in *Oorspronck*, I, 227; the *Newe Zeittung von Franckreich unnd Niderlandt...*(1568); and K166: *Bekendtnus*, fols. B3v and B4v.

³⁴⁶ For example, K166: *Bekendtnus*, passim.

1568.³⁴⁷ The fact that Orange was present in Germany throughout the period when Orangist propaganda was composed does not prove German influence but, taken together with Orange's regular contacts with the German princes from the early 1560s, it does present strong, circumstantial evidence.

The second part of the circumstantial evidence relates to the other exiles during 1567-68 and to the non-Orangist propaganda of the period. The majority of those who fled from the Netherlands in 1567, headed east towards Germany. Cologne, Emden, Wesel and other towns in north-western Germany were soon full of refugees from the Low Countries. All but a few of these refugees were to spend the whole of the early period of the exile, from April 1567 to the autumn of 1568, within the German speaking lands of the Empire.³⁴⁸ The same was true for Count Brederode, responsible for the noble compact of late 1567, early 1568 and probably true for the author of the other pre-Orangist work, the *Vermaninghe*. Brederode spent the summer of 1567 riding around north-western Germany in an attempt to secure help but eventually settled at Gemen Castle in Westphalia where he was to die in February 1568.³⁴⁹ Although, given the international nature of propaganda in the period, the sources for the anti-Spanish and patriotic nature of the agreement, may have come from anywhere in western Europe, it is still worth noting that Brederode, who was the inspiration behind the noble compact, spent all of his exilic period within Germany.

As the author of the *Vermaninghe* is unknown, it is by no means certain that the pamphlet is of German provenance. According to the title of the pamphlet, the work was printed "buyten Doesborgh", which would seem to be Duisburg. A section at the end adds that the work was published outside "Colen" or Cologne. Since the place of publication was often deliberately misleading, these locations do not prove anything conclusively. However, in one of the opening

³⁴⁷ An useful "Dagregister van 's prinsen levensloop", showing Orange's movement throughout his life, was compiled by H.J.P. Van Alfen in Prins Willem van Oranje 1533-1933 (Haarlem, 1933) 409-52. Helmut Cellarius also compiled a calendar for Orange's movements during 1568 in "Dillenburg Oranienkalender 1568" in Dillenburg 1568-1968. Beiträge zur nassau-oranischen Geschichte (Dillenburg, 1968) 18-36.

³⁴⁸ On the location of exiles see Van Herwerden, Bij den oorsprong, 54 and Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, III, 213.

³⁴⁹ Rachfahl, Wilhelm von Oranien, III, 281-82 and Van Herwerden, Bij den oorsprong, 59-60.

passages of the pamphlet, the writer addresses himself to the soldiers in "de westersche Nederlanden...", a phrase which suggests the work was written and published in a German territory close to the eastern border of the Netherlands, such as Cleves, Jülich or Cologne.³⁵⁰

The evidence for a strong German influence upon the propaganda of 1568-70 is based, therefore, on textual and circumstantial evidence. There is a striking similarity between the themes and phraseology of German works from the 1540s to the 1560s and the propaganda of 1568-70. Furthermore, Orange's ties to the German princes and the presence within Germany of other exiles suggest that the propaganda of 1568-70 was composed in a German environment. Taken together, these different sets of evidence support the view that the influence of German Protestant literature upon Netherlandish propaganda was decisive.

It should be emphasised, though, that German evangelical literature did not have an exclusive influence upon Netherlandish propagandists. Anti-Spanish and patriotic propaganda also played an important part in Huguenot works and such works did circulate in the Low Countries. One French work, in particular, was probably very influential: the *Conseil sacré*. Robert Fruin was the first historian to draw attention to this pamphlet and to emphasise its importance; indeed, he wrote "dat als het manifest van den opstand kon worden beschouwd".³⁵¹ The *Conseil sacré* can be looked at in this light for four main reasons. It was the first work to justify and advocate armed resistance to Brussels; it put forward, among other reasons, a patriotic basis for resistance; and it introduced to the Low Countries, "een versie van de Zwarte Legende...die veel verder ontwikkeld was dan de Nederlandse".³⁵² The fourth reason concerns the use of the phrase "cause

³⁵⁰ M187: *Vermaninghe*, fols. 2v-3r.

³⁵¹ "that it can be considered as the manifesto of the Revolt". Fruin, "Het voorspel", 441. Despite Fruin's recommendation, the work has attracted little attention. In the twentieth century, Hoffmann, Pollmann and Van Gelderen have all considered the work, though from different points of view: Hoffmann, *The French Huguenots*, 116, places the work into the context of Huguenot-Netherlandish relations; Pollmann, "Eine natürliche Feindschaft", 86, considers it in the light of the development of the Black Legend; and Van Gelderen, *The Political Thought*, 93-94 in connection with Protestant attempts to formulate a theory of resistance.

³⁵² "a version of the Black Legend...that was much further developed than the Netherlandish". Pollmann, *Een naturelicke vijantschap*, 45.

commune". Originally a legal term, used to designate an action in law,³⁵³ the phrase "cause" was adopted by Protestants in the 1550s and 1560s as a slogan behind which all the groupings on the Protestant side could unite.³⁵⁴ Although some writers in the Low Countries did use the phrase "our cause" in the sense of the 'ultimate end for which we fight' in 1566,³⁵⁵ the phrase with the addition of the "commune" did not become part of rebel propaganda until after the publication of the *Conseil sacré*.

The phrase, the "common cause", was to be used by Orange in two senses. When used in documents directed at the Netherlands, the common cause became a national cause, a cause in which Catholics and Protestants fought side by side against the Spanish. It appears in this sense in the letter of credence given to Jean Basius in March 1568 where Orange authorises Basius to request help and assistance for the advancement of the "ghemene saacke".³⁵⁶ In an international context, though, the common cause referred to the religious crusade envisaged by Le Barbier, a cause which Orange was to take up from 1568, though more for reasons of self-interest than religious conviction.³⁵⁷ By introducing the phrase,

³⁵³ Orange himself used the term in the legal sense in 1552 with regard to the dispute about the Catzenelenbogeln inheritance between the House of Nassau and the Landgrave of Hessen. In a letter to his wife, Orange referred to "nostre cause de Catsenelenbogen": Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, I, 9 and Japikse, *Correspondentie van Willem den Eerste*, I, 10 (11th July 1552). A few months later, Orange commended the interests of the House of Nassau to the Emperor and wrote about "la cause commune de Monsr mon père et moy contre le Landgraff...", Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, I, 11-12 (1st October 1552).

³⁵⁴ Kelley, *The Beginning of Ideology*, 257-60, 290-97.

³⁵⁵ See the letter by Nicholas de Hames (16th May 1566), the Request presented to the Nobility at St.Trond "par les marchands et peuple de par deçà" (July 1566) and letter from d'Audrignies and de Lumbres to Louis of Nassau (October 5th 1566) in Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, II, 115-19 (de Hames), 159-60 (Request) and 368-69 (d'Audrignies). The first and third of these letters do come close to the phrase: the writer to De Hames describes the persecution of Protestants and states, "Car veu que nostre cause et la leure est commune..."; and d'Audrignies and de Lumbres, speaking of their obligation to the Compromise, wrote "en vertu du compromis, par lequel nous promettons nous entretenir tous la main, jusques à faire nostre cause particulière commune..."

³⁵⁶ Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III, 196-205.

³⁵⁷ A project of alliance between Orange, Condé and Coligny was drawn up in August 1568: Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III, 282-86. The most authoritative works on Huguenot-Netherlandish relations from 1568-72 are by Sutherland: *The Massacre of St. Bartholomew*, 63-337; and "William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands", 218-23.

the 'Common cause' and by bringing together in one work, an advanced form of the Black Legend, patriotic propaganda and a justification for armed resistance, the *Conseil sacré* was clearly an important influence upon the propagandists of 1568-70.

(b) The Impact of the Rebel Patriotic Propaganda

As well as the many similarities between the German Protestant propaganda from the mid-sixteenth century and the Netherlandish works of 1568-70, there were also important differences which help to explain why the propaganda campaign of 1568-70 was a failure. The concept of a common fatherland was present in both sets of works but the Netherlandish pamphlets and letters, for the most part, lacked any sense of a 'nation'. In the German pamphlets, the notion of a German people, whether expressed as some variant of "Teutscher Nation" or, more simply, the "Teutschen" was very common.³⁵⁸ The fact that comparable terms were rare in the Netherlandish works serves to emphasise the novelty of the patriotic theme in the propaganda of 1568-70. Such was the strength of civic and provincial sentiment in the Low Countries in the 1560s that the notion of a common nation was inconceivable. It is true that the notion of a common fatherland was scarcely less inconceivable but the watchwords of a mercantile, particularist region, such as liberty, freedom and the privileges could be more easily tied to the idea of a common fatherland than to the idea of a common nation.

As the sense of a common nation was almost wholly absent from the Netherlandish works, so too was any notion of 'Netherlandish blood'. By contrast, as an examination of German Protestant literature from the mid-sixteenth century shows, the idea of German blood was part of the mythology of Germanic character built up in the sixteenth century. The spread of this idea was presumably facilitated by the developing notion of a 'German Nation'. Since the idea of a Netherlandish nation or people was first expressed only in the rebel

³⁵⁸ See for examples the *Expostulation*, *Der Durchleüchtigst* and the pro-Habsburg, Catholic work, *Von anrichtung des newen Evangelij und der alten Libertet oder Freyheit Teutscher Nation An die Romisch Kayser Mayestat geschriben* (1552).

propaganda of the later 1560s and 1570s, and then only rarely, the notion of a pure 'Netherlandish blood' could not develop. This point is worth clarifying if only because it strengthens the case for the 'German' nature of William of Orange. Throughout the 1560s, Orange took care to emphasise his German background. This emphasis was picked up by the writer of the Beggar's song, the *Wilhelmus*, which was probably written in early 1569. The opening lines of the song, "Wilhelmus van Nassouwe/ Ben ick van duitsen bloed" were probably intended not only as proud assertion of German identity but also as an attempt to tie Orange to the well developed ideas of Germanic integrity and purity and to contrast him with the more impure and base Spanish.³⁵⁹

Since the notion of a Netherlandish fatherland was still novel in 1568 and the leader of the rebel campaign was himself German, it is not surprising that the patriotic nature of the rebel propaganda of 1568-70 met with no response. For those who took part in the autumn campaign of that year, there was only despair and humiliation, as an anonymous English observer noted towards the end of the campaign:

"All this while and a long tyme before, by meanes of the Dukes proclamations and policies, our campe stode in extreme want of victuales and in soch misery as I blush to speke or write of, for the royttars always toke what could be found, and in a maner the Prince hym self had neither wyne, bere, nor bred, a long season, waters weare poysonned, and meale infected with sorcery and witchcrafte, and, to be short, all myscheves that myght famysh our army, was put into execucion, which made a marvailous murmoring among our souldiers, and, for vi wekes long, the whole campe were disquietid and voyd of releeffe, and the chefest plage of all was that theyr appered noe hope of better fortune. The good and godlie bare the burthen as they might, and the rest fell to open blasfamy of God and the Prince.

The Prince confessed to a great frynde of his owne, a noble man

³⁵⁹ "William of Nassau, I am of German blood". On Orange's fatherland, see Schmidt, "Das Prinzen Vaterland?", *passim*. See also Groen van Prinsterer, *Archives*, III, 255-56 for the use of the term blood in 1568 as a synonym for another people.

unnamed, that he little thought the marchandes of Flanders had byn
soe fallen, and in effect sayed he was deceaved in many, and none
kept promysse and touche with hym...".³⁶⁰

The success of the patriotic propaganda had to await the mid to later 1570s, after the actions of Alba and his troops and the desperate defence of Holland and Zeeland appeared to give substance to the themes expressed in the Black Legend pamphlets and the patriotic propaganda. Only in these later years, and then only briefly, was the notion of a common fatherland capable of mobilising wide support for the rebel campaign. In 1568, though, this was still far in the future.

³⁶⁰ J.M.B.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, Relations Politiques des Pays-Bas et de l'Angleterre, 11 Volumes (Brussels, 1882-1900) V, 188-89.

CHAPTER FOUR

CARTOGRAPHY, CHOROGRAPHY AND PATRIOTIC SENTIMENT IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY LOW COUNTRIES

One intellectual development of the sixteenth century whose significance has not yet been fully understood is the 'Geographical Revolution'. By this term, is meant that change in thinking which made men more curious about their physical and human environment and made them more desirous of describing peoples and places in ways which today would be termed geographic.¹ These specifically geographic ways of describing the world during the Renaissance, as well as their classical roots, were outlined by François de Dainville in 1940:

"...les géographes découvrirent la géographie dans la lecture des Anciens. Leurs écrits livraient trois traditions et manières différentes de décrire la terre: l'une scientifique, mathématique et astronomique tendant à sa représentation par la carte, c'était celle qu'avait illustré Ptolémée; l'autre plus littéraire, descriptive et historique, par suite plus accessible à l'honnête homme, peignait l'homme à sa surface, selon le faire de Strabon; une troisième, enfin, héritée de la pensée ionienne et pratiquée par Aristote et les Stoïciens, étudiait les phénomènes selon les quatre états ou "éléments" de la matière."²

¹ G. Strauss, Sixteenth-Century Germany. Its Topography and Topographers (Madison, 1959) 6; A.H. Huussen, "Polemische kaarten" in D. de Vries, ed., Kaarten met geschiedenis 1550-1800 (Utrecht, 1989) 31-41, 31. This development was connected to the rise of landscape painting. See W.S. Gibson, "Mirror of the Earth". The World Landscape in Sixteenth-Century Flemish Painting (Princeton, New Jersey, 1989).

² "...the geographers discovered geography through reading the Ancients. Their works passed on three different traditions and manners of describing the earth: one scientific, mathematical and astronomical tending to its representation by the map, as had been illustrated by Ptolemy; the other more literary, descriptive and historical and consequently, more accessible to the gentleman, painting man at his surface, according to the manner of Strabo; a third, finally, inherited from Ionian thought and practised by Aristotle and the Stoics, studying phenomena according to the four states or 'elements' of matter." F. De Dainville, La Géographie des Humanistes. Les Jésuites et L'Éducation de la Société Française (Paris, 1940) 75-76. See also, A. Holt-Jensen, Geography. Its History and

The third of these traditions, the interest in the physical qualities of the earth, has yet to receive its dues from historians but work has been carried out, at least by historians of Early Modern Europe, on the first two strands of geographic thought outlined by De Dainville, cartography and chorography.³ An early example of a book devoted solely to the study of such geographic works was Gerald Strauss's *Sixteenth-Century Germany. Its Topography and Topographers*, published in 1959.⁴ The book was a study of the many chorographical works produced in the sixteenth century by German speakers. The study included both regional chorographies, of Switzerland as well as of Germany, and the three cosmographies produced by Sebastian Franck (1534), Sebastian Münster (1544) and Johann Rauw (1597). Strauss's work introduced a theme which was subsequently to become of great importance in studies of geographical work; namely the part played by maps and chorographies in the construction and expression of a territorial identity. What emerged very clearly from the book was that most of the chorographical works produced in the 1500s were written with the aim of glorifying their country and their region. In the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, leading German humanists, angered by what they took to be foreign hostility and ignorance of Germany, called upon their fellow humanists to produce works describing the topography and history of the many regions of Germany. As a result of this drive to 'display' the glories of Germany, most of the German speaking lands, especially in southern Germany, had been described in

Concepts (London, 1981) 12-13.

³ In this article, the term 'cosmography' refers to written descriptions of an universal nature, 'topography' to detailed descriptions of the physical environment of particular areas. The term 'chorography' is used in the sense of a written description of the geography and history of a town, city, province or even, in contradistinction to a cosmography, a country. For the purposes of this article, works which look at just the history or the geography of an area, such as cityviews or local histories are regarded as falling outside this definition. See Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 55-59; De Dainville, *La Géographie des Humanistes*, xii-xiii; and R.L. Kagan, "Clio and the Court: Writing History in Habsburg Spain", (Forthcoming, 1995) for discussions of the definitions of these terms. Maps are defined by J.B. Harley and D. Woodward as "graphic representations that facilitate a spatial understanding of things, concepts, conditions, processes, or events in the human world" in the preface to J.B. Harley and D. Woodward, eds., *The History of Cartography* (Chicago, 1987) I, xv-xvi.

⁴ Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*. See also, G. Strauss, "The Image of Germany in the Sixteenth Century", *The Germanic Review*, XXXIV, Part 3 (1959) 223-34.

chorographical works by the later 1500s.

In spite of Strauss's book, it was not until the 1970s that historians began to tackle in earnest the subject of maps and chorographies. The principal reason for the quickening of interest in maps in the 1970s was, undoubtedly, the attempt made by historians of cartography to bring their subject more into the mainstream of historical studies. Rather than study the technical aspects of the development of maps as historians of cartography had traditionally done, a number of writers in the 1970s and 1980s concerned themselves with the place of maps in society, addressing such matters as by and for whom were maps made; why were the maps produced; what the form and content of the maps reveal about the practices, assumptions and power relations of the societies in which they were produced; and what was the influence of maps on the way men viewed the world?⁵

Through the stimulus of this new approach to the study of maps, much attention has been devoted recently to the significance and influence of not only maps but also chorographical works, during the Early Modern period.⁶ A common theme which emerges from all these recent articles is the important role which maps and chorographies played in the expression and formation of national, regional and civic identity, the role to which Strauss had drawn attention in the 1950s. According to one writer, for example, atlases and maps produced in France in the 1590s and early 1600s, were meant to show the power and magnificence of their subjects. Maurice Bouguereau, the author of the first atlas of France, *La Théatre François*, published in 1594, appealed to his readers to

⁵ The best places to begin an examination of work on the history of cartography are M.J. Blakemore and J.B. Harley, "Concepts in the History of Cartography. A Review and Perspective", *Cartographica*, 17, No.4 (1981) 1-121 and Harley and Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, I, xv-xxi and 1-39. A leading exponent of this new approach to maps was J.B. Harley. See his "Meaning and ambiguity in Tudor cartography" in S. Tyacke ed., *English Map Making. 1500-1650* (London, 1983) 22-45; "Maps, knowledge, and power" in D. Cosgrove, ed., *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge, 1988) 277-312; and "Silences and Secrecy: the Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe", *Imago Mundi*, 40 (1989) 57-76.

⁶ For examples see J. Schulz, "Jacopo dé Barbari's View of Venice. Map Making, City Views, and Moralized Geography Before the Year 1500", *Art Bulletin*, 60 (September, 1978) 425-74; the collection of articles edited by H-B. Harder, *Landesbeschreibungen Mitteleuropas vom 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert* (Cologne, 1983); R. Helgerson, "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England", *Representations*, 16, Fall (1986) 51-85; and S. Mendyck, "Early British Chorography", *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, XVII, No.4 (1986) 459-481.

supply, "for the love and decoration of your country", further maps for later publications. The two maps of Paris produced in 1609 were both meant to show foreigners the glory of the capital: "so that each and everyone knows the excellence of this great city, [and so] that foreigners may admire her", states the text on one of these maps.⁷ In the work of Victor Morgan, the emphasis falls more upon the impact of geographical works in sixteenth and seventeenth century England. In an article published in 1979, Morgan argued that the representation of England as a collection of counties, a depiction which appears first in Christopher Saxton's 1579 atlas and later in Camden's *Britannia* of 1607 and John Speed's 1611, *Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* became fixed in the minds of the English political nation as the image of their country. The emphasis upon counties in the atlases reinforced, according to Morgan, a growing sense of county identity in later Elizabethan and early Stuart England.⁸

One notable absentee in the list of countries whose geographical works have been examined since the 1950s for indications of the beginnings of a territorial identity is the Low Countries. The absence is notable because from the mid-1500s to the mid-1600s, the Low Countries was the European centre of cartographic production.⁹ Furthermore, the economic prosperity of the Habsburg Netherlands in the sixteenth century and the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century meant that the domestic market for geographic works was probably greater here than anywhere else in Europe; so too, was the strength of the publishing and printing

⁷ H. Ballon, The Paris of Henri IV, Architecture and Urbanism (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1991) 213-14, 220-49. See also Harley, "Meaning and ambiguity", 29 for statements of a similar nature on maps of London.

⁸ V. Morgan, "The Cartographic Image of 'The Country' in Early Modern England", Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth series, 29 (1979) 129-54. See also his "Lasting Image of the Elizabethan era", The Geographical Magazine, 52 (1980) 401-08.

⁹ R.V. Tooley, Maps and Map-Makers (7th edn; New York, 1987) 29-35; L. Bagrow, History of Cartography (Original German edition, 1951; English edition, revised and translated by R.A. Skelton, London, 1964) 180-85; A.G. Hodgkiss, Understanding maps. A systematic history of their use and development (Folkestone, 1981) 95; and C. Koeman, ed., Atlantes Neerlandici. Bibliography of terrestrial, maritime and celestial atlases and pilot books, published in the Netherlands up to 1880, 5 volumes (Amsterdam, 1967-71) I, v. L. A. Brown, The Story of Maps (London, 1951) 158 observed that when publishers began to switch from woodcut illustrations to copper engravings in the mid-sixteenth century, this "automatically centred the map making and map publishing business in the Netherlands, which then boasted the best line engravers in the world."

houses.¹⁰ This period of economic supremacy and cartographic dominance coincided with the development within the Low Countries of not one but three different 'national' identities: a general pan-Netherlandish identity in the second half of the sixteenth century and, following the division between the northern and southern Netherlands at the end of the sixteenth century, a 'Dutch' identity in the north and a southern Netherlandish identity in the south.

The *prima facie* case for a study of the relationship between geographical works and identity in the period from 1550 to 1650 seems so strong that the absence of such a work hitherto, calls for some explanation. The reluctance of many Dutch and Belgian historians to examine the subject of general Netherlandish sentiment may be, in part, to blame but the main reason has been the absence of works dealing with key subject areas. There exist a number of works dealing with the history of Netherlandish cartography¹¹ but these works have dealt, in the main, with the technical and biographical elements of Netherlandish cartography rather than with the commercial and social aspects.¹² In 1912-13, J. Denucé produced a study of a large number of sixteenth-century Netherlandish mapmakers and their relationship with the publishing house of Plantin but, although useful for the details it provides, the book is more a series of biographies than an analysis of the Antwerp trade in maps.¹³ More details about the sale of maps are given by other writers, but the scattered nature of the information creates problems for anyone wishing to understand the commercial aspect of sixteenth-century

¹⁰ K.H.D. Haley, The Dutch in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1972) 120-24; C.R. Boxer, The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800 (London, 1965) 161-62.

¹¹ C. Koeman, Geschiedenis van de kartografie van Nederland. Zes eeuwen land en zeekaarten en stadsplattegronden (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1983). Before Koeman's book appeared, the standard works, particularly for the sixteenth century, were H.E. Wauvermans, Histoire de l'école cartographique belge et anversoise du XVIe siècle, 2 volumes (Brussels, 1895); J. Denucé, Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers in betrekking met Plantijn (Originally published 1912-13; reprint: Amsterdam, 1964); S.J. Fockema Andreae, Geschiedenis der kartografie van Nederland van de Romeinischen tijd tot het midden der 19de eeuw (The Hague, 1947); J. Keuning, "XVIth Century Cartography in the Netherlands (Mainly in the Northern Provinces)", Imago Mundi, IX (1952) 35-63; and C. Koeman, "Algemene inleiding over de historische kartografie meer in het bijzonder: Holland vóór 1600", Holland, VII (1975) 218-37.

¹² Attention has been directed, though, to other aspects. A.H. Huussen jr has written about the relationship between cartography and the law in "Polemische kaarten" in De Vries, ed., Kaarten met geschiedenis 1550-1800, 31-41.

¹³ Denucé, Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers, I and II, *passim*.

cartography. Without such an understanding, taking in the price of cartographical works and their market, it is difficult to determine the influence of maps.

Another serious gap in the state of research on sixteenth-century geographical works in the Low Countries is the absence of any substantial study of chorographical works, though, in this case, the absence is more understandable because very few chorographical works were produced in the Netherlands during this period.¹⁴ It was not until 1567 that a chorographical image of the Netherlands, in the form of Lodovico Guicciardini's *Description of All the Low Countries*, appeared.¹⁵

The tardy appearance of chorographical works in the Low Countries stands in stark contrast to the abundance of cartographic material in the period, a fact which largely accounts for the cartographic bias of this article. In spite of the richness of the material, though, it was not until 1987 that a work concerned solely with maps of all the Low Countries was published: H.A.M. Van der Heijden's *The Oldest Maps of the Netherlands*.¹⁶ Van der Heijden's superb study, with its description, list and illustrations of all the general maps of the Netherlands produced in the sixteenth century, opened up the world of sixteenth-century Netherlands cartography to a degree unmatched by few other works. Van der Heijden's book made it at last possible not only to chart the creation of a cartographic image of all the Low Countries but also to determine whether that image expressed and helped construct a supra-provincial identity in the sixteenth-century Low Countries.

¹⁴ Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 61.

¹⁵ L. Guicciardini, *Descrittione/ DI M. LODOVICO / Guicciardini patritio / Fiorentino, di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti / detti Germania / Inferiore* (Antwerp, 1567). The first French edition, *Description de Tout les Pais Bas autrement dict La Germanie Inferieure ou Basse Allemagne. Messire Lodovico Guicciardini Patritio Florentino* (Antwerp, 1567) has been used in this article. On Guicciardini, see Wauvermans, *L'école cartographique belge*, II, 243-47; Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, 140-62; and H. De la Fontaine Verwey, "The History of Guicciardini's Description of the Low Countries", *Quaerendo*, 12 (1981) 22-51.

¹⁶ H.A.M. Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps of the Netherlands* (Utrecht, 1987).

Part One: The Development of a Cartographic Image of the Low Countries

In 1356-58 a dispute took place at the University of Paris between two of the university's 'nations', the English and the Picard. As the dispute concerned the boundary between the two nations, an official of the University drew up a map in order to determine the location of various cities in relation to the river Maas, which was taken as the dividing line.¹⁷ [Figure 1] As a guide to the cartographic image of the Low Countries in the fourteenth century, this map is instructive in a number of ways. In the first place, the fact that the university official had to draw up his own map rather than refer to a map of north-western Europe is a reminder of the scarce number of topographical maps in existence in this period; indeed, the map produced during the dispute of 1356-58 is the oldest topographical map known to have been produced in France. Archival surveys carried out in the last few decades have brought to light many more topographical maps but the number of such maps is still low and, for each country, is to be reckoned in tens rather than hundreds.¹⁸

It is possible that a low survival rate is responsible for the scarce number of medieval topographical maps known today but it is more probable that few exist because few were made.¹⁹ All the evidence suggests that medieval Europe was a profoundly non map-conscious society with a spatial sense very different from that of the modern world. The medieval unfamiliarity with maps is evident in the casual, sketchlike nature of the map produced during the dispute of 1356-58 as well as in the map's rudimentary sense of scale and proportion. This unfamiliarity is evident also in the form in which most medieval topographical maps appear. The map produced during the dispute of 1356-58, for example, was drawn on the folio page of a manuscript not on a separate sheet enclosed by a frame like a

¹⁷ G.C. Boyce, "The Controversy over the Boundary between the English and Picard Nations in the University of Paris (1356-1358)" in Études d'histoire dédiées à la Mémoire de Henri Pirenne. Par ses anciens élèves (Brussels, 1937) 54-66. A photocopy of the map appears between pages 53 and 54 and a transcript, by Boyce, on page 59.

¹⁸ P.D.A. Harvey, The History of Topographical Maps, Symbols, Pictures and Surveys (London, 1980) 88, 84-86; B. Guenée, States and Rulers in Later Medieval Europe (2nd edition, originally published, 1981; English paperback translation, 1988) 134-35; P.D.A. Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography in Medieval Europe" in Harley and Woodward, eds., The History of Cartography, I, 464-65.

¹⁹ Harvey, "Local and Regional Cartography", 464-65.

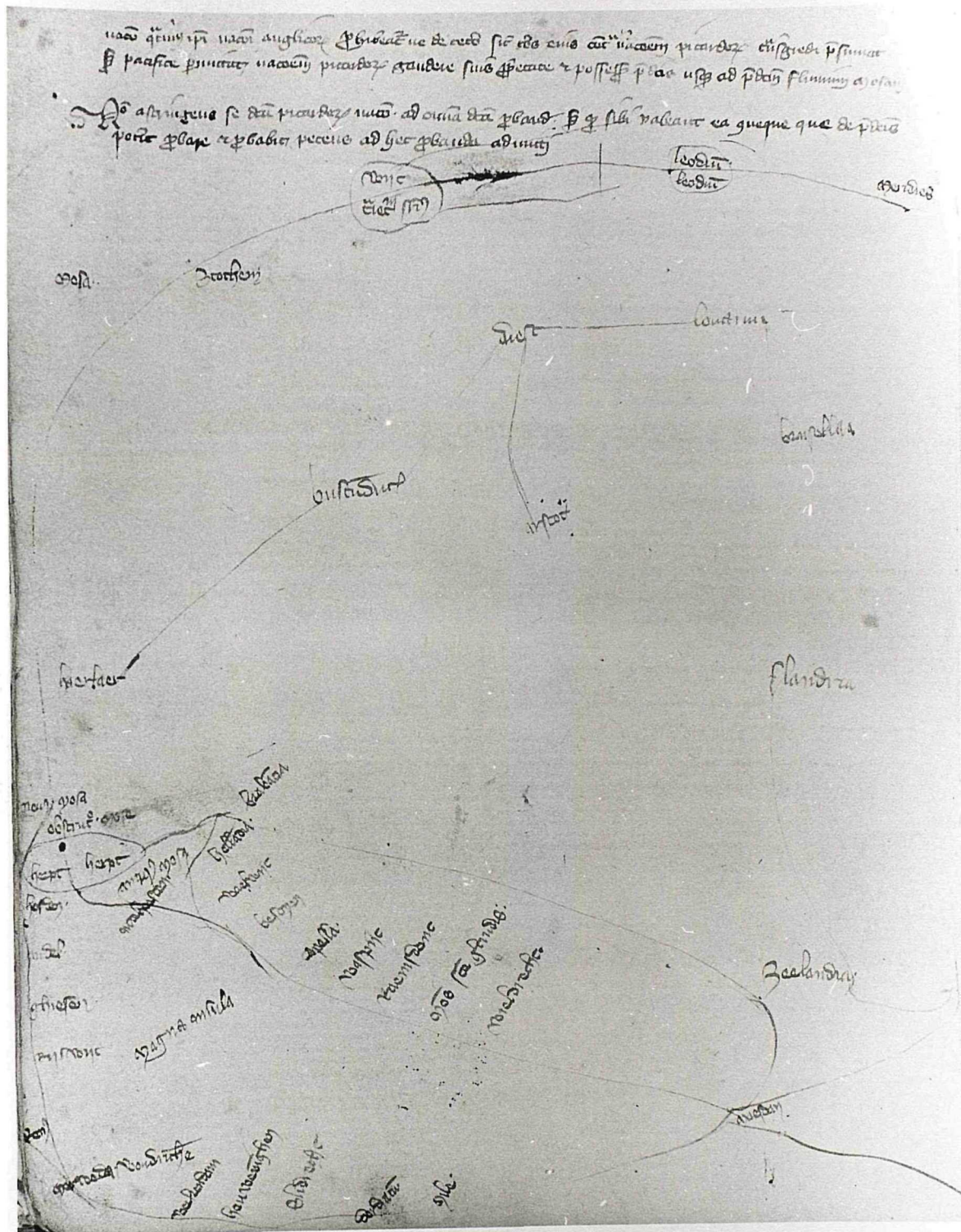


Figure 1: Tabula de finibus inter Anglicanam et Picardam Nationem controversis, Anno 1357 (By permission of the Sorbonne Library. The work can be found under Archives de l'Université, Reg 2.2, fol. 35v)

picture.²⁰ Given the rarity of topographical maps in the Middle Ages and the difficulty medieval people had in grasping the idea of a map, it comes as no surprise to learn that, of the maps which have survived, only a few are small scale maps of large regions. Before the fifteenth century, the only 'countries' to be represented in cartographic fashion were, besides the Holy Land, England and the Italian Peninsula. For this reason, to speak of a cartographic image of the Low Countries in the fourteenth century is somewhat misleading: there existed only a few, scattered representations of parts of the future Netherlands.

The state of cartographic development was not the only reason why a cartographic image of the Low Countries did not exist in this period: the political state of the region also militated against the production of such a map. In the mid-fourteenth century, the Netherlandish region was still composed of a large number of small states.²¹ As a consequence of this fragmentation of authority, the provinces of the future Low Countries had an ambivalent character. On the one hand, the powerful economy, the strong civic institutions and pronounced urban character of Flanders and Brabant, sustained a rich and distinctive culture which, in retrospect, marks the beginning of Dutch civilisation. On the other hand, the absence of any common political ties meant that there was little to distinguish the provinces from neighbouring regions. Politically, the provinces remained as either fiefs of the kingdom of France or provinces of the Holy Roman Empire; culturally, the provinces could appear only in a Germanic or Gallic background. Even if small scale maps of north-western Europe could have been produced, therefore, those maps would not have depicted a Netherlandish state because such a state did not exist.

It was not until 1384, when the Valois duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, became Count of Flanders, that the political state of the region began to change in any major way. Through both accident and design, a significant number of the Netherlandish provinces were gradually united under one ruler for the first time

²⁰ Harvey, History of Topographical Maps, 10, 86; J.B. Harley and D. Woodward, "Concluding Remarks" in Harley and Woodward, The History of Cartography, I, 505; A. Burguière and J. Revel, eds., Histoire de la France. L'espace français, 2 volumes (Paris, 1989) I, 96-98 for the medieval sense of space; and on the limitations imposed by a world without maps, J.R. Hale, Renaissance Europe 1480-1520 (London, 1971) 51-53.

²¹ G. Holmes, Europe. Hierarchy and Revolt 1320-1450 (London, 1975) 17-23.

since the ninth century. By 1433 the Burgundian Dukes had taken control of the principal provinces in the region. The territorial expansion was accompanied by an administrative and financial centralisation which became especially marked from the 1430s onwards and, in the Burgundian period, culminated in the first Estates General for the region in 1464 and the establishment of a central law court in 1473.²²

As the Burgundian state was developing in the Netherlandish region, changes were also taking place in cartographic matters. The number of people who used and who were familiar with maps appears to have grown as does the understanding of some basic cartographic concepts. In part, these changes were the result of greater use of maps in legal disputes but the most important factor was the introduction of Ptolemy's *Geographia* to Europe. The work of the classical geographer was brought to Italy in 1406 and translated from Greek into Latin in 1410. The *Geographia* was quickly spread: the text and the maps of the work were joined by 1427 and nearly fifty manuscripts of this codex are known.²³ Ptolemy's use of co-ordinates of longitude and latitude, however inaccurate, introduced to fifteenth century scholars a more scientific approach to cartography and led to debates at high level about geography.²⁴

The greater degree of interest in maps in the fifteenth century did not result immediately in improved representations of the Netherlandish area. In those fifteenth-century manuscript maps which depict the whole of this corner of northwestern Europe, the areas which now constitute the Low Countries are distinguished neither politically nor geographically from the adjacent lands. With the occasional exception of the appearance of the Netherlands as the mouth of the three great rivers, all the inland physical features which would set the area apart from its neighbours are absent. Although some degree of accuracy was attained

²² W.P. Blockmans, "De Bourgondische Nederlanden: de weg naar een moderne staatsvorm", *Handelingen van de koninklijke kring voor oudheidkunde, letteren en kunst van Mechelen*, LXXVII (1973) 7-26; R. Vaughan, *Valois Burgundy* (London, 1975).

²³ Bagrow, *History*, 77-78; J.R.S. Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion of Europe* (Oxford, 1988) 213, 216.

²⁴ Phillips, *The Medieval Expansion*, 215-16, mentions a debate at the Council of Florence in 1439; Bagrow, *History*, 78-79; Harley and Woodward, "Concluding Remarks" in Harley and Woodward, *The History of Cartography*, I, 505, who note that implicit in the use of longitudes and latitudes is the idea of uniform scale.

on large scale maps by local mapmakers when they depicted the coast, on the small scale, Ptolemaic general maps a roughly drawn line running from north to south usually sufficed as the Netherlandish coastline. Little concern was shown, either by foreign or local mapmakers, for the interior of the Netherlands. Both these landward and seaward areas feature as a blank, peripheral patch in maps of the world, *Europa*, *Gallia*, *Germania* and even *Britannia*.²⁵

Recognisable outlines of the Low Countries first appear on printed maps of the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries. These outlines are still very rough. The representations in Nicolaus Cusanus's map of Middle Europe, from a later copy of 1491, Erhard Etzlaub's road maps of 1500 and 1501 and Orontius Finaeus's map of *Gallia*, originally from 1538, remain incorrect in their portrayal of the coastline. Generally, though, the tortuous outline of the coast is more accurate and the interest in the region greater. Etzlaub's road maps do attempt to represent the Zuider Zee and the Zeeland islands and on some maps, provinces and towns are named. Alongside these maps, though, are representations in which the geographical vagueness and political anonymity are perpetuated. In the 1477, 1482, 1490 and 1513 printed editions of Ptolemy's *Geographia*, Ptolemy's original maps were simply reproduced: the Low Countries were depicted on a map of *Britannia*; the coastline in the first three editions appears, to use the words of Van der Heijden, as a "shapeless broken line"; and the designations for the area were variants of 'Gaul' and 'Germania'.²⁶ The crude nature of these representations would explain the remark made by Erasmus in 1520 in a letter to a Dominican: "Whether I am a Batavian is not yet wholly clear to me; that I am a Hollander I cannot deny, born in a district which, if we may believe the drawings of geographers, tends more towards France than Germany, though it is beyond controversy that the whole of that area lies on the boundary between the

²⁵ Van der Heijden states that he was aware of only one fifteenth-century manuscript map which had a reasonably accurate portrayal of the coastline, *The Oldest Maps*, 12-15. On the importance of Ptolemy's *Geographia* in the sixteenth century see, Lloyd Brown, *The Story of Maps*, 152-53.

²⁶ These are the conclusions of Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 15-17 which were based upon a survey of printed Ptolemaic editions, Italian 'portolani' and works by Nicolaus Cusanus, Erhard Etzlaub and others.

two".²⁷

The contrast between the two different styles of representation, between those that sought to portray the region accurately and those that continued to show the work of earlier centuries, was the result of wider changes in geographical thought in which recognisably modern approaches to cartography were replacing older attitudes. The restraints imposed by Ptolemaic conceptions and other older religious and cosmographical ideas were removed during the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries by the spread of printed geographical texts and by the impact of the Great Discoveries. As the survival of the older images of the Low Countries in the Ptolemaic editions of 1490 and 1513 show, the idea of maps as expressions of geographical theory rather than geographical reality and as a didactic religious tool persisted for a long time.²⁸ The change in attitudes can be measured by the gradual addition of more modern representations to the original Ptolemaic maps: 20 new maps appeared in the 1513 Strassburg edition, 48 in the 1540 Basle edition and in the 1548 *Geographia* the Ptolemaic maps were finally separated from the new maps.²⁹ The opinion of Joachim Vadian in 1518 that, in geographical matters, the writers of antiquity should come second to those of the present, came to be accepted by the second half of the sixteenth-century.³⁰

The maps which appeared in this transitional period, though, differed from their predecessors only in the patchy improvement of the geographical features of the area: the political anonymity of the region remained. It is true that the centralising and expansionist policies of the Burgundian dukes, which had been interrupted in the period following the death of Charles the Bold in 1477, were resumed after 1493 by the Habsburgs. These policies were not without success:

²⁷ The Collected Works of Erasmus, A. Dalzell et al, eds., Volume Numbers published to date, 1-11, 23-24 (Toronto, 1974-94) VIII, 59.

²⁸ T. Campbell, The Earliest Printed Maps. 1472-1500 (London, 1987) 1-4, notes that only in 1507 was any reference made in a printed atlas to the discoveries of the time. For the effects of printing and the advent of the Great Discoveries see, Bagrow, History, 89-94 and J. Keuning, "The history of geographical map projections until 1600", Imago Mundi, 12 (1955) 1-24. On the survival of medieval representations see, Bagrow, History, 100-01.

²⁹ Bagrow, History, 86.

³⁰ Strauss, Sixteenth-Century Germany, 5.

the core provinces of the Burgundian-Habsburg state, Flanders, Brabant, Hainault and Holland, became more integrated and the north-eastern provinces of Friesland, Utrecht and Overijssel were annexed in the 1520s.³¹ The Burgundian-Habsburg state certainly became a more cohesive and distinct political entity during this period but these changes could not dispel entirely the old medieval ambivalence of the Netherlandish region. It was not until 1529 that the King of France renounced his feudal title to the southern provinces of Artois and Flanders and it was not until the later 1540s that the provinces which made up the future Low Countries were first united together within the Holy Roman Empire. The uncertain status of the Netherlandish region was also perpetuated by the revival of the classical concepts of *Germania* and *Gallia* in the early 1500s which presented humanists within and without the Netherlands with the problem of deciding to which part the Netherlandish region belonged. Erasmus had continually to fend off demands from German and French humanists that he declare himself to be either a "Gaul" or a "German". His reply says much about the anonymous nature of the Low Countries: "Sic natus ut Gallusne an Germanus sim anceps haberi possit."³²

The anonymous, ambivalent status of the Netherlandish region was reflected in the maps of this period which represented the region as part of the Holy Roman Empire and the kingdom of France. This was also the case with the representations of the area in Ptolemy's *Geographia*. In the modern additions to the various publications of Ptolemy that appeared between 1500 and 1550 the Netherlands was not depicted as a distinct region until 1548.³³

It was not just the political state of the Low Countries that made the production of a map of the entire Netherlands almost impossible until the 1540s but also the slow development of a more mathematical cartography. It was only

³¹ H. De Schepper, *'Belgium Nostrum' 1500-1650. Over integratie en desintegratie van het Nederland* (Antwerp, 1987) 10-17.

³² "Born thus, it might be considered uncertain whether I am French or German." J.J. Poelhekke, "The Nameless Homeland of Erasmus", *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, 7 (1974) 54-87, 58. See also, J. Huizinga, "Erasmus über Vaterland und Nationen" in *J. Huizinga. Verzamelde Werken*, 9 volumes (Haarlem, 1948-53) VI, 252-67, especially 258-61.

³³ Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 18. An inventory of Hoogstraten Castle in 1548 noted 42 maps and drawings. It is striking that in a collection which included maps of Hungary, Africa, Waterland in Holland and Friesland and the castles of Milan and Tournai, there was not one map of the whole of the Low Countries. H.A. Enno van Gelder, *Gegevens betreffende roerend en onroerend Bezit in de Nederlanden in de 16e eeuw* (Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Volumes 140-41; The Hague, 1972-73) Volume 140, 30-31.

with the appearance of more accurate maps that the position and bounds of the Low Countries could be set and such maps did not begin to appear until the 1530s. It was in the Netherlands that the mathematical basis of the cartographic expression of surveying developed and from which emerged that final cartographic gallop of the 1530s and the 1540s that was to produce the first accurate depiction of all the Netherlands.

As soon as the geographical changes of the second half of the fifteenth century became apparent governments began to adapt them to their own purposes. In many cases they even brought about the changes of that period. The first state to use maps effectively was probably the Venetian Republic. In 1460 the governors of areas controlled by Venice were ordered by the Council of Ten to produce maps of their various jurisdictions and send them to Venice. In the 1490s the Venetians took this a stage further and created a map of the whole of their Italian territories.³⁴ Throughout sixteenth-century Europe many governments were to adopt the same policy as they each in turn realised the advantage of possessing a spatial representation of their territories.

In western Europe, the crucial shift to a map-conscious government and court seems to have taken place in the reigns of the generation of monarchs who came to the throne in the 1510s: Charles V, Francis I and Henry VIII. A number of common factors underlay this shift in western Europe. By the early 1500s, because of printing and the beginnings of a trade in maps, maps were becoming, albeit very slowly, part of the background of life. Furthermore, from at least as early as the 1520s, books directing attention to the value of maps began appearing. Since these works, Machiavelli's *The Art of War*, Castiglione's *The Courtier* and Elyot's *The Boke named the Governour* were aimed at rulers and their advisers, it suggests that from the 1520s, governments would have been aware of the potential as well as the existence of maps.³⁵

Another important factor was the response to the problems raised by the rivalry between the monarchies. The conflict in the Italian Peninsula forced the French government to acquire maps of northern Italy and introduced the government to the skill of Italian engineers, who, at that stage, were the most

³⁴ Harvey, *The History of Topographical Maps*, 60.

³⁵ See P. Barber, "England I: Pageantry, Defense, and Government: Maps at Court" in D. Buisseret, ed., *Monarchs, Ministers and Maps* (Chicago, 1992) 26-56, especially 26-32.

proficient in Europe in the use of maps with fortifications. Francis I appears to have absorbed the lessons of the conflict for, according to David Buisseret, the use of maps by the government became more systematic in his reign. Maps were used to plan expeditions, Italian engineers were hired to erect new fortifications and Oronce Fine, the most influential sixteenth-century French cartographer, was appointed in 1530, by Francis I, to one of the new royal lecturing posts at Paris. As a result by the mid-sixteenth century, the high nobility and other members of government were all aware of the use of maps in governmental and military affairs.³⁶

In the English case, the spur to greater use of maps was not so much the Italian Wars as the heightened sense of vulnerability felt by the government in the wake of Henry VIII's divorce. England's isolation from Spain and from France, prompted the government to re-examine and rebuild English fortifications. With the money available from the dissolution of the monasteries, the government began the rebuilding programme in earnest in the late 1530s. Through the countless maps generated by this operation, through the spread of continental ideas and through the increasing use of maps in other fields, map consciousness had become widespread in central government by the 1550s.³⁷

The development of cartographic consciousness in the Low Countries cannot yet be charted in as much detail as Tudor England but enough can be gleaned to be sure that developments in the Low Countries follow on much the same lines as in France and England, though with one important difference. There is no doubt that the Habsburg monarchs, with the possible exception of Philip the Fair, Charles V's father, were all interested in cartography and related matters. As early as 1505, Maximilian commissioned a map of Austria.³⁸ Charles's use of maps is attested to, among other things, by a contemporary French source who recorded that, on his 1536 campaign, the Emperor "normally had in his hand or before his eyes a map of the Alps and Lower Provence, which the marquis of Saluzzo had

³⁶ D. Buisseret, "Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps in France before the Accession of Louis XIV", in Buisseret, Monarchs, Ministers and Maps, 99-123.

³⁷ Barber, "England I", passim.

³⁸ Harvey, The History of Topographical Maps, 156. Other leading figures in cartography connected to Maximilian were : Konrad Türst, who produced a map of Switzerland, Harvey, The History of Topographical Maps, 151-52; and the Liefvrick family, Wauvermans, Histoire de l'école cartographique belge, II, 31.

given him. He studied it so often and so intently, using it to further his designs and desires that he began to think he had the country in his grasp instead of just the map".³⁹ That Charles passed on his interests to Philip is clear from the commissions Philip gave in the Low Countries and in Spain.⁴⁰

From at least as early as the 1530s, this interest in and facility with maps and other geographical works was spreading to government officials and the high nobility. It seems probable that Viglius of Aytta, a future Habsburg counsellor, acquired an enthusiasm for maps during his travels in the Italian Peninsula, France and Germany in 1526-34. Viglius continued to collect maps for the rest of his life and an inventory of his collection, carried out in 1575 towards the end of his life, revealed that he had about 190 maps, excluding duplicates. Other leading officials in the Low Countries who are known to have been interested in or to have made use of maps in the mid-sixteenth century include Joachim Hopperus, Franciscus Sonnius and the two Perrenots, Nicholas, the father and Antoine, the future Cardinal Granvelle.⁴¹ The use of maps by the high nobility in the mid-sixteenth century is indicated by the presence of over 40 maps in Hoogstraten Castle in 1548 and by a remark made in a letter sent by William of Orange in 1555 to Mary of Hungary. William wrote: "Et, pour en donner à Vostre Majesté plus clère spécification, je ordonneray à Me. Bastien d'en faire incontinent une carte, contenant déclaration de la longueur, de la distance et d'aultres particularitez,

³⁹ G. Parker, "Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs" in Buisseret, ed., Monarchs, Ministers and Maps, 124-52, 135. See also, Wauvermans, Histoire de l'école cartographique belge, II, 7-9, 12 and C. Koeman, The History of Abraham Ortelius and his Theatrum Orbis Terrarum (New York, 1964) 23-24 for a letter in which Charles's interest in geographic works was recalled more than twenty years after his death.

⁴⁰ G. Parker, Philip II (London, 1978) 47-48; Parker, "Maps and Ministers", 126-35; Gibson, "Mirror of the Earth", 51.

⁴¹ For the Granvelles see M. Van Durme, Antoon Perrenot Bisschop van Atrecht, Kardinaal van Granvelle, Minister van Karel V en van Filips II (1517-1586) (Brussels, 1953) 77, 239-40 and Gibson, "Mirror of the Earth", 51. For Viglius and Hopperus, F. Postma, Viglius van Aytta als humanist en diplomaat 1507-1549 (Zutphen, 1983) 53, 77-78, 141 and the articles by E.H. Waterbolk: "Viglius als kaarten verzamelaar" in E.H. Waterbolk, Verspreide opstellen (Amsterdam, 1981) 140-56; "Enige nieuwe 'gegevens' omtrent Jakob van Deventer, kartograaf" in Historische Bewogen. (Opstellen, aangeboden aan Prof. Dr. A.F. Mellink bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar in de sociale-religieuze geschiedenis aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen) (Groningen, 1987) 99-109; and "Viglius of Aytta, Sixteenth Century Map Collector", Imago Mundi, 29 (1977) 45-48.

laquelle faite, j'envoyé à toute diligence à Vostre Majesté...".⁴² All these examples would tend to support the view that, as in England and France, map consciousness was well advanced in central government and among the higher nobility by the mid-sixteenth century.

Where the Low Countries differed from England and France was in the existence of a native school of cartography which was able to carry cartographic developments in the Netherlands much further along than was the case elsewhere. The basis of this school was the university of Louvain where, from the first decade of the century, much interest was shown in disciplines like arithmetic, geometry, cosmography, geography and cartography, then all related and covered by the term "mathematica". Through the study of these disciplines and through absorbing the lessons of mapmakers and cosmographers from outside the Low Countries, the Netherlandish cartographers were able to perfect to a much greater degree than before the art of map making. It was a graduate of Louvain University, the Frisian, Gemma de Fries, whose book, the *Libellus de locorum describendorum*, published in the early 1530s, established the use of triangulation in maps. This method enabled maps to be produced on a more mathematical and scientific basis.⁴³

By availing themselves of these new techniques and by drawing on the growing body of work by local surveyors, mapmakers were able, from the second quarter of the sixteenth century, to produce reasonably accurate maps of much larger areas than before. In so doing, they brought about a revolution in mapmaking because this newfound ability to create maps of provinces, regions and countries, transformed the potential significance of maps and showed governments the value of commissioning surveyors to map their territories. For that reason, this development probably ranks as the most important factor in the sudden adoption throughout western Europe in the 1530s and 1540s of maps as

⁴² "And, in order to give Your Majesty clearer specifications, I shall order Mon. Bastien to make a map immediately, containing a statement about the length, distance and other particularities, which I shall send, post-haste, to Your Majesty, as soon as it has been made." L.P. Gachard, *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, 6 volumes (Brussels, 1850-66) I, 128, 131.

⁴³ A. De Smet, "La cartographie scientifique à Louvain de 1500 à 1550", in *Kartengeschichte und kartenbearbeitung. Festschrift presented to Wilhelm Bonacker* (Bad Godesberg, 1968) 59-61; Keuning, "Sixteenth century Cartography", 44; Harvey, *History of Topographical Maps*, 162-64; and Hodgkins, *Understanding Maps*, 52-55.

an instrument of government. The Habsburg government in the Low Countries must have realised the importance of these developments early on because it was about the same time that the work on triangulation appeared, that the government commissioned first, Jacob van Deventer and then, later, Gerard Mercator and the Surhon brothers, to make a series of maps of the Netherlandish provinces.⁴⁴ These maps mark the growing convergence in the Netherlandish region of political and cartographic developments. From a cartographic point of view, the maps of the Netherlands show the move upwards from the late medieval representations of small areas to the accurate depiction of whole provinces. From a political point of view, the commissions for the provincial maps suggest an awareness on the part of the government of the utility of small scale maps.

In the 1540s, the government in Brussels took matters a step further. Brussels needed a map of the whole of the Low Countries to help resolve two longstanding problems: the episcopal structure of the Netherlands, which was in urgent need of reform; and the vexed question of the position of the Habsburg Netherlands in the Holy Roman Empire. When Jacob van Deventer, therefore, began compiling cartographic material in the mid-1540s to make a map of the Netherlands, he was almost certainly encouraged to do so by the government. As a letter from a Habsburg councillor indicates, this map of the Netherlands, the oldest such map known, had been produced by 1547.⁴⁵ There are no extant

⁴⁴ Koeman, *Geschiedenis*, 83-85. According to Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 11 and 24, the commission came from Charles V. Although the system of triangulation may have been employed by the four cartographers, it is probable that much of the content of the provincial maps was based upon the work of local surveyors. This was certainly the case with Mercator's map of Flanders, produced in 1570. M. Destombes, "La grande carte de Flandre de Mercator et ses imitations jusqu'à Ortelius (1540-1570)" in *Marcel Destombes. Selected Contributions to the History of Cartography and Scientific Instruments* (Utrecht, 1987) 413-26, 425. Koeman, "Algemene inleiding", 234-35, mentions work which shows that Christian sGrooten drew partly on fifteenth century maps for his map of North Holland, which was produced around 1560.

⁴⁵ Van Deventer's map shares the distinction of being the oldest known map of the Netherlands with an Italian map which appeared in a 1548 edition of Ptolemy's *Geographia*. Unlike Van Deventer's work, the Italian map was clearly based upon older models. Van der Heijden also mentions a map by Jan van Hoirne produced in 1526. As this map was not a map of the Netherlands as such, but a map of the coastline from northern France to Denmark, it has not been included in the study. Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 18-20, 106-07. For details of Van Deventer's map see Postma, *Viglius van Aytta*, 141 and the two works by E.H. Waterbolck: "Viglius als kaarten verzamelaar", 152 and "Enige nieuwe 'gegevens' omtrent Jakob van Deventer", 107. For other evidence that Van Deventer produced a map of the Low Countries around 1550 see Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 31-32, 37-52, 61. Shortly after the map of the Netherlands was

copies of either this map or of any of Van Deventer's later maps of the Netherlands but, as Van der Heijden argues, it is probable that Paolo Forlani's map of the Low Countries, produced in the early to mid-1560s, is an accurate copy of Van Deventer's work.⁴⁶ [Figure Two] In 1548, the work begun by the Burgundian dukes reached an important stage: in the Transaction of Augsburg, the Netherlandish provinces were bound together by Charles V, under the name of Burgundy, as a circle of the Holy Roman Empire.⁴⁷

Part Two: The Commercial Context

The European map trade began at the end of the fifteenth century when the advent of the printing press made it possible to reproduce maps in large numbers. Printed maps were being published separately from books by the late fifteenth century in Germany and Italy.⁴⁸ Some of these maps were sold by Francesco Rosselli, the earliest known commercial mapseller, who had a workshop in Florence from 1482-1513. An inventory of Rosselli's shop, drawn up after his son's death in 1527, revealed that he had hundreds of maps in stock.⁴⁹ The map trade, though, appears not to have taken off on a large scale throughout most of western Europe, until the third quarter of the sixteenth century when changes in the way maps were produced and published increased their commercial value. The greater use of copper engraving rather than woodcut blocks in printing and

produced, Alonso de Santa Cruz, Charles's cosmographer in Spain produced a map of Spain, a fact which suggests a co-ordinated policy for these two parts of Charles's empire. See Parker, "Maps and Ministers", 126.

⁴⁶ Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 37-52.

⁴⁷ It seems likely that Van Deventer's map would have been employed during the meeting at Augsburg in 1548. The map was seen in 1547 or 1548 by at least one senior member of the government, Antoine Perrenot, sieur de Granvelle. A map of the Low Countries was used in 1558 during the discussions about the new episcopal structure. See Waterbolk, "Viglius als kaartenverzamelaar", 151-52; Waterbolk, "Jacob van Deventer", 107; and M. Dierickx, *De oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II* (Utrecht, 1950) 50.

⁴⁸ Schulz, "Jacopo de Barbari's View of Venice", 454.

⁴⁹ Bagrow, *History of Cartography*, 94; Koeman, *History of Abraham Ortelius*, 23-24.

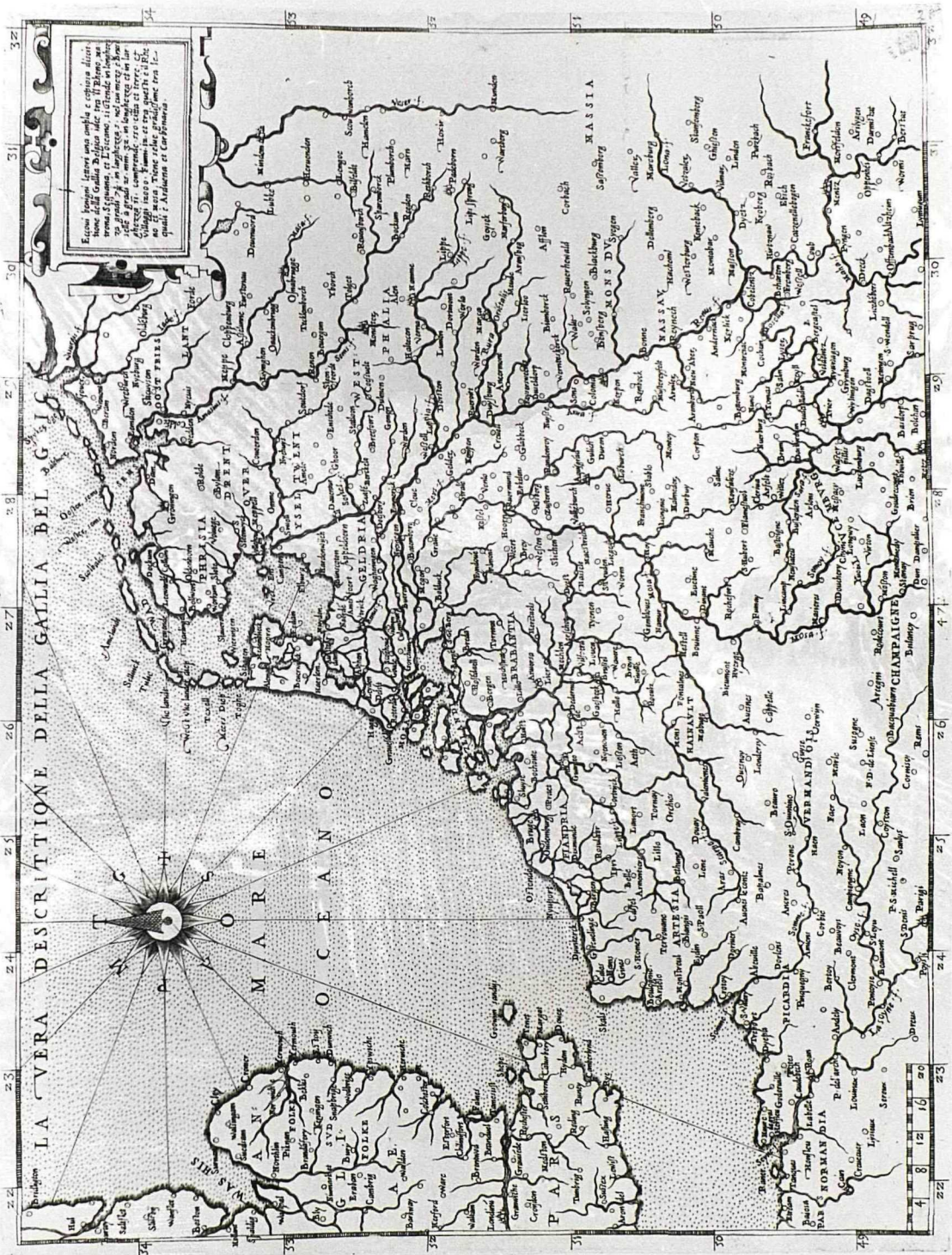


Figure 2: La Vera Descrittione Della Gallia Belgica (1560/65) [Paolo Forlani, engraver] (By permission of the British Library: Maps C.7.e.1)

developments in the cartographic basis of surveying improved the quality and hence, desirability of maps.⁵⁰

Evidence from both the Italian peninsula and England gives support to the view that map publishing became more marked after 1550. In England, the government's importance in the commissioning, use and spread of maps was much reduced after 1550 as the cartographic market widened, so that by the early 1600s, the Crown was only one among many agents active in the production and sale of maps.⁵¹ The growth of a market for maps in England is also suggested by indications of a greater map-consciousness among the public. By the end of the sixteenth century, poets and playwrights were making references to maps and globes which would have been understood only by an audience familiar with the objects concerned.⁵² In the Italian peninsula, the officials who staffed and ran the various ducal and princely governments, began to use maps as a matter of course only in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, a change attributable, in part, to the expansion of a market for maps and the consequent growth in map-consciousness.⁵³

It would be wrong to think that centres for the trade in maps and geographical works developed in every country during the sixteenth century. There are few maps extant from eastern Europe for this century, the Scottish Record Office has only one map dating from before 1600 and the earliest maps of Swedish provinces date from the 1610s and 1620s.⁵⁴ It is reasonable to suppose that had there been markets in these countries on a scale comparable to those in

⁵⁰ Koeman, Geschiedenis, 83; Hodgkiss, Understanding Maps, 61-66; Tooley, Maps and Mapmakers, xiii-xiv; Brown, The Story of Maps, 158; and Van der Heijden, The Oldest Maps, 65.

⁵¹ P. Barber, "England II: Monarchs, Ministers, and Maps, 1550-1625" in Buisseret, Monarchs, Ministers and Maps, 57-98.

⁵² V. Morgan, "The Literary image of globes and maps in early modern England" in Tyacke, English Map Making, 46-56. See also, A.S. Bendall, Maps, Land and Society. A history, with a carto-bibliography of Cambridgeshire estate maps, c.1600-1836 (Cambridge, 1992) 146-47 and S. Tyacke, "Introduction" in Tyacke, English Map Making, 13-19, 18.

⁵³ J. Marino, "Administrative Mapping in the Italian States" in Buisseret, Monarchs, Ministers and Maps, 5-25.

⁵⁴ Harvey, The History of Topographical Maps, 156.

Italy, the Low Countries and England, more maps of these areas would have been produced. In France, the cartographic market does not appear to have developed as quickly as it did elsewhere. Maps and topographical and cosmographical books were sold in Paris and Lyons but the trade and production of geographical works does not seem to have taken off until the reign of Henry IV (1589-1610).⁵⁵

It is against this background of a developing trade in maps in western Europe and a developing map-consciousness among groups of people outside government that the story of the map trade and map consciousness in the sixteenth-century Low Countries should be seen. Developments in the Low Countries follow most closely the English model. As in England, the government in the Low Countries set things forward significantly by its patronage in the 1530s and 1540s; as in England, the importance of the government in the commissioning of geographical works declined after 1550 as the cartographic market grew. There were, of course, significant differences between the two countries. In the Low Countries, the government's declining role in cartographic affairs was hastened by the troubles of the second half of the sixteenth century. The government's financial problems and the struggle against the rebel forces put an end to large scale cartographic projects after the early 1570s.⁵⁶ The nature and scale of the market

⁵⁵ Ballon, The Paris of Henri IV, 212-13. Note the importance accorded to Henry IV's reign in Buisseret, "Monarchs, Ministers and Maps in France", passim and the emphasis placed on the seventeenth century in the section on "Le goût de la carte" in Burguière and Revel, Histoire de la France, I, 107-08.

⁵⁶ G. Parker, "Maps and Ministers: The Spanish Habsburgs", 143-44. The Surhon brothers produced in the 1550s maps of Namur, Artois, Picardy and the Vermandois. For the Surhon brothers see, Wauvermans, Histoire de l'école cartographique belge, II, 26-29 and Denucé, Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers, I, 28-45. Christiaan sGrooten was appointed "royal geographer" in the 1550s and from 1558 was granted a permanent salary. He produced a map of Gelderland and Zutphen in 1558 for the then governor of the Netherlands, Emmanuel Philibert of Savoy, a map of the "oorspronck van den stroom Demere bij 't clooster van Munster-Bilssen" ("source of the Demere river by the monastery of Munster-Bilssen") for Margaret of Parma, another map of Gelderland and was commanded by Alba in 1568 to make "la description des villes et pays de sa Majesté, de leurs limites et frontières" ("the description of the towns and lands of His Majesty, with their limits and frontiers"). On sGrooten see, Keuning, "XVIth Century Cartography", 49-50; Wauvermans, Histoire de l'école cartographique belge, II, 30; Denucé, Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers, I, 128-39; Bagrow, History, 159-60; F. Van Ortroy, "Chrétien Sgrooten. Cartographe (XVIe siècle)", Annales de l'Académie Royale D'Archéologie de Belgique, 71, 7th series (1923) part 1, 145-306. Van Deventer went on to produce a series of plans of all the towns in the Low Countries. Keuning, "XVIth Century Cartography", 48-49; Wauvermans, Histoire de l'école cartographique belge, II, 22; Denucé, Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers, I, 55-61.

was also different in the two countries. In England, many of the commissions for maps from the second half of the sixteenth century came from the landed gentry as well as from merchants; in the Low Countries, merchants, humanists, government officials and magistrates constituted the main market.⁵⁷ The market in the Low Countries was also much larger than in England. This was mainly because of the central importance of Antwerp in the European map trade in the third quarter of the sixteenth century, followed by the emergence of a cartographic market in the Dutch Republic from the 1590s.

Although it is probable that maps and other works were being bought and sold in Antwerp before the middle of the sixteenth century, firm evidence of a commercial aspect to cartographic activity in Antwerp comes only from the 1550s. Gerard de Jode, who went on to produce an atlas in the 1570s, and Hieronymus Cock, responsible for one of the earliest maps of the Netherlands, both published maps during this decade. Links with foreign markets and centres of production were already in existence in the 1550s: both Cock and De Jode had connections with Italian mapmakers and Abraham Ortelius, the future creator of the Atlas, was already collecting maps at the Frankfurt Fair in 1556.⁵⁸ Foreign awareness of the trade in maps is indicated by a letter sent by an English agent in Antwerp to William Cecil in August 1559. The agent reported that, after Philip II's departure for Spain, he was now at leisure to search for "mappes, bokes or other like trinkets".⁵⁹

The ascendancy of Antwerp in cartographic trade, though, only really began when Christopher Plantin started publishing maps in 1558. Plantin established his printing press in Antwerp in 1555, publishing ten works in his first year. He expanded at such a rate thereafter that his company became the largest printing

⁵⁷ Barber, "England II", 58-59.

⁵⁸ Keuning, "XVIth Century Cartography", 51-52 (For Cock and De Jode); Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, 118-19 (For Cock), II, 3 (For Ortelius); Wauvermans, *L'école cartographique belge*, II, 35 (Cock); M. Destombes, "A Panorama of the Sack of Rome by Pieter Brueghel the Elder" in *M. Destombes. Selected Contributions*, 105-20, 107, 112 (Cock).

⁵⁹ J.M.B.C. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas et d'Angleterre, sous le règne de Philippe II*, 11 volumes (Brussels, 1882-1900) II, 3-4.

press in Europe, using at its peak in January 1574, 16 presses.⁶⁰ When Plantin began to publish maps in 1558, his main trading lines had already been laid down, so he was able to purchase and to sell maps and other geographical works at a number of European trading centres almost immediately.⁶¹ Maps were sent to Paris, where a relative later established a shop; to London, where Plantin had a contract with one dealer; to Augsburg; and to the bi-annual Frankfurt fairs.⁶² Plantin also had contacts with other areas: merchants from Italy and from Lyons would come to his shop in Antwerp; while on his way to Frankfurt, Plantin would often stop off at Cologne to conduct business; and from 1568-76, Plantin had a very important trading link with Spain.⁶³ Something of the scale and geographical scope of Plantin's trade in maps can be gained by considering what happened to the 686 copies of maps Mercator sold to Plantin between 1566 and 1576. 312 maps were sold in the Low Countries: 44 in the Antwerp shop; 205 to booksellers in Antwerp and Mechelen specialising in cartographical production; 14 to ordinary booksellers and 49 to private customers. Another 247 maps were sent to France, all but ten of these to Paris. 127 maps went to four other countries: 51 to Germany; 30 to England; 24 to Spain; and 22 to Italy.⁶⁴

Some idea of the number of maps being sold in Antwerp at this time can be gained from Denucé's study which contains extracts relating to cartographical and topographical works from the accounts of the House of Plantin. The extracts record the purchase, delivery and sale of 7000 to 8000 maps in the years 1555-99 of which an unknown proportion appear more than once in the accounts. The most cautious estimate of the total number of maps passing through the House of Plantin, based upon the assumption that each map was recorded twice in the accounts, would be 3500. Since the House of Plantin was only one of the many

⁶⁰ L. Voet, The Golden Compasses. A History and Evaluation of the Printing and Publishing Activities of the Officina Plantiniana at Antwerp in two volumes (Amsterdam, 1969-1972) I, 31-33, 81. To put the figure of 16 presses into context, Voet notes that four presses was a high figure in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Another famous sixteenth century firm, that of Estienne in Geneva, never had more than four presses: I, 32-33.

⁶¹ Voet, The Golden Compasses, I, 32.

⁶² Denucé, Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers, I, 17.

⁶³ Voet, The Golden Compasses, II, 395-98, 400-01.

⁶⁴ Voet, The Golden Compasses, II, 421.

establishments in the Low Countries selling maps, albeit by far the most important, then it becomes clear that, for the half century 1550-99, thousands of maps must have been produced and sold.⁶⁵

The abundance of cartographic and geographic material in the 1560s and 1570s is attested also by the appearance of atlases from 1570 onwards: the atlases came into being to provide a way by which all the new small scale maps could be organised and presented in a systematic manner. Attempts to compile an atlas had already been made in the mid-sixteenth century by Sebastian Münster in Germany and by various mapsellers in the Italian peninsula⁶⁶ but the first atlas in modern times to conform to the definition of "a systematic and comprehensive collection of maps of uniform size" was Abraham Ortelius's *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* of 1570. Seventy maps appeared in the first edition of the *Theatrum* and the number rose with the subsequent editions so that by 1584, the *Theatrum* contained 114 maps.⁶⁷ The *Theatrum* was followed in the Low Countries by another two major atlases, Gerard de Jode's *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* (1578) and Mercator's *Atlas* (1585-95).⁶⁸ Of these three atlases, Ortelius's *Theatrum* was, during the 1500s, by far the most successful. From 1570 to 1598 Ortelius delivered to the House of Plantin in Antwerp nearly 2000 copies of the *Theatrum*, 900 of these between the years 1570 and 1576.⁶⁹ This figure and the extracts from the Plantin archives published by Denucé make it clear that the total number of atlases produced during the last thirty years of the sixteenth century must have been at least a few thousand.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I and II, passim.

⁶⁶ Bagrow, *History*, 139, 176-85; Hodgkiss, *Understanding Maps*, 93; Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius*, 25, 47, 49; and Brown, *The Story of Maps*, 164-68.

⁶⁷ Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius*, 27-34, 42-44.

⁶⁸ For Gerard de Jode see, Wauvermans, *Histoire de l'école cartographique belge*, II, 165-68; F. Van Ortroij, *L'Oeuvre géographique de Gerard et Corneille de Jode* (Originally published in Ghent, 1914; reprint: Amsterdam, 1963); Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, 163-201. For Mercator see, J. Keuning, "The history of an atlas Mercator-Hondius", *Imago Mundi*, IV (1947) 37-62.

⁶⁹ Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius*, 39, 41-42, 44-45.

⁷⁰ The extracts in Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, volumes one and two, record the purchase and sale of just over 4000 atlases in the years from 1565 to 1601. The following were included in the category of atlas: the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* with

The rise of Antwerp as a centre of the production and trade in maps and atlases meant that the Low Countries was well served in cartographic matters but the same cannot be said about chorographical works. The fame attached to Lodovico Guicciardini's *Description of All the Low Countries*, first published in 1567, has obscured the scarcity of native Netherlandish chorographical works in the sixteenth century.⁷¹ It is significant that, though Guicciardini refers, on a number of occasions in the *Description*, to the German cosmographer Sebastian Münster, at no point does he mention a Netherlandish chorographical work. The only two Netherlandish geographers to feature in his book were Jacob van Deventer and Gemma de Fries, neither of whom was distinguished in the field of chorography.⁷² There appear to have been only four other chorographical works on the Low Countries published in the sixteenth century, two of which were unfinished.⁷³

In the absence of any studies on the chorographical genre in Europe as a whole, it is too early to say whether the Low Countries was unusual in having so few native chorographical works. Certainly, many chorographical works were published in the German speaking lands in the sixteenth century but Germany and Switzerland may have been the exception rather than the rule. The weakness of the chorographical genre in the sixteenth-century Low Countries can be explained, in the first place, by the absence of two factors which were important in

the *Additamenta* and *Supplementa*, Mercator's *Atlas*, the *Speculum Orbis Terrarum* and the *Spiegel der Werelt* or *Epitome*.

⁷¹ Strauss, *Sixteenth-Century Germany*, 61.

⁷² Sebastian Münster, whose *Cosmographia* first appeared in 1544, appears to have been the principal source of chorographical information in the Low Countries before Guicciardini's work appeared. As well as being cited by Guicciardini, *Description*, 210 and 226, he was also referred to by the author of an important pamphlet from 1566, the *Remonstrance ofte vertoogh aen den grootmachtigen Coninck van Spaengen...* See W.P.C. Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de koninklijke bibliotheek*, 9 volumes (The Hague, 1889-1920) I, number 139B, 36r.

⁷³ These works were the *Origines Antwerpianae*, Book One (1569) by Johannes Goropius Becanus, the little known *Itinerarium Belgicum* of 1587 and two works relating to the province of Holland and the surrounding area. See B.A. Vermaseren, "Het ontstaan van Hadrianus Junius' 'Batavia' (1588)", *Huldeboek Kruitwagen* (The Hague, 1949) 407-26, 417 for Becanus; P.H. Meurer, "Gerhard Stempel, Georg Braun en het 'Itinerarium Belgicum' (Keulen 1587)", *Caert Thresoor*, 3 (1984) 3-8; and for the unfinished works, E.O.G. Haitsma Mulier, "Grotius, Hooft and the Writing of History in the Dutch Republic" in A.C. Duke and C.A. Tamse, eds., *Clio's Mirror. Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands. Britain and the Netherlands*, VIII (Zutphen, 1985) 55-72, 55-56.

Germany, a widespread and long tradition of town chronicles and the sense of aggrieved pride which many German humanists felt at the lack of adequate descriptions of their country.⁷⁴ Account must also be taken, though, of the remarkable success of Guicciardini's *Description* which, by providing about as full a description of the Low Countries as would have been needed at the time, effectively cornered the market in the Low Countries for chorographical works. The *Description* followed much the same pattern as the German "topographical-historical" works and cosmographies described by Strauss. Guicciardini introduced the work with comments of a general nature on the names accorded to the region, the number of towns, great rivers and countryside, the customs of the people and political matters. He then described each province in turn, paying particular attention to Brabant and, especially, Antwerp. The work also appeared with a map of all the Low Countries and a series of maps of most of the provinces.⁷⁵ Guicciardini's work did not please everybody but it still proved to be a great commercial success. The three Italian and two French editions of the book which appeared in the sixteenth century were followed in the seventeenth century by a series of French, Dutch and Latin editions. It was not until 1649-51 that any serious attempt was made to supersede the work and reprints continued to appear until 1662.⁷⁶

The main market for all these maps, atlases and Guicciardini's *Description* was the more well-to-do and educated elements of Netherlandish society. This was especially the case with the atlases and the *Description*. The first edition of the *Theatrum* (1570) contained 53 map sheets and 70 maps in total. Ortelius sold to Plantin the "afgeset" or coloured copies "op groot papier" (large format and wide margins) at a price of 16 guilders each, the uncoloured copies, "op kleine

⁷⁴ The practise of writing town chronicles, as well as provincial histories, certainly existed in the late-medieval Netherlands but does not appear to have been as widespread or as deeply rooted as in Germany. For details of late-medieval and Renaissance historiography, see the essays by R. van Uytven, J.A. Kossmann-Putto and Ph. de Vries in the *AGN*, 12 Volumes (Utrecht/ Antwerp, 1949-1958) XII, 440-87. Unlike German humanists, Netherlandish humanists appear to have had a more positive attitude to Classical Rome and to contemporary Italian humanists. For the contrast between Netherlandish and German historical writing during the Renaissance see H. van de Waal, "Nederlandsche-Duitse tegenstellingen in de geschiedschrijving der Renaissance", *De Gids*, CXII (1949) 98-108.

⁷⁵ Guicciardini, *Description*, *passim*.

⁷⁶ De la Fontaine Verwey, "The History of Guicciardini's *Description*", 49-50.

papier" (smaller format) at just five guilders and ten stuivers. Subsequent copies with more maps added were sold by Ortelius for steadily higher prices: in the years 1584-1590, during which time the atlas contained 100 map sheets and 114 maps, the *Theatrum* fetched 16 guilders for an uncoloured copy and 26 guilders for a coloured copy; and from 1595 the uncoloured copy, containing 147 maps, cost 23 guilders.⁷⁷ The other major atlases and Guicciardini's work were in much the same price range.

These prices were clearly too high even for skilled workers such as the printers and compositors working at the House of Plantin in 1580 who received 105 and 165 guilders a year respectively.⁷⁸ In 1577, though, a shorter atlas with a compilation of 70 maps based upon those in Ortelius's *Theatrum* was published by Plantin for those with smaller purses. Entitled *Spiegel der Werelt ghestelt in Ryne* ("Mirror of the World set to verse") this atlas was priced at only one guilder and two stuivers thus putting it within reach of a wider public. The atlas proved to be a success, selling so well that by 1583 at least 1100 copies had been delivered to the House of Plantin and within 22 years five Dutch editions and six French editions had been produced.⁷⁹

The cheapest of all the geographical works were the loose-leaf maps. At one end of the scale were the great wall maps which could cost as much as a guilder. Philip Galle's wall map of the Low Countries, produced in 1578, cost 18-25 stuivers when coloured, six to eight stuivers when untouched.⁸⁰ The poorer quality and cheaper maps, though, could cost as little as one stuiver.⁸¹ For

⁷⁷ Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 90-91.

⁷⁸ See Voet, *The Golden Compasses*, II, 309-56; Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius*, 39; and C. Clair, *Christopher Plantin* (London, 1960) 284-85. These workers were master craftsmen not apprentices.

⁷⁹ M.P. Heyns, *Spiegel der Werelt, Ghestelt in Ryne* (Antwerp, 1577; British Library, Maps C.2.6.19 not S. 173 (31) as given in the main catalogue). For details of sales see Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius*, 27. The French edition was entitled *Le Miroir du Monde*. The work is often referred to as the *Epitome*.

⁸⁰ Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 84-87.

⁸¹ The plates used in Plantin's edition of the *Description of all the Low Countries* in the early 1580s could be bought separately at one stuiver each. Koeman, *The History of Abraham Ortelius*, 50. By way of comparison, the average price of the pamphlets sold by Plantin to the States General in the years 1578-82 was 1.25 stuivers. C.E. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht, 1987)

workers like the printers and compositors at the House of Plantin whose monthly wages came to 175 and 275 stuivers respectively, the cheaper maps, therefore, were not unaffordable.

Something of the market for geographical works can also be determined by an examination of sixteenth century inventories. The biggest published collection of such inventories appears in the *Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën* where the inventories, 252 in total, have been divided into five categories: Nobility; Farmers; Trade and Commerce ("Handel en Verkeer"); Industry; and Free Professions ("Vrije Beroepen"). The collection is not as useful as may first appear because the editor, H.A. Enno van Gelder, provided only a sample of all the inventories in the archives. Moreover, about 75% of the inventories concern individuals cited before the Council of Troubles in 1567-69, a group composed mainly of Protestant sympathisers and those who were active against the central government in 1565-67. In short, there is no means of knowing how representative the inventories are and the high proportion of inventories from 1567-69 suggests that the sample is more likely to be unrepresentative than not.⁸²

Nevertheless, the figures are, at least, suggestive and some things can be stated with certainty. The inventories do show that, by the end of the 1560s at the latest, people in trade and commerce, industry and the free professions were buying maps. Eight of the 74 inventories for trade, spread over the years 1543-88, listed at least one map, the earliest coming from an inventory of 1567. 53 of the inventories come from the years 1567-69, six of which, thus 11.3%, included a map. A similar pattern emerges with the inventories of those in industry of which 91 are given, spread over the years 1542 to 1599. The proportion of those with maps is much lower than was the case with those in trade and commerce: only six are recorded. All six, though, are from the years 1567-68 and amount to 7.8% of the total number of inventories from industry for the years 1567-69. Only 30 inventories are given for the free professions but four of these contain maps, the years being 1568, 1569, 1588 and 1590. The proportion of inventories with maps from the period 1567-69 is 8%, similar to the figure for industry.

63-64.

⁸² Enno van Gelder, *Gegevens*, Volumes 140-41, passim. The figure of 252 inventories is based upon the number of inventories listed in both volumes, excluding those which contain details about income and law contracts only and including numbers 121A-121C in Volume 140. Enno van Gelder outlined his methodology in volume 140, pages v-vii.

The absence of any maps in the farmers category is probably a fair reflection of a low level of map consciousness outside the cities but caution must be exercised, because only 26 inventories were recorded, most of them from 1567-69. It is something of a surprise to find only two entries for maps in the section for the nobility: the first for Hoogstraten Castle in 1548; and the second, in an appendix, which gives an account of expenses for Antoon van Stralen's steward in the lordship of Merxem and Dambrugge.⁸³ The recent publication of inventories carried out in 1567-68 on the property left behind by Protestant sympathisers in Ghent provides more specific information. The confiscation accounts mention 195 people but only 76 (38.9%) appear in the inventories. Of those 76 people, 32 did not leave any movable goods behind. Of the remaining 44, six (13.6%) are recorded in the inventories as having left maps behind.⁸⁴ A somewhat lower percentage emerges from an examination of archives in the Noorderkwartier, the northern part of the province of Holland. Of the 133 persons whose property was declared forfeit by the Council of Troubles, only nine (6.7%) left maps behind.⁸⁵

The limitations of this survey of some sixteenth-century inventories are obvious and the findings may well be modified by further research. The trends that

⁸³ Enno van Gelder, *Gegevens*, Volumes 140-41. The figure given for the total number of inventories for 'Trade and Commerce' includes numbers 121A-121C and excludes two 'inventories' which are concerned with just financial matters. Twelve of the 44 inventories given under 'Nobility' have been discounted for the same reason. It should be remembered that many of those who fled from the Low Countries in 1567-68 took much of their property with them so it is possible that the maps recorded in the inventories represent only a fraction of the number owned by the people in the sample.

⁸⁴ J. Scheerder, "Documenten in verband met confiscatie van roerende goederen van hervormingsgezinden te Gent (1567-1568)", *Bulletin de la Commission royale d'Histoire*, CLVII (1991) 125-242. The six inventories with maps are numbers 3, 6, 8, 20, 25, and 76. Some of the inventories which appear in Enno van Gelder's sample appear also in Scheerder's article.

⁸⁵ The figure is based on a survey of the archives in Alkmaar, Beverwijk, Enkhuizen, Hoorn, Medemblik, Monnikendam and Nieuw Niedorp. Some of the map-owners in this survey appear in Enno van Gelder's sample: *Gegevens*, Volumes 140-41, numbers 121A, 143, 240 and 262. In the 1920s, A. Hallema transcribed and edited seven inventories from sixteenth-century Franeker in Friesland. The inventories were made over a period of twenty years, from 1548 to 1568. The only inventory to mention a map is that which comes from 1568. See his two articles in the *Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het historische genootschap*: "Inventarissen van Franeker burgers en boeren omstreeks 1550", 46 (1925) 53-89 and "Nogmaals een drietal inventarissen van Franeker burgers en boeren kort na 1550", 49 (1928) 270-340.

emerge from the different inventories, though, are consistent with each other and suggest that some preliminary conclusions may be drawn. The percentage in each group, of inventories *from 1567-9* which record a map, varies by only 6.9%: from the 6.7% recorded for the Noorderkwartier to the 13.6% in Ghent. The survey suggests, then, that by the late 1560s, the average proportion of persons in certain groups, who possessed a map, was between 5% and 15%. This average applies only to urban areas, though; the groups concerned were those in the professions as well as merchants, traders and industrialists. A second trend which emerges from the survey is that, though some individuals were buying maps by the end of the 1560s at the latest, they were not buying them in large numbers. With the exception of the Hoogstraten Castle inventory of 1548, all of those people who possessed maps had, at the most, only three. The number of maps bought by people and the average proportion of inventories which contain a map may seem very low. It should be remembered, though, that at that stage, maps had only been sold in relatively large numbers for a short space of time. Moreover, the inventories were carried out before the atlases and Guicciardini's *Description* could exercise any influence.

The development of the trade in maps, atlases and chorographical works in the second half of the sixteenth century increased the range of purposes for which maps were produced. Before the mid-sixteenth century, a significant number of the maps produced were manuscript works; that is, maps commissioned, at least initially, not for a general market but to help clarify specific problems. They include the works commissioned by the government, maps produced to help resolve legal disputes, maps of the coastline, estate maps and estate map books.⁸⁶ With the advent of the map trade, cartographic works of a more general nature meant for a more general market began to predominate. The claims made for these works by the map makers and map traders mark a coming of age for maps: they did not talk about the direct utility of maps but emphasised, instead, the importance of maps as an essential part of the mental equipment of educated Europeans.⁸⁷

One of the most significant statements on the use of maps came from the

⁸⁶ For maps produced for law suits see Huussen, "Polemische kaarten". Koeman, "Algemene inleiding", 225-27 and Waterbolk, "Viglius als kaartenverzamelaar", 147-50, provide information about estate maps and estate mapbooks. In this section, the emphasis is on maps of a more commercial nature.

⁸⁷ Morgan, "The Cartographic Image", 141-42 draws this point out well.

hand of Ortelius, the creator of the *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. In the preface to the *Theatrum*, Ortelius argued that a knowledge of geography, and especially of maps, was essential in understanding both history and current affairs. "For thou shalt meet", he wrote,

"with many things in the reading of Histories, (I will not say, almost all) which, except thou have the knowledge of the countreys and places mentioned in them, cannot onely not bee well conceived and understood, but also oft times they are cleane mistaken and otherwise understood than they ought to bee:...This so necessary a knowledge of Geography, as many worthy and learned men have testified, may very easily be learn'd out of Geographicall Chartes or Mappes".⁸⁸

Ortelius's belief that a knowledge of the geography of an area was important in the understanding of events appears to have been shared by a growing number of people in the second half of the sixteenth century. Map publishers started producing maps of areas which were currently 'in the news'. Hieronymus Cock and Bernard Van den Putte, for example, brought out 300 small maps of Malta in 1565, the year in which the island was besieged by Ottoman forces.⁸⁹ It became more common for works of an historical or political nature to include either a map or a chorographical description. Both Philip Galle's account of the Revolt, published in 1578-79, and, sometime later, Van Meteren's history of the Troubles in the Netherlands included a map of the Low Countries.⁹⁰ In Michael von Aitzing's *De Leone Belgico*, first published in 1583, the map even constituted the

⁸⁸ The quotation is taken from the 1606 English edition of the *Theatrum*, *The Theatre of the Whole World: Set forth by that excellent Geographer Abraham Ortelius* (London, 1606; British Library, 9 TAB 8). This preface is based upon the prefaces found in the original Latin (1570) and Dutch (1571) editions.

⁸⁹ Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, 75, 82, 127-28. See also A. Ganado, "The Great Siege in 16th and 17th Century Cartography", *The Treasures of Malta*, I, no.2 (Easter 1995) 41-45.

⁹⁰ Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling*, I, number 403, *Sommaire Annotation des Choses plus memorable...* (Antwerp, 1579). On Van Meteren, see H.A.M. Van der Heijden, "Emanuel van Meteren's History as Source for the Cartography of the Netherlands", *Quaerendo*, XVI (1986) 3-29. Morgan also refers to the use of maps as an aspect of interest in current affairs in, "The Cartographic Image", 147.

principal means of publicity for the work.⁹¹

The greater awareness of topographical conditions is also apparent in some of the pamphlets produced during the early years of the Revolt. Towards the beginning of one such pamphlet, the *Commentaire Premier du Seign. Alphonse d'Ulloë*, published in 1570 in Paris, the author turns aside from his narrative of events to describe, for the benefit of his readers, the geography, history and characteristics of the Netherlands. His discussion took in such details as the names given to the area, the geographical situation of the land, the climate, the longitude and latitude of the area, the produce, animals, the character of the people and the growth of Habsburg power in the Low Countries.⁹² D'Ulloë was, of course, a Frenchman writing for a French market, but his comments were echoed, albeit in a much more abbreviated form, in pamphlets produced in the Netherlands.⁹³

Some caution must be exercised here because the number of pamphlets with maps or descriptions of a topographical nature was still very low. Before 1595, only two of the pamphlets listed in the Knuttel collection, the largest collection of pamphlets relating to the Low Countries, use a map with the text. The use of maps in the pamphlets became relatively common only in the years 1599-1604 when 21 pamphlets with maps appeared.⁹⁴ The tardy appearance of maps in

⁹¹ M. Von Aitzing, *De Leone Belgico, eius que topographica atque historica descriptione liber* (Cologne, 1583; British Library 155.a.4). See W. Bonacker, "Le Baron Michael von Eitzing (1530-98)", *Revue Belge de Philologie et D'Histoire*, 37, part 2 (1959) 950-66.

⁹² *Commentaire Premier du Seign. Alphonse d'Ulloë* (Paris, 1570) 9recto-11verso. The pamphlet is listed as number 203 in the Meulman collection, most of which is now in Ghent: J.K. Van der Wulp, *Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Is. Meulman*, 3 volumes (Amsterdam, 1866-68) I. D'Ulloë's source was clearly Guicciardini: compare his comment on folio 9verso on the reasons for which the area was called 'Flanders' with Guicciardini's comments in the *Description*, 4.

⁹³ See pamphlets 221A, *Discours de la victoire qu'il pleu à Dieu donner au Roy Catholique...* (Lyons, 1574) 4-5, which described the battle of Mook Heath and 225, *Discours du siege que les Espaignolz ont tenu devant la ville de Leyden en Hollande...* (Place of publication not given, 1575) A4r-A4v referred to in Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling*, I.

⁹⁴ Knuttel, *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling*, I. The two pre-1595 pamphlets which originally contained a map or had a map attached, are numbers 403 (1579) and 520 (1580). In the case of number 403, the map is no longer extant. Pamphlet number 746, which is listed under the year 1585 and has a map relating to the siege of Antwerp was

pamphlets may be due to the topical nature of pamphlets. Pamphlets were produced at speed with the aim of influencing the opinion of the population about a matter of immediate concern: maps would have taken too long to produce.⁹⁵

As well as stressing the utility of maps, Ortelius also acknowledged in his preface the pleasure which people got from the use of maps:

"I omit here, that the reading of Histories doeth seeme to be much more pleasant, and indeed so it is, when the mappe being layed before our eyes, we may behold things done, or places where they were done, as if they were at this time present and in doing...".⁹⁶

The importance of non-utilitarian reasons for the sale and purchase of maps is evident, first of all, in the emergence of collectors of maps in the sixteenth century. Already in the early 1500s, people who did not require maps for purely professional purposes were acquiring cartographic works.⁹⁷ As the century progressed and government officials began to collect maps for administrative purposes, some officials picked up an interest in cartographic material, Viglius van Aytta being the prime Netherlandish example. A growing interest in maps is also suggested by two inventories carried out in 1556 and 1567 in Vianen, at the house of the lord of Brederode, one of the leading rebels in the early revolt of 1566-67. No maps were recorded for the first search; the second indicated a collection of 46 maps.⁹⁸

In addition, the sense of wonder which maps evoked in many observers and the graphic nature of the cartographic medium quickly established maps as a form of decoration. That this was the case in the Low Countries is attested by a number of examples. A 1552 inventory revealed that a prominent Antwerp citizen,

actually published in 1595.

⁹⁵ Harline, Pamphlets, 2-3.

⁹⁶ Ortelius, The Theatre, preface.

⁹⁷ Schulz, "Jacopo de Barbari's View of Venice", 441-42, 454 and Gibson, "Mirror of the Earth", 50-51.

⁹⁸ J.J. Salverda de Grave, "Twee Inventarissen van het Huis Brederode", Bijdragen en mededeelingen van het historisch genootschap, 39 (1918) 1-172, especially 160-68.

Michiel van der Heyden, possessed framed maps of Flanders, Brabant and "Hooghduytsland" (Germany).⁹⁹ A framed ("gelijst") map of Holland appears in the 1569 inventory of a fisherman at Hoorn; a map of Europe is described in an inventory of 1585 as "gebordt wezende" (being framed or pierced (as if for hanging up)).¹⁰⁰ According to the 1567 inventory of Brederode's house at Vianen, his collection of maps was kept in the gallery, the place where pictures were normally displayed.¹⁰¹

Something of the same conviction of utility, wonder and pleasure is apparent also in Guicciardini's preface to the *Description*. The *Description*, he wrote, had much in common with histories but, in his opinion, was "...more extensive and more useful, because it embraces more subjects and in more detail, with a full summary of countries and peoples...". Moreover, the reader could do all this at little inconvenience to himself, a point also emphasised by makers, sellers and admirers of maps: "Through this gift, you shall come across, without leaving your house, in a small area and in a short space of time, the situation, the grandeur, the beauty, the might and nobility of these pleasant and admirable lands". He contended, further, that a knowledge of both the political and geographical nature of the country was not only pleasurable but useful: "subjects, which if I'm not mistaken, could bring, as well as pleasure and delight, very great utility and experience".¹⁰²

A third reason for the production and sale of geographical works was given by Ortelius in the preface to his *Theatrum*. Perhaps anticipating one line of criticism of his work, Ortelius asked his readers to send in further details and maps of their native land if they considered that their country was not covered

⁹⁹ Gibson, *"Mirror of the Earth"*, 51.

¹⁰⁰ Enno van Gelder, *Gegevens*, Volume 140, 629 (1569), 589 (1585).

¹⁰¹ Salverda de Grave, "Twee inventarissen", 89-90. Gibson, *"The Mirror of the Earth"*, 51 makes this point using as his reference C. Koeman, *Collections of Maps and Atlases in the Netherlands: Their History and Present State*, *Imago Mundi*, suppl.3 (Leiden, 1961) 19.

¹⁰² "plus ample & plus utile, pour-ce qu'elle embrasse plus de matieres & plus particulièrement, avec entiere notice des païs & des gens..."; "Tu verras doncq par ceste presente sans sortir de ta maison, en petite espace, & en peu de temps, la situation, la grandeur, la beaulté, la puissance & noblesse de ces tants plaisans & admirables païs...". Guicciardini, *Description*, Preface addressed "Au Lecteur". On the convenience of maps, see Morgan, "The Cartographic Image", 146-47.

adequately by the atlas: "...some there are peradventure," he wrote "which will looke to finde in this our Theater more descriptions of particular Countreys, (for every man naturally, for the love that he beareth to his native soile, would, I doubt not, wish that it were here severally described amongst the rest)...".¹⁰³ Ortelius's assumption that "the love that he beareth to his native soile" was an universal characteristic may well have been unfounded but if not universal, it was certainly present in the sixteenth century. Contemporary works on patriotic sentiment have emphasised the evolving and predominant power of particularist feeling in the sixteenth century over against any comprehensive loyalties and there is much to support this view.¹⁰⁴ Graphic evidence of a strong feeling for the city is suggested by the many picture maps and tapestries of towns and cities which appeared in the sixteenth century such as those of Ghent in 1534¹⁰⁵ and Amsterdam in 1538¹⁰⁶, not to mention the famous *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* (1572), an atlas of cities published by Frans Hogenberg and Georg Braun.¹⁰⁷ In the inventories, a significant proportion of the maps are maps of the cities or provinces in which the map-owners lived. This is especially the case with the 1567-68 inventories from Ghent. Of the three map-owners whose maps are identified, two have maps of Flanders and the third has a map of Ghent. In the inventories edited by H.A. Enno van Gelder, three of the eleven map-owners from Holland have a map of their province; in the 1552 inventory, the Antwerp citizen, Van der Heyden, also appears with a map of his province.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Ortelius, *The Theatre*, preface.

¹⁰⁴ See, for example, S. Groenveld, "Natie en nationaal gevoel in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden", *Nederlands Archiefblad*, LXXXIV (1980) 372-87.

¹⁰⁵ J. Decavele and R. De Herdt, *Gent op de wateren en naar de zee* (Antwerp, 1976) 10-11.

¹⁰⁶ J. Keuning, "Cornelis Anthonisz", *Imago Mundi*, VII (1950) 51-65, 51-52; F.J. Dubiez, *Cornelis Anthoniszoon van Amsterdam. Zijn Leven en Werken. ca. 1507-1553* (Amsterdam, 1969) 12-13.

¹⁰⁷ J. Keuning, "The "Civitates" of Braun and Hogenberg", *Imago Mundi*, XVII (1963) 41-44.

¹⁰⁸ The three map-owners in Ghent were Antheunis van der Muelene (Number 3), Frederick de Bucq (8) and Joos Seys (25). Scheerder, "Documenten", 143, 159 and 179. For the owners of the maps of Holland see Enno van Gelder, *Gegevens*, I, 581 and 629 and II, 197. For Van der Heyden see Gibson, *"The Mirror of the Earth"*, 51.

Whilst the contemporary emphasis upon the importance of particularism is undoubtedly correct, it does not tell the whole story. The geographical evidence in the form of maps and town views does indicate the vitality of civic and provincial feeling but also suggests the existence of a more supra-provincial sentiment. 47 different editions of maps of the Low Countries were produced during the years 1550-1599, 35 of these within the Netherlands or by Netherlandish exiles. The high number is in itself indicative of a significant interest in cartographic representations of the Low Countries because the map sellers would not have brought these maps out if there had been no interest in such maps.¹⁰⁹ Account must also be taken of the fact that of the thousands of maps that were produced and sold in the second half of the sixteenth century, a high proportion were maps of the Low Countries. Almost 4500 of the maps in the extracts selected from the Plantin archives by Denucé are identified by name and of these, 757 were maps of the entire Netherlands, a figure which exceeds the total number of all the maps of the Netherlandish provinces put together.¹¹⁰ Furthermore, of the 24 identified maps in the inventories edited by H.A. Enno van Gelder, at least two, and probably four, were maps of the Low Countries.¹¹¹

The popularity of maps of the Low Countries may, in part, be explained by the Revolt of the Netherlands which stimulated much interest in the area but the conflict does not explain all of the demand. All of the maps of the Netherlands which appear in the inventories, appear in inventories which were carried out some years before 1572 when the Netherlandish wars really began. The same applies for Guicciardini's *Description* and for eleven of the maps of the Netherlands which appeared after 1550. These examples suggest that an interest

¹⁰⁹ Maps 2(1547/48), 7, 8, 15, 41, 48 appeared in Italy. The only other non-Netherlandish maps were numbers 11, 23, 27(the *Leo Belgicus*), 29, 42, 43 and 44. A number of maps were produced in Cologne but most of these were by Netherlandish exiles. Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, passim.

¹¹⁰ Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I and II. About 4495 maps were given a title of some sort; 2728 are unidentified. The only type of map to appear more frequently in the accounts was the map of Europe.

¹¹¹ 28 maps appear in the inventories but four are not identified. Two of the maps were definitely of the Low Countries. Enno van Gelder, *Gegevens*, I, 256 and 467. In volume II, 339, two other maps are described, somewhat confusingly, as "een chaerte van dese Nederlantsche beschrijvinghe,..." ("a map of or from this Netherlandish description"), which may be a reference to the map of the Netherlands in Guicciardini's *Description* and "een Nederlantsche chaerte..." ("a Netherlandish map").

in the Netherlands existed before the Revolt and, moreover, that the demand for geographical works on the Low Countries after 1572 was not due entirely to the Revolt.

The importance of the patriotic motif is apparent in the oldest surviving map of the Low Countries by a Netherlander, Hieronymus Cock's map of 1557. Cock explained why he had produced the map on the side of the work itself. He wrote, "Ouer sien hebbende, beminde leser, sommighe beschrijvinghe, die van dese nederlanden ut ghegheuen sijn gheweest, hebbe ick/ ghemerck dat daer noch gheene uolcomelijck bescreven en is, gelijckt wel van dese landen behooren soude...". His intention was that by means of the cartographic representation and the information presented by the side of the representation, the viewer might therefore love the patria.¹¹² Ortelius, in the dedication to his antiquarian map of 1584, wrote "S.P.Q.A. Patriam Antiquitati a se restitutam dedicabet lub. mer. Abrahamus Ortelius Civis". In one of the cartouches, Ortelius was praised for his scholarly endeavours: "Prisca vetustatis Belgae monumenta recludit Ortelius, priscas dum legit historias. Collige prima soli natalis semina Belga, Et de quo veteri sis novus ipse vide."¹¹³

Similar expressions of a supra-provincial sentiment appear in a more surprising source: Guicciardini's *Description of all the Low Countries*. As Guicciardini was an Italian, the *Description* may be thought to be an inappropriate place to look for expressions of Netherlandish patriotism. The work is prefaced, though, by a series of poems in five languages, Latin, Greek, Italian, French and Dutch, praising Guicciardini for his achievement in showing the world the glories of the Netherlands. In the only Dutch poem which appears in the series, the poet uses the device of an allegory, in which the Netherlands appears as a woman called "Belgica". The poet calls upon "Belgica", "schoon edel' bloeme" ("beautiful,

¹¹² "Studying dear reader, some descriptions of the Netherlanders which have been published, I realized that none of these is as complete as this country deserves"; and "amore ergo patriam". Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 55, 57. English translations by Van der Heijden.

¹¹³ "With pleasure the citizen Abraham Ortelius dedicates this map of his native country as it was in Roman times to the senate and people of Antwerp. S.P.Q.A = Senatui Populoque Antwerpiensi". The second quotation reads: "Studying books on ancient history, Ortelius, disclosed the antique monuments of the Roman Netherlands. Glean, reader, the first grains of your native soil and learn from which ancestors you are the offspring." Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 161-63. English translations by Van der Heijden.

noble flower"), to stop sitting in a dejected manner between her rivers because Guicciardini had come to take her down to Italy. Belgica's beauty would, at last, receive the dues it deserved and her progress down to Italy would display her wonders to all. The poet concludes by bidding "Belgica" farewell as she sets out on her tour through the world and calls upon her to reward her workman for his labours. Lucas d'Heere, a painter of Ghent, produced a sonnet in French, in which he tells the reader that, through the book, he would come to an understanding "De nostre beau païs & de ses qualitez,/ De noz villes, Citéz, & leurs proprietez,/ Peuples, arts, industrie, & leur magnificence;/ Lesquels GUICCIARDIN décrit par excellence."¹¹⁴

The comments which appear on the maps produced by Cock and Ortelius and in the prefatory poems to Guicciardini's *Description* show clearly that the humanist patriotic motif which Strauss identified as a key element in the creation of the chorographical genre in sixteenth-century Germany was also present in the Low Countries during the second half of the sixteenth century. Like their German counterparts, Netherlandish humanists, of whom Cock, Ortelius and d'Heere were representative figures, expressed a sense of pride in their country through geographical works. The maps and chorographical works were such effective vehicles for this form of humanist patriotism because they displayed the glories of a country to such great effect both through the cartographic representations which showed the extent of the country and through the chorographical works, which overwhelmed the reader with details of the variety and wealth of the land.

Part Three: Geographical Works and the Construction of a Pan-Netherlandish Identity

In their articles on Early Modern England, both Victor Morgan and Richard Helgerson place great emphasis upon the impact of geographical works, arguing that maps, atlases and chorographical works helped shape and reinforce regional

¹¹⁴ "Of our beautiful lands and of its qualities/ Of our towns, cities and their properties/ Peoples, arts, industry and their magnificence/ Which Guicciardini describes par excellence." Guicciardini, *Description*. The Dutch poem begins "Belgica ontwaect...".

identities in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.¹¹⁵ It seems probable that maps and cityviews had the same effect in the Low Countries, encouraging the deeply rooted particularism which was a characteristic feature of the area. Whether maps and atlases also encouraged the development of a supra-provincial sentiment is not an easy matter to determine but the comments on the maps by Cock and Ortelius suggest mapmakers certainly believed that their creations could deepen feelings for this Netherlandish patria. Although the principal means by which Cock and Ortelius hoped to influence viewers was by putting the country on 'display', it is possible that other features of the maps, atlases and Guicciardini's *Description*, also helped construct an identity which saw the Netherlands as an unified political body distinct from both Germany and France.

In 1551-52, the Antwerp civic authorities purchased from Jacob van Deventer a large wall map of the Low Countries. The map was described in the accounts as "...een caerte van alle de landen van herwaerts over, met oock alle de frontieren van dezelve landen."¹¹⁶ The extract from the accounts is a reminder that, with the advent of scale maps in the sixteenth century, the idea of territorial frontiers began to take hold in Europe. This development was very slow. Although some maps were drawn up before the eighteenth century which represented boundaries with reasonable accuracy,¹¹⁷ it was, generally, not until the 1700s that the frontiers of most areas were delineated clearly and accurately on maps and that diplomats and governments began to take serious account of geographical frontiers in negotiations leading up to treaties.¹¹⁸ The frontiers that

¹¹⁵ Helgersen, "The Land Speaks", passim; Morgan, "The Cartographic Image", passim.

¹¹⁶ "...a map of all the provinces down here, also with all the boundaries of these provinces". Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, 60-61. The map probably gave more attention to the frontiers of the provinces than to the frontiers between the Low Countries and Germany and France.

¹¹⁷ D. Buisseret, "The Cartographic Definition of France's Eastern Boundary in the Early Seventeenth Century", *Imago Mundi*, 36 (1984) 72-80.

¹¹⁸ J.W. Konvitz, *Cartography in France 1660-1848. Science, Engineering and Statecraft* (Chicago, 1987) 32-33. See also, D. Buisseret, "Cartography and Power in the Seventeenth Century", *Proceedings of the 10th Annual Meeting of the Western Society for French History*, 10 (1984) 103-05 and, more generally, J. Ancel, "L'évolution de la notion de frontière", *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, 5, part 1 (1933) 538-54.

appear on the sixteenth century maps of the Low Countries, then, including the map mentioned in the Antwerp accounts, should not be taken as precise renderings of on-the-ground borders but as frontiers of a rather generalised nature.

What is important about the frontiers, though, was not so much their accuracy, or lack of it, as the fact that mapmakers choose to represent a frontier at all. Unlike France, for example, the Low Countries had only recently become a 'country' as opposed to a mere region; unlike France, there was no longstanding sense of a 'Netherlands'. Anything, then, which served to distinguish the Low Countries from the surrounding areas would tend to build up the notion of a Netherlandish country and the frontiers which appear on the maps, marking the Low Countries off from France and Germany, were one such distinguishing agent. No matter that they were not accurate; what matters is that they were helping to create the view that the Netherlands and Germany were distinct entities. A cautionary note must be added, though. Lines or dots indicating frontiers appear on most of the sixteenth maps of the Low Countries but the lines distinguishing the Low Countries from the surrounding areas appear clearly in only a few maps.¹¹⁹ The map of the Low Countries which appeared in Ortelius's *Theatrum* illustrates this point well. [Figure 3] The map contains not only a confusing number of frontiers but also the lines that distinguish the provinces from each other are no different from those separating the Netherlands from France and Germany.¹²⁰ It is true that when maps were painted- as an unknown proportion were -frontiers were usually outlined but provincial boundaries were as likely to be emphasised as 'national' frontiers.¹²¹

A second distinguishing agent was the focus of the map. The practice of orientating the map to the north was introduced in the late Middle Ages via the

¹¹⁹ See the following maps, 10, 23, 27, 29, 34, 45, 46, and 48 in Van der Heijden, The Oldest Maps.

¹²⁰ Given the high sales of the *Theatrum*, Ortelius's map of the Low Countries was, probably, seen by more people than any other map of the Low Countries. Its only rival would have been the map of the Low Countries which appeared in that other 'best seller', Guicciardini's *Description of All the Low Countries*.

¹²¹ See the copy of Ortelius's map of 1570 in Van der Heijden, The Oldest Maps, 133, where the province of Brabant has been highlighted by the map-colourer. The possible importance of colouring and frontiers was noted by Brown, The Story of Maps, 176: "It could make a map beautiful to look at, and it could be used more effectively than any other device to set off or differentiate adjacent political areas, land forms and bodies of water...".



Figure 3: Description Germaniae Inferioris (1570) [Abraham Ortelius; Frans Hogenberg (?), engraver. (By permission of the British Library. This map appears in the 1581 French edition of the Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, entitled Theatre de l'Univers, reference British Library, Maps C.2.c.16)

portolan charts but the practise did not become cartographic convention until much later.¹²² Mapmakers in the 1500s, therefore, still had scope for arranging the material in such a way as to emphasise or marginalise different features of the subject. Van Deventer and the mapmakers who followed him, stuck to the principle of orientation to the north and, in consequence, the Low Countries appears as less of a subject in a portrait and much more of a stretch of the coastline in northwest Europe. [Figure 2] In other works, the map is orientated so as to emphasise the Netherlands and to exclude from view all or most of England and much of the adjoining French and German lands. This was the case, for example, with Ortelius's map of 1570 [Figure 3] and Hieronymus Cock's map of 1557.¹²³ [Figure 4]

One thing which can be stated with certainty about the sixteenth-century maps of the Low Countries is that the adoption of a common nomenclature for the area was hastened by the spread of the Netherlandish maps. Van Deventer's wall map of 1551-52 was described in the Antwerp accounts as a map of "de landen van herwaerts over" ("the lands over here"). Such an imprecise designation was obviously unsuitable when the commercial expansion of map production began in the mid-sixteenth century. Accordingly the maps of the Low Countries quickly acquire, as designations, terms that specifically denoted the Netherlands. The Dutch term *Nederlanden*, the Latin words *Gallia Belgica* and *Inferior Germania* and the French *Pays Bas* appears on maps of the Low Countries from 1557, *Belgica* without the attendant *Gallia* from 1567, the German *Niderlendt* from at the latest 1579.¹²⁴

While these terms all specifically refer to the Low Countries, their variety

¹²² E. Raisz, *General Cartography* (London/ New York, 1938) 80.

¹²³ On the orientation of maps of the Low Countries see Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 59, 92-95.

¹²⁴ *Gallia Belgicae* and *Inferioris Germaniae* appear on one of Arnout Nicolai's two maps of the Low Countries produced in 1557. *Gallia Belgica*, *Germania Inferior*, *Pays Bas* and *Nederlanden* appear on Hieronymus Cock's map of 1557. *Belgica* first appears on the map of the Netherlands from 1567, attributed to Cornelis d'Hooghe and *Niderlendt* on Frans Hogenberg's map of the Low Countries produced in the second half of the 1570s. Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 108-10, 121-23, 137-39 and Denucé, *Oud-nederlandsche kaartmakers*, I, 49. Any of these names might have appeared on Van Deventer's early maps of the Low Countries from the late 1540s and early 1550s.

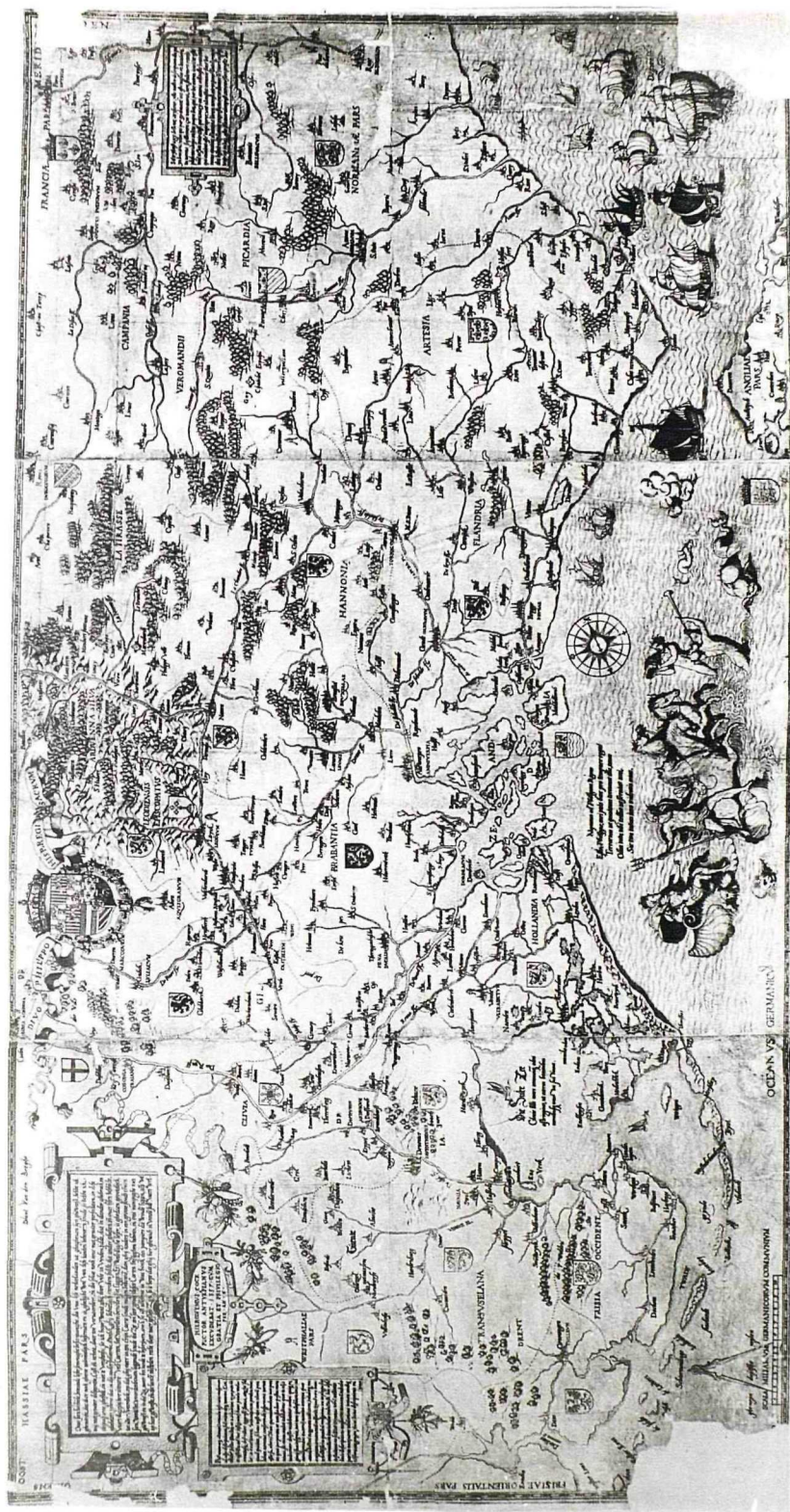


Figure 4: Map of the Netherlands (1557) (Untitled) [Hieronymus Cock]. (By kind permission of the Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze: Lafrery, volume I, 75)

shows that confusion about the nature and status of the Low Countries remained in the second half of the sixteenth century: Netherlanders and other Europeans were still unsure about whether to classify the Low Countries, as Germanic, French, a mix of the two or as something standing by itself. In Guicciardini's work and the first two atlases of 1570 and 1578, the association with Germany remained strong. Guicciardini entitled his work *Description de Tout le Pais Bas* and added *autrement dict La Germanie inferieure ou Basse Allemaigne* ("otherwise called Low Germany"). Ortelius placed the Netherlands clearly within Germany writing,

"But Germanie as it is now taken, we do confine by the German or Dutch tongue;...wherefore all those countries which at this day use the same language, we comprehend under the name of Germany, And so the greatest length thereof stretcheth from Calais on the West to the river Vistula or Wixel Eastward...The names of the severall regions are there, Flanders (the most Westerly), Brabant, Zeland, Holland, Frisland, Denmarke, Mecklenburgh, Pomerland, Prussia...".¹²⁵

The *Spiegel der Werelt* followed the same lines as the *Theatrum*, emphasising the linguistic understanding of "Germania".¹²⁶ In the 1578 *Speculum Orbis Terrarum*, the Netherlands is classified as "*Inferior Germania*"; indeed, the whole of the first edition is dedicated to Germany.¹²⁷ The last of the three great atlases, Mercator's work of 1585, was also the first to break with the practice of including the Low Countries under Germany and also the first to accord a separate, distinct section to the maps of the Netherlands. However, the Low Countries was instead considered as part of France ("*Belgii inferioris*").¹²⁸

The frontiers, names and the focus of the maps of the Low Countries as well

¹²⁵ Ortelius, *The Theater*, Section 33.

¹²⁶ Heyns, *Spiegel der Werelt*, *Ghestelt in Ryne*.

¹²⁷ Van Ortroij, *L'Oeuvre cartographique*, 33-82.

¹²⁸ Keuning, "History of an Atlas", 38, 40-41.

as the way in which the Netherlands was categorised in the atlases and Guicciardini's work show that, if these geographical works did influence the population, their influence was not straightforward. On the one hand, the works indicate the survival of the older late medieval Netherlandish ambivalence and, on the other hand, the emergence of a distinct political body, deserving of attention in itself and not just as part of a larger association. In spite of this mixed message, though, the maps, atlases and the *Description* must have tended to strengthen the notion of a common Netherlands because the Low Countries was, generally, presented as a distinct and unified area of which the provinces formed but parts.

That these works always emphasised the unity of the provinces rather than their distinctiveness from each other is evident in a number of ways. It is often forgotten that a concern for objectivity or neutrality was implicit in the development of scale maps. The idea of an uniform scale militated against deliberate misrepresentations of the size of provinces or countries. At the same time the old pictorial representations of towns, cities, rivers and mountains were replaced by a set of uniform symbols. All areas were treated alike and appeared alike. Accordingly, the provincial differences that beset the Low Countries were not represented on maps of the entire area. The provinces nearly always appeared on the maps but they did so as equal parts of one whole.¹²⁹ The same applies also to the three atlases: the maps of the provinces always appear after the map of the Low Countries and always appear as parts of the Low Countries. It cannot be said that Guicciardini treats all parts of the Low Countries equally in his *Description*. 88 of the 399 pages are devoted to one city, Antwerp, and the three main provinces of Brabant, Flanders and Holland account for 229 pages or 57.3% of the whole book and 66.4% of that part of the book which is devoted to descriptions of the provinces. Whilst allowing for the particular features of provinces, though, Guicciardini still groups them all together under the title of the Low Countries. The singularity of the provinces is confirmed but so too is their association together.¹³⁰

The unity of the provinces is also emphasised in the short descriptions of the Low Countries which appeared by the side of the cartographic representations.

¹²⁹ J.B.Harley, "Silences and Secrecy", 65-66. The sentence beginning "All areas..." is an adaptation of a phrase used by Harley on page 66.

¹³⁰ Guicciardini, *Description*, passim.

The columns of instructive facts and popular beliefs about the Netherlands were intended to serve as a didactic complement to the cartographic image. In some cases, the commentaries perpetuate the older association of names and cultural and political ties,¹³¹ but the general effect of these little descriptions must have been to help strengthen the notion of a Netherlands. Some extracts from the description on one of the later maps, Johannes van Deutecum's of 1594, gives an idea of the nature of these descriptions:

"Is ee seer uytnemende bequaem schoon land, verciert met veel groote, rycke, geweldighe en volck rycke Steeden, want daer in bevonden worden 208 bemuerde en bewalde vaste Steeden, van de welcke sommighe, onder de treffelickste Steede van Europa, wel mogen getelt worden...Heeft daerbeneven veel schoone inlandsche rivieren, van de welcke de principaelste zyn de Rhy, Mosel, Mase, ende Schelde. En hebben ongelooflicke menichten van groote ende cleene scheepen...Heeft oock schoone bosschagie met veel wiltwercks, en gesonde locht, also dat de lieden, in enighe quartieren deses lands, ouder worden als in ander landen. De geweldighe cryghen, welcke eertyts in dese landen zyn gevoert geweest, en noch hedensdaegsch gevoert worden, geven voor de gantsche werelt genouchsame getuychnisse van de groote sterckte, vermoghen ende ryckdom der selviger. De inwoondere deses lands is een manlick dapper volck, syn van ouden tyden, also oock noch heedensdaeghs seer vermaert in crygshandel, uytnemende fray in allerley consten ende hantwercken, ende hebben groote menichte van cloecke en ervaren schiplieden."¹³²

¹³¹ In one of the cartouches for his map of 1566, Gerard de Jode comments, "...In our day the Netherlands include Burgundy, Lorraine, the duchy of Luxemburg...". Van Deutecum, in his map of 1594 states, "Rightly these Dutch provinces have always been considered as German, since the greater part of their inhabitants are held to be Germans both in origin and speech...". Van der Heijden, The Oldest Maps, 118-20, 191-95.

¹³² "It is a striking, splendid, beautiful country adorned with many big, prosperous, populous towns; some of the 208 fortified and moated towns can be reckoned among the finest of Europe...It has many fine inland rivers of which the Rhine, Moselle, and Scheldt are the most important and an incredible quantity of big and small ships...It has beautiful forests, too, full of game; and because of the healthy air, in some parts people live to a greater age than in other countries. The tremendous wars that formerly this country was

Van Deutecum's summary, which in substance was much the same as all the other 'potted' descriptions which appeared on the side of the maps, assumed that the lands and people so described, however diverse they may have appeared, formed an unity. In this respect, Van Deutecum's description, like the neutral quality of most maps of the Low Countries, served to foster and spread a general Netherlandish identity.

The one map which more than any other produced in the sixteenth century would have tended to promote a sense of Netherlandish distinctiveness and unity was the *Leo Belgicus*. [Figure 5] The map was published by an Austrian Baron, Michael Freiherr von Aitzing and appeared in 1583 as part of a history of the Netherlands, covering the years 1559-83. The idea of a map of the Netherlands in the shape of a lion was derived from the lions present in the coat-of-arms of most of the provinces. This map, the first in a long line of Belgian and later Holland lions, drew together many of the cartographic and political strands of the sixteenth-century Netherlands. The idea of a Netherlandish territorial entity and indeed of the notion of a territorial frontier had, by the 1580s, become so deeply rooted that the Netherlands could be given an identity based upon the figuration created by its frontiers. In this proclamation of the peculiar character of the country, the map also emphasised, unlike many maps of the Low Countries, the separation of the Netherlands from both France and Germany and, at the same time, the unity of the provinces within a greater Netherlandish body.¹³³

There is no evidence that Von Aitzing thought of the map as a symbol of Netherlandish patriotism. From the emphasis on impartiality in the introduction it is clear that the Austrian's principal concern was to ensure that the map reached as wide a public as possible. The map was a commercial item: the figuration a

engaged in and the one it is carrying on even today bear sufficient testimony to the whole world of its great strength, vigour and opulence. The inhabitants are remarkably brave and of old as they are now -able soldiers and skilled artisans; moreover a great number of them are bold and experienced sailors." Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 191-95. (English translation by Van der Heijden)

¹³³ Von Aitsing, *Leo Belgicus*, passim; Bonacker, "Le Baron Michael von Eitzing"; R.V. Tooley, "Leo Belgicus. An Illustrated List," *Map Collector's Circle. Map Collector's Series*, 7 (1963) 4-16 plus plates; Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 158-60, 164-65, 209-10; F. Stieve, "Ueber die ältesten halbjährigen Zeitungen oder Messrelationen und insbesondere über deren Begründer Freiherrn Michael von Aitzing," *Abhandlungen der historische Classe der Königlich Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 17 (1881) 179-236.

commercial gimmick. Such was the potential of the map, though, it soon became a patriotic emblem. In an anti-Spanish pamphlet of 1598, the Netherlands appeared as a wounded lion, its forepaw wrapped in a bandage. The state of the lion and the accompanying text of the great charter known as the *Blijde Inkomst* ("Joyous Entry") were meant to represent the suffering which the tyrannous Spanish had inflicted upon the Low Countries. The woodcut map with the lion was clearly based upon the various Belgian lions which appeared after 1583.¹³⁴

Conclusion

Perhaps the most striking feature in the story of the development of a cartographic image of the Low Countries is the speed with which such an image was created and spread. After centuries of anonymous obscurity, the Netherlandish region was brought to light in the space of just two decades, the 1530s and 1540s. Once created, the cartographic image of the Low Countries was spread with astonishing speed. Only two maps of the Low Countries were produced before 1550; in the half century after 1550, 47 different cartographic representations of the Low Countries appeared. In 1567, twenty years after a map of the Netherlands was first produced, the first and perhaps greatest chorographical representation of the Low Countries appeared, to add a written description of the character and topography of the area to the cartographic representations.

There is no doubt that the advent of topographical maps and chorographies marked a major conceptual shift in western Europe. Some writers have tried to tie that shift in thinking to the events of the period. Richard Helgerson in his article, "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England" has propounded the thesis that in England, maps and chorographies played "their part in the long, slow movement of thought and action that brought

¹³⁴ Van der Heijden, *The Oldest Maps*, 218-19.

the king's enemies to the field...Maps let them [sixteenth-century Englishmen] see in a way never before possible the country- both county and nation - to which they belonged and at the same time showed royal authority- or at least its insignia -to be a merely ornamental adjunct to that country. Maps thus opened a conceptual gap between the land and its ruler, a gap that would eventually span battlefields."¹³⁵ Whatever its merits for Early Modern England, the same thesis could not be applied to the sixteenth-century Low Countries. Certainly, a trade in maps and other geographic works did develop from the mid-1500s and certainly, works dealing with the Netherlands formed a not insignificant part of this trade but maps in general, let alone maps of the Low Countries, were too few in number during the sixteenth century to have exercised much influence. From a chronological point of view, too, the suggestion that maps or Guicciardini's *Description* were in any way responsible for the troubles in the Low Countries makes no sense. During the crucial first stage of the Troubles in the Low Countries, from 1560 to 1580, the market for geographical works was still emerging from its infancy.

Rather than try and relate maps, atlases and the *Description* to the Revolt in some way, it seems more fruitful to look at their long-term impact upon the development of territorial loyalties. It would be foolish to attribute too much influence to either maps of the Low Countries or Guicciardini's *Description* in the creation and consolidation of a Netherlandish identity in the second half of the sixteenth century. During this period, there were far stronger forces at work establishing a supra-provincial identity. It would be equally foolish to ignore maps and chorographies, though, merely because the degree of influence which they exerted upon contemporaries cannot easily be determined. It seems reasonable to suppose that maps and chorographies helped change the outlook of people by giving graphic and written substance to that which, hitherto, had been vague and insubstantial; namely, the notion of a 'country'. What made this development in the Low Countries particularly important was the fact that a Netherlandish 'country' had only recently taken shape. The importance of the maps, atlases and the *Description*, then, should be reckoned in two ways. Within the Low Countries,

¹³⁵ Helgersen, "The Land Speaks", 52, 56.

they facilitated the development of a Netherlandish patriotic sentiment.¹³⁶ At the same time, they helped spread and consolidate the notion of a Netherlandish country distinct from both France and Germany.

¹³⁶ In the seventeenth century, the maps and the *Description* also helped maintain a common Netherlandish sentiment. Guicciardini's *Description* continued to be published until 1662 and maps of the whole of the Netherlands remained more popular than separate maps of the two parts of the Netherlands until the second half of the seventeenth century. See H.A.M. Van der Heijden, "De oudste kaarten van Nederland en de opkomst van het nationaliteitsbesef", *Spiegel Historiae*, 21 (1986) 547-555.

CHAPTER FIVE

CALVINISM AND THE DUTCH ISRAEL THESIS: A RECONSIDERATION

"Het heeft ons wel eertijts vreemt ghedocht/ ende hebben met grooter verwonderinge die historien der heyliger Schrift gheleesen/ daer sy vanden Steden Jerusalem/ Samarien ende Bethulien spreekt/ die op sulcker wijze van heur vyanden beleeghert zijn gheweest/ dat sy onnatuerlicke spijs/ als Honden/ Catten/ Ratten/ Paerden ende Kinderen hebben moeten eten: ende noch met veel meerder verwonderinghe hebben wy alsoodaniger Steden verlossinghe inghesien/ achtende de selfde (gelijck het inder waerheyt was) een sonderling mirakel ende wonderwerck des heeren te zijne: Doch nu ons de Heere in alsoodanighen eewe ghestelt heeft/ inden welcken wy t'selfde beleven ende met onsen ooghen sien/ en is het selfde by ons in alsoodanighe verwonderinghe niet/ ende achten hier door dat des Heeren handt vercort is/ ende nu minder in macht ende wonderwercken dan inden Ouden Testamente. Voorwaer als wy desen onsen tyt ende die saecken die inde selfde gheschieden wel insien/ wy moeten ghedwonghen worden dat hy die selfde onveranderlicke Godt is/ die sich selven altyt ghelijck blijft/ ende nu noch wel evenghelijcke wonderlicke straffe/ ende evenghelijcke wonderlicke verlossinghen nae zijn Godtlick believen doet: waerinne hy zyn rechtvaerdicheyt ende baemherticheyt laet blycken."

Preface to the *Corte Beschryvinghe vande strenghe Belegheringhe ende wonderbaerlicke Verloßinghe der Stadt Leyden in Hollandt* (Delft, 1574) 3-4.¹

¹ "We used to think it strange and wondrous when we read those stories in Holy Scripture which talk about the towns of Jerusalem, Samaria and Bethel, which were besieged by their enemies in such a way that they were forced to eat unnatural foods like dogs, cats, rats, horses and children. With even greater amazement, we then read about the liberation of these towns, considering this to be an exceptional miracle and wonderwork of the Lord (as it in truth was). Yet the Lord has now placed us in such a century, that we can live through and see with our own eyes these very same things. We

The lines above are taken from a pamphlet produced in the immediate aftermath of the relief of Leiden on October 3rd 1574. The epic nature of the siege and the spectacular manner in which the city was relieved², had moved the writer, Jan Fruytiers, to look afresh at familiar Scriptural stories. What had hitherto seemed strange and unreal had come alive in his own time, prompting him to claim that the God who had delivered Jerusalem from the hands of the Assyrians had also brought about the relief of Leiden. As his account of the siege unfolded, Fruytiers kept on drawing parallels between contemporary and scriptural events, the implication being that the Netherlandish rebels were in some sense, latter-day Israelites under the protection and guidance of the Lord.³

Jan Fruytiers was neither the first nor the last Netherlandish Calvinist to draw comparisons between his own age and the experience of the Old Testament Jews. Between the mid-1500s and the end of the eighteenth century, Hebraic imagery and Israelite parallels abound in the literature of Netherlandish Reformed Protestantism. Since 1945, these parallels and the use of Hebraic imagery have attracted much attention from historians.⁴ In spite of all the attention, though,

regard these things with no less wonder and because of this believe that the Lord's hand has [not] been shortened and is no lesser in power and miracle than in the Old Testament. Indeed, as we look over this period and its affairs, we are forced [to conclude] that He is the same unchanging God, who has always stayed the same and that He carries out today just the same wonderful punishments and just the same wonderful deliverances according to His divine promises, thus revealing to us His justice and mercy." The work, attributed to Jan Fruytiers, appears in the Knuttel collection: W.P.C. Knuttel, Catalogus van de Pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de koninklijke bibliotheek, I (The Hague, 1889) No. 226. (Hereafter referred to as K 226: Corte Beschryvinghe...).

² The classic account of the siege and relief of Leiden is Robert Fruin's 'Het beleg en ontzet der stad Leiden in 1574' in P.J. Blok, P.L. Muller et al, eds., Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften (10 vols., The Hague, 1900-05) II, 385-490. Fruin's essay first appeared in 1874.

³ K 226: Corte Beschryvinghe, 12, 23, 27, 30.

⁴ H. Smitskamp, Calvinistisch nationaal besef van Nederland vóór het midden der 17de eeuw (The Hague, 1947) 13-19; E.H. Kossmann, In Praise of the Dutch Republic: some seventeenth-century attitudes (London, 1963) 12-13; K.W. Swart, The Miracle of the Dutch Republic as seen in the Seventeenth Century (London, 1967) 18-19; G. Groenhuis, De Predikanten. De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten der Verenigde Nederlanden voor ±1700 (Groningen, 1977) 77-107; C. Huisman, Neerlands Israël. Het natiebesef der traditioneel-gereformeerden in de achttiende eeuw (Dordrecht, 1983); S. Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age (London, 1987) 51-125; G.J. Schutte, Het Calvinistisch Nederland (Utrecht, 1988); E.H. Kossmann, "Enkele vragen met betrekking tot het (Noord-) Nederlandse nationale

historians have by no means reached a consensus about all aspects of the subject. The century from 1550 to 1650, the first hundred years of Netherlandish Reformed Protestantism, remains the main area of disagreement. The debate centres upon what Reformed Protestants in the Low Countries understood by the parallels they drew with the Israelites. Were the parallels an expression of a Calvinist sense of national identity, a belief that the Netherlanders were a New Israel, a Chosen People like the Israelites of old? Or were the parallels tied up with a theocratic vision of the state, expressing a Calvinist view of the place of the Reformed Church within the United Provinces? Perhaps, instead, the parallels were simply a turn-of-phrase natural to writers raised in a biblical culture, amounting to nothing more than an insubstantial rhetoric?

A surprising feature of many of the works which have tried to answer these questions has been the absence of a clear chronological framework. The omission is surprising because the significance of the parallels clearly depends upon which period is studied.⁵ Between 1550 and 1650, both the Reformed Church and the political state of the Low Countries underwent great changes. In the 1550s, Reformed Protestants constituted a tiny proportion of what was still an overwhelmingly Catholic population; in the 1570s, they were leading participants in a bitter civil war; from the 1590s to 1620, the Reformed were an influential, though, divided body in the emerging Dutch republic; and after 1620,

bewustzijn" in J. Craeybeckx et al, eds., "1585: Op gescheiden wegen". Handelingen van het Colloquium over de scheiding der Nederlanden, gehouden op 22-23 November 1985, te Brussel (Louvain, 1988) 223-36, 231-34; and G.J. Schutte, "Nederland: een calvinistische natie?", BMGN, 107 (1992) 690-702, 699-700.

⁵ Something of a rough chronology is present in the work of Gerrit Groenhuis. He begins with the simple parallels found in the sixteenth-century Beggar songs, moves on to the more elaborate parallels in the first half of the seventeenth-century and finally, to a "form of identification" in the 1660s and 1670s. See Groenhuis, De Predikanten, 77-107 and "Calvinism and National Consciousness: the Dutch Republic as the New Israel" in A. C. Duke and C.A. Tamse, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, VII (The Hague, 1981) 118-33. Schama's interest lay in establishing the influence of Hebraic imagery during what he called "the formative period of the Dutch Republic's history- between 1580 and 1660" and not with the stages by which parallels developed: The Embarrassment of Riches, 96. A concern for greater chronological rigour is evident in a number of works from the 1980s, though not always explicitly so. See S. Groenveld, "Natie en nationaal gevoel in de zestiende-eeuwse Nederlanden", Het Nederlands Archievenblad, 84 (1980) 372-87, 381 and Verlopend getij. De Nederlandse republiek en de Engelse Burgeroorlog 1640-1646 (Dieren, 1984) 61-62; M. Ultee, "The Riches of the Dutch Seventeenth Century", The Seventeenth Century, 3 (1988) 223-42, 226; and A.Th. Van Deursen, "Simon Schama: de band met de zeventiende eeuw" in his De eeuw in ons hart. Negen en twintig opstellen over geschiedenis, geschiedschrijving en geschiedbeleving (Franeker, 1991) 193-201.

they dominated the establishment of an increasingly self-confident European power. If the significance of the Israelite parallels depended upon how Reformed Protestants viewed the state in which they lived and upon what they considered the role of the Reformed Church to be within that state, then the importance of placing the Israelite parallels within a chronological framework becomes clear. In this chapter, the emphasis falls upon the period from the 1540s to the 1580s because it was during these years, the first five decades of Netherlandish Reformed Protestantism, that the basic characteristics of the Dutch Reformed Church and the nature of its relationship with both the magistrates and the international Reformed movement, were established.

The practice of drawing parallels with the children of Israel rested upon a number of epistemological assumptions.⁶ The belief that God had created and ordered the world in the form of an unified hierarchy implied that the world was essentially stable and unchanging. Although there might be differences in detail between one age and another, the order of society was fundamentally the same. It followed from this that much of what happened in life was but a repetition of something which had occurred in the past. History, whether biblical or profane, provided a storehouse of lessons on the actions of individuals and peoples and patterns for the course of wars and rebellions.

In those areas of sixteenth-century Europe which turned Protestant, the Bible became the chief source of reference for understanding the present. The Protestant drive to return to the original sources of Christian faith led them to accord Scripture a more central place in the formulation of Church doctrine. Furthermore, the very nature of both Protestant devotion, which was centred upon individual Bible study and of Protestant worship, with psalm singing and expository preaching from Scripture, encouraged a greater familiarity with the Bible among ordinary believers as well as ministers. It is not surprising, therefore, that among Protestants, the practice of using biblical imagery in sermons, letters and works of propaganda to explain, to admonish, to comfort and to strengthen the resolve of believers, began early on.⁷ In so doing, of course, Lutherans,

⁶ Groenhuis, "Calvinism and National Consciousness", 123.

⁷ Smitskamp, Calvinistisch nationaal besef van Nederland, 16-17; Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches, 94-95; and on Protestant worship, E. Cameron, The European Reformation (Oxford, 1991) 254-56. For examples of Protestant use of biblical stories and characters see B. Vogler, "Le rôle des Électeurs palatins dans les guerres de religion en

Zwinglians, Anabaptists and Calvinists were not doing anything new. Biblical imagery had been used, in various forms, since the early centuries of the Church's history and throughout the sixteenth century, Catholics also drew upon biblical stories to strengthen their cause.⁸ Protestant use of biblical imagery, though, probably differed from Catholic use in one respect: the greater frequency with which specifically Hebraic imagery was used. In the Protestant scheme of things, the Old Testament Jews enjoyed a much greater rôle in God's plan for mankind than in Catholicism.⁹ Consequently, the story of the Chosen People whether suffering in Egypt or Babylon, or wandering in the desert, or claiming the Promised Land, became much more familiar to Protestants, especially Calvinists, than to Catholics. An early example of the use of Israelite parallels is the preamble to the Twelve Articles of 1525, in which the German peasants were compared to the people of Israel, whom God had guided through the Red Sea, away from servitude and towards freedom.¹⁰ A much later, but better known example, is the recurrent image of the English as a Chosen People.¹¹

As was the case elsewhere, Reformed Protestants in the Low Countries

France (1559-1592)", Cahiers d'Histoire, 10 (1965) 51-85, 54, 68 and H.M. Baird, History of the Huguenots of France, 2 volumes (New York, 1880) I, 362-63, 371 and II, 5 (footnote 2).

⁸ For examples of Catholic use of Biblical names and stories see Baird, History of the Huguenots, II, 4-5, 240 (for French examples) and Politieke Balladen, Refereinen, Lieder en Spotgedichten der XVIe eeuw naer een gelyktydig handschrift, Ph. Blommaert, ed., (Ghent, no date given) 12-14 (for Dutch example).

⁹ Schama, The Embarrassment of Riches, 95.

¹⁰ P. Blickle, The Revolution of 1525. The German Peasant's War from a New Perspective (Originally published in German 1977; English translation: London, Baltimore, 1985) 68.

¹¹ See W. Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation (Originally published 1963; Bedford Historical Series: London, 1967). An example can be found in the writing of John Davys, an Elizabethan navigator: "There is no doubt but that we of England are this saved people, by the eternal and infallible presence of the Lord predestinated to be sent into these Gentiles in the sea, to those Isles and famous Kingdoms, there to preach the peace of the Lord: for are not we only set upon Mount Zion to give light to all the rest of the world? Have not we the true handmaid of the Lord to rule us, unto whom the eternal majesty of God hath revealed his truth and supreme power of Excellency?...It is only we, therefore, that must be these shining messengers of the Lord, and none but we". J.E. Neale, "The Elizabethan Age" in The Age of Catherine de Medici and Essays in Elizabethan History (London, 1963) 107-30, 114-15.

began to see their predicament in a biblical light from early on in their existence.¹² In the *De Christlicke Ordinancie*, for example, printed in 1554, Marten Microen, minister of the former Dutch Church in London, sent his greetings to those whom he termed, the lovers of eternal salvation and truth, "Onder alle landen ende volcken, die t'onsen tyden onder t'ghewelt des Roomschen Pharaonis inde Egyptische duysternissen der afgoderie sijn sittende...".¹³ The use to which the Old Testament stories were put varied greatly, the long history of Israel in the Old Testament making it possible for ministers to adopt as parallels whichever stage of Jewish history seemed most appropriate to their circumstances. Note the remark by the minister Petrus Dathenus in a letter to his colleague Godfridius Wingius in April 1561:

"Interim mi frater, nec nos hic infinitis molestiis caremus, etiamsi aliud tibi videatur, nam ut verum fatear, tu praefectus es populo sub Aegyptiaco onere gementi, ego libero et in deserto excusso tiirannorum iugo, quaerulo, prae fracto, superbo, murmuranti, cui nunquam deest quod obstrepat."¹⁴

As well as describing their situation, the Old Testament analogies also fulfilled other functions for the Reformed. Like the martyrologies, but in a much more superficial manner, the analogies helped the suffering believers to make sense of

¹² By the mid-1550s a number of Dutch translations of the Old and the New Testaments had already been published, as well as at least two separate translations of the psalms. Further translations of the Bible and the Book of Psalms were to be produced in the 1550s and 1560s. See C.C. De Bruin, *De Staten bijbel en zijn voorgangers* (Leiden, 1937) and W.F. Dankbaar, "Het Calvinistisch volkskarakter in het geestelijk lied, bepaaldelijk in Valerius' 'Nederlandsche Gedenck-Clanck'" in his *Hoogtepunten uit het Nederlandsche Calvinisme in de zestiende eeuw* (Haarlem, 1946) 162-89, 163.

¹³ "...among all lands and peoples, that at the present time, lie in the Egyptian darkness of the idolatry under the power of the Roman Pharaoh". M. Microen, *De Christlicke Ordinancie der Nederlantscher Ghemeinten Christi die vanden Christelicken Prince Co. Edewaerdt. den VI. in 't iaer 1550 te Londen inghestelt was...Doer Marten Microen* (London, 1554). Reprint: W.F. Dankbaar, ed., (The Hague, 1956) 35.

¹⁴ "We too have our burden to bear, although to you it may seem otherwise; in truth you are the overseer of a people sighing under the Egyptian load, I preside over a people in the wilderness, free from the yoke of tyrants, but querulous, inflexible, arrogant and murmuring". J.H. Hessels, *Ecclesiae Londino-Batavae Archivum*, 3 Volumes (Cambridge, 1889) II, 154-56. Hessels produced the paraphrase of the quotation.

their pain by identifying their cause with the cause of God's people throughout history.

In other works, the Old Testament characters are deployed more as models for the readers to imitate than as descriptions of the state of the church. This is the case with the address to the rulers in the Netherlands which appears at the beginning of the first Dutch martyrology, Adriaen van Haemstede's *De Geschiedenisse ende den doot der vromer Martelaren...*, published in March 1559.¹⁵ Haemstede called upon the rulers in the Low Countries to reform the Church and to cease persecuting the Reformed. He set before the rulers the example of Hezekiah:

"Maer bysonder hebben wy een bequaem exempel voor alle de Oversten onses tijden was met dat wtvercoren volck des Heeren in Israel, also ist oock heden des daechs metten Christenen gestelt: sy maeckten beelden, sy versierden vreemde godsdiensten buyten Gods woort, sy branden wierooock voor het metalen Serpent, den rechten godsdienst was verbannen, des Heeren tempel die was gesloten: Maer desen godsaligen Prince heeft de beelden vernielt, de hoochden ende boschkens omgeworpen, het Serpent ghebroken dat Moses gemaect hadde Hy heeft het huys des Heeren open gedaen, ende den rechten godsdienst wederom opghericht..."¹⁶

In the few examples which exist for the period before the Revolt, there is no indication that Reformed ministers understood the parallels to be part of a sustained metaphor; rather, they were simply a way of describing their situation in a manner which was comprehensible to all.

¹⁵ A. Haemstede, *De Geschiedenisse ende den doot der vromer Martelaren, die om het ghetuyghenisse des Euangeliums haer bloedt ghestort hebben, van de tijden Christi af, totten Jare M.D.LIX toe, by een vergadert op het kortste* (Emden, 1559).

¹⁶ "But, in particular, we have a fine example for all the authorities of our time [in King Hezekiah] because as it was in his time with the Chosen People of the Lord in Israel, so it is today with Christians. They made images, they followed foreign gods condemned by God's Word, they burnt incense before the brazen serpent, the true religion had been cast out and the Lord's Temple had been shut. But this pious Prince destroyed the images, turned over the high places and the groves, broke the serpent that Moses had made, opened the House of the Lord and established the true religion again." Haemstede, *De Geschiedenisse*, opening address.

With the advent of the Revolt Israelite parallels began to appear in a greater variety of sources. After the winter of 1565-66, the production of pamphlets, songs and prints increased greatly and, with the exception of a few lean years, was to remain high for the rest of the sixteenth century.¹⁷ It is no surprise, therefore, to find that it is from this point that we begin to find Israelite parallels in pamphlets and songs and not just in the works and correspondence of Reformed ministers. As early as the summer of 1567, one songwriter was referring to the Beggars as "Israels verstroyen" ("Israel's exiles") and claiming that, in spite of the collapse of Reformed support in the spring of 1567, the Beggar cause would ultimately triumph:

"Oorlof hier mede, Vrienden eersaem,
Ende wy hopen noch (gheseyt ten fijne)
Als Israel te comen uut blaem,
En Papa Leo sien gaen te ruyne:
Al sijn wy nu te desen termyne
In Babilonien een ghecken spel,
Tis alsoo ghebeurt met Israel."¹⁸

In 1574, one pamphlet writer, writing after the capture of Middelburg in Zeeland and a victorious naval engagement, drew attention to the fate of the Egyptians in the Red Sea: "Hier hebt ghy liever Leser / de Historie ende eerlicken handel / die niet minder is / dan onder de Kinderen Israel geschiede / doe Pharao met zijn hoochmoedighe gasten inde Roode Zee versope". The writer took this as a demonstration of "de Vaderlicke sorge ende cracht voor zijn volck" which God had always shown to his people.¹⁹ Biblical examples also continued to be used by

¹⁷ See C.E. Harline, Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic (Dordrecht, 1987) 3-10.

¹⁸ "Herewith we take our leave, honourable friends,/ And, to conclude, we hope still/
To rise like Israel from shame,/ And see Pope Leo brought to ruin:/ Although, at the
moment, we are playing/ A foolish game in Babylon,/ 'Twas also the same with Israel."
E.T. Kuiper and P. Leendertz, eds., Het Geuzenliedboek. Naar de oude drukken, 2 Volumes
(Zutphen, 1924-25) I, No 27. See also song number 83 (1573) in Volume One.

¹⁹ "You have here, dear reader, the story and honourable account that happened no
less than to the Children of Israel when Pharaoh and his proud host were drowned in the
Red Sea..." and "the paternal care and power for His people" : De waerachtige

writers in an attempt to win over opponents to the cause of the Revolt. The author of the pamphlet, the *Vermaninghe aen die gemeyne Capiteynen ende Krijchsknechten in Nederlandt*, published on April 1st 1568, tried to persuade native soldiers serving under Alba to join the rebel side, by comparing the situation of the Reformed Church to that of Jerusalem under threat from the Assyrian armies sent by Sennacherib. The soldiers were warned that the Lord would hold not only Philip II and Alba responsible for the evil inflicted upon His Church but also the common soldiers themselves. The angel of the Lord's destruction of the Assyrian army outside Jerusalem was used as an illustration of the fate that would befall them should they continue to serve Philip and Alba, who were designated respectively as Sennacherib and Rapsake, Sennacherib's captain.²⁰

The Israelite parallels which appeared after 1565 marked not only the spread of Hebraic imagery to other forms of writing but also, perhaps, an important stage in the development of Israelite parallels from simple analogies to forms of identification. However many times a group compared itself to the Israelites, it was perhaps only when a particular event seemed to confirm that comparison, that it became possible for the group to go on to identify itself as a new Israel. In August 1568, a group of Huguenots fleeing from Noyers came to the river Loire. Searching for a passage across the Loire, they found a ford which they traversed quickly, knowing that Catholic troops were nearby. Just after they had crossed the ford, the water level in the river suddenly rose, making it difficult for anyone else to cross over. Upon seeing this, the fugitives knelt upon the ground and intoned psalm 114, a psalm which celebrated the miracles of the Exodus.²¹ It was through occasions such as this, when something out of the ordinary occurred, that a litany of events could be built up celebrating and

Geschiedenisse des Schipcrijchs ende het innemen der Stadt Middelborch geschiet in Zeelandt (Dordrecht, 1574) fols. A3verso and A2verso. The pamphlet was catalogued by J.F. Someren, Pamfletten niet voorkomende in afzonderlijk gedrukte catalogi der verzamelingen in andere openbare Nederlandsche bibliotheken, 2 Volumes (Utrecht, 1915-22) I, No. 61.

²⁰ Vermaninghe aen die gemeyne Capiteynen ende Krijchsknechten (1568) fols. 9verso-13recto, catalogued in J.K. van der Wulp, Catalogus van de tractaten, pamfletten, enz. over de geschiedenis van Nederland, aanwezig in de bibliotheek van Isaac Meulman, 3 Volumes (Amsterdam, 1866-68) I, No. 187. See also the example of Willem Bardes in 1572 in Groenhuis, "Calvinism and National Consciousness", 120.

²¹ From J. Delaborde, Gaspard de Coligny, amiral de France, 3 volumes (Paris, 1881) III, 50.

demonstrating the providential favour of God and the more significant the event, the greater the impact.

For this reason, the relief of Leiden on October 3rd 1574 may have been of especial significance in the development of the parallels. The relief took place at a particularly critical moment in the early Revolt. The rebels, boxed in at either end of Holland and in parts of Zeeland, had had some successes in 1574, but those successes had been overshadowed by the death of William of Orange's brother, Count Louis and other Protestant leaders on Mook Heath in April 1574. The critical importance of the relief of Leiden and the manner with which it was relieved made it possible for writers to proclaim the act as a mark of God's providential favour. Contemporary songs described the relief as "miraculeuselicke" ("miraculous") or a "Wonderwerck" ("wonderwork").²² Like the writer of the pamphlet whose preface we quoted at the beginning of the chapter, the song writers were at pains to use the relief as proof that God was acting in their time just as much as He had been in the Old Testament period.

"De Rechterhandt des Heeren sterck
Die heeft verthoont haer Wonderwerck,
Ghelijck by Ouden tijden,
Als hy zijn volck in haerder noot
Vrijdde van hongher, Sweert, en doot,
En na druck gaf verblijden."²³

"Hy [the Lord] heeft ghethoont zijn cracht van boven,
Aen zijn volck, dwelck hier wort benijdt.
Dit vindt ghy opentlick beschreven
Int Oude Testament seer claer,
Wat hy door zijn cracht heeft bedreven
Aen haer die zijn Wet houden gaer.
In onsen tijden condit ghy mercken

²² See Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, Nos. 102-04. K 226: Corte beschryvinghe, referred in the title to the "wonderbaerlicke Verloßinghe" ("wonderful deliverance").

²³ "The strong right hand of the Lord/ Which has shown its wonderwork,/ As in Olden Days,/ When He His people in their need/ Freed from hunger, the sword and death,/ And after oppression gave joy." Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, No. 102.

Hoe Godt voor Hollant strijdt ende vecht.
In Zeeland thoont hy wonder wercken:"²⁴

Both the pamphlet writer and the song writers compared the siege of Leiden to that of the siege of Jerusalem by Sennacherib and Rapsake.²⁵ The pamphlet writer, in particular, drew a whole series of parallels with the children of Israel. Just as God, wrote the author, had sent the wind to the waters of the Red Sea so that the Israelites could pass across, so God had sent a storm to Holland so that the waters would rise high enough for Orange's soldiers to reach Leiden.²⁶

It would be premature to conclude from all these examples, though, that there was a widespread sense of a Dutch Israel by the mid-1570s. The nature of the changes brought about by the Revolt ought, in themselves, to suggest caution. Before 1565, the letters, doctrinal tracts, devotional works and the Dutch martyrology were almost exclusively written by and for members of the Reformed Churches. We can be sure then, that, whenever the writers used Old Testament imagery, they were applying it just to the Reformed. After 1565, and especially from 1567, when the Reformed Churches became closely identified with the cause of the revolt, matters became more problematic. The problem lies in determining how far, if at all, we can speak of the thousands of songs, pamphlets and prints produced from the later 1560s, as being Calvinist.²⁷ The character of these later works was very different from those produced before 1565 because the later works were, in the main, political propaganda, written not so much to build up the community of believers as to justify and strengthen the cause of those fighting against Brussels and Spain. To the extent that the Calvinists were the principal supporters of the rebel cause, we can speak of the propaganda as

²⁴ "He has shown His power from on high,/ To His people, who are envied here./ This you shall find openly described,/ In the Old Testament very clearly,/ What He has done through His power/ To those that hold to His Law.....In our times, you can observe/ How God strives and fights for Holland./ In Zeeland, He shows His Wonderworks:". Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, No. 103. See K 226: Corte Beschryvinghe, 3-4.

²⁵ See Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, 102 and 104 and K 226: Corte Beschryvinghe, 12.

²⁶ K 226: Corte Beschryvinghe, 23.

²⁷ See Dankbaar, "Het Calvinistisch volkskarakter", 166-69 and Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, xx-xxiii.

being Calvinist, but there is no warrant for treating the pamphlets, songs and other works which appear after 1565, as works which best express the sixteenth-century Calvinist understanding of the world. To do so, would be to run the risk of mistaking rhetoric for the experience and doctrine of Reformed Protestants.

The principal statement of faith of the Netherlandish Reformed Church was the so-called Belgic Confession of Faith, which was drawn up in the earliest years of the Netherlandish Reformed movement. Article 27 of the Belgic Confession of Faith, the principal statement of faith of the Netherlandish Reformed Church, states that "this holy Church [the universal church] is not confined, bound or limited to a certain place or to certain persons, but is spread and dispersed over the whole world; and yet is joined and united with heart and will, by the power of faith, in one and the same spirit".²⁸ The belief expressed in this article is clearly at odds with any notion of a *national* Israel, something which was made clear twenty-four years later by the prominent Calvinist, Philip van Marnix van Sint Aldegonde. In October 1585, not long after the fall of Antwerp, Marnix tried to draw some comfort from the disaster. In words which recall the Belgic Confession, he wrote:

"Nous savons que l'Eglise de Dieu n'est pas attachee à certaines places ou sièges; elle est Catholique, c'est à dire universelle, non Alexandrine, non Romaine, non Belgique....Voilà pourquoi il ne se fault pas appuyer sur paroles d'abus: l'Eglise du Seigneur, ou: enfants d'Abraham, ou: famille d'Israel: car Dieu peut susciter des pierres des enfants à Abraham;..."²⁹

According to these two statements, separated by a quarter century, it was the

²⁸ Reformed Confessions of the Sixteenth Century, ed., A.C. Cochrane (London, 1966) 185-219, 209. See also chapter XVI of the Scottish Confession of Faith (1560) and chapter XVII of the Second Helvetic Confession (1566) in the same collection, pages 175 and 262 respectively.

²⁹ "We know that the Church of God is not tied down to particular places or seats: it is Catholic, that is to say Universal, not Alexandrian, nor Roman, nor Belgic...We should not refer to ourselves by such terms as 'the Church of the Lord', or 'the children of Abraham' or 'the family of Israel': for God can create children of Abraham out of stones...". Philips van Marnix van St. Aldegonde. Godsdienstige en Kerkelijke Geschriften, J.J. van Toorenenbergen, ed., (The Hague, 1878) 61-74, 66-67. Translation by Dr. Gillian Lewis.

Church, made up of people from all nations, which constituted the new Israel.

In the mid-1500s, this belief in the universality of the Church was not an abstract doctrine but an everpresent reality for Reformed Protestants throughout Europe. The Belgic Confession was, in itself, ample testimony to the international nature of Calvinism in this period. The Confession, composed in 1559, was modelled on the French Confession of Faith, and was printed in northern France in 1561. Guy de Bray, the author of the Confession, and those who helped him draw up the work, were keen to secure the approval of Geneva for the Confession.³⁰ De Bray, himself, was much travelled, having spent some years on the exile circuit in England, France and Switzerland and having acted as chaplain to the Duke of Sedan.³¹

The strong sense of the international nature of the Reformed churches in the mid sixteenth-century was a consequence of the circumstances in which the Reformed Churches were formed. The 1540s and 1550s were a difficult period for the Reformation as a whole and for the nascent Reformed churches in particular. Outside Germany and Scandinavia, life became more difficult for dissenters as governments reacted with greater severity to the growth of heresy and even within Germany, the momentum of the Reformation slowed down from the mid-1540s. The severity of the repression in Western Europe compelled many dissenters to seek refuge abroad where, by the mid to later 1540s, their numbers were such that Churches had begun to be established. In exile, the outlook of the refugees became more confessional as they came under the influence of Geneva and Zurich and as Lutheran antagonism towards the Reformed grew.³² This growing confessionalisation also reinforced the international sense of the refugees because it united many nationalities together under a common confession and a

³⁰ Approval was withheld in 1559 but was given to a later, revised Confession. Cochrane, Reformed Confessions, 185, 187. See also, J.F. Gilmont, "Premières éditions de la Confessio belgica (1561-1562)", Quaerendo, 2 (1972) 173-81.

³¹ P.M. Crew, Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544-1569 (Cambridge, 1978) 40.

³² A. Pettegree, Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism (Oxford, 1992) v-vi; A. Norwood, "The London Dutch Refugees in search of a Home, 1553-1554", American Historical Review, LVIII, I (1952) 64-72; A.A. Van Schelven, De Nederduitsche Vluchtelingenkerken der XVIe eeuw in Engeland en Duitschland (The Hague, 1909); and R. Van Roosbroeck, Emigranten. Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600) (Louvain, 1968).

common aim of reform. This was perhaps particularly so in the mid to later 1550s when Protestants with Reformed sympathies from many nationalities, fleeing from hostile governments throughout western Europe came together for refuge and inspiration.

The internationality of the Reformed movement in this period is nowhere more evident than in the various confessions, Church orders and martyrologies produced in these years, all of which bear the marks of mutual inspiration and influence. Haemstede's Dutch martyrology, for example, is remarkable for the low proportion of martyrs from the Low Countries; only just over a quarter of the accounts concern native martyrs. Most of the rest came from France but contemporary examples were drawn from a number of other European countries.³³ Another illustration of the international nature of Netherlandish Reformed Protestantism is provided by the varied background of Reformed ministers, most of whom spent much time abroad before working in the Netherlands.³⁴ The register of students studying at the Geneva Academy from 1559, for example, includes the names of a number of ministers who later became prominent in the Netherlands Reformed Church.³⁵

The ties between the Reformed churches were strengthened even more once conflict broke out in France and the Low Countries. Sympathy for suffering fellow believers as well as self-interest helped perpetuate into the later sixteenth century, the universal outlook of mid-sixteenth century Calvinists. An eloquent expression of the desire for closer ties between the different Reformed Churches was made by the Huguenot writer Gervais le Barbier, in a work entitled *Le Conseil Sacré*. Le Barbier's work, which appeared in early 1567, was addressed to three different audiences: the Reformed Churches in the Low Countries, the Netherlandish high nobility and German Evangelical princes. He called upon them all to unite in a common struggle against the Spanish. Le Barbier urged the

³³ Van Haemstede, *De Geschiedenisse*, preface; J.F. Gilmont, "La genèse du martyrologe d'Adrien van Haemstede (1559)", *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*, 63 (1968) 379-414; J.F. Gilmot, "Un instrument de propagande religieuse; les martyrologes du XVI^e siècle", *Bronnen voor de religieuze geschiedenis van België, Middeleeuwen en Moderne Tijden* (1968) 378-88.

³⁴ Crew, *Calvinist Preaching*, 40-41.

³⁵ *Calvinism in Europe 1540-1610*. A collection of documents translated and edited by A. Duke, G. Lewis and A. Pettegree (Manchester, 1992) 219-23.

Netherlanders, in particular, to set aside their traditional enmity with the French and to unite in a "cause commune de piete", contending that nothing was more honourable than fighting for the cause of God.³⁶ We need not take all Le Barbier's comments at face value to recognise the existence of a genuine desire to establish international ties; the military alliances of 1568 and 1572 between the Huguenots and the Beggars bear witness to the substance underlying the writer's rhetoric.³⁷ Support for other Reformed Churches took various forms: fast days were held with prayers being said for brethren in other countries; collections were taken and the money distributed to congregations and individuals considered in special need; and, in their wills, more wealthy Calvinists left behind legacies and donations for Calvinists from other countries.³⁸ The most visible sign of assistance, though, was the military and political help which Reformed Protestants rendered to each other from the 1560s. Military forces from France, Germany and England, constituted mainly or entirely of Protestants, were sent to provide help to the rebels in the Netherlands in 1568, 1572, 1574, 1578 and 1585-86.³⁹ Moreover, throughout the 1570s and 1580s, volunteers from France, England and

³⁶ K 152: Conseil Sacré d'un Gentilhomme Francois aux Eglises de Flandre, qui peut servir d'humble exhortation a l'excellence des tresillustres Princes Protestans du Saint Empire: et d'avertissement certain aux seigneurs des païs bas...(1567). For the authorship of the pamphlet and the circumstance surrounding its publication see R. Fruin, "Het voorspel van de tachtigjarigen oorlog" in Robert Fruin's Verspreide Geschriften, I, 266-449, 441-43.

³⁷ For Huguenot-Beggar ties between 1567 and 1572 see G.J. Hoffman, The French Huguenots and the Revolt of the Low Countries against Philip II, 1559-1572 (Unpublished Ph.D; University of Michigan, 1953) 152-262 and N.M. Sutherland, The Massacre of St.Bartholomew and the European Conflict 1559-1572 (London, 1973) 47-346. Another example of the determination to work together was the decision of the delegates at the Synod of Emden in 1571 to subscribe to the confession of the French churches, "to attest their common faith and consensus with the same French churches". See Duke, Lewis and Pettegree, Calvinism in Europe, 158 and also D. Nauta, "Les Réformés aux Pays-Bas et les Huguenots spécialement à propos du synode d'Emden (1571)" in Acts du Colloque. L'Amiral de Coligny et son temps (1972) (Paris, 1974) 577-600.

³⁸ Duke, Lewis and Pettegree, Calvinism in Europe, 211-16.

³⁹ Huguenot forces were massacred returning from the Netherlands in 1568 and en route to the Netherlands in 1572; a German force led by Louis of Nassau was destroyed by Spanish troops in the eastern Netherlands in 1574; John Casimir of the Palatinate brought a German army into the southern Netherlands in 1578 to give support to the Calvinists there; and English forces, not all of whom were Protestant, went over to the Low Countries in 1585-86 and an English presence was maintained in the Netherlands until the early 1600s. G. Parker, The Dutch Revolt (Revised edition: Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1985) 109-10, 137, 164, 192-94 and 217-18.

Scotland fought alongside local troops against the Spanish.⁴⁰

In the songs and pamphlets produced from the later 1560s, Netherlandish concerns predominate but many writers do reveal an awareness of events taking place elsewhere and of the common European nature of the struggle against Spain.⁴¹ A prime example is the *Corte Beschryvinghe* of 1574, which was quoted at the beginning of the chapter. The pamphleteer repeatedly uses the events of the siege to demonstrate God's providential care for His people. "Want de selfde handt", he wrote after describing the relief of the city, "die daer [Jerusalem] zijn vyanden sloech/ ende zijn volck op het alder onghesienste verlost/ heeft ongetwijfelt het selfde hier oock tastelick ghedaen".⁴² What the writer understood by the term God's People is revealed in the preface. If we were to read through the chronicles, he wrote, we would find few periods in which there have been as many sieges as in the last two years. Those of Haarlem and Middelburg are well known but the same has also happened in France, at La Rochelle, 'Sommiers' (Saumur) and Sancerre. At Sancerre, the inhabitants were besieged for many months and were forced to eat not only animals but shoeleather and parchments.⁴³ That Jan Fruytiers, the author of this work, was thinking of an universal rather than a national Israel is further evident from a song which appears at the end of the pamphlet.

"Weet ghy niet dat den Wijngaert des Heeren/
Het huys Israels is/ die ghy vervolcht en quelt?
.....
Propheten bevondent/ Martelaers hebben vertelt
Dat der Christenen bloet is tzaet der kercken:
Cont ghy niet wijs worden wt al de wonderwercken
Die Godt in Duytslandt en Englandt heeft ghedaen?
Hoe wonderlick dat hy tot zyns Woordts verstercken

⁴⁰ Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 148-49.

⁴¹ See Kuiper, *Het Geuzenliedboek*, I, nos. 106 (1575), 112 (1576), II, 146 (1588) and 149 (1590).

⁴² "For the same hand that defeated His enemies there and delivered His People, has undoubtedly done the same here". K 226: *Corte Beschryvinghe*, 27.

⁴³ K 226: *Corte Beschryvinghe*, 4.

Piedtmond/ Schotland/ Franckrijck heeft by ghestaen?
 Segt my: Hoe ist met haren triumviraet ghegaen?
 Wat vorderde tegen Godts Woordt Alba de bloethont?
 De hant diemen Henricum en Franciscum sach slaen/
 Onghetwijfelt den meyneedighen Carolum vont?
 Wat hielp Trentisch Concilium / Baioensch verbant
 Jae wat vorderede d'onghehoorde Parijsche moort:
 Siet ghy noch niet dat ghy Christum wederstant
 Als ghy zijn lidmaten hingt en versmoort?".⁴⁴

The references to events elsewhere in Europe show that, for this writer, the "House of Israel" was the Church of God throughout the world. The international origins of Reformed Protestantism and the confessional nature of the conflicts in western Europe after 1559 suggest that this songwriter's vision of the Church was the dominant understanding of the new Israel. The reminders of the Church universal were too frequent and too pervasive for anyone in the Netherlands to have formulated a notion of a national Israel before the 1590s.

As well as the international nature of Reformed Protestantism in the sixteenth century, there were also circumstances peculiar to the Low Countries which militated against the development of a national conception of the New Israel. To begin with, the nature and position of the Reformed Church in the sixteenth-century Low Countries were not such as to favour the notion of a Dutch Israel.⁴⁵ With the exception of a brief period in 1566-67, a reformation on a scale

⁴⁴ "Do you not know that the Vineyard of the Lord/ Is the House of Israel which you persecute and torment?/ ... / Prophets have found, Martyrs have told/ That the blood of Christians is the seed of the Churches:/ Haven't you learnt from all the miracles/ Which God has done in Germany and in England?/ How wonderfully that He, to strengthen His Word/ Has aided Piedmont, Scotland, France./ Tell me: How's it going with your Triumvirate?/ What is Alba the bloodhound bringing against God's Word/ The hand which we saw slay Henry and Francis/ Shall, undoubtedly, sort out the lying Charles?/ How will the Council of Trent or the League of Bayonne help/ Yes, what shall the unparalleled Parisian murder bring about/ Do you still not see that you resist Christ/ When you hang and murder His followers?". K 226: Corte Beschryvinghe, 33.

⁴⁵ The interpretation of the Reformed Church in the Netherlands which appears here is based largely on the following works: J.J. Woltjer, "De politieke betekenis van de Emdense Synode" in D. Nauta, J.P. Van Dooren and O.J. De Jong, eds., De synode van Emden 1571-1971 (Kampen, 1971) 22-49; A. Th. Van Deursen, Plain Lives in a Golden Age. Popular culture, religion and society in seventeenth century Holland (Originally published in Dutch 1978-81; English translation: Cambridge, 1991) 260-79; A.C. Duke,

comparable to that seen in England, Germany and Scandinavia, did not begin to take place in the Low Countries until 1572 in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland and, in other parts of the Netherlands, from 1577-80. The long years of persecution left an enduring mark upon Netherlandish Reformed Protestantism. Like all reformers in the sixteenth century, the Reformed Protestants in the Low Countries sought, in the first place, to reform the Church rather than to create a separate confession but the opposition of the authorities to any reform of the church along Protestant lines compelled Reformed Protestants to develop their own forms of church organisation and practice. The forms of church government, doctrine and practice which they developed were Calvinist in nature with two principal characteristics: a presbyterian form of church government; and an exclusive conception of church membership.

The significance of this development, the adoption of a Calvinist church order and discipline after long years of persecution, became apparent after 1572 when the rebels seized control of large parts of Holland and Zeeland and soon brought to an end the public exercise of Catholicism. With the collapse of Catholicism throughout most of Holland and Zeeland, the Reformed Church was presented with the opportunity of establishing itself as a national, comprehensive church on the Lutheran and Anglican models. Most Reformed ministers, though, remained wedded to the more sectarian conception of the church which had developed in the years of persecution and exile. They envisaged a church which regulated itself, free from the interference of the magistrates, through the hierarchy of consistories, classes and synods. Furthermore, they hoped to maintain the pure, exclusive church which had developed before 1572. By contrast, most magistrates wanted a church which was both subject to their control in such matters as the appointment of ministers and which was open to all members of society. The tension between these two different conceptions of the church brought about a series of disputes which lasted until the synod of Dordt in 1618-19. during these disputes, the relationship between church and state was gradually defined.

"The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561-1618" in his Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries (London, 1990) 269-93; J.J. Woltjer, "De religieuze situatie in de eerste jaren van de Republiek" in Ketters en papen onder Filips II (Exhibition Catalogue: Utrecht, 1986) 94-105; and J.J. Woltjer, "De plaats van de calvinisten in de Nederlandse samenleving", De zeventiende eeuw, 10 (1994) 3-23.

On some points, the Reformed Church was compelled to change its position. The old Catholic Church had fulfilled a number of public roles, such as baptisms, marriages and burial ceremonies and had been concerned with the welfare of the population as a whole. After 1572, when the Reformed Church replaced the Catholic Church as the dominant confession in Holland and Zeeland, the Reformed Church was forced to re-consider its view of those people, by far the overwhelming majority of those living in the two provinces, who were not members of their church. The Reformed attitude to those outside their church was evident in the case of infant baptism. Initially, there was much reluctance to baptise children whose parents were not members of the Church but in 1578, at the national synod of Dordrecht, the Reformed Church took the decision to offer baptism to all children, irrespective of the profession or Christian affiliation of the parents. In response to the question of whether ministers should baptise the children of Catholics, excommunicants and whoremongers, the synod replied in the affirmative, stating that "overmidts de doop den kinderen die int verbont Gods staen toekoemt, ende het ghewis is, dat dese kinderen buyten het verbont niet en syn." Baptism was offered because the children were part of the new Israel or the new Covenant and as such, were entitled to baptism "dewyle de doop een alghemeyne ghetuyghenisse is des verbonchts Godts."⁴⁶ From this perspective, then, all Netherlanders were considered to belong to the new Israel and to be subject to the new Covenant which God had made with mankind through Christ. For this reason, Caspar Grevinchoven, a Reformed minister in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, could compare Catholics to the children of Israel in Samaria, who, in the time of Rehoboam, fell away and were expelled from the house of David. The new Israel, though, was not a national entity but the whole of Christendom.⁴⁷

By virtue of its dominant position, then, the Reformed Church took over many of the public roles which had hitherto been fulfilled by the Catholic Church

⁴⁶ "...because baptism is the rightful due of children belonging to the covenant, and it is certain, that these children are not outside the covenant" and "because baptism is a general witness of the covenant of God." A.Th. Van Deursen, Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen. Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt (Franeker, 1991) 136-37. The translation of the first quotation was made by Maarten Ultee and appears in Van Deursen, Plain Lives in a Golden Age, 264.

⁴⁷ Van Deursen, Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen, 139.

thus moderating its sectarian character. On other matters, though, the Reformed Church retained the structures and practices which it had developed before 1572. On the crucial question of membership, the Reformed Church refused to blur the distinction between membership of the church and membership of society. A Netherlander was not a member of the Reformed Church by virtue of his birth and was under no legal obligation to attend services in the Reformed Church. If someone wished to become a member of the Reformed Church, he or she had to submit to an examination of their faith by the congregation or consistory. Once they became members, they were subject to consistorial discipline. Although everyone was permitted to attend a Reformed service, only members of the Reformed Church were admitted to the Lord's Table. Principally because of this determination to maintain the pure character of the church, the Reformed Church grew only slowly in the provinces of Holland and Zeeland. By 1587, the Reformed Church still commanded the allegiance of less than a tenth of the population of Holland. Even by 1620, almost fifty years after the rebels first gained a foothold in the northern Netherlands, only twenty percent of the population of the Republic were members of the Reformed Church.⁴⁸ The minority position of the Netherlandish Reformed Church and its continuing sectarian character in the later sixteenth century would seem to preclude any simple identification between the Dutch and Israel. It seems improbable that a church which set itself apart from the rest of society, would construct a notion by which all Netherlanders were deemed to constitute a Chosen People.

A second point of contrast between the sixteenth-century Netherlands and other European countries was the absence of a strong sense of national identity. The most fundamental shift in historical thinking about the sixteenth-century Low Countries since 1945 has been the abandonment of the belief that the Revolt was a 'national' struggle for independence against Spanish tyranny. The contrary view, that Netherlandish patriotic sentiment arose during the Revolt has become the standard view. What now appears to have been a more important force in sixteenth-century Netherlandish society was particularism, the sense of attachment to city or province which usually overrode any sense of a common

⁴⁸ A. Duke and R.L. Jones, "Towards a Reformed Polity in Holland, 1572-78" in Duke, Reformation and Revolt, 199-226 and Woltjer, "De plaats van de calvinisten", 3.

fatherland.⁴⁹ It is true that Reformed Protestants, by constructing a general Netherlandish church with a common body of doctrine and a common organisation, did much to encourage the development of supra-provincial sentiment but the forces of particularism proved too strong for them to overcome completely.⁵⁰

The strength of provincial identities is evident in the correspondence and synodal resolutions of the Reformed Church. In August 1571, the exile Reformed community in Cologne wrote to William of Orange to inform him that a general synod would be held shortly. The community noted, though, that the "Hollandsche natie" declined to come and stated that it would be better if the synod were held "sonder eenighe Nederlantsche natie tontbrekene".⁵¹ What makes the sixteenth-century Low Countries distinctive was not so much the strength of provincial loyalties, which was a feature of all European countries in this period, as the weakness of a counterbalancing national identity. In those areas of fifteenth and sixteenth century Europe where the myth of a special destiny did develop, namely fifteenth-century Florence and sixteenth-century Germany, France and England, one common factor which emerges was a well-developed sense of national identity.⁵² Without doubt, the weakness of such a sense in the Low Countries during the 1540s to the 1580s would have hindered considerably the development of the idea of a common Netherlandish Israel.

⁴⁹ The most important studies of the Revolt published since 1945 have been J.W. Smit, "The Netherlands Revolution" in R. Forster and J.P. Greene, eds., Preconditions of Revolution in Early Modern Europe (Baltimore, 1970) 19-54; J. Woltjer, "De vredemakers", TvG, 89 (1976) 299-321; and H. Schilling, "Der Aufstand der Niederlande: Bürgerliche Revolution oder Elitenkonflikt?" in H-U. Wehler, ed., 200 Jahre amerikanische Revolution und moderne Revolutionsforschung (Göttingen, 1976) 177-231. On patriotic sentiment specifically see Groenveld, "Natie en nationaal gevoel", *passim*.

⁵⁰ See Pettegree, Emden and the Dutch Revolt, 244-47.

⁵¹ "Holland nation" and "without any of the Netherlandish nations being absent". Brieven uit onderscheidene Kerkelijke Archieven, J.J. Van Toorenenbergen, ed., Series 3, Volume 5, Part 1 (Utrecht, 1882) 3-6.

⁵² See D. Weinstein, "Millenarianism in a Civic Setting: the Savonarola Movement in Florence" in S.L. Thrupp, ed., Millennial Dreams in Action. Essays in Comparative History (The Hague, 1962) 187-203; G. Strauss, "The Course of German History: the Lutheran Interpretation" in A. Molho and J.A. Tedeschi, eds., Renaissance Studies in honor of Hans Baron (Illinois, 1971) 663-86; M. Yardeni, La Conscience Nationale en France Pendant les Guerres de Religion (1559-1598) (Paris/Louvain, 1971) 34-35; and Haller, Foxe's Book of Martyrs and the Elect Nation, *passim*.

During the 1540s to the 1580s, then, it seems clear that the Hebraic imagery used by Netherlandish Calvinists did not refer to an exclusively national conception of the new Israel. The international nature of Reformed Protestantism, the sectarian character of Netherlandish Calvinism and the weakness of supra-provincial sentiment in the Low Countries all obstructed the formation of an Israelite myth. Parallels with Israel were drawn by Netherlandish Calvinists but on closer inspection, these parallels either turn out to be of an incidental character, as with Dathenus's letter of 1561, or appear to refer to an universal understanding of Israel. The possibility that some Reformed Protestants did formulate, or at least deploy in propaganda, a more national understanding of Israel cannot, however, be ruled out altogether. Since 1945, Reformation historians have accorded much more attention to the 'pluriform' character of Reformed Protestantism in the sixteenth-century Netherlands, acknowledging that the triumph of orthodox Calvinism in the Reformed Church was not complete until the later 1500s.⁵³ Some Reformed Protestants, especially in the northern Netherlands, held a more inclusive conception of Church membership and a more Erastian understanding of Church-State relations. They were more willing to accommodate the Lutherans, less willing to distinguish between membership of the church and membership of civil society and more inclined to favour magisterial authority in disciplinary matters.⁵⁴ The intellectual obstacles towards the formation of a Dutch Israel myth would thus appear to be much less marked for this strand of Reformed Protestantism than for the Calvinists because of their desire to create a more 'national' church.⁵⁵

In this respect, it is significant how frequently Israelite parallels appear in

⁵³ See especially W. Nijenhuis, "Variants within Dutch Calvinism in the sixteenth century", *Acta Historiae Neerlandicae*, 12 (1979) 48-64 and, for a different emphasis, Van Deursen, *Plain Lives in a Golden Age*, 260-61.

⁵⁴ The variety of opinions within Netherlandish Reformed Protestantism became evident in 1566-67, during discussions with the Lutherans and in 1570-71, when the Reformed Churches tried to gather support in Germany and establish a synodal form of church government. See Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt*, 82-84, 178-82; Woltjer, "De plaats van de Calvinisten", 10-14; and Woltjer, "De politieke betekenis van de Emdense Synode", 22-49.

⁵⁵ It is unlikely, of course, that these more heterodox Reformed Protestants would formulate a notion of an *Elect* Nation. Rather, the emphasis is upon the possibilities arising from their desire to build up a more national church.

the work of one such Reformed Protestant, Laurens Jacobsz. Reael.⁵⁶ The parallels appear in some of the songs which Reael produced during the years 1571-74.⁵⁷ In 1573, for example, when Reael was still in exile in Emden, he wrote a song whose beginning was modelled upon psalm 137, 'By the rivers of Babylon...'. Like the psalm, the song begins with the exile recalling his homeland:

"Als wy aen die Rivieren Oostwaerts saten,
Sijnde ghedachtich, hoe gants is verlaten
Uwes, O Syons, huys int Nederlandt"⁵⁸

In this case, Reael was thinking just of those Netherlands who had been forced, mainly for religious reasons, to flee from their homelands but elsewhere, the meaning of the phrases which he uses is less clear. In one song from 1571, Reael called upon those who had stayed behind in the Low Countries to "Vliet uut, vliet uut Babel, mijn uutvercoren volck"; in another song from the same year, he speaks of the "Christelijcke Nacy".⁵⁹

The context of these lines does not suggest that Reael was affirming a belief in the election of a Netherlandish nation. Reael's main purpose in these songs was to persuade his compatriots to reject Rome and all her works to which end he drew imaginatively upon scriptural imagery. For example, the source for his exhortation to flee from Babylon ("Babel") was not an Old Testament passage but Revelation chapters 17-18 and, in particular, Chapter 18, verse 4, where a voice from heaven urges the people of God to come out from Babylon: the

⁵⁶ For Reael's views see Pettegree, Emden and the Dutch Revolt, 179-80. For further evidence of his broad conception of Protestantism see his 'Een nieu Liedeken' in Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, no. 42.

⁵⁷ The main published collection of Beggar songs lists ten songs which are believed to have been produced by Reael, spanning the years 1571-74: Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, II, 397.

⁵⁸ "As we sat down by the eastern streams, mindful how completely Your House in the Netherlands, O Zion, has been forsaken." Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, no. 83.

⁵⁹ "Fly, fly from Babel, my Chosen People" and the "Christian Nation". Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, nos. 41 and 42 (1571). Groenhuis, "Calvinism and National Consciousness", 118-19, also draws attention to these songs.

emphasis here was clearly religious.⁶⁰ Whilst it would be wrong to treat these songs as an expression of a belief in the notion of a Dutch Israel, Reael's free use of biblical imagery remains significant for the way in which it is tied, more closely than was the case elsewhere, to the conception of a people and country.

With the establishment of the Dutch Republic during the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, conditions gradually became more favourable for the development of the idea of Dutch Israel among Reformed Protestants. Over the course of the first half of the seventeenth century, the Reformed Church lost much of its earlier exclusiveness as it attracted more members from both the magistracy and the population at large. Furthermore, the Dordt settlement of 1618-19 gave the Reformed Church a more secure position in the Dutch state and encouraged Calvinists to turn outwards more to the society around them. Through these changes, the Dutch Reformed Church took on much more of the character of a national rather than a sectarian church. At the same time, the waning influence of the Swiss and French Reformed churches and the destruction of the Reformed churches in Bohemia and the Palatinate after 1620 would have tended to heighten the sense of distinctiveness of Dutch Calvinists. This development would have been further assisted by the contrasting economic and political fortunes of the Dutch Republic and other European states during this period. By the mid-1600s, both the changing character of the Reformed church and the increasing strength and self-confidence of the Dutch Republic, would have made it easier for some Dutch Calvinists to formulate a notion of a Dutch Israel. It is presumably for these reasons that, during the mid-1600s, some Reformed ministers began not only to draw parallels between the Republic and Israel, but to assert that the Dutch Republic was a new Israel.⁶¹

⁶⁰ In another song, Reael also reveals an awareness of the international nature of the struggle against Spain, a fact which supports the view that Reael was not expressing a belief in the election of a Netherlandish nation. Kuiper, Het Geuzenliedboek, I, no. 52 (1572).

⁶¹ See Groenhuis, "Calvinism and National Consciousness", 122-24 and H. Wansink, "Holland and Six Allies: the Republic of the Seven United Provinces" in J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossmann, eds., Britain and the Netherlands, Volume IV (The Hague, 1971) 133-55, 154. Further research also needs to be done on the possible influence of Heinrich Bullinger's Covenantal theology on the development of an Israelite myth in the seventeenth-century Dutch republic. On Bullinger generally see J. Wayne Baker, Heinrich Bullinger and the Covenant. The other Reformed Tradition (Ohio, 1980) and A.J. Van 't Hooft, De Theologie van Heinrich Bullinger in betrekking tot de Nederlandsche Reformatie (Amsterdam, 1888).

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

For over thirty years now, the foremost authorities on sixteenth-century Low Countries history, have rejected the national-state view of the Revolt and have come to support what may be called the pluralist understanding of the sixteenth-century Netherlands. The three case-studies in this thesis confirm the validity of this interpretation. In contrast to the old nationalist view of a collective national sense developing through the sixteenth century, the three studies provide evidence of the plurality of nations and countries in the 1500s. The range of maps produced in the sixteenth century, from maps of cities and provinces, to maps of the entire Low Countries, conform to the three main layers of identity in the sixteenth century: the local, regional and the pan-provincial. Of these three types of identity, the local and regional were, undoubtedly, the most powerful. This is suggested not only by the novelty of the patriotic theme in the rebel propaganda of 1568-70 but also by the failure of this patriotic propaganda to evoke any immediate favourable response. The case study on Calvinism also confirms the diverse character of identity in the sixteenth century. Although the chapter addresses one specific question, the relevance, or otherwise, of the Dutch Israel thesis, it does make clear the continuing importance of religious identity in the sixteenth century as an alternative source of allegiance to political and geographical forms of identity.

Two other key features of the modern approach to the question of identity in the sixteenth century also emerge from the studies. Both the chapter on maps and the study of rebel propaganda in 1568-70 show that identity was largely an artificial rather than natural phenomenon. This is clear from the chapter on the 'national' propaganda of 1568-70. Rather than expressing a shared identity, as the nationalist interpretation implied, the patriotic propaganda of 1568-70 appears as an attempt to create an unifying ideology or, in other words, to construct an identity powerful enough to make the inhabitants of the Low Countries bear arms against their legitimate ruler. As well as focusing attention upon the ways in which identity was constructed in the sixteenth century, the case studies also confirm the importance of the international dimension in the history of the

sixteenth-century Netherlands. Both the Reformed Protestants in the Low Countries and the rebel propagandists of 1568-70, saw themselves as part of an international movement, from which they could draw support and inspiration. Ironically, it was from these international sources that a specifically *Netherlandish* identity was to be created in the later sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The thesis not only lends support to the pluralist interpretation of the sixteenth-century Low Countries but also raise questions about different aspects of the subject of identity. An inherent danger of the emphasis upon particularism and the existence of differing notions of allegiance, is that other broader forms of identity might easily be ignored or treated as irrelevant. It seems clear from the study of the development of maps of the Low Countries and from the story of the growing interest in the Dutch language that a '*Netherlandish*' sentiment was developing in humanist circles during the sixteenth century. This humanist '*patriotism*' developed alongside and sometimes in conjunction with a growing conception among administrative officials and the high nobility of a broader *Netherlandish country*. As a new phenomenon of the sixteenth century, expressive of a certain stage in the development of the modern Low Countries, supra-provincial sentiment deserves to be treated as an important subject in its own right. The role of the Revolt in the development of supra-provincial sentiment also needs to be clarified. It seems likely that the Revolt gave wider currency to a notion (of a general Netherlands) which would otherwise have been confined to limited circles. As the Revolt did not fundamentally alter, though, the essentially provincial and civic nature of the sixteenth-century Netherlands, except in so far as it weakened the great tradition of civic independence in the southern Netherlands, the Revolt cannot be said to have created a permanent sense of *Netherlandish* national consciousness.

In spite of the attention which has been paid to the civic and provincial nature of the Low Countries in the 1500s, there is much work that can still be done on this particular aspect of the subject. Although the chapter on maps and chorographical works focuses upon the influence of geographical works in the creation of a supra-provincial identity, the chapter does reveal the prevalence of local and regional maps, chorographical works and town chronicles generally in the sixteenth-century Low Countries. A study of these works would open up the civic and provincial culture of the Early Modern Low Countries. Such a study

would also help to determine the nature of the relationship between civic, provincial and supra-provincial identity in the 1500s. The chapter on maps suggests that different forms of identity could co-exist for long periods. Only during periods of tension between the centre and the provinces would the differences between the various forms of identity become apparent.

The chapter on cartography as well as the study of the propaganda of 1568-70 and the chapter on the sources and nature of patriotic sentiment in the Low Countries before 1559 also suggest the need for a new understanding of the relationship between the Low Countries and Germany in the sixteenth century. As the case-studies make clear, the notion of a 'Netherlands' was far from fixed during the sixteenth century. The character of Netherlandish identity changed over the 1500s and with it, the nature of the relationship between the Netherlands and Germany. It would be a mistake, though, to represent this relationship as if a Netherlandish identity developed in opposition to an unchanging and ancient notion of Germany. Far from being an old and fixed identity, the notions of Germany and German nationality were also relatively new. These notions developed between the mid-fifteenth and the mid-seventeenth centuries, as the old medieval idea of the Empire declined to be replaced by the modern notion of a German empire. From this perspective, it seems better to speak of a simultaneous construction of identity in both the Netherlandish region and the German lands. One work which is clearly needed is a study of the relationship between the German and Netherlandish lands from c.1450 to 1650. In the mid-fifteenth century, at a time when the notions of Germany and the Netherlands were still only vague, the political and cultural relationship between the Netherlandish provinces and the German lands was still very ill-defined. By 1650, though, both the southern and northern Netherlands stood in a much clearer position vis-a-vis the German empire and with a much stronger sense of distinctiveness.

The nature of the relationship between Germany and the Netherlands in the sixteenth century leads on to the wider question of the place of Netherlandish forms of identity in an European context. Although in the absence of detailed studies of patriotic sentiment and identity in other continental European countries, any conclusions of a comparative nature can only be provisional, it seems probable that the pluralist model of identity would be just as applicable to other

areas of Europe as to the Low Countries. In recent studies of Early Modern Europe, attention has shifted from the older concern with the growth of central government power to the continuing strength of civic and regional pride. Throughout Europe, the multiplicity of city states, independent principalities, episcopal jurisdictions and other areas, provided the matrix for a great variety of identities. As in the Low Countries, these political forms of identity were criss-crossed by the conflicting demands of religious and ethnic allegiance.

This is not to say that there was nothing distinctive about developments in the Low Countries. Uniquely among the European countries, the Netherlandish rebels in the sixteenth century took the extreme step of abjuring their legitimate ruler, thus elevating the importance of other forms of allegiance. The precocious nature of Netherlandish patriotic culture in the 1570s onwards, expressed in a long series of pamphlets, songs, prints, histories and other works, was clearly a prelude to this revolutionary act.

As a final point, a comparative study of the development of forms of identity in different European countries would also help resolve the vexed question of defining nationality and identity generally in pre-French Revolutionary Europe. Although it is generally recognised that nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is distinct from nationalism in the Early Modern world, no satisfactory explanation of the nature of nationality in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries has yet been produced. Along with other detailed case studies, this thesis should facilitate the development of such a definition and by so doing, mitigate the concentration upon post-1789 developments.

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- BL** Ain Kurtzer Bericht dess Pfaffenkriegs Den Kaiser Carl der Fünfft wider Teütsche Nation und das Vaterland geführt hat (1226.a.57)
- BL** Ewiger Declaration: Gottlicher/ Almechtiger Maiestat, Wider Kaiser Carl/ Konig zu Hispanien etc. Und Bapst Paulum den dritten (3906.f.23)

- BL Eyn Ermanung an die Keyserliche Maiestat/ dess Evangeliums halben/ inn seinen Erblindern. darinn auch ein trewe warnung an Unns Teutschen (3905.f.60)
- BL Expostulation, das ist Klag und Verweiss Germanie des Teütschen Lands gegen Carolo Quinto dem Kayser (11517.d.38(3).)
- BL Der Durchleüchtigst/ un Durchleüchtigen Hochgebornen Fürsten und herren, Herren Johans Friderichen/ Hertzogen zu Sachssen...Unnd Herren Philipsen Landgraven zu Hessen (3905.ee.109)
- BL Ein Gesprech des Teütschen Lands und der hoffnung dise gegenwertige Kriegsleüff betreffen (3906.dd.38)
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1552

- BL Sendschriefften der Koniglichenn Maiestat zu Franckreich/ rc. An die Chur und Fursten/ Stende und Stett des Heyligen Romischen Reichs Teutscher Nation/ darinn sie sich irer jetzigen Kriegrustung halben uffs Kurtzest erclert (10902.h4(1).)
- BL Von anrichtung des newen Evangelij und der alten Libertet oder Freyheit Teutscher Nation An die RomischKayser Mayestat geschriben (3905.ee.97)

1562

- BL Conseil a la France desolée (S. Castellion; 901.a.6.(4).)

1566

- VS 28 Vermaninge aende Regeerders en de Gemeynte vande vier
Hoofsteden van Brabant
- K 137B Requeste Aen...dHertoginne van Perme..
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- K 139 Copie des lettres patentes en forme d'assurance que la Duchesse de
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- K 144A Een Corte verhalinge gesonden aen Coninc Philips
- M 122 Advertissement byde goede ende ghetrouwe ondersaten ende
inwoondere der C.M Erfnederlande gedaen
- M 124 Verclaringhe, van die menichuuldighe loose Practijcken ende Listen

1567

- K 152 Conseil sacré d'un Gentilhomme François aux Eglises de Flandre, qui
peut servir d'humble exhortation a l'excellence des tresillustres Princes
Protestans du Sainct Empire: et d'advertissement certain aux seigneurs
des païs bas
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Redempteur

1568

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1569

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Stralen

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1570-71

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1574

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K 226 Corte Beschrijvinghe vande strenghe Beleggheringhe ende
wonderbaerlicke Verloßinghe der Stadt Leyden in Hollandt

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1575

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en Hollande...

1579

K 403 Sommaire Annotation des Choses plus memorable...

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1357

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1557

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1570

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