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WE SUBDUED THE BODY BUT NOT THE
COURAGE': POPULAR LITERATURE,
SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY, AND
CEREMONIAL RITES OF POWER DURING
THE DUTCH REVOLT, 1550-1598'

Breanna Griego-Schmitt

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**“WE SUBDUED THE BODY BUT NOT THE COURAGE”:
POPULAR LITERATURE, SOVEREIGN AUTHORITY, AND CEREMONIAL
RITES OF POWER DURING THE DUTCH REVOLT, 1550-1598**

By

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DISSERTATION

Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of

**Doctor of Philosophy
History**

The University of New Mexico
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May, 2015

Dedication

for Jason

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UNM Office of Graduate Studies Graduate Student Success Scholarship Dissertation Travel Award and traveled to Belgium to finish my archival work in the archives in Brussels and Antwerp. The documents and images collected during this trip changed the scope of several of my chapters.

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for so long. He brought me back when I drifted and reminded me that even in dark moments

I was never alone.

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ABSTRACT

By engaging with the vast body of pamphlet literature, rarely seen engravings and images, personal and official correspondence between leading figures, edicts and proclamations, visual renderings and written accounts of public ceremonials, and songs, poems, and placards published between 1550 and 1598, this dissertation creates a comprehensive analysis of the religio-political relations and social change in the Low Countries. My work draws upon the premises that appeared most consistently in the literature and images circulated during the Dutch Revolt: strategy and communication, sovereignty and constitutionalism, freedom of conscience, political theory in the Low Countries, rites of power, and the creation of popular mythology. Whether within the borders of the individual provinces or the *vaderland* of the Low Countries at large, the conscious creation of Protestant identity and authority demonstrated how communication between the Low Countries' subjects, their representative institutions, and their sovereign came to define the development of the Dutch Revolt.

Table of Contents

List of Figures.....	xii
Archival Abbreviations	xiv
Notes on References and Translations	xv
Maps	xvi
Preface.....	1
Archival Sources.....	4
Conceptual Framework.....	12
Chapter Outline.....	24
Chapter One Charles V: Strategy and Communication in the Low Countries, 1550-1558.....	28
The Growth of Heresy and the Impact of Printing	29
Abdication and Reflection	41
Negotiating the Image of Charles V	48
Chapter Two For the Peace and Prosperity of the Public: Sovereignty, Tyranny, and Constitutionalism in the Political Theory of the Dutch Revolt.....	63
Sovereignty in the Low Countries: The Possession and Expression of Power	65
Limits of Obedience and the Justification of the Right to Resist	77
The Act of Abjuration and the Nature of Revolt	96
Chapter Three Freedom of Conscience: The Case for Toleration in the Low Countries, 1564-1582	108
Early Appearances of <i>Vrijheid Van Geweten</i>	108
Public Peace and Civic Duty.....	117

The Principles of Political and Religious Peace	126
The Essence of Patriotism, 1578-1582	134
Chapter Four Philip of Marnix, Lord of Saint Aldegonde, and the Consolidation of Dutch Politics.....	147
The Early Sources: Religious Conflict and Constitutional Complications.....	148
Redefining the Bonds of Fealty	156
Remonstrance and Refutation	171
Chapter Five Violence in the Low Countries: Rites of Power During the Dutch Revolt	187
“We Are Prey Exposed to Everyone”: Early Netherlandish Responses to Spanish Policies	193
The Council of Troubles, the Council of Blood	206
The Public Performance of Violence in the Low Countries	214
Chapter Six “They see that which I have done, they can not iudge my hearte”: The Mythology of William of Orange.....	237
A Stranger in the Low Countries	238
Critical Texts and the Prince of Orange.....	243
<i>Het Wilhelmus</i> and <i>The Apology of Prince William of Orange</i>	253
William’s Depiction in Engravings	260
Assassination and Elevation of the Prince of Orange.....	266
Epilogue	279
Bibliography	286
Primary Sources	286

Secondary Sources	312
Appendices.....	327
Appendix A <i>Calvinistisch oproer in Antwerpen bedwongen (Calvinistic Riots Subdued in Antwerp)</i> , 1567.....	328
Appendix B <i>Ordinantie inhoudende die Oude eñ Nieuwve Poincten, van onser Vrouvven Ommeganck, der Stadt van Antvverpen, Gheschit inden Iare, 1564 (Ordinance which contains old and new points related to women in processions, from the City of Antwerp)</i>	329
Appendix C <i>Le Vray Patriot aux Bons Patriots (The True Patriot to the Good Patriots)</i> , 1579	330
Appendix D <i>Houdt op in mijn tuin te wroeten Spaanse varkens! (Stop digging in my garden, Spanish pigs!)</i> , 1578	331
Appendix E <i>Typvs Præfectvræ, Allegorie op de moeilijkheid van het besturen (Allegory of the Many-Headed Beast)</i> , 1578	332

List of Figures

Figure 1. <i>Portret van Karel V van Habsburg, Duits Keizer, koning van Spanje (Portrait of Charles V of Habsburg, German Emperor, King of Spain), 1556</i>	53
Figure 2. <i>Christus en een portret van Keizer Karel V (Christ and a Portrait of Emperor Charles V), 1549</i>	54
Figure 3. <i>The Triumph of Charles V, c. 1556-1575</i>	55
Figure 4. <i>Troonsafstand door Karel V (Abdication of Charles V), 1555</i>	58
Figure 5. <i>Vertrek van Karel V (Departure of Charles V), 1555</i>	59
Figure 6. <i>Lijkstatie van Karel V (State Funeral of Charles V), 1558</i>	60
Figure 7. <i>Engraving 1566</i>	200
Figure 8. <i>Spaensche tirannye in Nederlandt, 1567</i>	210
Figure 9. <i>The Execution of Counts Egmont and Hoorne, 1568</i>	220
Figure 10. <i>Marterszenen in Antwerpen, 1576</i>	225
Figure 11. <i>Grouwelyckheyt tot Oudewater: Spiegel de Spaansche Tiranny in Nederland (Atrocities in Oudewater: Mirror of Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands), 1575</i> ...	227
Figure 12. <i>Anneken uyten hove gedolven, Spiegel de Spaansche Tiranny in Nederland (The Trial and Burial of Anna: Mirror of Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands), n.d.</i>	228
Figure 13. <i>De troon van der hertog van Alva (The Throne of the Duke of Alva), 1569</i>	233
Figure 14. <i>Der vrome veldheer Oranje ver geleken met Jozua (The Pious Commander Orange Compared to Joshua), 1569</i>	246
Figure 15. <i>Margaretha van Parma, Granvelle en de paus steunen Alva's missie (Margaret of Parma, Granvelle, and the Pope Support Alva's Mission), 1567</i>	255
Figure 16. <i>Standbeeld van der hertog van Alva (Statue of the Duke of Alva), 1571</i>	262

Figure 17. <i>Allegorie op de Pacificatie van Gent (Allegory of the Pacification of Ghent)</i> , 1576	263
Figure 18. <i>Willem van Oranje en Charlotte van Bourbon knielend en landschap (William of Orange and Charlotte of Bourbon Kneel in a Landscape)</i> , 1577.....	265
Figure 19. <i>De moord of Wilhelm van Oranje (The Assassination of William of Orange)</i> , 1584	271
Figure 20. <i>Begravenis van Willem van Oranje (Funeral of William of Orange)</i> , 1584.....	275

Archival Abbreviations

AEB	Archives de l'État en Belgique, Brussels
BL	British Library, London
BNF	Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris
EHC	Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Antwerp
KB	Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague
MPM	Museum Plantin-Moretus, Antwerp
RM	Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam
RMP	Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam
UL, BP	Universiteit Leiden, Bibliotheca Palatina Collection
UL, BT	Universiteit Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana Collection
UL, KN	Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel Collection
UL, P	Universiteit Leiden, Petit Collection
UL, PBT	Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana
UL, SCL	Universiteit Leiden, Special Collections Letters
UL, T	Universiteit Leiden, Tiele Collection
UL, ULP	Universiteit Leiden, University Library Pamphlets
UL, V	Universiteit Leiden, Voet Collection

Notes on References and Translations

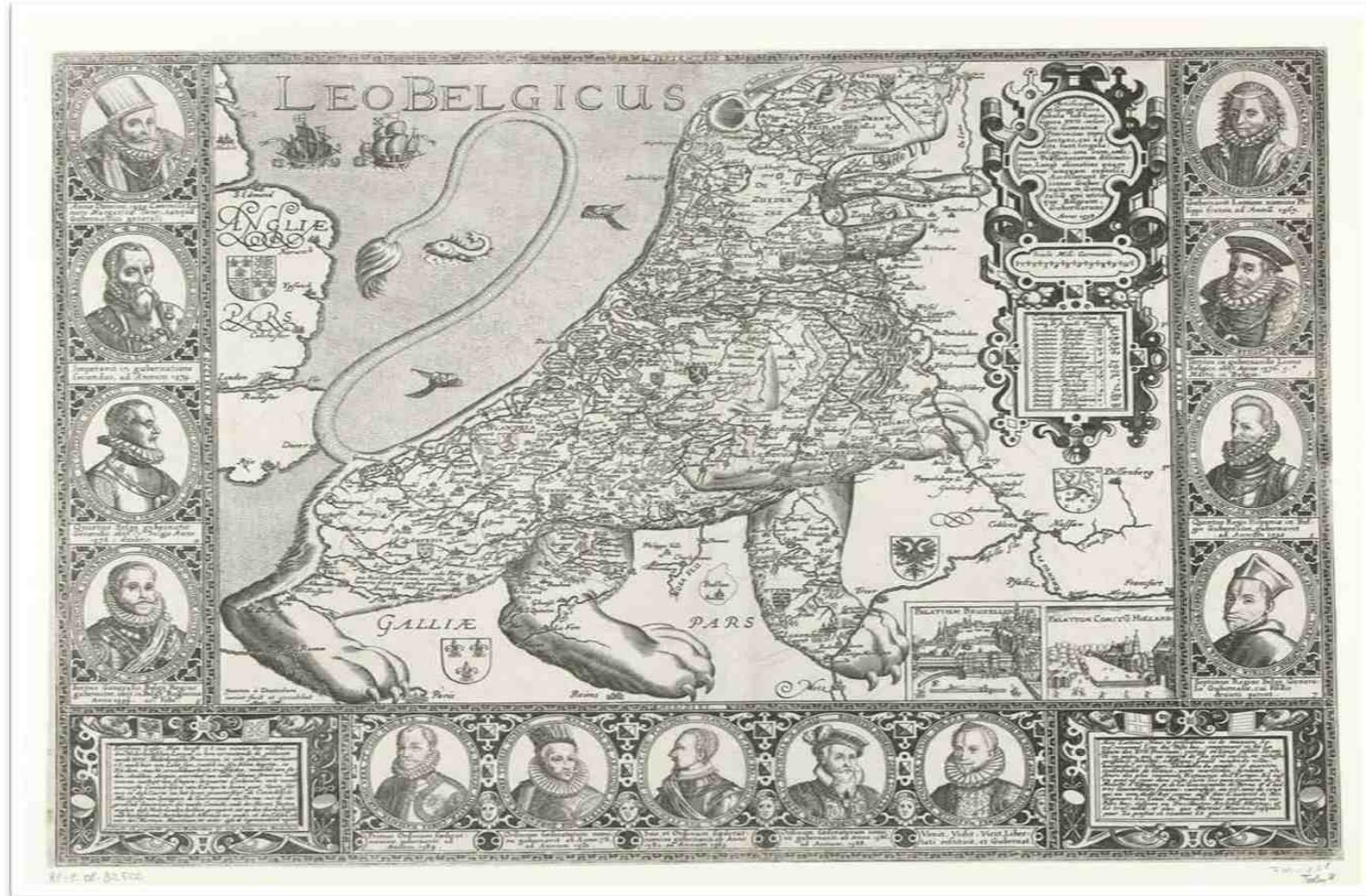
The interpretation of the political, religious, and cultural thought of the Dutch Revolt offered in this dissertation is primarily based on the exploration and analysis of treatises and visual media published and produced between 1550 and 1598. The year of Charles V's return to the Low Countries in 1550 is the ideal starting point while the death of Philip van Marnix—one of the most influential intellectuals of the Calvinist resistance—and the death of Philip II in 1598 is the terminus. Due to the repetition of critical ideas in the pamphlet collection, I have isolated and focused on those pamphlets that most strongly represent popular sentiment about constitutionalism, resistance-right theory, consolidation of Dutch politics, and popular mythology. Pamphlets were chosen by virtue of their primacy in sixteenth-century publications and by their repetitive appearances in multiple archives in different countries. Rather than reference every published pamphlet that addresses similar ideas in the footnotes, I have provided an extensive bibliography of the sources that I collected in the Dutch and Belgian archives.

Early modern pamphlet titles have been cited in the footnotes by full title together with bibliographic details and catalogue numbers where available. The primary source bibliography has been organized alphabetically rather than by catalogue numbers. Several of the sources are available in different languages and have been included in the bibliography if they were accessed during my archival research. In the footnotes I only give the number pertaining to the actual pamphlet I consulted, not the reference to copies of the same pamphlet surviving in different collections.

Except where otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

Maps

Map 1. *Kaart van de Nederlanden in de vorm de Hollandse Leeuw* (*Map of the Netherlands in the Form of a Dutch Lion*), 1598, Joannes van Doetechum. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.



Map 2. The Provinces of the Low Countries.



After Peter Arnade, *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 1.

Preface

“Despite the general recognition that the rise of the Dutch Republic was of major political, cultural and economic importance for the course of European history, historians have tended to neglect the political thought of the Dutch Revolt. However, as more than 2,000 publications (published between 1555 and 1590) exemplify, the political debate of the Revolt was not only immense, but also comprehensive and, above all, passionate.”¹

The Dutch Revolt has long been regarded as one of the most critical events in early modern European history. In the passage cited above, Martin van Gelderen describes the two challenges facing historians of the Dutch Revolt: the political thought of the movement has been overlooked because primacy is given to religious motivations or the Revolt is overly romanticized and idealized by virtue of its Calvinistic rhetorical publications. Both of these characterizations have at their roots the perspectives of the Low Countries’ authors, engravers, intellectuals, printers, booksellers, and their audiences. Given the significance that the Dutch Revolt has been associated with, it seems only natural that it has been the Calvinists and not the Habsburg regime that has attracted historians’ attention. Underlying the focus on the writings produced by the members of the Reformed Religion is the larger tendency, visible in numerous monographs on early modern Europe, to rely more or less exclusively on pamphlets.² It is the vast collections of Reformed Protestant publications—

¹ *The Dutch Revolt*, edited and translated by Martin van Gelderen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), vii.

² Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 16.

which also tend to be collected in large quantities and available between numerous archives—that shapes modern historical approaches to the revolt.

In the last two decades, scholarship on the sixteenth-century Low Countries has focused on thematic elements of the century. Historical studies of the rhetorical power of persuasion,³ case studies of treason and betrayal,⁴ and new translations of critical texts⁵ have recently emerged among an increasingly narrowly focused field. There remains in the scholarship, however, a shortage of syntheses among the tremendous variety of methods, intentions, and personalities that drove the revolt. This dissertation brings together the vast body of Netherlandish pamphlet literature, rarely seen engravings and images, correspondence between figureheads and leaders, edicts and proclamations, visual renderings and written accounts of public ceremonials, songs, poems, and placards to create a comprehensive and original analysis of the religio-political relations and social change in the Low Countries that occurred between 1550 and 1598.

The history of the seventeen provinces during the sixteenth century is challenging to reconstruct because there does not yet exist a singular comprehensive history of the Dutch Revolt. To a large extent, the provinces were essentially independent oligarchies whose political processes were characterized by long deliberations, slow-moving legislation, and

³ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

⁴ Henk van Nierop, *Treason in the Northern Quarter: War, Terror, and the Rule of Law in the Dutch Revolt*, translated by J.C. Grayson (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2009).

⁵ D.V. Coornhert, *Synod on the Freedom of Conscience: A Thorough Examination during the Gathering Held in the Year 1582 in the City of Freetown*, translated, edited, and annotated by Gerrit Voogt (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008).

autonomous leadership that only came together during convocations of the States General. In essence, to write the history of the Dutch Revolt one must consider the roles, expectations, affiliations, judicial processes, property and tax rights, and individual communities that constituted every province. Charles V faced the same challenges in attempting to centralize and govern the Low Countries that modern historians now face in attempting to write the history—or histories—of the period of revolt: the social and institutional organizations were autonomous, decentralized, and devoted to protecting their customary privileges and historical customs. Therefore, historical monographs tend to draw on the subjects that most consistently unite the residents of the Low Countries: resistance to the Habsburgs, passionate demands for freedom and self-governance, and the influence of Reformed Protestantism on opinion-forming, propagandistic content of pamphlet literature, and the ferocious persecutions by the Spanish in the provinces.

This dissertation complements those studies by providing a more fully developed portrayal of the perspectives of Protestants living in the provinces during the revolt. While a close study of the demographics, motivations, social and cultural environments, and religio-political concerns of each of the seventeen provinces would offer a comprehensive view of the Netherlands, this was beyond the scope of this dissertation. My work draws upon the premises that appeared most consistently in the literature and images circulated during the Dutch Revolt: strategy and communication, sovereignty and constitutionalism, freedom of conscience, political theory in the Low Countries, rites of power, and the creation of popular mythology. These are some of the most critical and some of the most overlooked paradigms that drive modern historical approaches toward the sixteenth century. In short, this dissertation proposes to explore the conscious creation of Protestant identity and authority in

the Low Countries and will demonstrate how communication between the subjects, their representative institutions, and their sovereign came to define the development of the Dutch Revolt.

Archival Sources

This dissertation relies on a variety of sources from several archives, including the Archives de l'État en Belgique in Brussels, the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience and the Museum Plantin-Moretus in Antwerp, the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in The Hague, the Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet in Amsterdam, and the Universiteit Leiden Bijzondere Collecties in Leiden. My sources include vast collections of pamphlets, placards, ordinances, edicts, published correspondence, proclamations, advertisements, announcements, personal letters, briefs, discourses, funeral orations, poems, songs, satirical literature, and commentaries published between 1550 and 1598. The languages of these documents include Dutch, French, Spanish, and English. I have presented the original sixteenth-century spelling and grammar without alteration in the bibliography and in the footnotes. My translations of the primary sources follow modern standards of spelling, grammar, and clause structure. I have also modernized archaic English spelling where it appears within the body of the dissertation.

The most novel methodological contribution this dissertation makes is the combination of sixteenth-century visual media with print literature. I combine my analysis of visual rhetoric in the images of Hogenberg, Galle, Nagel, and numerous anonymous artists with textual analysis of popularly circulated texts in an effort to dissect the fragmentation of political and religious authority in the Low Countries during the second half of the sixteenth century. I worked with over 130 textual documents and over 75 images and engravings. The

sources were chosen based on their authorship, place of publication, leading references within other documents, and by their relative involvement, description of, and influence on the above-mentioned targeted subjects. The documents reveal that the desire for public peace and the continuation of customary lifestyles were of the highest importance for most of the authors and artists. Comparatively, this idea is not often presented in modern monographs. As the Gelderen quote above indicates, many historians cast the primary figures of the Dutch Revolt as revolutionaries bent on establishing a new system of governance at all costs, driven by passion and zealous idealism. While the sources reveal the presence of three or four such enthusiasts, by and large the authors, intellectuals, and audiences did not want sweeping change or revolutionary upheaval. Instead they wanted civil peace, moderate religious toleration, and the continuation of their day-to-day routine within their individual provinces.

These ideas are most clearly presented in the lengthy forewords that accompany most of the documents in the 1560s and 1570s. The authors are careful to state their loyalty and obedience to Philip II and attempt to blame others in the Habsburg regime for derailing the peace and prosperity of the Low Countries. This dissertation argues that of the variety of interest groups publishing in the Low Countries during the revolt, most used their works to defend the interests of their community: personal safety, public harmony, and peaceful coexistence without the threat of punishment or execution were the goals. To be clear, there was not a singular unified propagandistic approach toward negotiating with Philip II, condemning the on-going persecution of Dutch Protestants, or developing resistance-right theory. Between the documents that offer criticism and call for removal or cessation of certain persons and actions, there is tremendous diversity with regards to voice, methodology, and proposed solutions. Therein lies one of the classic conundrums that

historians of the early modern Low Countries must face: reconciliation of divergent source material with overly romanticized historical subjects.

Although the importance of peace and toleration are certainly present in the archival sources, this fact alone should not motivate historians to identify the inhabitants of the Low Countries as a peaceful people. The historian Monica Stensland argues that the favorable reputation of the Netherlander stems in part from sympathetic scholars drawing on Low Countries literature and casting the inhabitants as the honorable champions struggling against the evil Spanish tyrant and his obsequious minions. She writes that “the Dutch Revolt, although a challenge that shook the [Spanish] regime deeply when it broke out, was to begin with nothing more than a rebellion of a group of dissatisfied nobles and religious troublemakers. Pitted against them was the Spanish monarch, the ruler of the largest empire the world had ever seen, and his formidable multinational army who were intent on crushing a rebellion, not on winning a drawn-out war against an equal opponent.”⁶ This interpretation comes from a different reading of the Dutch-language primary sources against the diverse Spanish publications: Stensland’s unique perspective argues that because the Spanish intellectuals and leaders did not embark on a propagandistic campaign designed to villainize the enemy and create sympathy for their cause, Philip II and his followers were at a disadvantage both in the sixteenth century and in twenty-first-century historical analysis.

The archives that I visited each made unique contributions to my document collection. Prior to performing my research, I spent two years working with Professor Charlie Steen to teach myself the Dutch Language. The UNM History Department granted my request for a new language for the PhD examination and I successfully passed my Dutch

⁶ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 155.

language exam in 2011. My initial research trip took place in 2012 when I traveled to the Netherlands to work in the archives. I first turned to the Koninklijke Bibliotheek in Den Haag due to its immense collection of primary materials, both text and image. While I found rich materials at the KB, ultimately the library did not offer the comprehensive collection of Dutch Revolt print literature that I was in search of. I collected numerous images in the hope that emblems or proverbs might play a role in my dissertation.

I followed up my time in Den Haag by taking a lengthy trip to Amsterdam where I consulted hundreds of engravings and images circulated between 1515 and 1610 at the Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet. In 2012, the Rijksmuseum relocated the Prentenkabinet Reading Room off-site while they completed massive renovations on the museum. Although the new Reading Room was located about a mile away from the museum, the curators informed me that the items that I requested were available during renovations. This was a stroke of luck because only a small number of resources had been relocated during renovations: indeed most of the Rijksmuseum itself was inaccessible to visitors during this time. The librarians brought large folios filled with hundreds of Frans Hogenberg's engravings⁷ and other extraordinary images, and allowed me to work through their entire collection produced during the Dutch Revolt. My dissertation builds on the rhetorical analysis of visual images created by James Tanis and Daniel Horst in their book, *Images of Discord, De Tweedracht Verbeeld: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*. My unique contribution is the introduction of new images that have not yet been published to the best of my knowledge.

⁷ See Appendix A, *Calvinistisch oproer in Antwerpen bedwongen* (1567, Frans Hogenberg, Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam).

The sixteenth century was a period that produced lavish and extravagant images that relied heavily upon biblical allusions and fables to create the binary of good versus evil, Protestant versus Catholic, and Low Countries versus Spain. An image called *Stop Digging in My Garden, Spanish Pigs!* (1572, Anonymous) shows the popular trend of Netherlandish artists using wolves and pigs to represent the corrupt and greedy Spaniards, while the Dutch lion stands proudly in defense of the provinces at sea and on land.⁸ In contrast to that traditional propagandistic image, I pulled an engraving entitled *Typvs Praefectvræ, Allegorie op de moeilijkheid van het besturen* (1578, Philips Galle), or *Allegory of the Many-Headed Beast*.⁹ This image is an engraving of a mythical beast with a variety of heads placed all over its body, including storks, elephants, lambs, pigs, dogs, leopards, peacocks, deer, fish, snakes, lions, sparrows, and snakes. In the background secular and ecclesiastical leaders stand and stare in wonder as a thin rope binds the beast to the observers. An important social commentary on the difficulties of negotiating the various needs and wants of the inhabitants of the Low Countries, this image supports my dissertation's argument while also presenting a unique perspective on the sixteenth-century revolt through the use of visual media. As a result, I am better able to examine the various interpretations of power, freedom, and faith by working with engravings that have not yet been analyzed in published articles or monographs.

⁸ See Appendix B, *Houdt op in mijn tuin te wroeten Spaanse varkens!* (1572, Anonymous, Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam).

⁹ See Appendix C, *Typvs Praefectvræ, Allegorie op de moeilijkheid van het besturen* (1578, Philips Galle, Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam).

Following the Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, the next archive that I visited was the Bijzondere Collecties at Universiteit Leiden. I spent most of my research time in this institution and it provided the most comprehensive and fully developed collection of primary materials out of any of the other archives. The catalogues of pamphlets at UL included hundreds of works of great importance for the study of sixteenth-century communication, sovereignty,¹⁰ freedom of conscience, Dutch political theory,¹¹ public displays of violence, and provincial mythology. Martin van Gelderen argues in *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, that, despite the importance of the Universiteit Leiden pamphlet collections, the study of sixteenth-century thought has to move beyond those catalogues.¹² However it appears that his new approach was rather to create a comprehensive list of all treatises published between 1555 and 1590—many of which are gathered into collections at the Universiteit Leiden Bijzondere Collecties—by pulling them from various archives in the Netherlands and Belgium. Among the various archival collections housed at Universiteit

¹⁰ See Appendix D, *Le Vray Patriot aux Bons Patriots* (1579, Anonymous, Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 392).

¹¹ See Appendix E, *Ordinantie inhoudende die Oude en Nieuwve Poincten, van onser Brouvven Ommeganck, der Stadt van Antwerpen, Gheschit inden Iare, 1564*. Gheprint thantwerpen, inde Cammerstrate inde Rape, by Hans de Lae (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 112).

¹² Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 288-89.

Leiden, I worked through the Bibliotheca Thysiana Collection,¹³ the Tiele Collection,¹⁴ the Knuttel pamphlet collection, and the Special Collections Letters.¹⁵

Two years later a generous grant from the University of New Mexico Office of Graduate Studies allowed me to travel to Belgium in December 2014 to complete the final research phase of my dissertation. Interestingly, my schedule of archival visits closely followed the plan proposed by Professor Gelderen:¹⁶ I worked at the Museum Plantin-Moretus and the Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience archives in Antwerp, and also spent time at the Archives de l'État en Belgique in Brussels. Although the Archives de l'État en Belgique appeared to be a fruitful archive, I was not able to collect sources from this location. The librarians informed me that they no longer pulled primary documents from the

¹³ The Bibliotheca Thysiana Collection is part of the Early Printed Books and Rare Editions section of the Universiteit Leiden holdings. The sources were donated by Johannes Thysius (1622-53), a merchant from Amsterdam who took up residence in Leiden.

¹⁴ As mentioned above, the Knuttel collection is arguably the most famous collection at the Universiteit Leiden and is regularly consulted by scholars working to develop an understanding of the intellectual development of the Dutch Revolt. The Knuttel Collection contains over 34,000 pamphlets from the early modern era through the nineteenth century.

¹⁵ Another expansive collection, the Letters archive at Universiteit Leiden holds over 500,000 pieces of correspondence ranging from the mid sixteenth century through the late twentieth century.

¹⁶ Gelderen's source collection enterprise included research in England: "The collection of the Royal Library in The Hague has been taken as a starting point. The other collections consulted are those of the Royal Library of Brussels, the university libraries of Amsterdam, Ghent and Leiden, the library of the Plantin-Moretus Museum in Antwerp, and the City Archives in Antwerp. Additional research has been done in the university library of Utrecht and Liège, the municipal library of Antwerp, the British Library in London and the library of Trinity Hall in Cambridge."

vault for researchers because they had digitized most of the collection: access to the digitized sources is also only available from the archive itself and cannot be remotely accessed. The only difficulty was that I primarily needed access to hand-written correspondence in sixteenth-century Dutch written in calligraphic script: it was difficult to make out the text on a computer screen and the archivists would not allow me access to the original sources. Unfortunately I only spent one day at this archive due to these limitations.

The following week was spent working at the two archives in Antwerp, both of which were open, friendly, and extremely accessible with regards to the primary documents. The Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience possesses an important collection of sources composed by Philip of Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde. My dissertation analyzes his consolidation of Dutch political theory and the influence of his moderate constitutionalism on the rule of William of Orange. This was a critical collection for me to work with during this trip and I was surprised that while a number of his publications were available through other archives, a great many were housed exclusively at the Hendrik Conscience library.¹⁷ Similarly, my work at the Museum Plantin-Moretus was very productive and I was able to access a number of rare works written by and about Charles V. These were important documents because I wanted to create a chapter that focused on the Holy Roman Emperor

¹⁷ Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience and Museum Plantin-Moretus are part of the larger network of Belgian universities and archives, all of which share common catalogues and resources. The universities of Leuven, Ghent, Antwerp, as well as the Letterenhuis, Rubenshuis, Museum Middelheim, and Museum Vleeshuis house many of their holdings at Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience and Museum Plantin-Moretus, thereby making my research trip to Antwerp both simple and fruitful. Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 289.

and which would set the stage for the turbulent years following his abdication in 1555. The curators were helpful and thoughtfully guided my resource requests, even going so far as to bring out multiple sources near the call numbers that I requested. Museum Plantin-Moretus's collections were distinctive because rather than presenting the sources as single pamphlets, up to 20 pamphlets were bound within a single cover. I encountered this organizational strategy at Universiteit Leiden: this facilitated my research because the documents were bound together based on years of publication (1568-1570 for example) and offered chronological perspective on the materials.

The archives and primary sources consulted reflect this dissertation's goal to avoid relying on secondary sources and annotations to develop a comprehensive understanding of the complexity of the Dutch Revolt. By triangulating exceptional mid-sixteenth-century engravings with traditional archival sources (pamphlets, placards, ordinances, edicts, published correspondence, proclamations, advertisements, announcements, personal letters, briefs, discourses, funeral orations, poems, songs, satirical literature, and commentaries published between 1550 and 1598) this work will provide a clearer view of social, political, and religious encounters in the Low Countries.

Conceptual Framework

Paradigms of sovereignty in the Low Countries—like other regions in sixteenth-century Europe—have fluctuated from romantic notions of imperial power structures and idyllic alliances between the rulers and the people to the most brutal and inhumane acts of domination and persecution carried out in the names of the law and of God. Today, the history of the Dutch Revolt tends to find a middle ground although the Calvinists' struggles are generally prioritized over the concerns of Philip II and the Spanish crown. This is not to

say, however, that modern historians allow their sympathy for the persecuted to completely drive their analysis of the source materials. Instead, what we find is an increasingly narrow focus on the issues of the Dutch Revolt limited to individuals, specific provinces, or theoretical questions.

As mentioned above, one of the challenges facing scholars of the Netherlands is that each of the seventeen provinces was essentially an autonomous region with its own officials, provincial structures, and individual relationship with the Crown. It is difficult to make sweeping claims about ‘the inhabitants of the Low Countries’ because while every person and province was a member of the greater country or *vaderland*, they would first and primarily have identified as a member of their province. Most scholars, therefore, tend to approach the history of the Dutch Revolt through broad theoretical constructs and issues that would have affected the inhabitants of the provinces whether they wanted them to or not. This dissertation agrees with this scholarly approach and suggests that what made Dutch political theory distinct was its ability to stretch beyond the solemn halls of the States General or the grand rooms of the governor-generals’ home in Brussels. The relationship between the provinces and notions of sovereignty and freedom of religion was reflected in the context of decentralized provincial and social authority and conflicting institutions of faith.

One of the most important scholars to work on the Dutch Revolt, Martin van Gelderen, presented a broad synthesis of the significance and impact of such documents within the larger European context. He writes, “By comparing the political thought of the Dutch Revolt with the political ideas of the Lutheran and Calvinist Reformation, with monarchomachic ideology of French Huguenots, and with the Republican theories of the

Italian Renaissance, an attempt will be made to arrive at some conclusions about its character and origins, and, last but certainly not least, to indicate its significance for the history of European political thought.”¹⁸ The placement of the Dutch Revolt within these relative contexts should not be surprising; what is perhaps more surprising is that Gelderen is one of the few modern historians to articulate such a broad connection. For this dissertation, I drew on my Master’s Thesis, “Constitutionalism and the Right to Resist During the French Wars of Religion: The Political Thought of the Huguenot Monarchomachs, the Catholic League, and the Politiques, 1572-1589” to expand my understanding of the functionality of sovereignty among a Calvinist population in a neighboring country.¹⁹ I argued the following in my thesis: Anchored by three broad groups, the Huguenot monarchomachs, the Catholic League, and the *politiques*, this thesis will demonstrate that the contest over constitutionalism was a result of the need to redefine the identity of France during the turbulence of the sixteenth century in order to end the civil wars, protect lives and property, and establish either rule of law or rule of personality.²⁰

Similarly, Gelderen argues that while many members of the Reformed Religion in the Low Countries followed the lead of the Huguenots on issues including predestination, discipline, and church government, they were still searching for their own identity and exploring problems of political obedience and resistance. Other scholars such as Jonathan I.

¹⁸ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 260.

¹⁹ Breanna S. Griego, “Constitutionalism and the Right to Resist During the French Wars of Religion: The Political Thought of the Huguenot Monarchomachs, the Catholic League, and the Politiques, 1572-1589.” Master’s Thesis, University of New Mexico, 2007.

²⁰ Griego, “Constitutionalism and the Right to Resist During the French Wars of Religion,” i.

Israel have followed similar paths of analysis. In his massive tome, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, Israel argues that the Protestants living in the Low Countries held a conservative religious position and practiced their faith in secret because they saw the harsh persecutions their brethren endured in France.²¹ He also claims that Protestantism was viewed by the Habsburg regime as the single challenge to royal authority and administrative centralization, and therefore justified their anti-heresy campaign and military presence.

While Israel is correct in noting that Philip and his advisors viewed the presence and practice of the Reformed Religion as an affront to Spanish authority, Protestantism was not the sole cause of Spanish difficulties in the Low Countries. This dissertation shows that while the rise of the Reformed Religion was an important element in shaping the Dutch identity and influencing resistance-right theory during the sixteenth century, religion alone cannot and should not be viewed as the only factor that drove the revolt. It was a complex amalgamation of the resistance of petulant nobility, the infringement on provincial rights and traditions, and the on-going disturbances caused by Philip's reinforcement of Charles V's anti-heresy placards. The overarching objectives, I argue, were consistent throughout the revolt: establish public peace, define the nature of sovereign authority in the Low Countries, and protect lives, property, and privileges.²²

²¹ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 144n.

²² See Chapter Two, "For the Peace and Prosperity of the Public: Sovereignty, Tyranny, and Constitutionalism in the Political Theory of the Dutch Revolt," for further discussion of these ideas.

Many contemporary historical theories of early modern European politics and violence are built upon the work of other historians, such as Robert M. Kingdon and Natalie Zemon Davis. Kingdon held that the Calvinist churches in the Low Countries were the foundation for resistance and for shaping political leadership as long as the nobility were involved: “Only they possessed the experience, the training, and the resources to act effectively in the political arena; only they commanded enough respect from people generally, to serve as real leaders.”²³ This suggests that without strong figureheads like William of Orange and Philip of Marnix, the revolt would not have endured for as long as it did. By analyzing the social importance and power possessed by Orange and Marnix, this dissertation shows that the Dutch Revolt was at least partially dependent upon the power of personalities and strong Calvinist leadership to sustain its campaign against Spain. Similar to the argument that Henry Kamen makes about the Duke of Alva,²⁴ I argue that the creation of

²³ Robert M. Kingdon, “The Political Resistance of the Calvinists in France and the Low Countries,” *Church History*, Vol. 27, No. 3 (Sep., 1958), 222.

²⁴ Henry Kamen argues that Ferdinand Álvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alva (1507-82), was villainized through the popular literature, oral traditions, and Protestant publications that emerged during his tenure in the Low Countries. Kamen has a more sympathetic perspective toward the Spanish presence in the provinces during the sixteenth century and has written a few revisionary articles intended to restore the reputation of the Spaniards. These include “The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision” which attempted to lift the harsh shadow cast by the Inquisition over medieval and early modern Spain in the historiography, and his monograph *Philip of Spain*, in which he attempted to undo Philip’s historical reputation as the Protestant incarnation of evil and reminded the audience of Philip’s devotion to Catholic virtue and Spanish conceptions of sovereignty. Although I rely on Kamen’s works in several areas of this dissertation, I found it difficult to adopt Kamen’s sympathetic views of the Duke of Alva and Philip II into my analyses of the Council of Troubles, the violent Spanish persecution of Protestants, and the overwhelming resistance to the Spanish presence in the Netherlands.

popular mythology and development of the public perception of William of Orange drove both the political and religious movements during the revolt.

Moreover, the importance of studies of violence in the Low Countries has not been given sufficient attention. Natalie Zemon Davis's influential article, "Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," characterizes the intentions behind acts of violence during the French Wars of Religion. She argues, "The violence of the religious riot is distinguished, at least in principle, from the action of political authorities, who can legally silence, humiliate, demolish, punish, torture, and execute; and also from the action of the soldiers who at certain times and places can legally kill and destroy... Nevertheless, there are occasions when we can separate out for examination a violent crowd set on religious goals."²⁵ Her argument is especially relevant to my discussion of the *Beeldenstorm*—the iconoclastic riots—that swept throughout the Low Countries in 1566.

My study of the *Beeldenstorm* through primary sources leads me to argue that those practitioners of the Reformed Religion, those who held and attended sermons, and those who abstained from attending Catholic services were identified by the Spanish government as law-breakers and were punished as such. Zemon Davis claims that religious riots were problematic because they lacked legal sanction in France. In the Low Countries' iconoclastic riots, however, the destruction of Catholic churches, images, stained glass, statues, and other idolatrous items also lacked legal precedent. There are two critical differences in the

I attempt to reconcile these conflicts in Chapter Five, "Violence in the Low Countries: Rites of Power During the Revolt."

²⁵ Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past & Present*, No. 59 (May, 1973): 59.

Netherlands' religious riots: first, Protestant leaders and intellectuals were very quick to distance themselves from the acts of their rebellious brethren because they quickly recognized the harm that Protestant violence against the Catholic Church would bring to their cause; and second, the Spanish quickly condemned *all* Protestants for the iconoclasm and linked their religious rebellion to high treason against the Catholic Spanish crown. In her rejoinder on the initial article, Zemon Davis clarifies her argument:

Protestant violence was demonstrative; but it also did away with some of the poisonous liars and profane objects dividing man from man and man from God. Catholic violence was often murderous, but it was also intended to 'teach' – the powerlessness of Scripture alone, the vulnerability of those not protected by the mass or the parish, the vengeance that would be wrought on the cruel destroyers of saints and priests.²⁶

This dissertation argues that the use of Spanish inquisitorial methods of persecution in the Low Countries was a form of judicial murder whereby the Catholics used legal interpretations of *lèse-majesté*, the outbreak of unpredictable Protestant violence against the Catholic Church, and threats against local domestic and economic stability to attempt to undermine and eradicate the Reformed Religion in the provinces. Paradoxically, the majority of Protestants in the provinces condemned the actions of the iconoclastic riots because they recognized the threat that it posed to the establishment of public peace and ended any hope of convincing Philip II to establish religious tolerance in the Low Countries.

Recent studies of Dutch political pamphlets have been limited. The most recent targeted study of the pamphlet literature produced during the revolt is P.A.M. Geurts's *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584*. The first part of Geurts's analysis

²⁶ Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in the Sixteenth-Century France: A Rejoinder." *Past & Present*, No. 67 (May, 1975), 135.

describes the revolt as a *papier oorlog* or “Paper War” and he claims that from the outset of the resistance William of Orange recognized the power of the printing press and of pamphlets to gather support against Spain. By analyzing the consistent use of pamphlets, Geurts proposes that without the pamphlets there would not have been a successful revolt.²⁷ Yet Geurts makes assumptions about the importance and levels of literacy in the Low Countries that have not yet been specifically addressed in the historiography. Similarly, Craig T. Harline’s *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* provides important quantitative information about the numbers of pamphlets published, how many remain, and what those numbers reveal about population and theoretical interests in the sixteenth-century Low Countries.²⁸ He writes, “The very phenomenon of pamphleteering depended on the related conditions of technological capability, the establishment of a book trade to wield that capability efficiently, a general demand for reading materials, and the nature of the Republic’s political structure.”²⁹ Without a doubt, pamphlets were important components for consolidating theory, quickly circulating new ideas, spreading news of sieges and battles and movements, and for rallying support behind different causes. But how many of the inhabitants of the Netherlands were actually able to read these documents? Were they

²⁷ “The form of government is a favorite theme of the pamphlets. As for monarchy the monarchomachic tendencies are very striking. Rule by nobility (aristocracy) has little sympathy. Democracy is the most favored in the pamphlets... The authority of the States General and provinces is examined together with the defects inherent to these bodies.” P.A.M. Geurts, *De Nederlandse Opstand in de pamfletten, 1566-1584* (Utrecht: H&S, 1956), 299-300.

²⁸ Craig T. Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, 1987), 3.

²⁹ Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic*, 227.

collected as memorabilia and used as household decorations? Were the pamphlets displayed around the home and read in public, or were they hidden and read privately?

Scholars of the Dutch Revolt have not been able to provide an answer to these questions. Indeed, the questions related to the development of literacy in the sixteenth-century Low Countries have received minimal attention in the past three decades. In her monograph, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, Elizabeth L. Eisenstein makes the often argued claim that the printing press changed early modern Europe: this statement is taken as fact and has been reiterated so often as to be common knowledge in the historiography. Yet even in this publication the attention paid to literate communities is minimal. Eisenstein argues that the spread of literacy from the clergy through the merchant classes may have left the nobility of early modern Europe with a distaste for reading. The division between Latin and vernacular reading is an important point in her brief analysis: “Learning *to read* is different, moreover, from learning *by reading*. Reliance on apprenticeship training, oral communication, and special mnemonic devices had gone together with mastering letters in the age of scribes. After the advent of printing, however, the transmission of written information became much more efficient... Gifted students no longer needed to sit at the feet of a given master in order to learn a language or academic skill.”³⁰ Similarly, this dissertation argues that the growth of literacy in the sixteenth-century Low Countries was directly related to the rise of the Reformed Religion: just as Protestant dogma encouraged the faithful to read and interpret the text on their own, so the development of reading supported the fostering of independence through reading. There remains much

³⁰ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 35.

work to be done, however, on the spread of literacy and the popular reception of the thousands of pamphlets published between 1550 and 1598.

A prolific scholar of sixteenth-century books, Andrew Pettegree, has written on the importance of the book and its relationship with popular culture in the early modern era.³¹ During a research trip to Scotland in 2008, I traveled to St. Andrews to visit with Professor Pettegree and discuss the direction of my doctoral work. At the time, he was creating an index of every single pamphlet, broadsheet, book, and any other print work published in the French language during the sixteenth century. It is clear that scholars recognize the importance of printed literature but what remains unclear is how it was received within its historical context. In his 2005 book, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, Pettegree says that part of the success of the Protestant movement was its ability to harness the power of the crowds: “To modern sensibilities the crowd is an instrument of irrationality and anarchy: the antithesis of the cool rationality of decision making which we envisage in idealized form as an essential attribute of our personal sovereignty.”³² This dissertation shows that power for the Reformed Religion was indeed located in popular support, but even more important to the rebels’ cause was the gathering of popular support for their definitions

³¹ His list of publications are vast: *The Invention of News: How the World Came to Know About Itself* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014); *The Book in the Renaissance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011); and *The Palaeotypography of the French Renaissance: Selected Papers on Sixteenth-Century Typefaces* (Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers, 2008). This is an extremely abbreviated list of Professor Pettegree’s scholarly publications.

³² Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 214.

of sovereignty and resistance-right theory. The power of literacy and the dissemination of pamphlet literature influenced both of these goals in the Low Countries.

In her 2008 article, Laura Cruz identifies the pervading issues involving the scholarship of the early modern Netherlands: first that the reputation of the Dutch as practical people has led historians to downplay their ability to ponder political meanings of their circumstances; second that Dutch political discourse has been plagued by the question of whether there was a uniquely Dutch strand of political thought.³³ Cruz attempts to debunk these myths by using Wyger Velema's argument that one thread of political discourse was "applied, rejected, adapted, and extended."³⁴ The development of arguments regarding sixteenth-century Netherlandish ideas of sovereignty is perhaps the most divisive in modern historiography. Martin van Gelderen, for example argues that there was greater coherence among political theories than has been recognized. E.H. Kossman and A.F. Mellink, however, suggest a more divergent and diffuse nature of Dutch political discourse. They offer strong criticism of the motivation and means by which the pamphleteers and leaders attempted to achieve their political goals:

Looking back on the history of Dutch political thought during the Revolt what strikes one is its unadventurous character and its lack of precision. The Netherlanders apparently felt compelled to justify all their acts and decisions as based on law. Of course they strained law and precedent to the point of misrepresenting them perhaps

³³ Laura Cruz, "Turning Dutch: Historical Myths in Early Modern Netherlands." *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring, 2008): 4.

³⁴ Wyger Velema, "'That a Republic is Better Than a Monarchy': Anti-Monarchism in Early Modern Dutch Political Thought," in *Republicanism: A Shared European Heritage*, Volume 1: *Republicanism and Constitutionalism in Early Modern Europe*, edited by Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 9-25.

willfully; and of course they failed to put forward a consistent theory of constitutional government.³⁵

This is a perspective not often supported in the secondary sources. Even the eminent scholar Quentin Skinner indirectly argues against Kossman and Mellink's statements. Skinner presents the constitutionalism developed under Philip of Marnix and William of Orange as consistently argued and consistently invoked during major crises during the revolt: "Finally, we may note that once the constitutional theory became accepted by the orthodox Calvinists in the 1560s, it soon began to be used by the Calvinists and their allies in the Netherlands to legitimize the movement of resistance which began in earnest after the arrival of the Duke of Alva in August 1567... The same [constitutional] theory was again invoked at the next major crisis in the revolt of the Netherlands, which developed after the appointment of Alexander Farnese as governor in 1578."³⁶ My dissertation follows the lead of Quentin Skinner in identifying a unified theory of constitutionalism in the Low Countries during the period of rebellion, and demonstrates that argument by analyzing the content of political pamphlets alongside the circulation of compelling engravings and images. By working with a variety of interpretations of the Dutch Revolt in theory, print, image, and perception, this dissertation explores sixteenth-century perspectives that propagate the traditional "Black Legend" narrative by portraying the inhabitants of the Low Countries as 'good' and Philip II and his supporters as 'evil'.

³⁵ *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, edited by E.H. Kossman and A.F. Mellink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 50.

³⁶ Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*, Volume 2: *The Age of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 214-15.

Chapter Outline

I structure my argument around the vast number of pamphlets, images, and other printed forms of communication available for a study of the Dutch Revolt. My research is based on over 150 pamphlets, edicts, proclamations, ordinances, placards, poems, songs, and letters published between 1550 and 1598. I also worked with over 130 images and engravings circulated during the same period. My work is centered around the fundamental issues of the revolt in the Low Countries: resistance to the Habsburgs, passionate demands for freedom and self-governance, and the influence of the Reformed Religion on the opinion-forming, propagandistic content of pamphlet literature, and the ferocious persecutions of the Spanish in the provinces. Chapter One focuses on Charles V's use of strategy and communication in the Low Countries from the time that he returned to the provinces until his death in 1558. This chapter explores the impact of printing on the growth of Calvinism under the rule of the Holy Roman Emperor, and discusses how his reaction to the presence of the Reformed Religion set the standards for persecution and condemnation that continued to be enforced under Margaret of Parma, the Duke of Alva, and Charles V's son, Philip II. An analysis of Charles's personal correspondence and critical publications near the end of his life show the shift in his perspective and approaches toward the rebellious inhabitants of the Low Countries. This chapter also provides a revision of the importance of Charles V's portrayal in images and explores how visual media were used by the Spanish throne to establish an ideal image of the sovereign in the provinces.

Chapter Two analyzes the vast collections of political and religious pamphlet literature produced between 1555 and 1584. These documents reveal the importance of the debates surrounding sovereignty, tyranny, and constitutional theory during the period of

rebellion. I argue that the overarching objectives of the leading figures and intellectuals were consistently demonstrated and demanded in the primary sources: to establish civil peace, define the nature of sovereign power in the seventeen provinces, and to protect the Netherlanders' bodies, belongings, and privileges. This chapter focuses on the possession and expression of power in the public and private domains, and moves through the primary sources to identify a popular definition of obedience. Dutch justification of the right to resist leaned upon the theoretical frameworks established in neighboring France during the Wars of Religion, yet the mode of interpretation of resistance-right theory in the Low Countries found its own theory of application.

Building on the groundwork laid in previous chapters, Chapter Three addresses the religious conflict and its role in the Dutch Revolt. I trace the origins of the phrase *vrijheid van geweten* (freedom of conscience) and make connections between the importance of private expressions of faith and the responsibility to uphold public peace and perform civic duty. The *Beeldenstorm* of 1566 and the St. Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 are used to illuminate the plight of Calvinists and other Protestants across Europe during the sixteenth century. The most significant contribution of Chapter Three is my analysis of patriotism and the real conflict faced by the inhabitants of the Low Countries: many subjects had to choose between supporting the nobility, supporting the Spanish crown, supporting their religion, or prioritizing public peace and survival of personal values.

Chapter Four provides an intimate exploration of the works and worldview of one of the leading representatives of the rebellion, Philip of Marnix, Lord of Saint Aldegonde. His efforts to consolidate Dutch political theory and his personal involvement with many of the leading Spanish representatives made him an invaluable resource and confidant of William of

Orange. Following the arguments regarding personal and public conflict over issues of religion, politics, and peace, Marnix's works are a natural transition. I argue that he is not the radical figure that he is often portrayed as by contemporary scholars. His tactics and communicative strategies fall in line with the French *politiques*: moderation was the name of the game. Interestingly, even when Marnix supports dissent and rebellion, he—like many other intellectuals—consciously frames that rebellion under a legal framework. This chapter spends time unpacking his notions of fealty and obedience in both the provincial and international atmospheres, and ends with Marnix's important debate with Emmerij de Lyere about the vicissitudes amongst Protestants in the Low Countries.

Chapter Five explores the use of violence by both Catholics and Protestants as a demonstration of public power during the revolt. The on-going enforcement of the anti-heresy placards first issued by Charles V and implemented by Margaret of Parma are explored, as is the divergent reputation gained by Philip II during his reign. The secondary sources tend to cast Philip as a villain bent on creating a legacy that would match that of his father. This chapter argues that he was continuing the policies of Catholic primacy and Protestant persecution started by his father, but Philip's actions were compounded by his failure to be present in the Low Countries and his appointment of particularly brutal enforcers like the Duke of Alva. I argue that the violence of the Dutch Revolt shifted from systematic uses of judicial cruelty to disorganized demonstrations of frustration and resistance.

By way of a conclusion, Chapter Six analyzes the mythology surrounding William of Orange during his life and after his death. Like Marnix, Orange is one of, if not the most important figure that emerged during the period of rebellion. I start by developing his

personal history and experiences with Lutheranism in Germany followed by his experiences as a favorite in the court of Charles V. After exploring his personal correspondence and the reception of the texts that he authored, this chapter moves on to examine the conscious creation of Orange's personal mythology. I argue that the popular image of William of Orange was established through his actions and crafted by his committee of advisors to foster an image of political unity, religious toleration, and loyalty to the *vaderland* within the Low Countries.

My analysis describes the complex relationship between theoretical notions and practical applications during the Dutch Revolt and finds that for the Low Countries, political allegiance and religious affiliation were powerful motivators. In determining the significance of the Dutch Revolt in the years between 1550 and 1598, the leaders and intellectual figureheads attempted to reinforce their goals: autonomy among social and institutional organizations, decentralization of political power through newly defined notions of sovereignty and obedience, and the importance of protecting their customary privileges and historical customs while maintaining public peace.

Chapter One

Charles V: Strategy and Communication in the Low Countries, 1550-1558

In the early months of 1549, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V attempted to persuade the various provincial assemblies of the Low Countries that his son, Philip II, would be a suitable successor. Charles stated that each province would maintain current privileges and customs so long as they recognized the rules of inheritance for sovereigns. As war weariness and gout took their toll on the Emperor's body he prepared for the next phase of his life: abdication of rulership and transfer of power to his son and successor, Philip. Neither Charles V nor his subjects in the Low Countries anticipated the violence, political chaos, and loss of bonds of loyalty and patriotism that would take place after the transfer of authority.

Charles's extension of power reached far around the continent and across the Atlantic, yet the time during which he ruled over the Low Countries represented the height of his empire consolidation, the attempted centralization of legal and administrative policies in the provinces, and the growing harshness of his edicts against Protestants. Once Philip II took over as sovereign in 1555, the Low Countries found themselves in ongoing states of crisis. Historians often look to the reign of Charles V for precursors to the violent discord that took place after his abdication. Some suggest that perhaps the maintenance of ducal authority and political order that the Netherlands experienced under the Emperor was unsustainable and therefore the violent and irretrievable collapse under Philip II was inevitable.³⁷ However, the vast correspondence and communication between Charles, his administrators, and the leaders of the Low Countries tell a different story. Despite the introduction of Inquisition-style

³⁷ Stewart MacDonald, *Charles V: Ruler, Dynast and Defender of the Faith, 1500-1558* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1992), 17.

persecution against Protestant ‘heretics’, Charles V set a standard for ruling the provinces that the Low Countries’ leaders and town oligarchies expected would continue. The secular authorities wanted self-governance, continuation of decentralized political power grounded in the States General, and recognition of local customs and provincial privileges under Philip II. Ultimately Philip’s inability to manage the divergent provinces, and his inflexible approach to ruling made him an unsuitable sovereign and weakened his position as ruler over the Low Countries. Yet conflict also stemmed from Philip’s subjects’ increasing resistance to changed legal and political procedures: under the rule of Charles V and his regents, the nobles and States had enjoyed relative autonomy with regard to political procedure and policy. Although dissatisfaction with the Habsburg regime started before he became sovereign, Philip’s harsh interpretation and enforcement of his father’s policies resulted in the Low Countries’ romantic reimagining of their historical experiences under the reign of Charles V.

The Growth of Heresy and the Impact of Printing

In the Low Countries, Charles V envisioned himself as the scourge of heresy and was determined to eradicate Protestantism from the seventeen provinces. As early as 1520 the Crown issued edicts that forbade the publication, sale, and dissemination of unsanctioned religious works. By 1529, those who violated the anti-heretical placards could be punished by death. In his correspondence with advisors and within the edicts that he issued, Charles V reiterated that his primary goal was to establish public peace above all else. As the Holy Roman Emperor and protector of the Catholic Church, he was bound to extirpate heresy and enforce Catholicism as the one true religion within his lands. Even if it were true that the Protestants could not be brought under control by peaceful means, Charles considered “whether one can reduce them to obedience by force,” and “whether it were not better for the

good of Christendom to leave them as they are until it pleases God to dispose otherwise.”³⁸

The rise of the Reformed Religion in his beloved Low Countries could not be tolerated.

Charles had established himself as a bulwark against heresy in 1543 when he marched his armies down the Rhine to wage war against the heretical sects in Germany. In a series of carefully planned political maneuvers, he signed a secret anti-Lutheran pact with Francis I; gained money and arms from Pope Paul III; and succeeded in detaching the Protestant Duke Maurice of Saxony from his co-religionists by offering him lands and wealth.³⁹ The Protestant leader Philip of Hesse was arrested and Charles called a Diet to meet in Augsburg in 1548 at which he outlawed the Lutheran Church throughout his empire.⁴⁰ Although Lutheranism seemed on the brink of suppression, the leaders of the religious movement rallied and began to work on the issue of active resistance against Charles V.

Aggravated by his inability to completely eliminate Lutheranism in Germany, Charles V was determined to destroy heretical sects within the Netherlandish provinces. While Charles was battling the Lutherans in Germany in the 1540s, Calvinism was becoming more popular in the Low Countries. The members of the Reformed Religion in the provinces were attracted to the new sect of Christianity that was bolstered by an influx of refugees from Germany and France. Interestingly, a critical theme that shaped both the rule of Charles V

³⁸ James D. Tracy, *Emperor Charles V, Impresario of War: Campaign Strategy, International Finance, and Domestic Politics* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 202.

³⁹ Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Volume 2: The Age of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 189.

⁴⁰ Charles’s dramatic victory over the armies of the Schmalkaldic League set an important precedent for force to eradicate heresy. Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought, Volume 2*, 190.

and the notions of Calvinism was the idea of obedience. Calvin emphatically stated, “Let no man deceive himself here: For since the magistrate cannot be resisted without God being resisted at the same time, even though it seems an unarmed magistrate can be despised with impunity, still God is armed to avenge mightily this contempt towards Himself.”⁴¹ Likewise, Charles expected his empire, including the provinces, townsmen and countrymen, noblemen and urban elites, local populations and foreign soldiers to obey his commands obsequiously.⁴² When the emperor persecuted the followers of the Reformed Religion and identified them as heretics, those Protestants found themselves in a difficult situation.⁴³ Although the Protestants in the Low Countries were still a few decades away from establishing their resistance-right theory, the early struggles with Charles V established a strong connection between Low Countries’ autonomy and faith that influenced many of the publications during the Dutch Revolt.

The Low Countries was always an important concern for Charles V. He was born in Ghent in 1500 and followed the devout and chivalric codes that he learned from his teachers Adrian of Utrecht—later Pope Adrian VI—and the Burgundian noble, Chièvres de Croy. While numerous wars and religious struggles kept him away from the provinces, he relied on his aunt, Margaret of Austria, and his sister, Mary of Hungary to rule as Governess-Generals

⁴¹ Ibid., 194.

⁴² Steven Gunn, “War and Identity in the Habsburg Netherlands, 1477-1559,” in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650*, edited by Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2010), 151.

⁴³ For an in-depth analysis of the role of resistance-right theory and constitutionalism, see Chapter Two, “For the Peace and Prosperity of the Public: Sovereignty, Tyranny, and Constitutionalism in the Political Theory of the Dutch Revolt.”

in his stead. Maintenance of Catholicism in his homeland remained one of Charles's principal concerns during his reign and also following his abdication in 1555. He wrote about the Protestant 'problem' regularly and devoted several lengthy edicts to advising his son and successor, Philip II, on how best to handle the heretics in the Low Countries.

The introduction of inquisition-style interrogations and persecutions meant that Protestants were often forced to find new ways to communicate. Of highest importance was the degree of literacy among those members of the Reformed Religion. The increased use of pamphlet literature and the dissemination of printing presses in the sixteenth century created a literacy movement that had not yet been seen. Protestantism was the first movement to exploit its potential as a mass medium, and was also the first movement of any kind, religious or secular, to use the new presses for overt propaganda and agitation against an established institution.⁴⁴ In the Low Countries, reformers held sermons in public fields and open areas—commonly called 'hedge preaching'—and maintained the importance of oral dissemination of their religious beliefs. The printing press allowed those ideas to circulate beyond the hedges and into homes and other enclaves where the Protestants lived.

While many of the early sources were printed in Latin, polyglot versions of the Bible in vernacular languages began to appear in bookstores and in the carts of street vendors. Typically those who could read and write in Latin were limited to the clergy and to the educated echelons. Literacy was therefore another way by which class and social status were determined in the early modern era until challenged by vernacular literacy. The vernacular translation movement was aimed at readers who were unlearned in Latin, and it was often

⁴⁴ Elizabeth L. Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 148.

designed to appeal to apprentices as well as landed gentry, cavaliers and courtiers, and shopkeepers and clerks.⁴⁵ Within the Netherlands the variety of dialects between the northern provinces, the French-speaking Walloon areas, and the southern Flemish population was so diverse as to demand a greater range of literacy from the entire population. When the first Dutch-language Bible was printed in Antwerp in 1526 by Jacob van Liesveldt, the people in the Low Countries could read the Bible in their own vernacular language.

Charles V recognized the danger posed by the printing presses and popular literacy. In an ordinance solely focused on the extirpation of heretical sects, he addressed the conflicts between commercial interests, Catholicism, and the rise of Protestantism in the Low Countries. He identified heretics as anyone practicing a religion other than Catholicism and forbade heretics from communicating with each other, preaching, or praying in private or in public. He wrote:

No one in any state or condition will print, copy, possess, receive, carry, keep, harbor, retain, sell, buy, give, distribute, or leave outside churches, streets, or other places, any books, scripts, creations, or writings by Martin Luther, Johannes Oecolampadius,

⁴⁵ Eisenstein, *The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe*, 32-33.

Ulrich Zwingli, Martin Bucer, John Calvin or any other heretics or actors in their sects, or other erroneous heretics as condemned by the Catholic Church.⁴⁶

Published in 1556, that document shows that the presence of heretical religions was still important to Charles V, despite having abdicated his position as Holy Roman Emperor in 1555. The degree to which the document forbids every possible means of dissemination of printed ideas was remarkable and indicated that the Protestants were leaning heavily on the printing press. He goes on to threaten heretics and their collaborators with “identification, punishment, and correction” from the Inquisition. Those who know or discover a heretic in the Low Countries “must without delay denounce, reveal, declare, and notify the Inquisitors or curates.”⁴⁷ The placards that Charles issued in 1520 continued to be enforced thirty years

⁴⁶ “*Que nul de quelque estat & condition qu’il soit, ne pourra imprimer, copier, soubz, soy sciammōnt, receuoir, porter, garder, receler, ne retenir, vendre, acheter, donner, distribuer, semer, ou laisser, es eglises, rues, ou aultres lieux cheoir aucuns livres ou escriptz faitz ou composez par Martin Luthere, Ioānes Ecolampadium, Vlricus Zwinglius, Martinus Bucerus, Ioannes Calvinus, ou aultres heresiarches, & acteurs de leur secte ou d’aultres sects hereticques et complices, deuyans de nostre sainte foi catholicque.*” *L’ordonnance et edict de l’empereur Charles le Quint, renouvelle au mois d’Avril. MCCCC. Cinquante, pour l’extirpation des sects et erreurs pullulez contre nostre sainte foy catholique, et les institutions et d’ordonnances de notre mere sainte eglise... Avec le Cathologie des livres reprouvez et prohibez, et aussi des bons livres qui se devouront lire et enseigner aux ieunes escoliers, par l’avis de L’universite de Louvain.* Imprime audict Louvain par Srevais Saenus imprimeur Iure, Par commandement desa Maieste (Museum Plantin-Moretus, Number B2169), A2-A3.

⁴⁷ “*Que tous ceulx qui sauront ou cognoistront aucuns infectez d’heresy, seront tenuz incontinent & sans delay, les denoncer, reueler, declairer, & notifier ausdictz inquisiteurs, ou officiers des euesques, & en leur absence aux Curez des eglises parochialles, pour en advertir leurs superieurs.*” *L’ordonnance et edict de l’empereur Charles le Quint, renouvelle au mois d’Avril. MCCCC. Cinquante, pour l’extirpation des sects et*

later, and the extension of punishment to family, friends, neighbors, and anyone suspected of colluding with a heretic was meant to tighten the noose around the neck of the Protestants.

As Charles V worked to create an unsafe social environment for the members of the Reformed Religion, he too used the printing presses to assert his determination to preserve the Catholic Church in his hereditary lands. Heresy was treated as a form of *lèse-majesté* against God and the sovereign: a crime against Charles's edicts was therefore tantamount to high treason and subject to the most brutal punishments. The *stadsvrede*—harmony within the walls of the town—was highly regarded by the emperor, and the pamphlets that he circulated made a clear connection between the end of civic peace and the toleration of heretical sects. Aware of the commercial benefits of the printing houses, Charles laid strict rules upon their owners and operators: “They will not print nor allow to be printed certain books, refrains, ballads, songs, epistles, prognostications, or almanacs old or new.”⁴⁸ Bookstores and vendors were forbidden from holding, maintaining, selling or delivering heretical works in public or private venues under threat of the Inquisition. Rather than standing as the stronghold of new ideas and communication, printing presses and booksellers found themselves treading carefully to avoid being identified as enemies of the empire.

Charles recognized the persuasive power of the printed word in the circulated pamphlets and little books that circulated in the Low Countries. The authors who were outlawed by the Catholic Index and Catalogue posed a threat to the religious and political

erreurs pullulez contre nostre sainte foy catholique, et les institutions et d'ordonnances de nostre mere sainte eglise... (MPM B2169), B1.

⁴⁸ “*Quilz ne imprimeront, ne feront imprimer aulcuns livres, refrains, balades, chansons, epistles, prognostications, almanacqz, ne aultres choses quelzconques, soient anciens ou nouueaulx...*” Ibid., B6.

stability of the provinces. The Catalogue wrote, “We prohibit those notorious heretics and their books and also those written in false sincerity, purity, or pretext. They easily attract fraud and abuse by the simple people by encouraging natural vice... for they will be inclined to live contrary to freedom and will as heretics.”⁴⁹ In the Netherlands, books were sold in small formats because they were more easily transported and concealed, not because the purchasers were men of low income. Pamphlets were often bound and sold together in bundles, and therefore occupied a dual role as both individual documents and part of a collective body of material.⁵⁰ Their impact was not only in what they said but also in the repeated reinforcement of that message to the audience through the bundle of sources. The historian Andrew Pettegree argued, “it is precisely the sheer quantity of such material suddenly swamping the market that seems to have been most worthy of remark, not what any of them individually were saying.”⁵¹ Why did Charles and his inquisitors go to such an extent to control and monitor the writing, printing, and circulation of what they considered ‘heretical’ texts?

The connection between Charles’s rule and Catholicism was indistinguishable in his eyes. There was an intensely personal connection between his reign and his religion, and Charles expected his subjects to respect and adhere to those bounds. The fact that the Holy

⁴⁹ “*Nous interdisons ces hereticques notoires et leurs liures et aussi celles écrites en fausse sincérité, la pureté, ou le prétexte. Ilz attirent facilement la fraude et l’abus par les gens simples en encourageant vice naturelle ... car ils feront enclins à vivre contraire à la liberte et la volonté comme des hereticques.*” Ibid., A3.

⁵⁰ Andrew Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 161-62.

⁵¹ Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 163.

Roman Emperor continued to make time to address heretics and heresy in his lands after his abdication indicated that religious unity was of the highest concern for him. Charles recognized that the power of the printing press was not just in the circulation of seditious literature. The Protestant Reformation was saturating the provinces and he did not trust the ‘simple people’ to be able to distinguish religious truths from Protestant propaganda. If his subjects chose to abandon Catholicism then they were inherently abandoning obedience to his reign. He wrote, “We want to make our rule obedient to the commandments of the Imperial Majesty: for the same good devotion we have shown divine service, and the peace, union and public tranquility of the country, is that which the sects and heretics mean to ruin.”⁵² The same argument that Charles V used to demand obedience to his rule was also used by the Protestants to justify their right to resist the reign of Philip II. The importance of public peace and civic order was of the highest concern.

Charles V’s tactics were not effective in eliminating the voice of Protestantism in the Low Countries. He was successful, however, in slowing the progress of the Reformation in the provinces. His campaign targeted the intellectual elite, especially clergy, booksellers, schoolmasters, and officials, and made it impossible for such men to openly adhere to the

⁵² “*Nous voullons en nostre endroit render deue obeyſſance aux commandemens de sa dicte Maieste Imperielle: Meismes pour la bonne deuotion qu’auons au seruice divin, & au bien reſpoz, vnion, & tranquillite publique dieceulx pays: laquelle les sectaires & hereticques tachent par tous moyens ruyner.*” *Confirmation du Roy nostre sire, de l’ordonnance et edict de l’empereur Charles le Quint: pour le extirpation des sects, et conservation de nostre sainte foy catholique, en ses pays patrimoniaulx.* Imprime a Louvain, par seruaes Saffen, imprimeur iure. L’an de grace 1556, au mois de Septembre. Avecq grace et privilege du Roy (Museum Plantin-Moretus, Number B2169), A2.

Reformation without sacrificing their posts, possessions, and lives.⁵³ In a 1556 document entitled *Confirmation du Roy nostre sire, de l'ordonnance et edict de l'empereur Charles le Quint: pour le extirpation des sects, et conservation de nostre sainte foy catholique*, the emperor wrote that those “who abuse the faith, the sacraments, or constitutions of the church, either intentionally or through simplicity, ignorance, infirmity, or human frailty” would be punished at the determination of the Inquisition.⁵⁴ Those types of threats succeeded in creating a culture of fear where it was easier to accuse a neighbor or client of heresy than to risk personally being accused of heresy.

The procedure for determining if someone had violated the laws and beliefs of the Catholic Church were invasive and disruptive: apprehend and detain the suspect, isolate, interview and investigate through local religious and social institutions, level charges and present errors of belief and behavior, file a formal public accusation of heresy against the subject, sentence to prison unless they abjure association, seize and confiscate goods and property.⁵⁵ The accused were regularly referred to as ‘the infected’. Charles’s publications compared the spread of Protestantism to the spread of the plague: infection would spread quickly unless it was contained. And while the process of the inquisition appeared on the surface to follow legal channels and operations, many of his sources offer the threat of

⁵³ Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 83.

⁵⁴ “*Que ceulx qui auront este attaintz & convaincz d’aulcun erreur, heresy, ou abuz de la foy, ou des sacramens, & constitutions de l’eglise, par simple ignorance, infirmite, & fragilite humaine...*” *Confirmation du Roy nostre sire, de l’ordonnance et edict de l’empereur Charles le Quint* (MPM B2169), B2.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, D1.

‘arbitrary correction’ and undefined degrees of punishment.⁵⁶ Those who proclaimed support for the Reformed Religion either in public or private risked facing the full brunt of the law and the Church.

Between the 1520s and 1550s, Charles’s strict anti-heresy laws were rigorously enforced. When Charles’s son, Philip, became sovereign of the Low Countries, the placards and edicts against Protestants became a focal point for religious and political discontent among the *grandees* and at the local level. In addition to increasing general resistance to persecution, they were also concerned about the economic effects of the heresy laws (much trade relied on close contact with neighboring heretical states), the possibilities for civil unrest, and the conflict with local privileges that full compliance with the placards entailed.⁵⁷ The authority of inquisitorial persecutors⁵⁸ also threatened local judicial power and the threat to customary privileges and practices became increasingly noticeable.

⁵⁶ Monica Stensland notes that the danger of *lèse-majesté* was that it threatened the so-called *ius de non evocando*, a privilege enjoyed by most towns, which meant that they could try their own citizens in all cases except treason. Only then would they have to cede to central jurisdiction. This inherently undermined local authorities since charges of heresy were much more prevalent than charges of secular treason against king and country. Monica Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012), 28.

⁵⁷ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 27.

⁵⁸ Charles wrote: “ecclesiastical judges who specialize in crimes of heresy... will work with local authorities and assistants to present information and procedures against the suspects.” (“*Enoultre, les iuges ecclesiasticques, desirans pour aultant que touché le crime ecclesiasticque d’heresy, proceder contre quelcun, pourront requerir ceulx de noz cours souueraines, ou consaulx prouinciaulx de leur donner quelcun de leur college, ou aultre adioinct, tel que l’edict Conseil ordonnera, pour ester present aux informations & procedures quilz voudront faire contre les suspectez.*”) It appeared to be a group effort to identify heretics and bring

The tide of publications released by the printing presses in the Netherlands was moderated but not stopped by Charles V's anti-heresy placard campaign. The connection between the growth of heresy and the impact of print literature was found in the burst of literacy within a population that wanted information. The crisis of Charles V's era was advanced through the fast moving, locally produced, and extremely responsive pamphlet literature: the religious question had become the central political issue.⁵⁹ Charles viewed the Netherlands' Reformed Religion as he viewed the Huguenots in France: heresy was the source of civil disturbances and must be expelled and eradicated. Calvinism was not a strong religious force in the Low Countries until the 1550s. Until that point it had mainly flourished in Tournai and other French-speaking Walloon towns in the southern provinces.⁶⁰ The clear doctrine and strong structure of the Reformed Religion made it a powerful force of contention in the provinces, especially since the faith influenced cultural and educational elements as well. Despite evidence to the contrary, history tends to minimize Charles V's aggressive persecution of Netherlandish heretics. Perhaps that is because his son's attempts to eradicate heresy resulted in an extended period of crisis and violence and resulted in the division of the Burgundian lands in two. Others contrast the firm maintenance of ducal authority and political order in the Low Countries under Charles V with their violence and

evidence of their crimes before a court for judgment, but more often than not the inquisitors relied on their own investigation and perception to bring charges. *Confirmation du Roy nostre sire, de l'ordonnance et edict de l'empereur Charles le Quint*, B3.

⁵⁹ Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion*, 179.

⁶⁰ See Charlie R. Steen, *The Time of Troubles in the Low Countries: The Chronicles and Memoirs of Pasquier de la Barre of Tournai, 1559-1567* (New York, Bern, Frankfurt am Main, Paris: Peter Lang, 1989).

irretrievable collapse under Philip II from the 1560s onward.⁶¹ The rise of the printing press and the spread of Protestant beliefs in the provinces during the reign of Charles V set important precedents for communication, political strategy, and resistance to authority that shaped the remainder of the Dutch Revolt.

Abdication and Reflection

1552 was one of Charles's most difficult years. Financially he found himself mortgaged to the hilt with little income. The campaigns of the Schmalkaldic War placed the ruler in debt and he began to raise taxes in the Low Countries to cover bills and expenditures. The on-going Habsburg-Valois wars also had wide-reaching consequences for Charles's political and religious authority: his position against the Lutherans in Germany had deteriorated and Protestant opposition became so formidable that he had to flee the country in May 1552 and hand over authority to his brother Ferdinand. The main military confrontations between the Habsburgs and the French took place between 1552 and 1554 in the Netherlands and at the fortress of Metz.⁶² Henry II of France quickly formed an agreement with Cammerich, Toul, Metz, and Verdun in exchange for support in his war against Charles V. Despite increasing alarmist warnings from Mary of Hungary regarding the growing threat in the province, Charles remained confident that his alliances with Maurice of Saxony and other loyal German lords would help him defeat the French presence in the Low Countries. Caught in a difficult situation, Charles decided that the best policy was inactivity: he would wait until he was sent aid from his Spanish or Italian possessions. Even after he was informed that

⁶¹ MacDonald, *Charles V: Ruler, Dynast and Defender of the Faith, 1500-1558*, 17.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 73-75.

Maurice of Saxony was determined to capture him, Charles refused to move, paralyzed by a mixture of pride and fear.⁶³

In an unfamiliar state of self-doubt and public humiliation following his nearly being captured at Innsbruck, Charles decided to move against the newly established French stronghold at Metz to “satisfy both honor and reputation.”⁶⁴ Both his refusal to abandon his post and his efforts to balance isolated conflict—France—with larger interests—the maintenance of the Holy Roman Empire—represented Charles’s challenges as a ruler. He was at times thoughtful but hesitant, assertive but wavering, and optimistic but unfocused. Mary of Hungary and his cabinet of advisors were stunned by the choices that Charles made at times: the attack on Metz exemplified that struggle.⁶⁵ His generals were so convinced that the siege of Metz would fail that they tried to persuade him to leave Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alva, in charge of the army so that Charles would be spared the dishonor.⁶⁶ Yet the Holy Roman Emperor persisted with his attack on the battlements at Metz.

Unable to take the fortress and too weakened by illness to lead his troops personally into battle, Charles found himself sliding into depression. He wrote to Philip in June of 1552 about the need to exercise caution in their political dealings against the French while

⁶³ M.J. Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II, and Habsburg Authority, 1551-1559* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 46-47.

⁶⁴ Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire*, 48.

⁶⁵ Capturing Metz was Charles’s objective because it represented an important strike against France and a chance to demonstrate that it was not wise to rebel against the Holy Roman Emperor.

⁶⁶ Rodríguez-Salgado, *The Changing Face of Empire*, 49.

operating in the Netherlands, specifically that they must “prevent and avoid all manner of doubt, difficulty, and inconvenience” that could weaken their position in the provinces.⁶⁷ Charles urged pragmatism and patience, and held that his representatives must at all times consider the importance of dynastic succession in the Low Countries for financial and imperial reasons.⁶⁸ Even as Charles began to recognize that victory over the French was unlikely, he maintained a practical understanding of the value of the Netherlands. In a letter written to Philip on September 23, 1552, Charles considered whether the attempt to take Metz had been worthwhile. In the first week of 1553, he abandoned the campaign against Metz. It was arguably his greatest defeat.

Charles V later wrote that one of the positive outcomes from the siege was a better understanding of the ways in which the French might attempt to move toward Luxemburg and the various ways that Charles’s armies could “block the main roads” and secure Burgundian holdings from high fields and vantage points.⁶⁹ He continued, “Let me know

⁶⁷ “...acordaréys cómo queriendo los días passados, stando en Flandes, prevenir y obuiar, a toda manera de dubda, dificultad e inconueniente que podría offreçerse en la succession de aquellos nuestros Estados Baxos, por manera que en caso de fallecimiento vuestro, no se entediessse hauer de succeder en ellos las otras nuestras hijas, secundo y tertio géntitas vuestras hermanas, sino nuestros nietos o nietas vuestros hijos y dellos descendientes.” “DXXXVII: Carlos V a Felipe II, Villach, 31 de mayo – 9 de junio de 1552,” *Corpus Documental de Carlos V, Vol. III (1548-1554)*, Edición crítica dirigida, prologada y anotada por Manuel Fernández Alvarez (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 1977), 435.

⁶⁸ “DXXXVII: Carlos V a Felipe II, Villach, 31 de mayo – 9 de junio de 1552,” *Corpus Documental de Carlos V, Vol. III (1548-1554)*, 436.

⁶⁹ “Die man nach dem rat hierauf spezialisierter Techniker für zweckmäßig befinden wurde, zu versuchen, die Stadt einzunehmen, in Rücksicht auf ihre Wichtigkeit und darauf, das, wenn sie in den Händen

what it seems like up there, what I should do in this advanced season to damage and test the enemy more effectively – something to undertake with the troops that I command and with the corresponding forces that you have up here, that would be better for the sake of my Netherlands.”⁷⁰ Charles could not concede a complete defeat at that point and his recognition of the importance of the provinces, despite ignoring their growing involvement with the Reformed Religion, showed that he still followed an imperial strategy.

Despite the fact that Charles V only spent a total of twelve years in the Low Countries, he maintained that it was of the highest importance amongst his territorial possessions.⁷¹ The low-lying provinces’ economic sustenance came mainly from the sea: the major port in Antwerp was the central hub of trading activity. The seventeen provinces had

der Französen bleibt, diese sich damit den Weg offenhalten, umgehend in Deutschland bis zum Rhein vorzugehen und mit die Durchzugsstraßen, die dort diesseits desselben liegen, zu versperren. Denn auch wenn man ohne große Truppenmacht bis dorthin gelänge, so halten sie doch mit Hilfe der besagten Stadt nicht nur Thionville belagert, sondern auch die Stadt und das ganze Land Luxemburg, und sie werden ganz Lothringen uneingeschränkt weiter beherrschen und mir durch diesen Landstreifen den sicheren Zugang aus dem Gebiet hier oben in die Grafschaft Burgund abschneiden. Die Operation, die sie jetzt ausführen, ist zwar noch nicht vollendet, aber wenn sie sie einmal vollenden, dann braucht man nichts mehr zu hoffen hinsichtlich einer Rückgewinnung.” “Brief Karls V. an Maria von Ungarn, Ausug,” *Quellen zur Geschichte Karls V*, herausgegeben von Alfred Kohler (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990), 423-427.

⁷⁰ “*Und falls es Ihr Urteil ist, das die besagte Unternehmung jetzt nicht durchgeführt werden soll, lassen Sie mich wissen was dort oben scheint, was ich in dieser fortgeschrittenen Jahreszeit noch unternehmen soll, um die Feinde wirksamer zu schädigen und zu versuchen, irgend etwas mit der Truppe, die ich anführe, und mit den entsprechenden Streitkräften, die Sie dort oben haben, anzufangen, was besser zum Wohle meiner Netherlands wäre.*” “Brief Karls V. an Maria von Ungarn, Ausug,” 424.

⁷¹ MacDonald, *Charles V: Ruler, Dynast and Defender of the Faith, 1500-1558*, 16.

no political unity beyond their allegiance to a common sovereign: Charles.⁷² Because the country had close boundaries with France and Germany, the lands were cosmopolitan and internationally diverse. Whether ruled by an emperor, a sovereign, or a governess-general, the Low Countries were not easily maintained. Charles V, weary from warfare and responsibility and wracked by gout and depression, decided to abdicate his throne in 1555 and named his son Philip as his successor. Philip arrived in the Low Countries in September 1555 and would only remain in the country for the next four years. Three days later, before a gathering of the States General in Brussels, Charles V, leaning on the shoulder of the young Prince William of Orange, read out his abdication speech and proclaimed Philip the new ruler of the seventeen provinces.⁷³ However, Charles continued to offer advice to his son on the best ways to negotiate power in the provinces.

In a collection of documents entitled *Les Regretz de Charles d’Austriche Empereur, Cinquiesme de ce nom* (1558), the dramatist Jacques Grévin co-wrote a series of letters and poems in the name of Charles V.⁷⁴ The language is similar to that contained in other documents personally written by the emperor. Theoretically written before his death in September 1558, the sources offer Charles’s historical perspective on the events of his life

⁷² Henry Kamen, *The Duke of Alba* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 37.

⁷³ Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, 135. The complicated relationship between Charles, Philip, and William of Orange is analyzed in Chapter Six, “‘They See That Which I Have Done, They Can Not Iudge My Hearte’: The Mythology of William of Orange.”

⁷⁴ *Les Regretz de Charles d’Austriche Empereur, Cinquiesme de ce nom. Ensemble la description du Beauvoisis, et autres oeuvres. Par Jacques Grevin, de Cler-mont. Dediez à Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Vvarty. A Paris. Chez Martin l’Homme, Imprimeur demourant a la rue du Meurier pres la rue saint victor. 1558. Avec Privilege* (Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés. Ye-1806).

and reflection on things that he might have done differently. By 1558, Philip had already ruled as sovereign for three years and his view of absolute monarchy did not align with the expectations of the States General in the Low Countries. He was distracted by the growing conflict in the Mediterranean and factions at the Spanish court tested his political policies in the provinces. He was forced to request financial assistance from the States General in order to avoid bankruptcy. The final settlement, ‘the novennial aid’, was an exchange of money for political power: the central government received a huge sum of money to be spread over nine years and the States acquired control over collection and expenditure. The States General expected that the balance of power would shift in their favor in the form of a sort of parliamentary government.⁷⁵ Philip from then on was unable to conceive of the States as anything other than a threat to royal power and determined that he would prevent it from meeting in the future. Charles’s successor thus found himself in a precarious situation with regard to establishing his authority in the provinces in 1558.

Les Regretz de Charles d’Austriche Empereur, Cinquiesme de ce nom opened by recognizing the victories of Philip alongside his questionable choices: “[Philip] has taken power in his hand.../Flanders, Artois, and the Country of Holland/ Hainaut, Burgundy, and Brabant and Zeeland/ and they could have been great in richness/ if Death had not taken their flower.”⁷⁶ Philip’s determination to reign over the provinces weakened the relationship with

⁷⁵ Martin van Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 33.

⁷⁶ “*Puissant is dis tenant dessoubz sa main? ...Flandres, Arthois, & le país d’Hollande: Henault, Bourgongne, & Brabant, & Zelande/ Et eust esté plus riche sa grandeur/ Si dure mort he l’eut pris en sa fleur.*” *Les Regretz de Charles d’Austriche Empereur, Cinquiesme de ce nom*, B3.

the Crown and limited his success. After all, a country torn by political unrest and religious strife was not likely to be productive or fruitful. The poem continued, “My name has always endured.../ All other kings and their subject people/ exist under the edicts of a foreign lord/ In short everything is in an empire/ If after that a good law can be found/ God reigns and that need not be stated in law/ For the universe proclaims One King.”⁷⁷ That selection offered the reader several insights into Charles’s conception of rulership. First, he recognized that the power of the Crown in the Low Countries was given to a foreign sovereign who ruled over the provinces and States General in kind. Charles noted that the empire as a whole should be the concern of the ruler and that ruler should not allow one country to monopolize his attention or resources. Secondly, the rule of law must be established before civil order and public peace can exist. That concept was difficult to negotiate since Charles’s and Philip’s understanding of secular power was inextricably intertwined with their Catholicism.⁷⁸ Finally, he reminded his successor that ultimate authority resided in God who did not need to

⁷⁷ “Faire mon nom à tousiours pardurable/ ...tous aultres Roys, & leurs peuples rennger/ soubz les edictz d’un seigneur estranger./ Bref de ce tout ne faire qu’un Empire/ Si qu’en après à bon droict l’on peult dire/ Regner vn Dieu, & n’auoir qu’une loy/ Par l’uniuers proclamer vn seul Roy.” *Les Regretz de Charles d’Austriche Empereur, Cinquiesme de ce nom*, B4.

⁷⁸ Charles navigated the conflict between secular law and religious obligation during the enforcement of his anti-heresy placards. Despite his passionate objection to the presence of Protestant communities within his empire, he did not sanction popular or mob violence against those who violated his religious creed. In fact, it was one of his decrees that stated: “heretics who act contrary to the Holy Church must be removed via placards, statutes, and edicts.” The dissent into unrestrained persecution of Calvinists and Lutherans and Anabaptists would upset the public peace that he worked diligently to establish. *Confirmation du Roy nostre sire, de l’ordonnance et edict de l’empereur Charles le Quint*, B4.

constantly announce and prove his power. Perhaps that last line served as a warning to Philip who in the first years of rulership seemed to take every instance of resistance to heart. Philip did not inherit Charles's moderate and pragmatic temperament.

The rest of the poem in *Les Regretz de Charles d'Austriche* took on a prophetic tone and used rhetorical flourishes to reflect on victories and defeats: "My evil companion [bad fortune] returned/ broken at sea, miserable on land/ Without any favorable fortune./ Following my happy victories/ Which I acquired in dusty battles/ and find the means to gain experience."⁷⁹ The document slipped into darker imagery and took on tones of regret and lamentation. Toward the end of his life, Charles suffered from asthma, indigestion, piles, and probably diabetes. However it was the gout that was hardest on his body. It frequently confined him to bed, his whole body was often swollen, and by his fifties he was very much a cripple.⁸⁰ Undoubtedly his deteriorating physical condition kept him from fully appreciating or attending affairs of governance, and his difficult day-to-day existence seems to have also influenced the last of his writings.

Negotiating the Image of Charles V

Although the Holy Roman Emperor abdicated his position in 1555, he did not disappear from political life as discussed above. He acted as an advisor to Philip II and

⁷⁹ "Auecques moy, enuieux de mon heur/ S'en retourna compagné de Malheur: Rompu par mer, par terre miserable/ N'ayant au doz fortune fauorable./ Or en suyuant mes victoires heureuses,/ Qu'auois acquis es batailles poudreuses,/ Pour ne laisser moyens à esprouuer." Ibid., C1.

⁸⁰ MacDonald notes that Charles V was an inveterate glutton, and ate and drank prodigiously from morning to night. He even received special dispensation to forgo fasting before partaking of communion. MacDonald, *Charles V: Ruler, Dynast and Defender of the Faith, 1500-1558*, 8.

attempted to secure his political and religious legacy in the Low Countries. In 1558 Charles wrote that the fires of ambition and the honor of religion were difficult if not impossible to reconcile: “Upheld by lords and princes/ and by foreign soldiers in the provinces/ we subdued the body but not the courage.”⁸¹ In that single statement he articulated the notion of freedom of conscience held by the Protestant population in the provinces. Charles’s understanding of divine rulership had prevented him from separating religious issues from political affairs: they were one and the same and inseparable in doctrine and practice. However his post-abdication reflections, if the audience could believe the rhetoric of Jacques Grévin, came from a new perspective. How could the sovereign of the Netherlands ever hope to control the hearts and minds of the population, particularly after corporal punishment had only proven mildly effective in terms of confession and conversion? Would Spain ever be able to bring the seventeen provinces under full submission? Charles died before he could further develop his new viewpoint on the Reformed Religion.

And yet it was significant that Charles V, a ruler known for his steadfastness and pragmatism as well as his unforgiving and brutal persecutorial methods, reconsidered his approach toward the religious question in the Low Countries. The transition from repression to persecution, that is to say the replacement of the organized investigation and punishment of convicted heretics by the arbitrary application of the death penalty for heresy, was noticeable. Charles V established a regime of terror to establish his absolute sovereign power and the immutability of Catholic dogma: he therefore had to defend his position relentlessly.

⁸¹ “*Confirmée par des seigneurs & des princes et/ Par des soldats estrangers dans les prouinces / Nous subjuguâ le corps, mais pas le courage.*” *Les Regretz de Charles d’Austrie Empereur, Cinquiesme de ce nom*, 22.

He also had to maintain and strengthen the cohesion among the provinces and could not allow religious division to weaken his empire.⁸² But the provinces remembered the reign of Charles V as a more tolerant and peaceful era, especially once Philip and the Duke of Alva began to exert their authority in the Low Countries.

As the principal intellectuals and leading military figures developed a lawful definition of the right to resist a tyrannical ruler during the 1560s and 1570s, they were forced to reflect on their previous states of existence under Habsburg governance. While the lens through which the States General viewed Charles V's reign was overly romanticized, it was commonly held that Charles's system of governance could not simply be reapplied to the Low Countries: too much had changed since his death in 1558.⁸³ There remained, however, an understanding of the power of popular literature and images to shape popular opinion. Pamphlets, flyleaves, broadsheets, plays, and poems were quickly published to meet the growing demands of an increasingly literate audience. Text and image were more powerful

⁸² Aline Goosens, "*Mourir pour sa foi au temps des réformes dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux*," in *The World Of Emperor Charles V*, edited by Wim Blockmans and Nicolette Mout (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 2004), 242.

⁸³ In Marnix's *Oration* presented before the Reichstag at Worms on May 7, 1578, he stated that the States General were not willing to return to the situation as it had been under Charles V. "For although, as Aldegonde acknowledged, 'the *res publica* had been governed well during the time of Charles V,' the times had changed dramatically. Additionally, Elbertus Leoninus, a professor of law at the University of Louvain, explained that it had never been the intention of the States General to bring the country back to the situation as it had been under Charles V." After all, Charles had effectively endorsed an aggressive persecution of Protestants through his placards campaign. Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 140.

when they worked together and created mental pictures within their audience that shaped public opinion.⁸⁴ The images and engravings created to capture the likeness of Charles V became emblems for power and persecution at various periods during the Dutch Revolt.

In the mid-sixteenth-century Low Countries, threads of provincialism, constitutionalism, and patriotism intertwined with elements of absolute monarchy and imperialism. Those interactions were especially apparent in the engravings that celebrated the reigns of Charles V and later his son, Philip II.⁸⁵ Emblematic literature served a variety of purposes during the Reformation: it represented religious and social ideals, it critiqued contemporary events and rulers, and offered it a reinterpretation of the historical context in which they lived. The art created to honor and recognize the accomplishments of Charles V served similar purposes. Despite the chaos and turbulence that took place in many of the provinces, the artists worked with the Crown to create an image of the capable sovereign who ruled over well-arranged political and social environments. In contrast, the Low Countries possessed a reputation of tolerance, commercial vitality, and slow-moving cogs of government that did not necessarily fit into Charles's vision of empire. The imperial ethos of obedience, humility, and faith was communicated through the rhetorical and visual images of the sovereign. It was central to how Charles saw himself and how he wanted his subjects to

⁸⁴ Julie Stone Peters, *Theatre of the Book, 1480-1880: Print, Text, and Performance in Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 311.

⁸⁵ See Chapter Six, "'They See That Which I Have Done, They Can Not Iudge My Hearte': The Mythology of William of Orange" for a detailed examination of the development of the mythology that sprang up around the Prince of Orange during the Revolt and the various ways in which it influenced popular communication and perceptions of rulership in the Low Countries.

view their roles under his rule.⁸⁶ One of the pre-mortem portraits of Charles V was an important example of how the Habsburgs conceptualized power.

In the image, Emperor Charles V stands proudly wearing a crown and an ermine-lined cloak (see Figure 1). In one hand he holds a heavy broadsword and in the other he holds the *globus cruciger*. The two most dominant items in the image represent his prowess in warfare and battle, but also his dominion over the Christian world.⁸⁷ The background depicted the sea with several large ships and a dolphin. Although the provenance is unknown—Christoffel Sichel has been associated with the creation of the image—it was clear that the artist intended to establish the power, glory, wealth, and skill of the Holy Roman Emperor. Although the trappings and depiction of Charles V were not unusual in the sixteenth century, what was most important about that image was that he was solely identified as the Count of Flanders. The intended audience therefore, would have been his subjects in the southern provinces, most whom were practicing Catholics.

⁸⁶ Edward Muir made a similar argument while examining the role of media and ceremony in Renaissance Venice: “Renaissance Venetians did not repudiate their medieval ritual past but magnified it. In the hands of the governing patricians who advocated a more powerfully centralized city, the myth of civic freedom and the cult of Saint Mark were magnets to attract parochial sentiment... The state, then, whether a monarchy or a republic, arose when an abstraction or ideology, in some form, came to replace the peculiar power of individual leaders.” *Civic Ritual in Renaissance Venice* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1981), 302, 305. The point at which an idea circulated in print and image becomes more influential than the real individual or event that it represents is of critical importance to the rule of Charles V, Philip II, the Duke of Alva, and William of Orange.

⁸⁷ The *globus cruciger* was one of the most emblematic images of royal Christian power in the medieval and early modern eras.



Figure 1. Portret van Karel V van Habsburg, Duits Keizer, koning van Spanje (Portrait of Charles V of Habsburg, German Emperor, King of Spain), 1556, Unknown. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

The Reformation gave increased impetus to the graphic image as an effective means of arousing broad popular interest. Both Catholics and Protestants used woodcuts and engravings to communicate a variety of ideas and accusations against their enemies. From the Reformed Religion the audience expected satirical works of art that criticized the Catholic Church and the Spanish rulers' misuse of power. The Catholic artists and authors, however, tended to focus on the glorification of their faith and of their leaders. In the image *Christ and a Portrait of Emperor Charles V* (1549), Dirck Pietersz drew on several powerful

symbols of Christianity to not only reinforce the legitimacy of Charles's rule over the Low Countries but to also reinforce the legitimacy of his religious perspectives (see Figure 2).

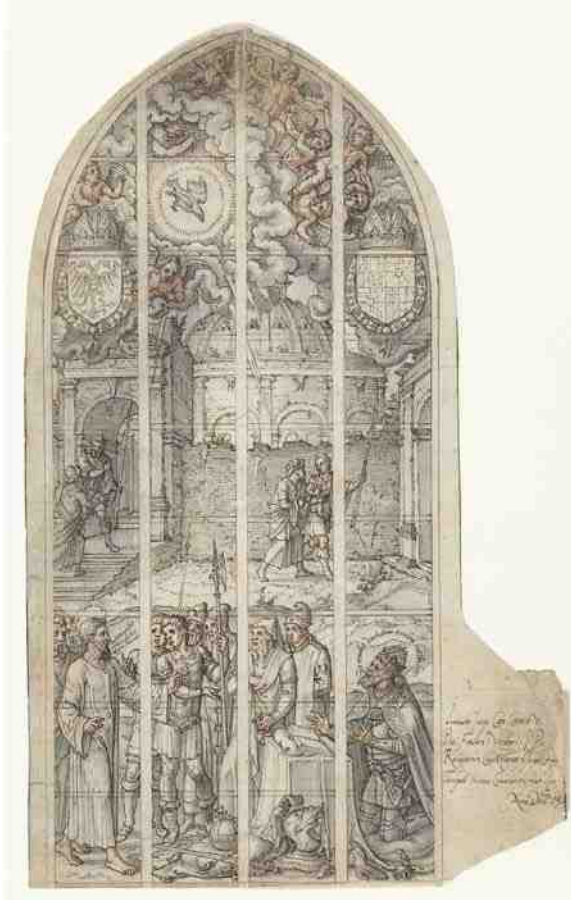


Figure 2. *Christus en een portret van Keizer Karel V (Christ and a Portrait of Emperor Charles V)*, 1549, Dirck Pietersz. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

The hand of God extends down from the clouds while the peaceful dove flies into the Emperor's midst. More importantly, Christ himself appears to bestow his blessing upon Charles V while the familiar symbols of sovereignty—the broadsword, the battlefield helm, and the *globulus cruciger*—lie before the altar. While the image was less thrilling to look at than some of the seditious and propagandistic works by Lucas Cranach the Elder (1472-1553) and Joris Hoefnagel (1542-1601), the significance of the image was that it portrayed

Charles as a benevolent and faithful ruler and did not focus on the persecution of the rebels and heretics.

The closest that the Habsburg regime came to offering a justification for its policies was through references to the divinely ordained role it had in the administration of justice and the punishment of evildoers. It was because God had given Charles and later Philip II the sword that the sovereigns could not renege on their obligation to punish those guilty of treason against both God and himself.⁸⁸ The image called *The Triumph of Charles V* represented his victory over his enemies: Suleiman the Magnificent, Pope Clement VII, Francis I, the dukes of Cleves and Saxony, and Philip, the landgrave of Hesse (see Figure 3).



Figure 3. *The Triumph of Charles V*, c. 1556-1575, Giulio Clovio. British Library, Catalogue of Illuminated Manuscripts, London.

⁸⁸ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 40.

The engraving also demonstrated the emperor's resolve not to tolerate *any* form of heresy in any of the lands within the bounds of his empire.

There was a noticeable lack of a representative figure for the Low Countries in Giulio Clovio's image of imperial Catholic triumph. The difficulty lay in the fact that Charles's placards were not necessarily enforced by Spanish soldiers and minions within the provinces: his edicts had to be enforced by municipal courts of law overseen by local patricians and lawyers.⁸⁹ Whereas the other lands that allowed heretical religions to exist had a single identifiable leader who represented the cause and the resistance to the Holy Roman Empire, the Low Countries did not have such a figure. That is, at least, not until the rise of William of Orange in the 1560s. The inherent threat posed to the Reformed Religion by images like *The Triumph of Charles V* was the bold statement that if he could take down powerful leaders, their formidable armies, and squash heretical religions within foreign lands, Charles V could and would do the same in the seventeen provinces.

The ceremonial importance of entering and conquering a city was equally matched by the manner in which the ruler left. Charles's abdication, departure from rule, and funeral ceremony carried as much weight as the *Blijde Inkomst* (Joyous Entry) that he held when he entered Brussels in 1549. *Ommegangen* and ceremonial processions demonstrated the pomp and power of the sovereign while also making that person accessible, even if only momentarily, to the general population. Just as the Holy Roman Emperor paid close attention to the construction and maintenance of his realm, he recognized the significance of public ceremonies in asserting his authority. The constructed dynamics of public events was

⁸⁹ Margit Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels During and After the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2007).

threefold. First, the ritual attempted to expose the viewers to beneficent or authoritarian influences. Second, the spectators were viewed by those who were *in* the procession so that the seeing subject and seen object were, in fact, interchangeable.⁹⁰ Finally, the complex script and actors of the ritual made it impossible to affix a single meaning to specific ritual performances: the explosion of theological, reformist, and apologetic discussions of ritual during the sixteenth century further suggests a widespread unease with the ambiguity of meaning in rituals.⁹¹ When Charles V abdicated his role as Holy Roman Emperor in 1555 and transferred power to his son, Philip, he knew that the act carried all of the significance of the *Blijde Inkomst* if not more.

In one motion Charles V needed to gracefully remove himself from power while simultaneously transferring sovereign authority to his successor. In Frans Hogenberg's engravings of Charles's abdication (*troonsafstand*) and departure (*vertrek*) from Brussels in 1555, he had to convey the political weight and emotional impact of the emperor's radical

⁹⁰ Edward Muir, "The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance," in *Ceremonial Culture in Pre-Modern Europe*, edited by Nicholas Howe (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007), 130-31.

⁹¹ Muir, "The Eye of the Procession: Ritual Ways of Seeing in the Renaissance," 131. Muir argues that the ritual in early modern Europe was an imaginary expansion of the tangible state. Private space became the venue for public demonstrations of power, and because the public allowed the sovereign into their private space they therefore became actors themselves in the governance of the realm. For the Low Countries, however, this meaning was further expanded as they developed their theories of constitutionalism: the people had always been involved in the governance of the land because it was through their agreement that the sovereign had power in the first place. This argument is further explained in the chapter, "For the Peace and Prosperity of the Realm: Sovereignty, Tyranny, and Constitutionalism in the Political Theory of the Dutch Revolt."

decision (see Figure 4). Surrounded by heavy tapestries, his Habsburg coat of arms, and with the words *Carolus Caesar* engraved over his seat, the image of Charles's abdication bore all of the symbols of his imperial authority. In addition, nearly one hundred members of the nobility, secular leaders, and clergy stand facing him; despite their backs being turned to the audience, there is a strong tone of somberness and apprehension in the engraving.

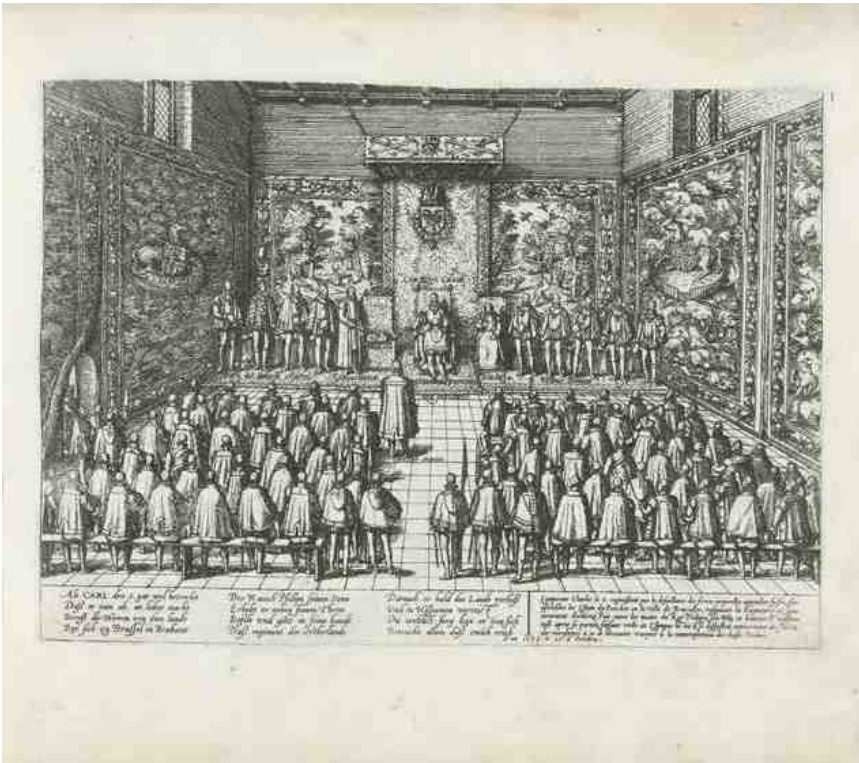


Figure 4. Troonsafstand door Karel V (Abdication of Charles V), 1555, Frans Hogenberg. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

The next Hogenberg engraving in the series depicts the departure of Charles following his abdication speech. In this scene Charles exits the room, while an official rises and shakes Philip's hand as others stand and approach the throne (see Figure 5). Another cloaked male stands watching the former emperor leave and tears up the contract of sovereignty, therefore ending his official rule. The tapestries are seen more closely in this engraving, and the scenes

of thick forests, hunting hounds, boars, hares, and stags indicate the life of leisure and pleasure that Charles could finally hope to experience.

Hogenberg completed his ode to the reign of Charles V and the importance of the Habsburgs' public image in the engraving of Charles' 1558 funeral procession through Brussels (see Figure 6). In this scene, people line up to watch the magnificent funeral casket born toward the church in a stately and expensive faux ship. Standard bearers from the provinces follow closely behind armed guards, clergy, and members of the imperial court. Charles's family emblem, a crowned double-headed eagle, was portrayed on the cloaks of many members of the procession. Philip directed the funeral procession and decided that while the funeral would be held in Brussels, his father's remains were interred in distant

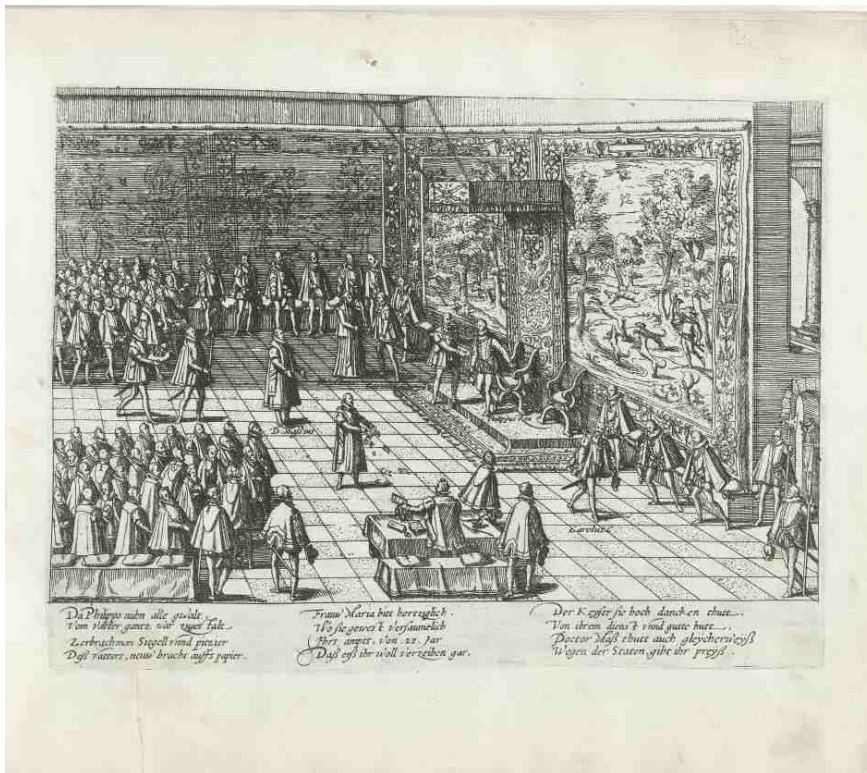


Figure 5. *Vertrek van Karel V (Departure of Charles V)*, 1555, Frans Hogenberg. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Spain.⁹² While the *ommegang* was intended to celebrate the life of Charles V and his role, according to the Crown and the Church, of bringing peace and prosperity to the Low Countries, some of the population who watched the funeral would have found it painful rather than celebratory. They did not easily forget the enforcement of the placards or the increased taxation to fund foreign wars, nor were the inhabitants of the Low Countries satisfied with the first years of the reign of Philip II. Although Charles's successor was enforcing policies that his father had established, his brutality and unwillingness to negotiate policy with the States General was breeding resentment and resistance in the provinces.

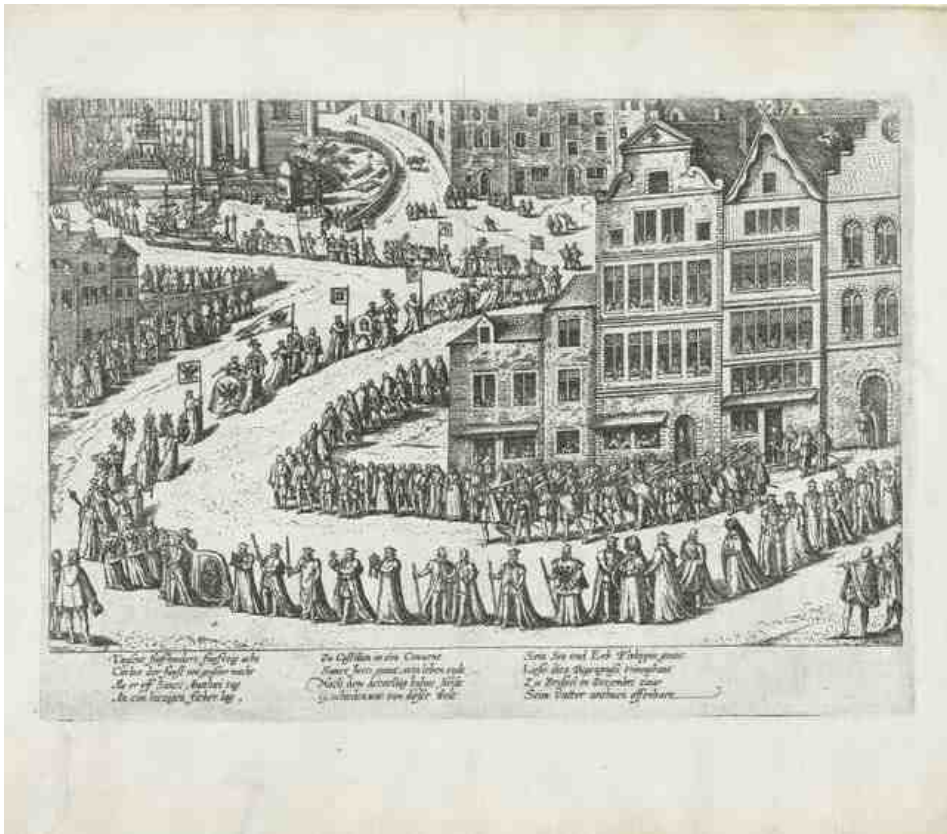


Figure 6. *Lijkstatie van Karel V (State Funeral of Charles V)*, 1558, Frans Hogenberg. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

⁹² Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels During and After the Dutch Revolt*, 301.

The development of Charles V's image in engravings and other popular images was intended to meet the traditional needs of public ceremonies and emblems in the Holy Roman Empire: establish imperial authority, connect with the people over whom he ruled, and reiterate the importance of the historical context in which they lived together. Yet those images also represented a period of transition in the Low Countries. While Spanish writers, artists, and printers worked to enforce the legitimacy of sovereign rule and justify the extermination of heresy from imperial lands, the image of Charles V took on new meaning in the provinces. Persecution of Protestants in the Low Countries had begun under his rule and despite efforts to romanticize his reign, was not an experience that the inhabitants of the Netherlands would easily forget. The message of obedience, humility, and dogmatic faith contained in the images of Charles V would have been well received by part of the population; however, the increasing relevance of the Reformed Religion and notions of *vrijheid van geweten* (freedom of conscience), constitutionalism, and conflict with Philip II tainted the message for other inhabitants of the Low Countries.

The methods of strategy and communication used by Charles V during his time ruling over the Low Countries set patterns of governance that his subjects expected would continue after his abdication and death. The nobility and local provincial officials expected self-governance, decentralization of sovereign authority with autonomy held by the States General, and consistently stated that the maintenance of customary and traditional privileges would be upheld. Charles's vision of rule was fairly consistent across all of his imperial lands: the link between his sovereign authority and the divine duty to protect the Catholic faith was immutable. His politics and his faith were inseparable and therefore persecution of heretics was one of his primary objectives. The result was an increased level of literacy in the

Low Countries because the printing presses circulated more texts, the literature shifted from Latin to vernacular languages, and the accessibility of sources saturated the population with new ideas about religion, sovereignty, and the right to resist. It was remarkable that in periods of defeat near the end of his tenure, Charles began to distance himself from the inflexible power structure that he had created. His reflections on the poor decisions made by both him and Philip indicated that despite his commitment to persecution and absolute authority, Charles recognized the importance of establishing public peace in the provinces. By the time of his death in 1558, the political environment in the Low Countries was vastly different than it had been during his reign. Revolution was just around the corner.

Chapter Two

For the Peace and Prosperity of the Public:

Sovereignty, Tyranny, and Constitutionalism in the Political Theory of the Dutch Revolt

The intellectual, religious, and political struggles that took place during the Dutch Revolt produced a form of constitutionalism that defined historical precedent, civil law, sovereignty, tyranny, and the right to resist a tyrant. Due to the disjointed political structure of the seventeen provinces, sovereign authority over the Netherlands was typically gifted to someone outside of their borders with the understanding that he or she would be a neutral ruler without loyalties to one particular province over the others. Important ideas including the investiture of sovereignty, fundamental law, the role of representative institutions, and the definition of and means of removing a tyrant appeared in much of the literature produced during the second half of the sixteenth century. The anonymous authors attempted to sort out their identities and associations during the periods of civil war and their solutions to the problems were of course heavily dependent upon their current relationship with the king of Spain, Philip II. The overarching objectives, however, were consistent: establish public peace, define the nature of sovereign authority in the Low Countries, and protect their lives and property and privileges.

When Charles V abdicated his role as Holy Roman Emperor in Brussels on October 25, 1555, he recounted his greatest deeds and counseled political obedience, adherence to the religious placards, and fidelity to the Roman Catholic Church: Charles also invested his son

Philip with sovereignty over his domain in the Netherlands.⁹³ The court darling, William, Prince of Orange was also in attendance at Charles's abdication and enjoyed a position of privilege and favoritism that was not shown to the new youthful ruler. Within fifteen years, Orange and Philip would find themselves locked in a battle for political power and over the place of Protestantism in the provinces. Charles's regular personal presence in the cities and towns, his use of public rituals and ceremonies to affirm the bonds of sovereign power between himself and his subjects, and his resistance to political centralization among the provinces were part of the grounds for his successful reign over the Low Countries. Philip was either not interested or unable to carry out those responsibilities established during the reign of his father and soon discovered that his new subjects were not content to merely accept his prerogatives, whether they were previously established or not.

The nature of sovereignty in the Netherlands was dependent upon two elements: the basis of authority and the subjects' obedience and loyalty to that authority. Until the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566 and Philip's introduction of Alva into the Low Countries, the States General and the political theorists tended to give Philip the benefit of the doubt: he was misled by corrupt advisors, he did not have all of the proper information, he had not conferred with his governor-general regularly, or he was not considering everything that was at risk from his decisions. As Philip II demonstrated that he would uphold the hated religious placards, actively persecute heretics, deny the States General their historical right to convene, and let his mutinous army linger unpaid and uncontrolled in the Low Countries, the literature began to focus on themes of resistance. The move toward constitutionalism in the seventeen

⁹³ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 49.

provinces was an inevitable result of that conflict. Religion was not always a separate element in the debates; often it was folded into the discussion of civil duty, obedience, and the need to establish public peace. Sovereignty, loyalty, and tyranny influenced the political literature of the Dutch Revolt and shaped the development of constitutionalism in the Low Countries.

Sovereignty in the Low Countries: The Possession and Expression of Power

What influenced the perceptions of authority and sovereignty during the sixteenth century? The illusion of popular sovereignty was one that was historically catered to in Western Europe and was used to bolster support for the reigning ruler. As Ernst Kantorowicz argues in *The King's Two Bodies*, medieval political theory was based on the understanding that the king received the power to rule from God and the people. God invested the throne with divine authority, recognizing the holy nature of the office, and the subjects then agreed to invest the person of the king with the power to rule over them. The king was bound to the law that made him king; but the law that made him king enhanced his royal power and bestowed upon the ruler extraordinary rights which in many respects placed the king, legally, above the law.⁹⁴ A closer look at the mystical and temporal elements of medieval sovereignty will clarify notions of power and resistance in the Low Countries during the Dutch Revolt.

French jurists such as Jean Gerson (d. 1429), Claude de Seyssel (d. 1520), and François Hotman (d.1590) wrote regularly about the function and justification of administrative decisions. The medieval authors asserted that it was the duty of the sovereign to keep his population content with their lot in life because a dissatisfied population would

⁹⁴ Ernst H. Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1970), 150.

soon riot and disturb the peace and tranquility of the kingdom and the result might be “the ruin of the monarchy and the dissolution of this mystical body.”⁹⁵ The emphasis on Roman law in medieval notions of the role of the citizen influenced the structure of the state. The commonwealth was known as the *populus Romanus*: the state for the Romans was not an impersonal power standing in opposition to the individual, whose actions were dependent on its permission, but rather the individuals themselves—that is, the citizens—collectively.⁹⁶ Baldus de Ubaldis (d. 1400) was an Italian jurist whose ideas about sovereignty were influential through the seventeenth century. Baldus wrote that the people composed both a real body and a mystical body, just as the sovereign was a human being occupying a divinely sanctioned office. For Baldus, the sovereign’s absolute power existed within strict limits: if those limits were transgressed, his decisions had no legal validity.⁹⁷ Popular sovereignty as a civic duty and natural right remained in the memories and legal documents of the Netherlands through the sixteenth century.

Once he came to power, Charles V swore an oath to uphold the privileges of the province of Brabant upon entering the city of Louvain. Commonly known as the *Blijde*

⁹⁵ Kantorowicz, *The King’s Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology*, 220.

⁹⁶ Wolfgang Kunkle, *An Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History*, Second Edition, translated by J.M. Kelley (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 9.

⁹⁷ Joseph Canning points out that Baldus de Ubaldis’s political theory was dependent upon his differentiation between the emperor, the pope, kings and *signori*, who shared common characteristics in their public power but also had unique elements particular to themselves. “Thus to translate *princeps* as ‘the prince’ in the general sense of ‘the ruler’ would normally be misleading except in discussion of elements common to all forms of monarchy.” Joseph Canning, *The Political Thought of Baldus de Ubaldis* (Cambridge and London: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 71.

Inkomst or Joyous Entry, his oath embodied the principles upheld by the people—specifically the clergy, the nobility, and the commoners—of the Low Countries’ provinces.⁹⁸ The *Blijde Inkomst* was already one of the most important demonstrations of the contract between sovereign and subject in the early modern era. The Joyous Entry carried “constitutional punch” because it granted the towns legal priority in their relationship with the ruler, with all important acts—financial, legal, and monetary—requiring the stamp of urban approval.⁹⁹ The first *Blijde Inkomst* occurred in 1356 with the charter of rights drafted between Duchess Jeanne, Duke Wenceslas, and the States of Brabant. By 1477, the privileges of the Joyous Entry had a distinctive legal language and outlined the rights of both subject and ruler in detail, but in no way did it function as an official constitution. Some articles offered inhabitants protection against arbitrary and corrupt rule while the Grand Privilege in particular sought to ward off corruption.¹⁰⁰ The 1477 Joyous Entry and articles of privilege maintained the unique style of decentralization that had long characterized Dutch political affairs as an expression of “a conception of a federal state, dominated by the great cities.”¹⁰¹ The *Blijde Inkomst* established the people as a critical element in sovereign authority and also granted them the right to self-govern under threat of tyrannical rule.

⁹⁸ *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times*, edited by Herbert J. Rowen (New York: Walker and Company, 1972), 12.

⁹⁹ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 32.

¹⁰⁰ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 28.

¹⁰¹ R. van Uytven and W.P. Blockmans, “Constitutions and Their Application in the Netherlands During the Middle Ages,” *Revue Belge de Philologie et d’Histoire* 47 (1969): 402.

Charles's 1515 *Blijde Inkomst* oath cast him as the protector and savior of the provincial people in exchange for their continuing obedience and loyalty. He appeared invested in the preservation of peace and prosperity, and committed himself fully to the interests of the Low Countries:

For as it is proper and fitting for the prince and sovereign of a land to give and bestow the grace and gift of right and privileges to his good subjects and people, and mindful of the many and great services, the affection and loyalty which our good people... often gave to our forefathers... such as men owe their rightful rulers, and confident that they will continue to give the same to us, we have granted, given and affirmed in this Entry and reception in these aforesaid lands, and do grant, give and affirm those privileges, points, and confirmations of rights as follow below, promising and taking an oath for ourselves, our heirs, and descendants, to maintain them and to have them maintained firmly and without interruption forever.¹⁰²

¹⁰² “Zy luyden dien aengaende geconsenteert en hun gewillicht hebben nae uytindsen der Acten/ by hun hier op gemaect en geteekendt. Ende nae dien wy Prince alle de voorschreben BLYDE INCOMSTE. Van onsen Heere ende Onder/ mitsgaders die toebrieven ende vercleeninghen vanden voorschreven... ansen overouden Vader inden lesten artijckel vandervoorfs. BLYDE INCOMSTE. Gheroert in (Spaenscher talen trouwelijcken getranslataert) hebben hooren lessen/ ghesien en wel verstaten/ midtsgaders die veranderinge ende moderatie van dien/ ende des toegeboecht.../ nae inhouden vanden voorschreken Acte. Millende ende geberende/ navolgende de geode geliefte vn onsen voorgenoemden Heere Vader der gemeynen Lande van Brabandt/ ende den goeden Luyden./ Ingesetenen enden Onder... haer Rechten/ Privilegien/ Vrijheyden/ Costuymen/ ...ende oock. Onderhouden en observeren. Sonderlinge ghemerckt die groote est menichsuldig diensten/ gunsten ende trouwve/ die zy onsen voorvaderen.../ (dien Godt almachtich een goet lane salich leuen verleent) die te houden ende te doen houden/ vast ende gestadich sonder breecken tot eeuwichen daghen.” *Die blyde incomste den hertochdomme van Brabant, in voortijden by haren landtsheeren verleent, ende van keyser Carolo den V gheconfirmeert ende by Philippus zynen sone, den II. coninck van Spaengnien ... solemnelijcken ghesworen.* Anno MDXLIX (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 81), A2-A3. Translated by Herbert H. Rowen in *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times*, 12-13.

The liberties, rights, privileges, charters, customs, usages, and practices were confirmed and ratified on the grounds that they did not impinge on the rights of others or upon the throne. Interestingly, the document made no reference to establishing or enforcing Roman Catholicism in the province of Brabant, perhaps because Protestantism had not yet taken hold or become a threat in the south.

When Charles V and his army put down a rebellion in Ghent in 1539 following the enforcement of a tax to which the inhabitants had not consented, the king's 'entry' into the city was a different demonstration of royal authority than seen in his earlier *Blijde Inkomst*. His presence in the city "greatly astounded and frightened the inhabitants... for this was not an Entry which gave them much pleasure but one of fear and sadness. Nevertheless, the Ghenters performed their duties in the usual fashion... welcoming His Majesty into his city of Ghent and presenting him with its keys."¹⁰³ Even in the midst of their rebellion against what they perceived as unjust taxation, the people of Ghent paid homage to the lord as required by tradition. That action demonstrates that in the early sixteenth century, Ghent recognized the sacred nature of their sworn oath of loyalty that they had sworn to Charles, and were willing to validate that lawful covenant. The anonymous author of that account wrote that "they handed over all their privileges, although with extreme regret, for they loved and esteemed those privileges more than anything else, which they had always thought made them the sovereigns and the superiors over everyone else."¹⁰⁴ Even as he took away those

¹⁰³ "Toch es de Ghenters uerden hun takken op de gebruikelijke manier ... verwelkomen Sijne Maiesteit in zijn stad Gent en de presentatie van hem met zijn sleutels." *Die blyde incomste den hertochdomme van Brabant*, A3. Translated in *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times*, 24.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, 25.

rights that they valued the most, the inhabitants still recognized him as their sovereign and surrendered their weapons. The Joyous Entry became the hallmark for the protection of customary rights and also a way for the sovereign to punish those who resisted his decrees and authority. In 1581, incidentally, the *Blijde Inkomst* became one of the primary documents used by the provinces to justify their renunciation of Philip II's authority over the Low Countries.

Rituals like the Joyous Entry reinforced sovereignty and reminded the cities, the provinces, and the king that they were in a mutually dependent relationship. Regarding the importance of rituals in the early modern Netherlands, Peter Arnade wrote, “ceremonies were an act designed precisely to focus [Habsburg] rule, to fashion an ever-moving center and a powerful counterpoise to the deep-rooted traditions of urban power and its attendant customary rights.”¹⁰⁵ Charles V recognized the need to carry on the rituals established in the late-medieval Burgundian Netherlands in order to make his personal presence a tangible part of his rulership, as demonstrated above by the extreme emotional responses to his two different appearances in the provinces. The Burgundian dukes and duchesses were relentlessly mobile, traveling regularly from city to city to circulate, mark, and reinforce their power, a task that included making over 200 formal Joyous Entries between 1419 and 1477 alone.¹⁰⁶ The *Blijde Inkomst* was a venue used to negotiate power, not to apologize for power, and Philip's failure to recognize the importance of personal presence in his rule over the Low Countries added to his difficulties in ratifying his authority.

¹⁰⁵ Peter Arnade, “City, State, and Public Ritual in the Late-Medieval Burgundian Netherlands,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 39, No. 2 (Apr., 1997): 301.

¹⁰⁶ Arnade, “City, State, and Public Ritual in the Late-Medieval Burgundian Netherlands,” 305.

The administrative structures of the Netherlands in 1564 were not very different than they had been in 1477. In addition to the representative States General, there were also several other offices that helped to govern the provinces. The Council of State advised the sovereign and the governor-general, and essentially worked on matters of defense and public order. The Privy Council (all members were trained professional jurists) played a pivotal role in preparing and implementing legislation, and also dealt with matters touching sovereignty, such as granting privileges, patents, and acts of grace.¹⁰⁷ The Council of Finances negotiated taxes, supervised tax collection and monetary institutions, and advised the sovereign on large financial purchases. The Council of Justice was involved with the administration of law and justice, and played advisory and active roles in legislative affairs. Finally, the *stadhouder* was traditionally a principal representative of central government at the provincial level. His power was an extension of the sovereign's power, and he had the right to appoint public officials in the province. During the reigns of Charles V and Philip II, however, systematic attempts were made to curtail the authority of the *stadhouder* to benefit the central government and its more loyal representatives in the provinces, such as the Councils of Justice.¹⁰⁸

Every province of the Netherlands and even some smaller areas had a representative assembly of its own, most of them dating back to the thirteenth century. The States normally included delegates from the clergy, the nobility, and the leading towns, but these were rarely democratically chosen.¹⁰⁹ The primary powers of the institution involved raising troops,

¹⁰⁷ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 21.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Geoffrey Parker and Allen Lane, *The Dutch Revolt* (London: Penguin Books, 1977), 32.

implementing taxes, and passing laws, among other things. The *Convocation of the States of Hainaut, 1493*, illustrated that one of the reasons a sovereign regularly summoned the States General was to request money, a request that the States granted without consulting their constituents.¹¹⁰ They also served as witnesses to royal ceremonies and their presence ratified sovereign power during coronations and abdications. The term ‘state’ indicated one of the highest forms of power in civil government and while the States General fundamentally represented the interests of the provinces, they were also beholden to the governor-general and the king. Margaret of Austria wrote to Charles V in 1522 while trying to decide how to convene the States (generally or provincially) to discuss the need for more funds for the war. Charles’s approved the convening of the representative body, and his decision demonstrated that governing authorities turned to the States out of necessity and considered it a royal right to call them into assembly.¹¹¹ The States were not regularly convened during the sixteenth

¹¹⁰ *Brief van Staten Generaal van Artois en Staten Generaal van Henegouwen aan Staten Generaal*, 1579 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Special Collections Letters, VUL 104), n.p. Translated in *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century: Commentary and Documents for the Study of Comparative Constitutional History*, compiled and with Introductions by G. Griffiths (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 334.

¹¹¹ The Duchess of Parma wrote, “*qu’il sera necessaire soit par la guerre ou pour le treve assembler les etats de tous les pays, afin de leur signifier la continuation de la guerre ou l’Accord de la dit treve pour avoir leur bon advis, aide et assistance, s’il est possible a poursuivre la dit Guerre si elle continue, ou si c’est treve, aider a payer et supporter les charges et frais du temps passé, que ne sont petits...*” “Margaret rouvre la question de l’Assemblée générale, 1522,” in *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 342.

century: when they were assembled not everyone was invited to participate or sometimes decisions about taxes or finances were passed and the States were not convoked at all.

An important document to note the failure of the king of Spain to properly convene the States General was Jacob van Wesenbeke's *The Description of the events which happened in the matter of religion in the Netherlands*. A former pensionary of Antwerp, he wrote:

And it became known that these States had given their approval to the new edict (though with some restrictions and conditions added by the secular States) without having, in the old way, convoked and heard all their members and councilors. All this caused a violent commotion among the people. Many different booklets and pamphlets were immediately written and distributed in various places arguing that the new edict was illegal... that all this was the work of the adherents of Cardinal

Granvelle, some of them mentioned by name, and of the inquisitors who wanted to cause bloody disturbances.¹¹²

Forty-seven years after Margaret of Austria wrote to Charles V requesting that he allow the States General to convene to grant the Spanish throne financial aid, Wesenbeke called it a crime to suppress the function and agency of the same institution. By the end of the 1560s, Philip II made it clear that he did not intend to rule the Netherlands through consultation and

¹¹² Jacob Wesenbeke, *De beschrijvinge van den geschiedenissen inder religion saken toeghedragen in den Nederlanden*, 1569 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 147), n.p. Also available in *Texts Concerning the Revolt in the Netherlands*, edited by E.H. Kossman and A.F. Mellink (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974), 68. Wesenbeke continued, “...Dat de bevvoners kunnen vvorden vrijgesteldt van de gehate ueruolgingen en verfoeilijke inquisitie, of zou kunnen vvorden gegeuen enige verlichting of vrijstelling van de slavernij en dienstbaarheid van hun geweten die zij hadden doorstaan voor zo'n lange tijd. Wanhoop gemaackt die in de goedsdienst meer verstockt dissenteerd en maackte ze de voorkeur aan het verzetten tegen overheid openlijk belijden hun geloof eerlijk gezegd, in plaackts van te blijven voor altijd onderdrukt en ingetogen. Dit was de reddden vvaarom ze begonnen aan hun vvergaderingen en diensten elke dag meer te houden openlijck, waardoor het krijgen van zo veel meer aanhangers. De anderen werden ook nu verbitterd en tegen de wijze waarop de zaak werd behandeld, en begon te draaien tegen de leerstellingen van de autoriteiten, die, naar hun mening, waren de oorzaak van al deze problemen onlusten en wandaden.” (“...And the inhabitants could be released from the hateful persecutions and terrible Inquisition, or receive some relief or exemption from slavery and servitude of their consciences that they had endured for so long. Those who dissented in religion were distraught and preferred to oppose the government openly and boldly state their beliefs instead of remaining eternally oppressed and suppressed. That was why they began to hold their meetings and services in the open every day and found so many followers. The others were also bitter and rejected the way things were handled, and turned against the doctrines of the authorities who caused all the problems, commotions, and outrages.” Wesenbeke, *De beschrijvinge van den geschiedenissen inder religion saken toeghedragen in den Nederlanden*, n.p.

their slow legal processes. Charles V had at least maintained the semblance that he needed the States General for both advisory and monetary capacities, and so they accommodated him. Charles's son, however, was less inclined to involve the States in his decisions. As the riots, violence, and persecutions increased, published works began to portray the States General as a remedy against the troubles caused by the new sovereign of the Low Countries.

Yet the language of the anonymously authored pamphlets and little books published during the 1560s showed collective agreement about the possession and exercise of sovereignty. The authors paid homage to Philip II by referring to themselves as "his humble vassals," and wrote that the true and good king would never intentionally hurt his loyal subjects. In a request dated April 5, 1566—four months before the outbreak of iconoclasm in the provinces—the "gentlemen of justice" offered a cautious warning to the Duchess of Parma and Philip II about the "others" who might seek revenge against the inquisitors: "We declare that if in any case inconvenience, disorder, destitution, rebellion or bloodshed happens, it will happen after our attempts of remedy. Therefore we take God, your Highness, the king, and the gentlemen of council together with our conscience, in witness that we have good process of law and have served as ever loyal vassals to the king."¹¹³ They attempted to

¹¹³ "*Declairans que en cas que aulcun inconuenient desordre, sedition, reuolte ou effusion de sang, par cy après en audient par faulte y auoir mis remede a temps: Nous ne pourrons ester taschez d'auoir cele vng mal si apparent. Enquoy nous prenons Dieu, le roy, vostre Alteze, & Messieurs deson Conseil ensemvle, & nostre conscience en tesmoignaige, que nous y auons procede comme a bons & loyaulx seruiteurs & fideles vassaulx du Roy appertient. Sans en riens exceder les limites de nostre deuoir. Dont aussi de plus instamment nous supplions que vostre Alteze y veulle entendre auant que aultre mal en aduienne. Si serez bien.*" *De la Requeste presentée ala Ducesse de Parme &c. regent: Le cincquiesme jour D'auril XVc. Soixantecincq, auant Pasques. Par plusieurs Gentilzhommes de pardeça. Sur le fait de L'inquisition & l'execution des Placcars dela religion*

actively remove themselves from association with iconoclastic violence while also reminding Margaret and Philip that their decisions were causing unrest among the subjects.

The power of sovereign authority in the Low Countries was dependent upon the complex relationships between the people, the cities, the councils, the States General, the governor-general, and the king. The fragmented political landscape of the seventeen provinces meant that while everyone had an understanding of the larger interests of the commonwealth, their decisions and actions were based on their own particular interests. The political unity given to the region by its Burgundian and Habsburg rulers from the late fourteenth century was limited: it extended beyond personal union only to the establishment of a handful of central institutions, the States General and the Collateral Councils.¹¹⁴ After the abdication of Charles V in 1555, Philip II struggled with differentiating his position as king of Spain from his sovereign position in the Netherlands: his title varied between duke, count, or lord depending on which province he was in at the time.

The subjects were loyal to the medieval ideas of kingship that designated the throne as a divinely sanctioned office. They also recognized the covenant of popular sovereignty that accompanied their sworn oaths to the ruler, the manifestation of which was bound in ceremonies such as the *Blijde Inkomst*. More than a spectacular display of power, the ritual of the Joyous Entry showed that the sovereign was a tangible entity within reach of his subjects.

catholique. Ensemble de l'Appostille donnée par son Alteze sur ladicte requeste. Avecq preuilege de son Alteze. Imprime en la ville Bruxelles/ par Michiel de Hasmont, Imprimeur iure/ demeurât soubz la maison de ceste ville. 1566 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, University Library Pamphlets, PMFLT 1566: 4), A4.

¹¹⁴ Herbert H. Rowen, "The Dutch Revolt: What Kind of Revolution?," *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990): 571.

The rituals also sanctioned their political rights and brought the inhabitants of the provinces into the realm of sovereignty. The ruler was independent of the people and also reliant on the good will of his subjects. The 1566 Compromise of the Nobility represented the interests of the aristocrats in keeping Philip II in power while also carefully flexing their constitutional rights: “We have no intention whatsoever of attempting anything that might eventually dishonor God or diminish the king’s grandeur and majesty, or that of his estates; on the contrary, our purpose is to maintain the king in his estate and to keep order and peace.”¹¹⁵ Their goal was to bring Charles’s son into the fold by showing that they were unwilling to tolerate placards or persecution or political injustice done in the name of Philip II by his royal appointees. The king of Spain’s decision to enforce his style of rule on the Low Countries soon changed the tone of the pamphlets: arguments about *lèse-majesté*, tyranny, and justification of the right to resist began to appear in the literature in the mid-1560s.

Limits of Obedience and the Justification of the Right to Resist

When Philip II wrote to Margaret of Parma on October 17, 1565, he scolded her for her failure to enforce his form of rulership. He was disturbed by the “lampoons which are continually spread abroad and posted up in the Netherlands without the offenders being punished,” and reminded the Duchess that his “commands are designed for the welfare of

¹¹⁵ “Compromise, January 1566,” *Archives ou Correspondance inedite de la Maison d’Orange-Nassau*, le série IV (Utrecht: Kemink et fils, 1857), edited by G. Groen van Prinsterer (available from Digitale van Bibliotheek van Nederlandse Letteren: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/groe009arch09_01/groe009arch09_01.pdf), n.p. Translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt in the Netherlands*, 58.

religion and of my provinces and are worth nothing if they are not followed.”¹¹⁶ The provincial inhabitants thought that Philip’s decisions impinged upon their personal liberties and expressions of faith that had usually been determined by their local lords and clergymen. By the 1560s, the Netherlands’ Council of State was split on the issue of Philip II’s rigid religious policy. The king created fifteen new bishoprics and three new archbishoprics, and he made it clear that it was still his intention to eradicate all forms of Protestantism in the country by instructing the law courts to execute to the letter the implacable heresy edicts that his father and he had issued since 1522.¹¹⁷ The pleas for toleration from William of Orange, Marnix of St. Aldegonde, and other figureheads of the revolt were aimed at limiting the role of religion in political affairs. Because the king of Spain was unwilling to compromise on the presence of the Inquisition and the enforcement of the heresy edicts in the Low Countries, he denied the people their natural right of public peace.

Philip committed treason against his subjects and broke the oath of sovereignty that was established at his 1555 coronation. The ancient laws of the Low Countries were

¹¹⁶ “*Les commandes sont conçus pour le biens estre de la religion et de mes prouinces et ne ualent rien si elles ne sont pas respectées.*” “*Philippe II à la Duchesse de Parme, 17 octobre 1565,*” in *Correspondance Française de Marguerite d’Autriche, Duchesse de Parme, avec Philippe II* (Tome I). Éditée d’après les copies, faites par M.R.C. Bakhuizen van den Brink, par J.S. Theissen, Bibliothécaire en Chef de l’Université de Groningue (Utrecht: Kemink et Fils, 1925), 99-100.

¹¹⁷ Johannes Postma, *Viglius van Aytta als humanist en diplomaat, 1507-1549* (Zutphen, 1983), in Folkert Postma, “Preconfigurations of the Future? The Views on the Boundaries of Church and State of William of Orange and Viglius van Aytta (1565-1566) in *Scholarly Environments: Centres of Learning and Institutional Contexts, 1560-1960*, edited by Alasdair A. MacDonald and Arend H. Huussen (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley, MA: Peeters Publishing, 2004), 16.

sustained through customary procedure, and the ideas to which many of the jurists and pamphleteers referred were grounded in historical precedent and the traditional prerogatives of the sovereign. The sovereign was invested with authority via hereditary succession, the divinity of the throne, and the consent of the people governed. Philip was a devout Catholic but his political policies were not entirely driven by religion. He thought it was his duty as a Catholic monarch to protect the Roman Catholic Church, but also, and maybe principally, because he thought that maintaining religious unity within the empire was a pre-condition for maintaining the empire itself.¹¹⁸ The documents that circulated during the 1560s and 1570s revealed the provinces' growing recognition of their role in Philip's investiture. To accuse the king of Spain of treason was a bold and deadly move, even through the anonymity of the printing press; and to be found guilty of *lèse-majesté* was almost certainly a death sentence. Three questions were raised as a result: How and by whom was lawful resistance to the sovereign of the Low Countries sanctioned? Were the ideas of the *vaderland* and *patria* influential in shaping arguments about loyalty and obedience? And what implications did tyranny and treason have for the idea of liberty?

Pamphlet literature was especially important in the dissemination of statecraft theory. Including the need to create a justified theory of resistance, the Netherlands' writers

¹¹⁸ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 31-32. Gelderen notes that the biographies of Philip II cast him as an obstinate and intolerant man while others characterize him as a perfect master in the art of ruling. When considering Philip's portrayal through the lens of the rebel pamphleteers, the king of Spain was typically cast as a villain or as a naïve ruler manipulated by evil advisors. The documents published after the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566 and through the removal of the Duke of Alva in 1572 adopted an assertive tone toward the sovereign and pointed out his constitutional violations while still maintaining their customary stance of obedience.

understood that the formation of a common language and understanding of sovereignty would give the residents of the provinces a sense of ownership in the debate. There was no central body responsible for censoring print, and the system remained dependent on the very printers it was designed to control in that these could often choose their own censors.

Although the censors, Catholic theologians, probably took their jobs very seriously, the fact that they largely acted independently, and followed edicts and guidelines that remained vague beyond the outlawing of ‘seditious’ and ‘heretical’ material, left room for such material to slip through the net.¹¹⁹ The crown issued the *Order, Statute, and Provisional Edict of the King, our Lord, on the actions and conduct of printers, booksellers, and schoolmasters* in 1570 and reiterated guidelines established during the revolt. Publishers were required to print and widely disseminate Spanish edicts and decrees so that “no one can pretend [they are unaware] because of ignorance.”¹²⁰ Teachers and booksellers were also commanded to identify transgressors and the disobedient—students, neighbors, and colleagues alike—and forbidden from concealing their actions or their persons.¹²¹ It was

¹¹⁹ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 38.

¹²⁰ “...Afin que nul n’en puisse pretendre cause d’ignorance.” *Ordonnance, statvt et Edict provisionel du Roy nostre Sire, sur le fait & conduyte des Imprimeurs, Libraires & Maistres d’escolle*. Avec preuilege de sa Maiesté. Imprimé en la ville de Bruxelles, par Michiel de Hamont, Imprimeur juré, demeurant sur le Pongelmerct, ou soubz la Maison d’icelle Ville. L’an M.D. LXX (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 164), A2.

¹²¹ “Et ausurplus la facent garder & observer en tous & quelzconques ses pointz & articles, selon sa forme & teneur. En procedant & faisant proceder contre les transgresseurs & desobeysans, par l’execution des paines des... mentionees, Sans aucune grace, port, fauer, ou dissimulation.” *Ordonnance, statvt et Edict provisionel du Roy nostre Sire, sur le fait & conduyte des Imprimeurs, Libraires & Maistres d’escolle*, A2.

expected that those who broke the censorship laws would be condemned as criminals contributing toward *lèse-majesté*. Philip II also used pamphlet literature in his favor: his writers tried to create a more benevolent image of the king, they explained his ‘cruel decisions’ as merciful because he could have reacted more severely, and he attempted to blame the Low Countries’ nobility for disturbing the peace of the provinces due to their selfish interests.

Meanwhile, the Duke of Alva’s Council of Troubles—also known as the Council of Blood—was patented on September 5, 1567. The Council of Troubles institutionalized the enforcement of the edicts and placards against heresy, and also regulated the processes of justice and punishment against heretics. The Council of Troubles saw no place for heresy, privileges, and local autonomy under Philip’s new rule of law. The Spanish government wanted to have a firm grip on the seventeen provinces. It is estimated that about 12,000 people were put to trial. Approximately 9,000, including William of Orange, were sentenced by default and their possessions confiscated. Finally, more than 1,000 people, including the Count of Hoorne and the Count of Egmont, were executed.¹²² The leaders of the resistance to Philip and Alva’s policies justified their rebellion as a defense of public rights and customary privileges.

The increase of violence against those of the Reformed religion and the institutionalization of the Inquisition within their borders resulted in many people accusing the king of intentionally violating the rights of his subjects. One pamphlet claimed to have documentation that the entire population of the Low Countries had been judged guilty of

¹²² Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 40.

lèse-majesté and had been forfeited of life and property.¹²³ Ultimately, Philip was enforcing the exact same political and religious policies that had been established by Charles V but he did so with less restraint and negotiation than his father. Several of the members of the States General along with William of Orange believed that Philip's pitiless religious policies were incompatible with his political policies. As the sovereign, Philip was sworn to protect the liberty, rights, privileges, and property of his subjects. Philip's endorsement of the active persecution of accused heretics by Alva rendered their loyalty to Philip null if he failed to curb the edicts and his governor-general.

A 1568 document attempted to stir up support for Orange and claimed that he resorted to arms to defend king and country against the ruinous activities of the evil counselor that was Alva, as was his right given the duke's assault on privileges.¹²⁴ The people were not eager to break with Philip at that point and, as occurred often in the early modern era, the inhabitants blamed the 'evil ministers and magistrates' first. It was a trend in the development of resistance literature, especially in the tumultuous sixteenth century.

When it came time to establish a legal basis for their resistance-right theories, the sixteenth-century authors from the Low Countries leaned upon the works produced by their French neighbors during the Wars of Religion. Theodore B  za and Jean Bodin were two of the most influential theorists of the era, and their publications defined the right to resist a tyrannical sovereign within carefully constructed premises of constitutionalism. John

¹²³ K.W. Swart, "The Black Legend During the Eighty Years War," in *Britain and the Netherlands*, edited by J.S. Bromley and E.H. Kossman, Vol. V (The Hague, 1975), 42, in Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 37.

¹²⁴ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 37.

Calvin's lieutenant and successor, Theodore B za strictly followed the dogma of Calvinism. He was patient during the violent warfare in France and advised the devout to endure the trials of their piety. When Calvin and B za concluded in 1562 that armed resistance was imminent, they used the most narrow definition and directed the movement against the Duke of Guise and other advisors who were accused of usurping and corrupting royal authority. It was an honorable strategy to rebel against corrupt magistrates rather than against the king. B za remained cautious even after the Saint Bartholomew's Day massacre on August 24, 1572, when he finally justified resistance to the king in defense of the Reformed religion.

Published in 1573, *Du Droit des magistrats sur leurs sujets* referred to Roman law to establish constitutional precedent. The people granted authority to the king on the condition that he would protect public welfare. If the ruler violated that oath, the people—represented by the magistrates—had the right and responsibility to remove him from power. B za did not limit himself to secular elements in his justification of the right to resist: the commands of the king had to be consonant with those of God, not just the laws and customs of the realm. The influence of *Du Droit des magistrats sur leurs sujets* influence on the Netherlands' early theories of resistance was found in B za's position on the responsibilities of the population after the emergence of a tyrant. He advised following a moderate course and trusted that the magistrates—the States General in the Low Countries—would lawfully remove the public enemy. B za wrote, "but if the magistrates from connivance or whatever, should fail to do their duty, then each private citizen should exert all his strength to defend the legitimate institutions of his country (to which, after God, man owes his whole existence) and to resist an individual whose authority is not legitimate because he would usurp, or has usurped,

dominion in violation of the law.”¹²⁵ Private persons had no authority to act against a sovereign even if he became a tyrant.

Tyrants were described as those who acted “completely contrary to the good old customs of our ancestors, and directly contradict the fundamental laws of the kingdom established at the time of its foundation.”¹²⁶ But could the sovereign be lawfully resisted if he ordered religious persecution? Yes, Béza responded, because

The chief duty of a good magistrate is to employ all means that God has given him to make sure that God is recognized and served as king of kings... Accordingly, he should use the weapon of the law against the disturbers of the true religion who will not listen to the admonitions and censures of the church and his military arm against those who cannot otherwise be halted.¹²⁷

The danger inherent in his claim was evident because it lacked definition and direction.

In the Low Countries’ pamphlet literature, the phrase “true religion” did not often appear in Protestant publications. There was an emphasis on Christianity in general and the need to create an agreement in the name of restoring public peace. Armed resistance was also posited as a last resort effort in the attempt to remove a tyrannical ruler. And while the French influenced the authors of Dutch resistance literature, it was a stretch to claim that the population invested the States General with as much trust and power as Béza advised. Strongly conservative and aware of their obligations to Spain by virtue of their appointments,

¹²⁵ Theodore Béza, “On the Rights of Magistrates Over Their Subjects,” in *Constitutionalism and Resistance in Sixteenth-Century France: Three Treatises by Hotman, Béza, and du Plessis-Mornay*, translated and edited by Julian H. Franklin (New York: Pegasus, 1969), 32.

¹²⁶ Béza, “On the Rights of Magistrates Over Their Subjects,” *Constitutionalism and Resistance in Sixteenth-Century France*, 121.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*, 133.

the States General was one of the last groups to get on board with the resistance effort and even then all members did not sanction it.

Another French theorist who was influential on the resistance-right literature published in the Low Countries was Jean Bodin. Bodin's *Six Livres de la République* (1576) was written to balance the aggressive approach of the Huguenot monarchomachs in France. He attacked their loose definition of legislative authority and gave precise definition to the term 'sovereignty.' Bodin believed in the natural virtue of a sovereign, and hoped that the monarch would let his conscience and empathy temper his decisions, but he still attributed rights over property and the consent of taxation to the people. His insistence upon the limits of natural and divine law, contracts, and popular consent indicated his willingness to preserve the bonds of law upon the ruler.¹²⁸ By investing the throne with unconditional sovereignty, the people entrusted successive monarchs to protect their rights, privileges, and practices.

Bodin also recognized the problem caused by ill-defined customs, natural laws, and oral contacts. While his constitutional system presented a complete, logical, and well-rounded ideal, its ultimate influence, in part through its distortion by his followers, proved disastrous to the older constitutionalism.¹²⁹ His doctrine of absolute power in the crown challenged the theory that sovereignty was invested in the States. *Six Livres de la République* stated that when power to make law was allocated to more than one person, its efficacy was weakened and so was the power of the king. Sovereign power was and must be indivisible to

¹²⁸ William Farr Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France: A Study in the Evolution of Ideas* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969), 235.

¹²⁹ Church, *Constitutional Thought in Sixteenth-Century France*, 242.

maintain the dignity of the crown and public peace. Indivisible sovereignty was absolute power. Not surprisingly, Bodin did not condone violent resistance and removal of a tyrant.

Meanwhile, accounts of attempted peace negotiations in Breda indicated the crumbling relationship between the governor-general Don Luis de Requesens—representative of the Spanish throne—and the provincial delegates from Holland and Zeeland:

His princely Highness [William of Orange] and the States are considered rebels and open enemies of his Majesty. Yet it should be understood that they have not offended His Majesty nor deprived him of his authority. On the contrary, it was for the benefit of His Majesty that they defended the provinces and towns, their lives and their possessions, their houses, wives and children against the tyranny of the Duke of Alva and his adherents which was inevitably leading to the eternal destruction of the provinces; and it was to help the king that they used all possible means and exerted themselves to the utmost to drive their adversaries out of their country... We cannot forget the horrible fate that befell the counts of Egmont and Hoorne, the lord of Montigny, and many others, nobles as well as persons of high rank, and they are impressed by the numerous accounts of cases of contracts and promises being broken.¹³⁰

Following the theory of sovereignty advocated by Bodin, those participants from the Low Countries in the negotiations at Breda asked Philip, via Requesens, to withdraw his command that subjects who refused to follow the doctrine of the Roman Catholic church leave the country. The representatives from the States of Holland and Zeeland embodied the most radical opinions with regard to the need to remove a tyrannical sovereign. Yet as late as 1575, those delegates still identified Alva as the main problem and declared their wish to “keep

¹³⁰ Montigny, who was sent to Spain on an official mission in 1566, was imprisoned and finally executed in secret at Simancas in October 1570. *Cort ende warachtich vhael van het gene dat o de handelinge van den vrede... tusschen den prince van Oraengien, met die Staten van Hollandt ende Zeelandt [...] ende die Spaensche gouerneur der Nederlanden [...] tot Breda geschiet is*. Emden, G. Goebens, MDLXXV (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 239), n.p. Translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 124-125.

themselves united with other countries under his Majesty [Philip II].”¹³¹ It was risky in the fragmented political environment of the Netherlands to attempt to divide sovereignty: after all, which provinces would reign supreme? Who would decide upon the division of power? The possibility of chaos was tangible.

In 1576 the Netherlands’ Council of State took steps to eliminate the Council of Troubles. Philip failed to respond to their initial request to disband the tribunal and the Council of State took his silence for a yes and disbanded the Council of Troubles without further ado.¹³² Although still limited in their actions by their dependence upon Philip’s approval, the Council of State recognized that the Blood Council was only adding to anti-royalist and anti-Catholic sentiment in the seventeen provinces. It was difficult to defend the sovereign of the Low Countries against accusations that he was oppressing his subjects and that he was ruling by whim rather than by law. The question of how and by whom lawful resistance was sanctioned was important in determining the course of action during the period of the revolt. French authors published critical sources during their own civil wars that outlined various options for resisting royal authority and for clarifying the essence of sovereignty, and while those theories may have influenced political theory in the Netherlands, they were not uniformly adopted.

If—following Bodin’s suggestion that sovereignty was indivisible—the Netherlands chose to move against Philip and his governors-general in the provinces, they would be violating their oath to protect their ruler. Many inhabitants of the provinces *did* hold out hope

¹³¹ *Cort ende warachtich vhael van het gene dat o de handelinge van den vrede*, n.p. Translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 124.

¹³² Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 73.

that Philip II would come to realize that religious uniformity, absolute rule, and vicious reprisals to resistance would not succeed in the Low Countries. The debate that surrounded the definition of Dutch sovereignty and the justification of the right to resist a tyrannical ruler was an on-going discourse between the States General, local authorities, and political theorists and jurists. Philip's understanding of his role in the Low Countries was through the lens of his position as the Spanish king: while he may have recognized the different—and lower—titles that he held in the provinces, that recognition did not ultimately change his style of rule. The anonymous authors of the pamphlet literature that circulated in the 1560s and 1570s encouraged popular rebellion and resistance against the Spanish crown in the name of protecting their rights, privileges, and *vrijheid van geweten* (freedom of conscience).¹³³ Lawful resistance during the Dutch revolt was a conglomeration of ideas both foreign and domestic in response to what was perceived as a threat from the Spanish sovereign to the provincial autonomy and personal freedoms held by the subjects of the Low Countries.

The idea of the *vaderland* played an important role in the discussion about obedience, sovereign power, and the justification of the right to resist because it forced the inhabitants of the Low Countries to identify their hierarchy of loyalty. In patriarchal sixteenth-century society, the king was often portrayed as the father charged with the divine duty of protecting and disciplining his subjects—his 'children.' As far back as 1548, the Treaty of Augsburg brought all of the hereditary lands of Habsburgs in the Low Countries and Burgundy together in the Burgundian circle. The members of this circle made a contribution to the Reich in

¹³³ See Chapter Three, "Freedom of Conscience: The Case for Toleration in the Low Countries, 1564-1582," for an examination and discussion of the issues surrounding *vrijheid van geweten*.

return for enjoying its protection, but henceforth they were exempt from the jurisdiction of the imperial court of appeal.¹³⁴ Alastair Duke credits the treaty of Augsburg with creating a “specific and exclusively Netherlandish consciousness,” whether intended or not.¹³⁵ When Charles V abdicated and transferred royal authority to Philip, over 312 deputies representing the seventeen provinces in the States General were present: an impressive witness to the Habsburgs’ progress in creating a unified policy in the Netherlands.¹³⁶ The notion of *patrie* began to appear in publications and suggested a growing connection with their country, not just their city or province.

During the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566, the Low Countries saw an increase in the number of circulated publications that addressed the violence and chaos caused by the rioting iconoclasts. *Placard and order of the King, our Lord, to Remedy the Sacrilege, Pillage, and Ruin of Temples, Churches, Cloisters and Monasteries; And to Guide Popular Sentiment in the Low Countries* included numerous references to the *vaderland* as a means of ending the image-breaking demonstrations:

We most expressly prohibit to each and all in particular, the plundering, destruction, vandalism, or burning, directly or indirectly, of churches, cloisters, monasteries, and other houses of God in our aforementioned country... We hereby declare such people to be sacrilegious, public robbers, enemies of God, of us, and of our world. All of

¹³⁴ P.L. Nève, *Het rijksamergericht en de Nederlanden* (Assen, 1972), 121-27. This source is also examined by Alastair Duke in “From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, Vol. 32 (1982), 120.

¹³⁵ Duke, “From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands,” 121.

¹³⁶ Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 33.

those people we allow to be killed, not only with impunity but with honor, as they are a common enemy of the Fatherland and the public.¹³⁷

Most surprising about this passage is that the *Spanish* leaned on the idea of the fatherland in exactly the same way that the propagandists from the Low Countries would just a few years later to rally resistance to the Crown. Equally unexpected is the call for the people in general to address the problems of the iconoclasts themselves; the suggested method was capital punishment.¹³⁸ The document also called on the people to remove the iconoclasts, not necessarily because they were Protestants, but because they were disturbing the public peace.

¹³⁷ “...*Interdisons tres expressement à tous, & chascun en particulier, de piller, destruire, saccaiger ou brusler, directement ou indirectement aucune Eglises, Cloistres, monasteries, ou aultres Maisons de Dieu, en nosdicts Pays de pardeça... Declairans telz gens pour sacrileges larrons publicqz, enemies de Dieu, de nous, & du monde. Lesquelz permettons à tous de tuer, non seulement impunement mais aussi avec honneur, comme lon faict d’vn ennemy commun de la Patrie, & grafateur publicq.*” *Placcart et ordonnance dv roy nostre sire, pour remedier aux Saccaigemens, Pilleries & Tuynes des Temples, Eglises, Cloistres & Monasteres. Et donner ordre à l’Emotion populaire, en ce Pays d’embas.* Avec Preuilege de son Alteze. Imprime en la ville de Bruxelles/ par Michiel de Hamont, Imprimeur iure demeurant sur le Pongelmert/ou soubz la maison de ceste Ville. 1566 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 126), n.p.

¹³⁸ In his article, “Toleration and Dissent in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alternative Tradition,” Henry Kamen argues that the presence of Christianity, Judaism, and Islam in Spain indicates that the historiographical trend that portrays the Spaniards as intolerant and quick to persecute dissent is false. Kamen argues that it was not Philip II who initiated the “policy of blood” in the Netherlands but rather Charles V, and claims that most Spaniards in the Netherlands (according to the testimony of Requesens) “favored a policy without religious repression, since the alternative was unworkable.” Henry Kamen, “Toleration and Dissent in Sixteenth-Century Spain: The Alternative Tradition,” *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, Vol. 19, No. 1 (Spring 1988), 18-19.

Similar sentiments appear again and again in the pamphlet literature of the period but from the Protestant perspective.

In terms of religious affiliation, the ideal of the fatherland played a different role. Some Catholics who found themselves living under rebellious, Protestant authority remained loyal to Catholicism and the king of Spain. Jan Sweerts, for example, lived in the village of Zevenbergen, which was regularly occupied by Protestant troops. In 1573 he told royal officials that his life under rebel rule had never interfered with his loyalty to Philip and the Roman Catholic Church.¹³⁹ Meanwhile, other Catholic believers were prepared to conform outwardly to elements of the Reformed religion.¹⁴⁰ Protestant sources indicated a different attitude toward accommodation and negotiation with Catholic authorities.

Philip of Marnix, lord of St. Aldegonde, and an important author and political figure for Dutch Protestants, first published his French satirical diatribe *The Bee Hive of the Romish Church* in 1567. It was translated into Dutch two years later and soon became one of the most widely effective Calvinist tracts. The work was written from the perspective of a Catholic churchman who wrote it as an allegorical defense of the Roman faith.¹⁴¹ Chapter V described the nature of bees—in other words, Catholics—and said:

¹³⁹ Geert H. Janssen, “Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566-1609,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 64, No. 2 (Summer 2011), 482.

¹⁴⁰ Janssen notes, “in recent decades, scholars have emphasized the malleable, fluent, and shifting nature of religious identities in the sixteenth-century Low Countries.” Janssen, “Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566-1609,” 482n.

¹⁴¹ Philip of Marnix, Lord of St. Aldegonde, *De bijenkorf der Heilige Roomsche Kerke, met inleiding en varianten*, 2 delen. Bewerkt door A. Lacroix & A. Willems. Brussels: Ter drukkerij van Fr. van Meenen, 1858. This source is also available as “The Bee Hive of the Romish Church,” translated into English by George

They all have one king, and cannot abide without a king, whom they call *Papa*, as if one should say *Pater Apum*, that is to say, The Father of Bees... This king hath a sting in like manner, but he doth not occupy himself abroad, because all other bees are pressed to do him service, in whatsoever it pleaseth him to command... He seldom goes abroad, but when he doth determine to go forth any whither, it may be perceived long before, by the swarming and humming of the forerunners. For whensoever he goeth out, the whole swarm followeth round about him, and oftentimes they carry him on their shoulders, like as the honey bees doth carry their king.¹⁴²

Marnix may have been referring to either the Pope or the Spanish king, Philip II. Both references would have been particularly offensive to a devout supporter of the sovereign in the Low Countries and beyond. Marnix's document indicated that submission to powerful institutions was no longer rendered without question, especially when those institutions conflated secular and religious power.

Following Philip II's portrayal as a tyrant in the popular literature of the late 1570s, jurists and writers began to rework the framework of popular sovereignty. Loyalty and obedience were redirected toward the *vaderland* and the *patria*. The States General remained, at least through 1576, an institution intended to secure local privileges against the encroachments of the sovereign. But the character, power, and privileges of the nobility differed between the provinces. In the provinces, the sovereign remained an abstract and ambivalent figure, at once upholding and threatening their liberties.¹⁴³ The fatherland, while

Gilpin the Elder (London: John Dawson, 1623), 350-56, and translated in Rowen, *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times*, 49. It is also available in the 1636 edition through *Early English Books Online*.

¹⁴² Philip of Marnix, "The Bee Hive of the Romish Church," 350-56, in Rowen, *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times*, 54.

¹⁴³ Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands," 119.

also an abstract principle, united the interests, identity, and allegiance of the people. It was an idea to which all inhabitants of the Low Countries could adhere because, regardless of bloodline or wealth or position, they all belonged to the *vaderland*. The principles of peace demanded that the subjects demonstrate obedience and loyalty to their ruler, but when that ruler brought his subjects into a state of slavery the Dutch were entitled to disobey and decide what to do for the best interests of the country.¹⁴⁴ They did not revoke their endorsement and support of sovereign *authority*, but rather of the man who held the position. If the prince forsook his duty and oath, and sought to govern the country at will, it was “better to fall into disgrace with a prince” who acted as a tyrant than to “spoil, against right and reason, his own fatherland and to incur the curse of the oppressed community and the wrath of God.”¹⁴⁵ By expanding their definition of sovereignty, the anonymous authors, theorists, and political leaders elaborated on the constitutional argument for the power of the States and the right of resistance.

In 1576 the Spanish soldiers, unpaid and restless, began to mutiny throughout the provinces. The soldiers spent much of their time sleeping beneath hedgerows or in makeshift shelters of branches or canvas; they were permanently subject to a brutal and arbitrary discipline; and there was always a high risk of mutilation or violent death. Worst of all, the

¹⁴⁴ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 135.

¹⁴⁵ *Vertoog ende openinghe om een geode, salighe ende generale vrede te maken in dese Nederlanden, 1576*, in Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 135. This document is part of a larger collection of sources under the title, *Lettres inédites de Philippe, comte de Lalaing, sénéchal de Flandre, baron d'Escornaix et de Wavrin, gouverneur, capitaine général et grand bailli du pays et comté de Hainaut: 1576-1579* (Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Number Unknown).

men were often left without wages and sometimes went without food as well.¹⁴⁶ The officers of the army were elected, and there was an *electo* or leader, a council to advise him, and commissars to carry out orders. Every man owed unswerving, blind obedience to these elected chiefs. All insubordination was punished with death.¹⁴⁷ The Spanish army represented the function of Spanish sovereignty in the Netherlands on a smaller scale.

Although the States General professed loyalty to the king, there was no doubt that the provinces shared common interests. During Requesens's tenure, it became clear to both loyalists and rebels that the foreign troops had to go, and the autumn of 1576 saw further expressions of unity.¹⁴⁸ The sack of Antwerp, also called the Spanish Fury, happened on November 4: it destroyed over 1,000 homes and claimed the lives of an estimated 8,000 people.¹⁴⁹ Geoffrey Parker calls the "holocaust at Antwerp one of the worst atrocities of the sixteenth century."¹⁵⁰ Yet the destruction and death served two larger issues: first, the Spanish Fury added to the Black Legend and contributed toward discrediting Philip II in the eyes of his supporters; and second, it liberated the States General from their obedience to the new governor-general, Don John, and allowed them to ratify their bargain with William of Orange and his supporters in the Pacification of Ghent on November 8, 1576.

¹⁴⁶ Geoffrey Parker, "Mutiny and Discontent in the Spanish Army of Flanders, 1572-1607," *Past & Present*, No. 58 (Feb., 1973), 38.

¹⁴⁷ Parker, "Mutiny and Discontent in the Spanish Army of Flanders, 1572-1607," 58.

¹⁴⁸ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 78.

¹⁴⁹ Parker, *The Dutch Revolt*, 178.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

A placard issued in 1577 to the merchants and city-dwellers of Antwerp directed the inhabitants of the city to reclaim their property from the “mutinous adherents” of Spain in order to save the city and her inhabitants.¹⁵¹ The document warned people against helping the soldiers and promised that they would be punished if they were caught participating in the looting and sacking of their neighbors’ households. The destruction of the city, it argued, and ruin of the trade and merchandise in Antwerp would weaken the overall strength of the country: the collective interests of the *vaderland*, while not explicitly stated, were consistently alluded to within the text.¹⁵² With Holland and Zeeland leading the

¹⁵¹ “*Enoultre defendons & interdisons à tous par cesdictes presents. De mener hors de noz pays de pardeça, par mer, par terre, ou eaue douce, aucuns biens, pacquetez ou non pacquetez, soubz vmbre de marchandise, ou aultrement, sans premierement estre visitez par le commis des toulieux ou officiers, pour veoir si entre lesdicts biens y à, quelque chose pittée ou desrobée audict saccagement d’Anuers.*” *Placcart du Roy nostre Sire, Par lequel à tous Marchans, Bourgeois, & Manans de la Ville d’Anuers, est accordé de pouuoir vendiquer leurs biens, par les Espaignolz amutinez & leurs adherens, pillez & Despouillez, & Enoultre contenant aultres pointz & articles, pour preuenir à la totale ruyne de ladict Ville, & inhaitans d’icelle. Auec preuilege de sa Maiesté. Imprimé en la Ville de Bruxelles, par Michiel de Hamont, Imprimeur juré de sa Maiesté. L’an 1577 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 273), A4.*

¹⁵² “*Que les choses dessusdictes considerees, inclinans fauorablement à la requeste & supplication desdicts Estatz genereaulx, & desirans ouuier à la totale ruyne, des bons Marchans, Bourgeois, & Manans de nostre dicte Ville d’Anvers, si enormement endommaigez par le pillage & saggagement d’icelle Ville à nostre grāt regret. Nous pour ces causes, & aultres à ce nous mouuās.*” *Placcart du Roy nostre Sire, Par lequel à tous Marchans, Bourgeois, & Manans de la Ville d’Anuers, est accordé de pouuoir vendiquer leurs biens, par les Espaignolz amutinez & leurs adherens, pillez & Despouillez, & Encoultre contenant aultres pointz & articles, pour preuenir à la totale ruyne de ladict Ville, & inhaitans d’icelle, n.p.*

constitutional charge, the Netherlands started to come together in alliance against their common enemies: Philip II, his armies, and his political appointees.

The Act of Abjuration and the Nature of Revolt

Tyranny was a powerful term because it applied to both the secular and the religious realms of life. Béza's definition of tyranny consisted of several elements: violence being exercised against those of the Reformed religion; contempt for the States General; the 'corruption of the chief officers of justice reduced to the service of the new governors'; the 'finances of the kingdom distributed at their command to whomever they choose, and likewise offices and benefices'; and an inclination to override the established laws of the kingdom.¹⁵³ In the Netherlands, constitutional arguments tended to be based on the primacy of privileges and customary rights. Those who wrote against Philip II—both Protestant and Catholic—did not consider liberty a negotiable term. The rights of the Spanish king only applied to them insofar as they did not infringe upon their rights as defined by laws and rituals such as the *Blijde Inkomst*. But arguing such a progressive definition of government against a ruler who still operated under the traditional vestiges of imperial and absolute power was complicated.

The States General and rebel leaders including William of Orange attempted to reconcile their grievances with Philip through lawful procedures and technically avoided committing *lèse-majesté* by first accusing the Spanish ministers, bishops, and governors-

¹⁵³ Theodore Béza, *Histoire ecclésiastique* I, 248-49, in Denis Crouzet, "Calvinism and the Uses of the Political and the Religious, France, ca. 1560-ca. 1572," in *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555-1585*, edited by Philip Benedict, Guido Marnef, Henk van Nierop, and Marc Venard (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), 104.

general of corrupting the rule of law in the provinces. The effect of defining the sovereignty and the limits of popular obedience was that the Netherlands reminded Philip that they were active players who understood and asserted their authority in popular sovereignty. As late as 1579, the States General defended their decisions as an attempt to “preserve the proper authority of His Majesty” in accordance with divine and natural law and with the privileges and customs of the country. Under a righteous ruler, the inhabitants of the Low Countries would be willing to entrust him with their lives, property, and privileges. Under Philip II, however, the subjects were reduced to a state of slavery and desperation.¹⁵⁴ Essentially, the inhabitants of the seventeen provinces did not want to create a new form of government or drastically change their daily lives and responsibilities. They wanted a return to stability and predictability, an end to the civil wars, the cessation of cruel and arbitrary punishment of Protestants, and the return of authority and function to the States General.

The Union of Utrecht was signed on January 29, 1579, and was a formal alliance of provinces acting as if they were independent states: it integrated their foreign policies and war efforts through a fairly loose federation in order to defend their individual independence and traditional customs.¹⁵⁵ The treaty of the Union boldly asserted that Philip II had become an enemy of the state and stated the terms of provincial alliance as such: “The provinces shall be bound to assist each other with their lives and property against all acts of violence which anyone might perpetrate against them on behalf of (or allegedly on behalf of) His Majesty the King or his servants... or only on the pretext of wanting to reestablish, restore or introduce

¹⁵⁴ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 142.

¹⁵⁵ *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 32.

the Roman Catholic religion by force of arms.”¹⁵⁶ The Union of Utrecht united the northern provinces against the Spanish throne.

Written into the treaty were limitations and expectations for the new ruler, specifically that *stadhouders*, ministers, and commanding officers would support the articles of the treaty and the rights of the provinces beside the sovereign.¹⁵⁷ However, in no way did they suggest that Philip II’s lost sovereignty reverted to the people and their representatives, the States General. That would have implied a concept of sovereignty still alien to this generation not so much because it approached the idea of popular sovereignty –after all, a

¹⁵⁶ *Verhandelinghe vande vnue, Eeuuwich Verbondt ende Eendracht. Tusschen die Landen, Provincien, Steden ende leden van dien hier naer benoempt, Binnen die Stadt Vtrecht gheslooten, ende ghepuliceert vanden Stadt-huyse den xxix. Ianuary, Anno M.D. LXXIX.* Ghedruct t’Vtrecht, Coenraet henricksz: vvoenende inden gulden Enghel, by die Gaert-Brugghe (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 415), Article II, n.p. Translated as “Treaty of the Union, eternal alliance and confederation made in the town of Utrecht by the countries and their towns and members, 29 January 1579,” in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 167.

¹⁵⁷ “So those from the duchy of Gelderland and the county of Zutphen, and those from the countries and regions of Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and the Ommelanden between the river Eems and the Sea of Lauwers have thought it advisable to ally and to unite more closely and particularly, not with the intention of withdrawing from the General Union set up at the Pacification of Ghent but rather to strengthen it and protect themselves against all the difficulties that their enemy’s practices, attacks or outrages... By doing so they do not desire to withdraw from the Holy Roman Empire.” “*Verhandelinghe vande vnue, Eeuuwich Verbondt ende Eendracht. Tusschen die Landen, Provincien, Steden ende leden van dien hier naer benoempt, Binnen die Stadt Vtrecht gheslooten, ende ghepuliceert vanden Stadt-huyse den xxix. Ianuary, Anno M.D. LXXIX*, n.p. Translation in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 172.

sufficiently traditional theory—but because it was too precise and definitive.¹⁵⁸ The consequences of the Union of Utrecht were threefold: first, it declared that the members of the Union were no longer loyal subjects of Philip II; second, the treaty created constitutional tenets that influenced the language used in creating the fundamental laws of the Low Countries; and finally, the document made it clear that while the subjects of the Netherlands expected a foreign sovereign to take power over the provinces, the tasks of the States General, administrative institutions, and day-to-day life would remain functional and unchanged.¹⁵⁹

Published in 1579, the *Good Warning for the Citizens and Especially Those of the Members of Antwerp* articulated a more radical position than the Union of Utrecht. It denounced the person and policy of Philip II, and said “either the king must be tyrannical by nature or so bad that he does not understand his affairs, or at least he must be in somebody’s

¹⁵⁸ Wesenbeke, *De beschrijvinge van den geschiedenissen inder religion saken toegedragen in den Nederlanden*, 1569 (UL, K 147), n.p.

¹⁵⁹ Article I stated, “Not only shall the provinces not hinder each other from exercising these rights nor impair nor prejudice them in any way, but they shall help each other by all proper and possible means, if necessary with their lives and their property, to maintain and strengthen them and they shall protect and defend them against all and everyone—whoever he might be and in whatever capacity he might act—who may actually design to encroach upon them.” *Verhandelinghe vande vnie, Eeuwich Verbondt ende Eendracht. Tusschen die Landen, Provinciën, Steden ende leden van dien hier naer benoempt, Binnen die Stadt Vtrecht gheslooten, ende ghepuliceert vanden Stadt-huyse den xxix. Ianuary, Anno M.D. LXXIX*, n.p. Translation in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 166.

power so that he can neither do nor deal with us as he would want to.”¹⁶⁰ Authority ought to be returned to the people of the Netherlands who were capable of self-governance led by the States General, but not unconditionally. The States could not make a “general regulation,” especially concerning the religious issue that affected the conscience of each individual inhabitant, “without the consent of the members of the towns.”¹⁶¹

Progress toward constitutionalism occurred on July 26, 1581, when the *Plakkaat van Verlatinge*, or the Act of Abjuration, was signed into law. The document declared that because Philip II violated his oaths and responsibilities as ruler over the Low Countries, he was no longer sovereign. The language of the Act adopted the metaphors and analogies that had regularly appeared in the pamphlet literature since 1566: allusions to slavery, sheep betrayed by their shepherd, children terrorized by their father, and violent persecution of loyal and obedient subjects lent a self-effacing tone to the document. The *Plakkaat* concentrated on the right of resistance to tyranny and the failure of the king to fulfill his God-given task: “It is generally agreed that God has appointed a prince to protect and safeguard them [his subjects] from all injustice, harm and violence, as a shepherd protects his flock, and that the subjects are not created for the sake of the prince... like slaves. On the contrary, the

¹⁶⁰ “...Soit le roy doit être tyrannique par nature ou si mauuais qu'il ne comprend pas ses affaires, ou du moins il doit estre dans la puissance de quelque un afin qu'il ne peut ni faire ni traiter avec nous comme il voudrait.” *Goede vvaerschouwinghe voor den borgheren ende besonder dien vanden leden van Antwerpen, dat sy hen niet en souden laten verlocken met het soet aengheven vande bedriechlijcke artijckelen van peyse onlanx ghecomen van Cuelen*, MDLXXIX. Ghedruckt, s.n. (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Tiele 108), n.p.

¹⁶¹ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 144.

prince is there for the sake of the people.”¹⁶² The *Plakkaat van Verlatinge* did not transfer the crown and the sovereignty of the country to another prince: the States General themselves had assumed sovereignty over the country, but it took time before this fact was generally recognized and fully understood even by the States themselves.¹⁶³

The decision to offer lordship over the Low Countries to the Duke of Anjou was made before the Act of Abjuration was published. William of Orange worked to persuade the Netherlands to accept Anjou as their new sovereign leader. There were serious misgivings about inviting the youngest son of Henry II of France and Marie de’ Medici. The Hollanders and Zeelanders were set against giving authority to another Catholic prince; the north-eastern provinces, joined to the Netherlands only in the course of the sixteenth century, always distrusted initiatives from Brussels or Antwerp; and the Flemings and the Brabanters traditionally hated the French, and even the French-speaking Walloon provinces had bad memories of French aggression and occasional French occupation.¹⁶⁴ The Low Countries needed a sovereign to govern them, and ultimately Anjou’s weak rendering of sovereignty made him appear to be the perfect prince to replace Philip II following the Act of Abjuration.

¹⁶² *Placcaert vande Staten Generael vande Gheunieerde Nederlanden: byden vvwelcken... men verklaert den coninck van Spaegnien vervallen vande overheyt ende heerschappije van dese voorsz. Nederlanden, Leyden 1581* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, University Library Pamphlets, PAMFLT 1581: 4), iii. Translated in Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 150.

¹⁶³ H.G. Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments: The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 297.

¹⁶⁴ Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments: The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, 298-99.

But why did the States General and the provincial inhabitants continually give sovereign authority to a foreigner rather than to a person from the Low Countries? In the 1430s, the Burgundian Duke Philip started a program of administrative reorganization and state-building intended to unify the Netherlands which included establishing the States General. The provinces were divided based on their wealth, their industrial and mercantile activity, and their population size. For example, the States General always gathered in Brussels or another city because of the concentration of leading nobles in the south.¹⁶⁵ Particularism and autonomy meant that the provinces tended to protect their own interests first, especially when it came to trade. The six ‘big towns’—Dordrecht, Haarlem, Leiden, Amsterdam, Delft, and Gouda—dominated the States General, but those towns did not produce the two main economic assets of the Low Countries: the bulk-carrying fleet and the herring fishery.¹⁶⁶ The Burgundian duke did not become much involved with the States General, and the provinces soon discovered that the only way make political progress and to protect economic interests was to work together and accommodate the needs of others.

The tradition of having foreign rulers in the Low Countries continued into the sixteenth century. Although some residents rejected sovereigns who did not speak Dutch or who were not subjects of the provinces, they did not consider changing the tradition. A ‘stranger’ in authority would, theoretically, be better able to negotiate the different demands and needs of the provinces without bending to previously established loyalties. A ‘stranger’ would be removed from the turmoil and emotional toll of the *vaderland*, and would have a more rational perspective. And possibly a ‘stranger’ with no loyalty to the *patria* would

¹⁶⁵ Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, 23.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 24.

allow the representative States General to play a larger role in provincial governance. Many of the leaders of the nobility were related by blood or marriage to the German aristocracy: Brederode, Egmont, and Hoorne had all taken German consorts, while William of Orange was German by birth.¹⁶⁷ As the leader of the rebel movement, Orange never denied his German heritage but he emphasized his credentials as the scion of a family whose members had loyally served the rulers in the Netherlands, and whose connections with the provinces had begun more than two hundred years earlier.¹⁶⁸ Significance was attached to an individual's connections to the land, to his neighbors, and to the ideals of the *vaderland*.

So when the Netherlands went in search of a replacement sovereign following their abjuration of loyalty to Philip, Anjou was a natural ally. Although France was suffering through religious and political crises that were similar to those in the Low Countries, the States General and William of Orange knew that they needed to make their expectations very clear. Pamphlets generally supported Anjou as a replacement, and described him as a peaceful man, without passion and full of virtue: “a prince is the torch which illuminates the people, and leads them to good works. If he is good and virtuous, so will be the people; if he is evil, the people will be likewise; for each seeks to follow him in order to please him.”¹⁶⁹ Yet there remained a sense of division between compatriots, co-religionists, and foreigners.

¹⁶⁷ Duke, “From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands,” 122.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid. The rise to power and the subsequent mythology surrounding William of Orange is analyzed in Chapter Six, “‘They See That Which I Have Done, They Can Not Iudge My Hearte’: The Mythology of William of Orange.”

¹⁶⁹ *Advis van eene liefhebber des Nederlandts, 1579*, n.p. Translated in Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 173.

Compatriots were identified as people loyal to the country, and who demonstrated strong loyalty to the country and formed their identity through their obedience to the fatherland. Co-religionists were bound together by their shared faith, and shared principles of faith. They also expressed an awareness of responsibility and obedience to a higher authority than could be found on earth. Foreigners, however, were on the outside and could not share the ingrained identity that developed as a result of living and *belonging* to a particular province.

As discussed above, the notion of belonging to the *patrie* ratified the loyalty of the inhabitants of the Low Countries. Thus when Orange described himself as a patriot, he was claiming to be a true friend of the *patrie*, a patriot in the sense of one who loves his country. The Orangists in Brussels and elsewhere in the southern provinces seized upon the notion and began to call themselves *vrays patriots* or, more commonly, *bons patriots*.¹⁷⁰ The *patrie* remained ill defined, however, and was not strictly bound to a geographical definition. In that way, leaders like Orange, through demonstration of their lineage and devotion to particular Netherlandish values such as liberty and loyalty, could rise to power while other foreigners, like Philip II, were lawfully removed from governance.

The sovereign principles of civil duty, obedience, and the need to establish public peace played a role in the way that rebellion developed and expanded in the Low Countries. But did the Dutch revolt fit the traditional framework of sixteenth-century revolution? The

¹⁷⁰ Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands," 128. One of the most important sources that discussed the value of loyalty and the importance of demonstrations of loyalty to a deserving sovereign was *Le Vray Patriot aux Bons Patriots* (1579). This source is examined in detail in Chapter Three, "Freedom of Conscience: The Case for Toleration in the Low Countries, 1564-1582."

verb ‘revolt’ means to resist and oppose something, and to overthrow the authority of the state. Yet the definition also inherently carries with it a sense that those people in revolt are on the wrong side of the law, that they challenge the government on illegal grounds. There was a real sense in the Dutch literature published between 1564 and 1584 that the authors wanted to ground their resistance within a legal framework. While there were certainly errant publications that encouraged violence and revenge against the Spanish presence in the provinces, especially during and after the iconoclasm of 1566, the most influential texts were those that created a framework for sovereignty and a lawful justification of the right to resist a tyrant.

The residents of the Low Countries expected traditions, customs, and privileges to be honored, and they did not easily break with established practices in their own lands. Rituals and ceremonies reinforced sovereign power, clarified boundaries, and established social hierarchy within the provinces. The sovereign, members of the States General, and the population at large recognized, perhaps reluctantly, that they all needed each other in some way. The Dutch Revolt was *not* founded on the idea that their government needed to be overthrown and power given back to the people. Instead the Dutch Revolt began as a movement to restore privileges and their ways of life as they had existed under Charles V. The differences in religious affiliation added another difficult element to the struggle, but the sources consistently demanded that the restoration of public peace and civil order was a primary concern. The scholar Herbert H. Rowen defined a “true” revolution as the seizure of

the state by a revolutionary party with the aim of total transformation, economic, social, cultural, ideological, and political.¹⁷¹ “It was difficult,” Rowen continued,

To say just how much all-Netherlands patriotism there was in the country, as distinct from hostility to Spain, but it was certainly true of Orange. More than for anyone else, it was a compound of interests and dignity offended by the Spanish regime—Alva had confiscated his estates and seized his eldest son—and of his duty to a country ruined by terror. Two judgments guided Orange’s policy. The first was that the Spaniards could not finally be defeated without the support of a major foreign power, either France or England. The other was that, if the Spanish yoke was to be thrown off, the Low Countries must hold together, province with province, class with class, faith with faith, in mutual toleration and respect.¹⁷²

Orange’s expectation of unity was perhaps naïve and idealistic. The notion of a pan-Netherlands community bound together through the shared principles of and desire to protect the *vaderland* also may have seemed sanguine among the riots, mutinying troops, battles at sea, violence against women, and fiery religious persecution.

The pursuit of public peace and prosperity during the Dutch Revolt was rooted in the common recognition that civil war and discord were detrimental to the survival and vitality of the provinces. Like their late medieval and Renaissance predecessors, Dutch authors addressed the question of which state of government would best promote virtue and thereby the common good.¹⁷³ A straightforward return to the practices of Charles V was not really an option considered: after all, Philip II had followed the policies and rulings of his father but he was willing to use force to compel his subjects to obey. Additionally, there was not a “true

¹⁷¹ Rowen, “The Dutch Revolt: What Kind of Revolution?,” *Renaissance Quarterly*, Vol. 43, No. 3 (Autumn, 1990), 571. Rowen follows the definition of revolution as established by Perez Zagorin in his *Rebels and Rulers, 1500-1660*, 2 Vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

¹⁷² Rowen, “The Dutch Revolt: What Kind of Revolution?,” 580.

¹⁷³ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 208.

revolution” because the leaders and inhabitants of the Netherlands neither wanted nor attempted to create a brand-new system of governance. Princely rule and the presence of a foreign sovereign were hallmarks of the Burgundian era, and were not quickly discarded. The authors of the pamphlet literature and most of the representatives in the States resisted absolute power for their sovereign. What the authors favored was a mixed constitution that assured the provinces of their privileges and liberties by adding some form of princely rule to the political rule of the States.¹⁷⁴ The debates about sovereignty and power during the Dutch Revolt advanced their constitutional development and helped develop demonstrable expectations of political authority founded in the principles of liberty, obedience, and the right to resist.

¹⁷⁴ Ibid.

Chapter Three

Freedom of Conscience: The Case for Toleration in the Low Countries, 1564-1582

Vrijheid van geweten, or freedom of conscience, suggested that the mind of an individual, regardless of his or her religious and political affiliations, was beyond the control of a tyrant or anyone for that matter. Liberating to some and frustratingly uncontrollable to others, the debate surrounding freedom of conscience was another example of the ways in which the Low Countries' populations negotiated difficult situations. It represented a shift in the intellectual climate of the era because the inhabitants of the provinces—both Catholic and Protestant—were willing to compromise on the public practice of the Reformed religion in order to restore civic peace and to redirect their forces against the Spanish presence. Freedom of conscience in this aspect referred to the Protestants' ability to worship privately as they saw fit: private meant either within a personal domicile or within their own heart and mind. The values of *vrijheid van geweten* were an important indicator of the development of principles of political and religious peace that dominated the second period of the Dutch revolt.

Early Appearances of *Vrijheid Van Geweten*

Following the removal of Cardinal Granvelle, the Low Countries' nobility returned to the Council of State to discuss the state of religious persecution on New Year's Eve 1564. Granvelle had represented Spain's interests in dominating the provinces and inhibiting their liberties. Not content to sit by while the nobility debated their responsibility in the dissemination of the heresy placards, William of Orange presented the Council with a bold and powerful speech about the dangerous policy that the government was following. He rejected religious persecution and argued for the need for *vrijheid van geweten*. Inspired by

Orange's words, the nobles sent the Count of Egmont to Philip to request a stronger position for the Council of State and to argue for restraint of religious persecution. Philip was currently involved in an expensive war with the Turks in the Mediterranean and was also dealing with aggressive factions. He did not want to agitate the Dutch nobles nor create more political problems in the Low Countries, so the Spanish king conferred some personal favors upon his 'loyal vassal' and put out a screen of soothing words. Philip was sure that he had not made any substantial concessions to Egmont.¹⁷⁵ Egmont, however, returned to the Netherlands convinced that he had achieved his goal of reinforcing the authority of the Council of State and convincing Philip to moderate violent persecution of heretics. Three years later Philip sent letters to the Council that asserted his appointment of the Duke of Alva and his support of Alva's aggressive plan to remove Protestants from the Low Countries.

In response, on April 5, 1566, led by John Marnix, Lord of Thoulouse, Nicholas de Hames, herald-at-arms of the Order of the Golden Fleece, and Hendrick van Brederode, about 300 nobles went to the court of the governess, Margaret of Parma, to offer her a petition which demanded moderation of the religious policy and a meeting of the States General to settle the issue.¹⁷⁶ While the Compromise of the Nobility did not directly use the phrase 'freedom of conscience,' the document introduced several ideas that would continue to develop in the realm of pamphlet literature. In 1566, the nobility did not want to challenge Philip II directly or to accuse him of enforcing the dreadful heresy placards in the Low Countries. Instead, the authors of the Compromise located the source of evil in his administrators and advisors who, they 'assumed,' were working beyond the bounds of their

¹⁷⁵ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 37.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 38.

authority in the provinces. The Spanish sovereign was therefore as betrayed as his subjects in the Netherlands by the abuses of the Inquisition leaders. The Calvinists wrote, “Not only is this inquisition iniquitous and against all divine and human laws, surpassing the worst barbarism ever practiced by tyrants, it will also most certainly lead to the dishonoring of God’s name and to the utter ruin and desolation of these Netherlands.”¹⁷⁷

Although the *Blijde Inkomst* of 1477 allowed the public to challenge the authority of a tyrannical sovereign, the inhabitants of the Low Countries were not yet willing to identify Philip II as a tyrant. The nobles recognized that appealing to Philip’s authority and without directly linking him to crimes committed against God was a way to end the Inquisition. Indeed, the authors of the Compromise went out of their way to state that they were in no way attempting to undermine his authority or remove him from lordship over the Low Countries.¹⁷⁸ Marnix, Hames, and the other nobles contributed to the development of Dutch political theory the idea that the public peace must be secured and guaranteed above all else. While it is not a statement on religion per se, it articulates the issues that were at the center of

¹⁷⁷ “Compromise, January 1566,” *Archives ou Correspondance inédite de la Maison d’Orange-Nassau*, première série IV (Utrecht: Kemink et fils, 1857), edited by G. Groen van Prinsterer (available from Digitale van Bibliotheek van Nederlandse Letteren: http://www.dbnl.org/tekst/groe009arch09_01/groe009arch09_01.pdf), n.p. Translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt in the Netherlands*, 59.

¹⁷⁸ The Compromise of the Nobility also goes on to claim that “we have no intention whatsoever of attempting anything that might eventually dishonor God or diminish the king’s grandeur and majesty, or that of his estates; on the contrary, our purpose is to maintain the king in his estate and to keep order and peace, suppressing, as much as we can, all seditions, popular uprisings, monopoly, factions and partiality.” “Compromise, January 1566,” n.p. Translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt in the Netherlands*, 61.

the Dutch resistance: freedom of opinion, recognition of ancient privileges, the value of representative institutions, and the need to protect the lives and good of both the subjects and the sovereign.

Incidentally, another document printed and circulated in the same year took a stronger stance on the notion of freedom of conscience. *Confession of the Faith of the Church of Jesus Christ in the Netherlands*—first printed in 1561 and later reissued in 1566—argues that the true church of God was not found in brick and mortar buildings or statues or paintings, but in the transcendent faith of believers. A bountiful, personal, and liberated spirituality is the essence of true Christianity:

We believe with our heart and confess with our mouth that there is a single and simple spiritual essence which we call God: eternal, incomprehensible, invisible, unchangeable, infinite, and which is always wise, just, good, and an abundant fountain... In short, if we rule according to the true Word of God, rejecting all things contrary and believing that Jesus Christ is the true savior, we will know the true Church. Those who separate themselves from and do not join the group of the Church, act against the Word of God.¹⁷⁹

The anonymous author recognizes the importance of having holy men to guide faith on earth, but he is also quick to note that inhabitants must be aware that the Word of God can be

¹⁷⁹ “*Nous croyons tous de Coeur, & confessons de bouche qu’il y a vne seule & simple essence spirituelle; laquelle nous appelons Dieu: eternal, incomprehensivle, invisible, immutables, infins, lequel est tout sage, iuste, & bon fontaine tres-abondante de tous biens... En bref, si nous excluons selon la véritable Parole de Dieu, en rejettant toutes choses contraires et de croire que Iesus-Christ est le vrai sauueur, nous connaittrons la véritable Église. Ceux qui se separent et ne pas l’rejoindre le groupe de l’Eglise, agir contre la Parole de Dieu.*” *Belydenisse des gheloofs der Kercken Iesu Christi inde Nederlanden nae de suyverheyt des Evangelij Ghereformeert*. Middelburgh, 1566/1611 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Special Collections Letters, 1365 F 45), A2, A6. This particular pamphlet contained both Dutch and French versions of the text.

manipulated and changed by human hands: any evidence of error in scripture or discipline are defects of the temporal administration.

The implications of the *Confession of the Faith* were rooted in the growing struggles of 1566. While it defended the Reformed Religion through its praise of personal faith and suspicion of clergy and the institution of Catholicism, the document also recast the demand for public peace in terms of spirituality. The people were sanctioned to judge the righteousness of earthly religions, but other authors contested the reliability of every Jan Alleman to correctly interpret the meaning behind scripture. Even John Calvin's lieutenant and successor, Theodore B  za, later rejected the suggestion that *everyone* was empowered to resist a tyrannical sovereign, a trend that was more fully articulated in the 1570s.¹⁸⁰ Additionally, the *Confession* claimed that strong faith would help the inhabitants of the Netherlands endure persecution and the unholy choices of their neighbors. Those who condemned the Protestants believed that by allowing them to publicly worship and preach, they were encouraging seditious behaviors and anti-Spanish attitudes. The *Confession of the Faith* did not encourage violent resistance against those who persecuted the Protestants, but reminded the audience that "the faithful and elect should be crowned in glory and honor, all

¹⁸⁰ Theodore B  za's *Du Droit des magistrats sur leurs sujets* was published in 1572 and argued that all men and the king in particular were bound to obey the laws and commands of God before others. Subjects of the realm were expected to believe that their ruler was just and moral. Similarly, the ruler was not expected to explain every decision to his subjects. When it came time to remove an unlawful usurper of royal power or a tyrant, B  za adopted a moderate course and trusted that the representative institution would lawfully remove the public enemy. B  za feared that lawlessness would abound if every individual took it upon himself to liberate his kingdom from tyranny. Private persons had no authority to act, according to B  za, against a tyrant.

tears will be gone from their eyes, and their cause which is now condemned as heretical and unfaithful, will be known to be the cause of the Son of God.”¹⁸¹

Meanwhile, the growing religious tension in France during the mid-1560s produced comparable texts that were circulated in the Low Countries. For example, in 1566 the French Calvinist François Junius wrote, “As all judicious people agree, no physical violence can rectify faith and inner belief and it is now through conscience that people should recognize their errors... If we take experience, the perfect counselor, into account, it will certainly be found that it is indeed possible to prevent [Protestants] from assembling but absolutely impossible to prevent them from believing what they think to be in keeping with God’s word.”¹⁸² Junius changed the focus from acceptance of the Reformed Religion based on moral grounds to a call for general religious toleration in order to preserve the public peace and avoid violent conflict. He argued that if Catholics continued to actively persecute the Protestants, this action would only force them to go into hiding, practice secret preaching, and stir up sentiment against Philip II and his representatives.¹⁸³

¹⁸¹ “...Les fidèles et ___ deuraient être couronnés dans la gloire et l'honneur, toutes les l’armes seront partis de leurs yeux, et leur cause qui est maintenant condamnées comme hérétiques et infidèles, seront connus pour estre la cause du fils de Dieu.” *Belydenisse des gheloofs der Kercken Iesu Christi inde Nederlanden nae de suyverheyt des Evangelij Ghereformeert*, A9.

¹⁸² François Junius, *Bref discours envoyé au roy Philippe nostre sire et souverain Seigneur, pour le bien et profit de sa Maïesté, et singulierement de ses pays bas, auquel est monstré le moyen qu’il faudroit tenir pour obvier aux troubles et emotions pour le faict de la religion, et extirper les sectes et heresies pullulantes en sesdicts pays 1566*, translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 56-58.

¹⁸³ “For instead of being taught in their assemblies to be honest people fearing God and respecting the king and his officers, they would then become vile atheists and libertines stirring up seditions and disturbing

The *Beeldenstorm* of August 1566 altered the way that Philip II viewed the Reformed Religion because the mob violence and the destruction of Catholic images and institutions represented a larger issue. The Spanish crown was deeply joined to Catholicism and connected the notion of divine-right rulership to Spanish spirituality, therefore antagonism toward the Roman Catholic Church was perceived as an attack on Spain, the sovereign, and his authority. Meanwhile, leaders of the nobility of the Low Countries assembled and wrote a petition condemning the Inquisition and asking for its cessation and removal. The *Beeldenstorm* had terrible effects for the Calvinists in the Low Countries. It wrecked the system of *status quo* which the ruling nobles used to justify opposing Philip's plans. The consistories were unsatisfied with Margaret's ability to intercede on their behalf, and in a letter dated February 8, 1567, they wrote to the nobles of the Compromise reminding them of the perilous nature of their situation:

Contrary to our expectations—which were based on your promises—we have seen that [the placards] have been rigorously executed, and that some people who refused to swear to persevere forever in the faith of the Roman Church have been imprisoned and banished. The ministers of God's word have been persecuted, some even hanged, others have had their beards cut off, arquebuses were fired and discharged at them and some, who were standing close by, were mortally wounded.¹⁸⁴

The tone of the source indicated a shift in the ideology of the Low Countries. Within the seventeen provinces, there was a strong awareness of identity: Protestant, Catholic, royalist,

order and peace." Junius, *Brief discours envoyé au roy Philippe nostre sire et souverain Seigneur, pour le bien et profit de sa Maiesté, et singulierement de ses pays bas, auquel est monstré le moyen qu'il faudroit tenir pour obvier aux troubles et emotions pour le faict de la religion, et extirper les sectes et heresies pullulantes en sesdicts pays 1566*, Translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 57.

¹⁸⁴ *Requete de ceulx de la religion nouvelle aux gentilzhommes confederez*, translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 82.

Orangist, and all of the variations in between. The authors of the 1560s engaged with *vrijheid van geweten* in conjunction with their requests for peace: allow everyone to practice their own religion without threat of punishment so long as no seditious or anti-Spanish elements were involved, and public peace would be restored. But the iconoclastic riots of 1566 undermined their efforts. In the eyes of the Spanish crown, the participants of the *Beeldenstorm* were traitors and heretics. It was easy to blame all Protestants living in the Netherlands for the disorder at that point. The early presentations of freedom of conscience were perhaps too idealistic to be functional, particularly in light of the unpredictable events of the 1560s. The significance of *vrijheid van geweten* was the suggestion that faith and an individual's internal life were beyond the control of anyone. Violence could not compel a person to change their religion and, if they claimed to do it, they were being untruthful. Rendering the government and sovereign authority useless over matters of religion would not be easily accepted, and the argument over the nature and investiture of authority began to gain prominence in the pamphlet literature.

Marnix of St. Aldegonde, a versatile and cosmopolitan humanist who converted to Calvinism, attempted to reconcile the iconoclastic riots with Calvinist political doctrine. Marnix's *Apology and True Narration of Past Events in the Low Countries* (1567) reflected on the chaos caused by the *Beeldenstorm* and asserted that maintaining political order and peace was a high priority for the nobility. He wrote, "After having seen the cost of the great iniquity and impudence of our accusers and others distort the justice and goodness of our cause and the faithful obedience that we have always given... it should please [Philip II] to leave us only free consciences to serve God according to His Word, to use the rest of our body and soul in the service of his majesty, to which we have always dedicated and devoted

ourselves, for the present, with all our heart.”¹⁸⁵ Marnix attempted to distance himself and Reformed nobles from the chaos of the image breaking, and while he recognized the ‘poor people’ as the perpetrators, his letter indicates that he understood their motivation. Still, the task of addressing the offenses committed under the sanction of Philip II while simultaneously excusing him from blame and asserting their obedience to him was difficult.

He continued, “To overcome a calamity and desolation so grievous and extreme, while being blamed and slandered [ourselves], like when violent winds stir up a tempest... we know that the charges of our opponents are based on simple, true tales from our Low Countries.”¹⁸⁶ The significance of this source is the indication that for all of his rhetoric, Marnix believed that he and his co-religionists made the right move. The remarkable and united, if unorganized, actions against idolatry in the Low Countries indicated the start of something bigger. First, it indicated that regardless of their size, radical movements had the

¹⁸⁵“*Et voulons par tous moyens interceder vers nostre Roy & Prince, à celle fin qu’il n’employe ses forces pour destruire ses pauures & humbles subjets: ains qu’en quitant toutes fausses impressions qu’il a conceues contres nous à l’occasion des faus blasmes & accusations de nos calomniateurs, il luy plaise se souuenir de sa douceur & clemence accoustumée. Et en nous laissant seulement les consciences libres, pour server Dieu selon sa Parolle, employer au reste nos corps & biens au seruice de sa Maiesté, à laquelle nous les auons tousiours dediez & consacrez, comme encore pour le present nous faisons de tout nostre Coeur.*” *Vraye Narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas, touchant le Fait de la Religion, en l’an 1566. Par cevs qui font profession de la Religion reformée audit Pays.* Imprime en l’an MDLXVII (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 150), A4.

¹⁸⁶“*Pour obuier à vne calamite & desolation si griefue & extreme, laquelle s’aduanee par ces blasmes & calomnies, comme par vents violens poussans la tempeste... faisons vn simple & veritable recit des choses passees e par-deça, sur lesquelles nous entendons que l’accusation de nos aduersaires est fondée.*” *Vraye Narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas, touchant le Fait de la Religion, en l’an 1566, A2-A3.*

power to get the attention of the governing authorities and to force local nobility to choose a side. Second, the Protestant armies demonstrated that even when they were defeated by Margaret of Parma's troops at places like Valenciennes and Tournai, they were willing and strong enough to put up sustained resistance against Spain. And finally, the iconoclasts succeeded in drawing the focused attention of Philip II and the Duke of Alva, both of whom decided that the best plan for the Low Countries was to eradicate heresy, eliminate customary privileges, and establish a new Spanish order of government. Within one year, the diocesan structure was reorganized, Spain established an armed presence in the provinces, the central government strengthened its grip on local magistrates, and privileges were minimized. It seemed that the Dutch Revolt was over by 1568.

Public Peace and Civic Duty

While the restrictive measures and violent actions of the inquisitors left many subjects wary of Philip's approach to governing the provinces, most inhabitants of the Low Countries were unwilling to fully abandon their sovereign. The councilmen did not demand absolute freedom to worship, but requested moderate toleration and an end to active persecution of 'heretics.' The ideas of public peace and civic duty appeared more often in the pamphlet literature than the idea of freedom of conscience during the late 1560s and 1570s. Sources including *Official Acts Against the People of the Netherlands* (1568), *The Maxim of this Kingdom Pronounced in Regard to the Spanish Inquisition* (1568), and *The Writing of Highly-Born Princes and Lords, and William of Orange... against the Duke of Alva and His Growing Tyranny* (1568) represented the shift in popular sentiment toward the Spanish government. The provincial inhabitants asserted their common Christianity and protested Alva's violent methods for reasserting Spanish dominance.

Yet the often-anonymous authors of the pamphlets and booklets that circulated after 1568 focused on the importance of maintaining the public peace. Rather than directly attack Philip II, writers campaigned against Alva and his reign in the Netherlands. They blamed Philip's imprudent representatives for corrupting Spain's purpose in the provinces, a choice that characterized the trend of popular adherence to the idea of sovereignty rather than devotion to their overlord. Margaret of Parma's withdrawal from Brussels (December 30, 1567), the arrest and execution of Counts Egmont and Hoorne (June 5, 1568), and Alva's announcement of fiscal reforms to the States General (March 20, 1569), increased provincial tension and conflict. Many leaders of the resistance fled into exile and that determined the manner in which future opposition to Alva would be addressed. Only an invasion could challenge Alva's authority, and the leadership role would therefore need to be played by those in exile, the majority of whom were Calvinists.¹⁸⁷ What became known as the period of the Second Revolt (1569-1576) developed significant religious overtones.

Celebrating virtuous acts of public service was important to the authors of the Dutch Revolt. If an individual believed that all political affairs and politicians were corrupt, they were inherently free to come to their own conclusions about the state of affairs and their personal place in history. In general the proponents of the Dutch Revolt urged their fellow citizens to lead a life of virtuous public service and, therefore, to join the revolt. Any person(s) or institution, regardless of legitimacy, who disturbed the public peace demonstrated qualities unbecoming of a righteous civil servant and must therefore be dealt

¹⁸⁷ Parker and Lane, *The Dutch Revolt*, 119.

with.¹⁸⁸ Once the ideals were established—loyalty, obedience, and moderation—those who failed to live up to those standards could be labeled as disturbers of the peace whether they were a farmer, a merchant, a councilman, or the sovereign authority.

By 1572, William of Orange published and spoke regularly about the situation in the Netherlands. While he lived as an exile, Orange authored a piece of propaganda circulated during the early stages of the revolt in Holland and Zeeland. Dated June 16, *Remonstrance of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, etc., redeemer of the freedom of the Netherlands to the States and the people* made the bold move of encouraging the people to

renounce that effeminate Sardanapalus, that cruel Phalaris, that tyrant, hated by God and mankind alike, who long ago was unanimously condemned by the decrees of the imperial court so that you need have no fear. In fact, he has never been able to impose his will except on people who were weakened by discord or who surrendered spontaneously... No one who knows the nature of tyrants can doubt that he has the same fate in store for you, unless, that is, you decide to save yourselves of your own

¹⁸⁸ Refer to Chapter Five, “Violence in the Low Countries: Rites of Power During the Revolt,” for an examination of the function and importance of public displays of loyalty, power, and violence. While Martin van Gelderen describes the Dutch Revolt’s sense of duty as “Ciceronian,” there are certainly similar comparisons to be made with Aristotle’s political theory. Aristotle’s *Politics* describes the best way of life as located in the virtues of courage and moderation, justice and prudence. Mary P. Nichols’ *Citizens and Statesmen: A Study of Aristotle’s Politics* claimed that Aristotle’s discussion of the virtues “illustrates that defenders of politics and action easily become advocates of tyranny, and a praise of courage can lead to a defense of imperialism.” (Savage, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 1992), 129. Arguments in favor of public peace and civic duty in the sources recognized that the Dutch political theorists were working with an idea that was difficult to put into practice, and even at times accused Philip’s representatives of actively violating the established virtues in favor of personal gain.

free will through blessed opportunity now offered rather than to be lost through your enormous stubbornness.¹⁸⁹

The language and tone of the *Remonstrance of William of Nassau* was already circulating in other published pamphlets, little books, flyleaves, and posters in the Low Countries. It was unusual in 1572 for vitriolic and revolutionary language to come from William of Orange because he was still holding a somewhat moderate, conservative position.

When the States of Holland was convened on July 19, 1572, Orange sent Marnix of St. Aldegonde as his deputy. Orange composed *Instruction and advice for the Honourable Philip Marnix, lord of St. Aldegonde* and made specific points that were to be presented to the States in his stead. Out of the twenty-four points, the document defined two important goals: first, that harmony be established and respected in the Low Countries, and second, that Philip II recognize the sovereignty of the States General. The States' meeting was convened in Dordrecht and was specific to the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, and the bishopric of Utrecht. While Orange paid homage to the authority of Philip II, he also made clear reference to his ability to claim the general government for himself. Orange argued that

¹⁸⁹ This document also clearly advocated a policy of freedom of religion: "That wilfull respect to the king's sovereign power, all decrees contrary to conscience and to the laws, shall be annulled and that every one who so wishes, shall be free to adopt the teaching of the prophets, of Christ, and the apostles which the Churches have taught until now and that those who reject these doctrines may do so without any injury to their goods so long as they are willing to behave peacefully and can show that they did so in the past." *D. Gvilielmi Nassavii Principis Avrantii &c. Germaniam Inferiorem libertati vindicantis. Ad Ordines et popvlvm denuntiatio*. 1572, 16 Iunij (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Number Unknown), n.p., translated in "Remonstrance of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, etc., redeemer of the freedom of the Netherlands, to the States and the people, 1572," in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 93-94, 96.

“the other countries and provinces... should recognize him (who in his capacity of chief member of the States General of the country is responsible for protecting the country from foreign tyrants and oppressors according to its old rights and privileges) as their protector and in the absence of His Royal Majesty, as their head.”¹⁹⁰ Further down, the sixth item stated that “good and commendable order must be established and maintained for the protection of the country, with the least possible burden to the inhabitants so that all classes may be united in mutual harmony,” again emphasizing the importance of peace for all involved parties.¹⁹¹

Thus Orange identified the States General as the locus of power in the Low Countries because it was responsible for protecting the country against foreign tyrants and oppressors.¹⁹² Orange’s request that Philip II enforce the supremacy of the States attempted to minimize Philip’s role in the Low Countries: “His Highness on his part shall also bind himself not to undertake nor to command anything without the advice and consent of the States or at least the majority of them, and without consulting these States and countries, if and when they desire this.”¹⁹³ He was bound to consult with the States General before acting

¹⁹⁰ Orange claimed this position by virtue of his position in the Brussels government before 1567. *D. Gvilielmi Nassavii Principis Avrantii &c. Germaniam Inferiorem libertati vindicantis*, n.p., translated in “Remonstrance of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, etc., redeemer of the freedom of the Netherlands, to the States and the people, 1572,” in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 93.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*, n.p., translated in “Remonstrance of William of Nassau, prince of Orange, etc., redeemer of the freedom of the Netherlands, to the States and the people, 1572,” in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 97.

¹⁹² *Verklaring van de Prins van Oranje Voor dat Staten van Holland, 19 juli 1572, voor de restauratie van hun traditionele gezag en voorrechten*, in Griffiths, 428.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*, 100.

against traditional privileges and rights. In this document William of Orange requested peaceful co-existence and harmonious alliance while also insisting that Philip II essentially subjugate himself to the will of the States General. In terms of public peace and civic duty, Orange's requests created a situation that would have been difficult to resolve.

1572 was also the year of the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre in Paris. Considered to be the watershed event during the French Wars of Religion, the violence created further dissonance between the Protestants and Catholics and also radicalized Huguenot resistance-right doctrine. An assassination attempt and murder, an arranged marriage, and the declining influence of the Peace of Saint-Germain, which offered moderate toleration to the Huguenot party in France, indicated civil unrest. Many Catholics felt that the toleration of the Protestants was destroying the state and the Catholic faith. The general massacre began on August 24, 1572 and lasted thirty days, and resulted in horrific episodes of violence against men, women, and children. Sexual brutality was commonplace as were thievery and pillaging. The Catholics who participated in the massacres set out to destroy the Huguenots by humiliating them and desecrating their bodies. The homes of Huguenots were burned and their mutilated bodies were dumped into the Seine as a crude re-enactment of Catholic baptism.¹⁹⁴ In the end, two thousand Huguenots were murdered in Paris and more than thirty thousand were massacred in the provinces.

The massacre of Saint Bartholomew was a significant event for the Netherlands. Philip II, when he heard the news on September 6, for once failed to conceal his feelings: he

¹⁹⁴ Barbara Diefendorf, *Beneath the Cross: Catholics and Huguenots in Sixteenth-Century Paris* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 93n.

laughed out loud and danced around his chamber.¹⁹⁵ The violence meant that the French Huguenot armed forces were unable to offer relief to the Protestants in the Netherlands, but it also put William of Orange in a precarious position: “My only hope lay with France.”¹⁹⁶ Unless Orange could defeat Alva’s main army and reestablish his position in the Low Countries, support for his cause from the locals and the States would be lost. But although the Protestant cause had weakened in neighboring France, the Dutch writers asserted their position and dedication to *vrijheid van geweten* more arduously. A pamphlet published in 1573 accused Philip II of corrupting the true purpose of the Catholic Church by forcing its bishops to participate in religious persecution of Protestants. The anonymous author claimed that the Holy Romish Church acted against the conscience of all Christians when it monitored the secret meetings of the Reformers, but the ‘leering Pope’ failed to evaluate his own actions or superstitions.¹⁹⁷ The vitriolic response to the French Protestants was not a good indication of the future for the Reformed Religion in the Low Countries.

While the significance of *vrijheid van geweten* was still dominant in the pamphlet literature circulated in the 1570s, the move to the phrase “slavery of consciences” indicated a shift in the political identity of the Low Countries. The idea of *slavernij van het geweten* first

¹⁹⁵ Parker and Lane, *The Dutch Revolt*, 138.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

¹⁹⁷ “*Ghy Heeren en Staeten, wilt dit wel bemercken, V in God verstercken, en volght den middle oprecht,/ Maeckt Verbondt met die Voorstanders sijn der Kercke/ Also voor de waerheyt, en teghen t’Pausdom vecht/ ...Ten helpt vernuft, oft verkeerde disputatie, Al wat teghen Godt is, en sal niet prospereren.*” *Christelijcke waerachtighe Waerschouwinghe en wederlegghinghe: Aller/ die Segghen/ dat de Christenen moghen der bondt maken metten onghelooouighen in krijghs handel/ om deur hun macht veschermt te worden.* Anno. M.D. LXXXIII (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 657), 788-89.

appeared in that document of 1573. The intellectuals and writers from the provinces had previously pursued a policy of negotiation with the Spanish court. That policy was contested during the repeated Spanish invasions of the Low Countries and the authors focused on recasting their relationship with Spain. The arguments shifted from ideological to political, and the members of the Reformed Religion began to accuse Spain directly (and Philip II indirectly) of tyranny and deceitful political machinations. The rhetoric and polemical language of the revolt attempted to discredit Spain as a sovereign authority and weaken Philip's relationships with his allies.

The Dutch accused their Habsburg governors of creating a master plan to reduce the Low Countries to a state of eternal servitude. In 1574, one particularly imaginative rendition of that theme saw the Catholic King placing all of the land's Calvinists in iron fetters and banishing them to the New World.¹⁹⁸ Only three years earlier the residents of the Low Countries were more willing to open themselves to compromise on freedom, religion, and persecution. A document published in 1571 claimed that the people held Philip in great love and affection, and viewed his actions as contributing to the prosperity and salvation of the

¹⁹⁸ Gijssius, *Origo et historia* (Leiden 1574/1619), cited in Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570-1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 113.

Benjamin Schmidt's source presents a study of cultural geography and the ways that places and peoples were imagined, appropriated, and manipulated in a period of encounter. He argues that when writing home about their encounters with the inhabitants of the 'New World,' the Dutch cast them as allies and brethren. They aligned themselves with those indigenous populations in order to emphasize the Spanish tradition of oppression, slavery, and tyranny at home and across the Atlantic.

Low Countries.¹⁹⁹ Following the executions of Protestants under the heresy placards, the Duke of Alva's financial reforms and brutal tactics against practitioners of the Reformed Religion, and Philip's inconsistent political relationship with the States General, sentiment changed. By November 17, 1573, Don Luis de Requesens, then governor of Lombardy, replaced the Duke of Alva as governor and captain-general in the Low Countries, but hope for a reversal of fortunes under the new general were soon abandoned. In a letter to Philip II, the notion of the king as a tyrant was reinforced: "Against the advice of the States General... you want to suppress our foreign nation. With the price of our blood and peace, you have completely destroyed the royal first province [of Holland] and have largely reduced your royal authority and dignity."²⁰⁰ The primacy of public peace and civic duty in the Low Countries' affiliations with Spain slipped away as Philip and his representatives became bent on forcefully establishing their political and Catholic agendas in the seventeen provinces.

¹⁹⁹ *Translaet vande briefuen van prolongatie duff heeren des Coninex/ vanden termijn by tpardoen generael van zijnte Maiesteyt gegenen, vy tstuc vande Reconciliatie/ ter faken vande voir le den troublen. Voix andere drye Maenden naest commende. Nae de publicatie van dien. Met privilege der Con. Ma. Gheprint inden Princelijcke Stadt van Brussele by my Michiel van Hamont (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Tiele 120), n.p.*

²⁰⁰ "Teghen het advies van de Staten-Generaal gy wilt onze buitenlandse natie te onderdrukken, met de prijs van ons bloedt en vrede, heb gy volledig verwoest de koninklijke eerste provincie en sijn grotendeels teruggebracht uw koninklijke gezag en vvaardigheid..." *Sekere Brieven Vvaer inne den aengheuanghen Vredehandel deses Iaero LXXIII. Van het Nederlandsche oorloghe vertaet is: Mitsgaders de Requeste der Staten van Hollandt/ Zeelandt, heur toghedaene Steden/ arn de Conincklicke Maiesteyt ghesonden: de anteoorde ende wederant woorde der sels met alle andere omstandierheden. Ghedruct tot Delft in Hollandt, Anno. M.D. LXXIII (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 224), n.p.*

The Principles of Political and Religious Peace

In the century before 1576, the States General had assembled about 150 times; they had only been properly convened twice since 1559. Their only real powers were their monopoly of taxation and the right to demand redress of grievances before consenting to fiscal demands.²⁰¹ Following the unexpected death of Requesens on March 5, 1576, the Council of State became the interim government. Signed on April 25, the Union of Delft—also known as the Act of Federation—united the two provinces of Holland and Zeeland. William of Orange was given the authority to convene the States General, to function as the head of the States General, and was recognized as the supreme war commander in the Low Countries. The Council of State was the arbiter of peace and justice with William at the helm.

Ideas of political obedience and civic rights remained central to many of the works published at that time. Once it became clear that Philip was not going to negotiate with the States General, the Dutch authors moved from protest to armed resistance. Thanks to the prince of Orange's espionage network, the deputies of the States General were given a copy of a secret letter written by Philip II in which he ordered his commander Roda to destroy the State's troops if they refused to disband.²⁰² When the States convened on October 10, they composed a preliminary accord that outlined the right between the states of the provinces, the prince of Orange, and the council members. The document was presented as a preamble to a

²⁰¹ Parker and Lane, *The Dutch Revolt*, 179.

²⁰² Gaspard, *Correspondence de Philippe II*, IV, 425-26, cited in Parker and Lane, *The Dutch Revolt*,

larger document and bound the subjects to adhere to notions of unity, service, and peace.²⁰³

Taking advantage of an incomplete section of the defensive citadel wall at Antwerp, on November 3 Don John's forces attacked Antwerp. The troops of the States, poorly supported by the militia, were powerless to save the metropolis of Northern Europe from brutal sack. The Spanish Fury lasted for several days: 1,000 homes were destroyed and 8,000 people died.²⁰⁴

On November 8, 1576, four days after the mutiny of the Spanish soldiers culminated in the Spanish Fury at Antwerp, the Pacification of Ghent was signed into law.²⁰⁵ The Pacification of Ghent, the 'firm and unbreakable friendship and peace' amongst all Dutch provinces, was concluded with the purpose of warding off the Spanish mutineers and to reinstate all privileges.²⁰⁶ The fundamental purpose of that document was to unite the provinces against a common enemy: Spain. The Pacification of Ghent was not concerned with making religious decrees, demanding toleration for the Reformed Religion at all costs,

²⁰³ *Vanden artyculen begrepen inden accorde/ berbontenissen ende centehedyt ghemaect ende opgherecht tusschen den Staten der prouintien vanden Nederlanden ende den Doorlucktighen hooch ghebooren Borst ende here de Prince van Oraengien/ Graue van Nassau etc. Staten van Hollandt Zeelandt ende heure geassocieerden door comissarissen ouer bevde syden respectiue licken ghedeputeert: besloten tot Gendt Optenvij, Nouembris, 1576. Ghedruckt inde vermaerde Coopstadt Doordrecht. Anno. M.D.LXXVI (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 265), n.p.*

²⁰⁴ Parker and Lane, *The Dutch Revolt*, 178.

²⁰⁵ One of the outcomes of the Spanish Fury was that it completely discredited Don John of Austria, who was Requesens' replacement. It also isolated the Spanish army in Antwerp and freed up the States General to reconvene and ratify their bargain with Orange and his supporters.

²⁰⁶ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 46.

nor was it focused on spiritual associations. Instead, the accord reminded each of the provinces and all of their residents that something larger was at stake in 1576: the freedoms, privileges, and authority that they had so long possessed. The notions of *vrijheid van geweten* and *slavernij van het geweten* were not limited to the individual anymore. Freedom of conscience and freedom from tyrannical slavery had become the philosophies upon which the political and intellectual theories of the 1570s were based.

The Pacification opened by reminding the residents of the betrayal of Philip II: “instead of the relief and compassion which it was hoped His Majesty would give us, the Spaniards continued every day to oppress and to ruin the poor subjects and to reduce them to eternal slavery.”²⁰⁷ Words like ‘forced’, ‘misery’, ‘distress’, ‘alienated’, and ‘destroyed’ characterize the States General’s view of the Spanish sovereign. It continued,

In order that total ruin be staved off, that the inhabitants of these Netherlands united in a lasting peace and agreement may jointly force the Spaniards and their adherents who are a public plague, to depart and that they be given back their old privileges, customs and freedoms, by which trade and prosperity could return there, now, with the consent of the councilors entrusted with the government of the countries and as a

²⁰⁷ “...Tendants amplement à l’avancement de la susdite Pacification, sans pourtant qu’on en ait vû le fruit qu’on avoit attendu, mais qu’au contraire, pendant qu’on esperoit quelque soulagement & compassion de la part de Sa Majesté, lesdits Espagnols ont de jour en jour continué d’opprimer & ruiner les paubres Sujets & ont tâché de les reduire dans un éternel esclavage par diverses seditions...” *Pacification van Gand*, 8 Novembre 1576, in *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century: Commentary and Documents for the Study of Comparative Constitutional History*, 433.

consequence of the peace negotiations started at Breda, for the glory of God and the service of His Majesty, this present treaty has been drafted...²⁰⁸

The Pacification also required that all inhabitants of the provinces work together in peace and friendship and assist each other in times of need, stated that the States General would from then on be regularly convened, inhabitants would be allowed to move freely and travel across provincial borders at will, and that all edicts against heresy that were established by the Duke of Alva were suspended.

With regard to faith, the fourth article of the Pacification read, “those of Holland, Zeeland or others of whatsoever province, condition or quality they may be, shall not be allowed to disturb the common peace and quiet outside the provinces of Holland, Zeeland, and associated places, or in particular to attack the Roman Catholic religion and practice, nor to slander any one or cause scandal by word or deed because of his Catholic faith, on penalty of being punished as disturbers of the common peace and of serving as an example to others.”²⁰⁹ The rhetorical composition of the fourth article reframed the religious issue

²⁰⁸ “...*Les Etats de deça, du consentement des susdits Deputez, ont été obligez de prendre les armes, & de plus pour prévenir la ruine totale, & afin que les Habitans de ces Païs-Bas étant réunis par une ferme Paix & Accord puissent conjointement faire retirer les susdits Espagnols & leurs Adhérants comme destructeurs desdits Païs, & pour iceux Sujets remettre dans la juiissance de leurs Droits, Priviléges, Coutûmes & libertez par le moyen dequoi leur Commerce & leur prosperité puissent refleurir; Avec l’agrément préalable des susdits Seigneurs deputez au Gouvernement desdits Païs, la Négociation de Breda commencée à l’honneur de Dieu & pour le service de Sa Majesté...*” “*Pacifictie van Gand, 8 Novembre 1576,*” in *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century: Commentary and Documents for the Study of Comparative Constitutional History*, 434.

²⁰⁹ “*Bien entendu, qu’il ne sera loisible ni permis à ceux de Hollande, & Zéland ou à autre de quelque Pays, qualité, ou condition qu’il soit, d’attenter quelque chose par deça, ou hors desdits Païs de Hollande,*

differently than the pamphlet literature. Rather than pleading with Catholics to abscond from persecuting the ‘heretical’ Protestants, the Pacification of Ghent portrayed the Dutch Roman Catholics as the persecuted population. The significance of that section was that it specifically warned the members of the Reformed Religion against disturbing the public peace. Perhaps the memory of the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566 was still fresh in their memory or maybe the Catholic population of the Low Countries thought that they were in mortal danger. Regardless, the Pacification of Ghent attempted to eliminate the religious component of the civil disturbances and asserted that the Protestant population would be held accountable for their actions. The States General, however, still held out hope that the provinces of Holland and Zeeland would come back under the obedience of Philip II and the Roman Catholic faith.²¹⁰ Holland and Zeeland remained firm in their stance to establish peace without directly addressing the problems with the king or religion.

What principles drove the debate about establishing political and religious peace in the Low Countries in the late 1570s? The trends within the primary sources suggest that reconciliation and negotiation were an important priority to the authors of the pamphlets and

Zélande, & Places Alliées, contre le repos, & la Paix publique, notamment contre la Religion Catholique & Romaine, ou exercice d’icelle, ni d’injurier, ou irriter aucun à cause d’icelle, de faict, ou de parole, ni aussi le scandaliser par actes semblables, sur peine d’être punis comme perturbateurs du repos public afin de servir d’exemple aux autres,” Pacificatie van Gand, 8 Novembre 1576, in Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century: Commentary and Documents for the Study of Comparative Constitutional History, 439.

²¹⁰ Martin van Gelderen argues that “the most pressing problems, the attitude towards the king and the religious question remained unresolved [in the Pacification of Ghent],” *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 47.

other circulated literature. When the States General published important legal documents there was also a sense of urgency with regard to maintaining the public peace and avoiding civic disturbances.²¹¹ The mostly anonymous authors also took care to regularly assert their loyalty to Philip II and the Spanish crown, at least until his unwillingness to negotiate coupled with his readiness to use force against his subjects became apparent. Those trends should not lead the reader to assume that the inhabitants of the Low Countries were politically passive or that they were willing to make tremendous sacrifices at *all* costs. Rather they decided to reinforce their provincial and community priorities where public peace, civic duty, and the restoration of customary privileges were at the forefront. Where religion was concerned, the documents indicated toleration of different forms of Christianity in an attempt to avoid bloody disturbances and boundless conflict.

Consequently when the 1579 Union of Arras (January 5) and the Union of Utrecht (January 23) were signed by the southern and northern provinces respectively, Orange's principles of political and religious peace were failing. The Union of Arras was a reconciliation between Artois and Hainaut in which both provinces reaffirmed their loyalty to peace, king, and church. Alexander Farnese of Parma, who became captain and governor-general in the Low Countries after the death of Don John in October 1578, promises those provinces who joined the Union of Arras protection of their privileges and a return to the old form of government as it had been under Charles V.²¹²

²¹¹ This is despite the fact that the States General were notorious for their extremely slow-moving process of legislation and communication.

²¹² Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 51.

On the other hand, the 1579 Union of Utrecht was Orange's attempt to create a closer union than had been established under the Pacification of Ghent. The language of the Union of Utrecht was similar to that of the Pacification and it was of great historical importance because it more or less became the constitution of the Dutch Republic. Moreover, in guaranteeing the inhabitants of its provinces freedom of conscience, the Union fundamentally acknowledged the latter as a political right.²¹³ The treaty stated,

...It has never been and it is not now their purpose and intention to exclude from the union and alliance any towns or provinces which want to remain in the Roman Catholic religion exclusively and where the number of residents belonging to the Reformed religion is too small to enable them to enjoy, by virtue of the Religious Peace, the right to exercise the Reformed religion... For it is not their opinion that one province or town should lay down the law to others in the matter of religion, as they want to further peace and unity amongst the provinces and to avoid and to take away the main occasion for quarrels and discord.²¹⁴

²¹³ Gelderen notes that although the Union of Utrecht would gain tremendous importance, at the time it was mainly the work of a small vanguard from Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, and Groningen, and therefore carried limited political significance in 1579. *Ibid.*, 52.

²¹⁴ *Verhandeling van de Unie, eeuwich Verbondt ende Eendracht, tusschen de Landen, Provintien, Steden ende Leden van dien hier nae benoemt... gesloten*. This particular section was an amendment to the document that offered an explanation of the thirteenth article of the treaty. The thirteenth article referenced the Religious Peace Treaty drawn up by the archduke Matthias as a means of maintaining peace and harmony among the inhabitants of the provinces. *Verhandelinghe vande vnue, Eeuwich Verbondt ende Eendracht. Tusschen die Landen, Provincien, Steden ende leden van dien hier naer benoempt, Binnen die Stadt Vtrecht gheslooten, ende ghepuliceert vanden Stadt-huyse den xxix. January, Anno M.D. LXXIX*. Ghedruct t'Vtrecht, by my Coenraet henricksz: vvoenende inden gulden Enghel, by die Gaert-Brugghe. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 415, n.p., translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 165.

Orange helped implement the guiding principles of political and religious peace where every individual enjoyed freedom of religion, and no one would be persecuted or questioned about their loyalties.

Meanwhile in France, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay published a proposal regarding the principles of religious freedom during the last two years of the 1570s. Mornay was born in Normandy to a family who, upon the death of Philippe's father, formally adopted the Protestant faith. When violence against the Huguenots broke out on August 24, 1572, Mornay sought sanctuary then later fled Paris. Despite his experiences, his respect and reverence for the law gave natural restraint to his works on liberty and sovereignty. Following his stay in the Netherlands in 1578, Mornay collaborated with Marnix de Saint Aldegonde and wrote *A Discourse upon the permission of freedom of religion, or Religions-vrede in the Netherlands* (1579).²¹⁵ He claimed to be a Roman Catholic supporter of religious liberty, although Mornay was a practicing Protestant. The document stated that the idea of forcing the residents of the provinces to completely renounce one religion for another was unthinkable.

Mornay's discourse also echoed the sentiments expressed in the Union of Utrecht and read, "If we intend to ruin the Protestants we will ruin ourselves, as the French did. The conclusion to be drawn from this is that it would be better to live in peace with them, rather than ruin ourselves by internal discord and carry on a hazardous, disastrous, long and difficult war or rather a perpetual and impossible one."²¹⁶ The author made clear the

²¹⁵ Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, *Discours sur la permission de liberté de religion, dicte Religions-vrede, au Pais-Bas* (1579), translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 163.

²¹⁶ *Ibid.*, translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 163.

connections between the confrontation between Catholics and Protestant in France and those in the Low Countries. Where William of Orange and the Union of Utrecht managed to urge toleration as a means of maintaining public peace and civic order, *A Discourse upon the permission of freedom of religion* directly took on the issue from a faith-based perspective. Mornay's principles of religious peace were founded in the recognition that, whether Catholic or Protestant, the residents of the Low Countries were all Christians. Civil war, discord, and murder were not Christian values, but were certainly guaranteed to continue should the provinces not agree to live in peace and focus on their common enemy: the tyrannical Spanish king and his minions scattered throughout the Low Countries. He urged everyone to accept the existence of two religions in the same country and to work to deliver themselves from the "insupportable tyranny of the foreigners."²¹⁷ Deeply connected, the principles of political and religious peace demanded that the residents of the seventeen provinces shift their frustration and anger about religious issues toward the larger problem: the presence of the Spanish army in the Low Countries and Philip II's tyrannical policies.

The Essence of Patriotism, 1578-1582

Pamphlet literature served an important purpose during the Dutch Revolt: the little books and various handouts allowed anonymous authors to quickly disseminate a variety of ideas about religion, privileges, tyranny, and freedom throughout the provinces. As the debate about *vrijheid van geweten* evolved into a debate about the nature of sovereignty in the Low Countries, the idea of patriotism took on a more prominent role in the sources. To be identified as a 'patriot' meant different things to different people: devotion to the Catholic Church, unwavering support of Spanish authority in the Low Countries, support of the local

²¹⁷ Ibid., 164.

nobility's role in the States General, willingness to die for the Reformed religion, and/or the ability to prioritize public peace over personal, subjective values. The possibilities were open to interpretation.

Patriotism in 1579 had a more definable quality though. The successive violence under the Duke of Alva, Requesens, and Don John, accompanied by the lack of compromise from the Spanish sovereign regarding the role of the States General and the presence of 'heretics' in the Low Countries, helped to unite most of the provinces against Philip II. Earlier under the reign of Margaret of Parma as governor-general, the prince remained an abstract and ambivalent figure, at once holding and threatening their liberties. The French-speaking Walloon provinces aligned with French ideas of sovereignty, while the rest developed their own particularism. After all, the customs and privileges within each province were different from each of their neighbors' customs and privileges: that was the unique organization of the Low Countries that the inhabitants and the States General expected to be upheld by their sovereign lord. Loyalty was determined by location, privilege, birthright, and emotional attachment.

A dictionary published at Antwerp in 1562 defined *patria* as 'everybody's country, fatherland, the town, village, hamlet or any other place where one is born.'²¹⁸ Could and would someone be able to change their personal definition of *patria*? If so, what would

²¹⁸ "Until well into the seventeenth century the emotional attachment was to the province: Protestant exiles from the southern Netherlands resident in the United Provinces or abroad spoke nostalgically of Flanders as their *vaderland*, while Christiaan Huygens' own country was unmistakably Holland." Alastair Duke, "From King and Country to King or Country? Loyalty and Treason in the Revolt of the Netherlands," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Fifth Series, Vol. 32 (1982): 124.

motivate such a shift in loyalty? Legally, an inhabitant of Groningen was bound by the taxes, boundaries, and advantages of that particular province, but that person could also have an attachment to the Low Countries as a whole.²¹⁹ But what holds priority over the inhabitant: the province in which he was born and lives, or the country in which the province is contained? And what if the request from the sovereign of the country conflicts with provincial duties and obligations? Undoubtedly many inhabitants found themselves in situations where they needed to identify and possibly distinguish their loyalty to their home city and to the country.

Consequently, the pamphlet literature of the Dutch Revolt used the words *patria* and *vaderland* consistently following the 1579 Union of Utrecht. The concern for the public good and the justification of liberty were associated with a sense of the larger interests of the provinces against Spanish agendas. Patriotism asserted one's belief in idealistic principles,

²¹⁹ Henning Arnisaeus (1570-1636), a German philosopher who later wrote on political theory, argued that in regards to having a dual sense of loyalty to the province and the country, "...he cannot desert [his *patria*], because he remains, wherever he is, obliged to his fellow-citizens and to majesty—to which he subjected himself in his entirety, and once only—he can be compelled in legitimate ways, by him who has the power to compel, to fulfill his contract." Arnisaeus wrote that dual citizenship was perfectly possible without "change of native land (*patria*)"—an assertion, as we shall see, that significantly links *patria* not with the home city but with the state. The denial of the possibility of dual citizenship, then, relates to his technical sense of the *civitas* as the material of a *respublica*, in which *imperium* inheres; it is a refusal of dual *subjection*. Annabel S. Brett, *Changes of State: Nature and the Limits of the City in Early Modern Natural Law* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2011), 184. Although we are aware of the distinctions between the provinces, the States General, the Low Countries, and the location of Spanish sovereign territory, Brett's argument that the citizen at once feels compelled to serve both the home city and the state supports the theory that the inhabitants of the Low Countries did not conceptualize themselves as having only *one* fatherland.

one's willingness to act in defense of those principles; patriotism was also a complex combination of both ideas and actions.²²⁰ For sixteenth-century Dutch authors, language and association were under constant analysis. The representatives and States General constantly adapted their approaches with regards to other provinces, religions, and leaders: renegotiating their use and definition of terminology was a natural result of their efforts to establish public peace and order.

There was still a need for a definitive statement on notions of patriotism as the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries sorted out their alliances and affiliations. *Warning to those of the Low Countries* prefaced its text with a quote from Luke, Chapter 10: "Every kingdom divided against itself will be sorry: home and house will fall."²²¹ The document warned that evil princes and power-hungry magistrates would impose their will on provinces unless the inhabitants united in the name of peace. Such considerations, the treatise asserted,

²²⁰ The historian Quentin Skinner argued that early modern parties needed to create a defensible position with regards to political principles and actual behavior: "They needed to be able to refer to some accepted principle both as a means of redescribing their opposition and their motives for engaging in it, and at the same time as a means of legitimizing it. It would also be clear why it was rational for them to redescribe their behavior specifically by professing the principle of patriotism. If they could plausibly claim to be defending the political liberties of their fellow-countrymen, they could hope to use this redescription to defeat, or at least to override, the unfavorable evaluation placed on their conduct by their adversaries. They could certainly hope to defeat the wilder accusations of treason. For a course of action that can properly be described as patriotic cannot also be described as treasonous." Quentin Skinner, *Visions of Politics*, Volume 2: *Renaissance Virtues* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 355.

²²¹ "St. Luc, Chap. xi: Tout Royaulme diuisé contre soy mesme, sera desolé: & maison cherra sur maison." *Advertissement à ceulx du pays Bas. Tout Royaume diuisé contre soy mesme, sera desolé: & maison cherra sur maison*. M.D. LXXVIII (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 424), title page.

“should move all patriots who love the liberty and conservation of their fatherland and the expulsion of the enemy and its adherents to do their utmost in order to maintain union, a gift of God.”²²² As good Christians, the document asserted, it was the civic duty of the population to co-exist and to work for peace in order to protect the *vaderland* against marauders and tyrants.

Cry of the Watchman: a warning to all lovers of the glory of God, the fatherland and its privileges and freedoms attempted to sort out the divergent opinions and influences.

Written on October 1, 1578, the day of Don John’s death, *Cry of the Watchman* made strong claims about who was responsible for the turmoil and discord. The nobles in particular were attacked for being unreliable in the fight with the Spaniards.²²³ The betrayal, claimed the anonymous author, was heightened because the nobility were privy to the most private and important information of the people: property and tax records, religious affiliation, personal affairs, and were entrusted with taking care of the population. The nobles, he wrote, played both sides of the game: placating the Spanish while making promises to the people: “And on the other hand you have come to know by their deeds those who truly love the fatherland. Why do you not open your mouths so that the bad may be expelled and worthy, capable

²²² *Advertissement à ceulx du pays Bas. Tout Royaume diuisé contre soy mesme, sera desolé: & maison cherra sur maison.* M.D. LXXVIII (UL, K, 424), translated in Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 220.

²²³ *Waerachtig verhael van de voortreffelijcke victorie, welcke het glieft heeft God Almachtig te verleenen aen de navale macht van Sijne Majesteyt van Groot Brittainne. Onder het beleyt van ... den heere Hartogh van Yorck. Tegens de vloot van de Staten Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden. Op den 3 Juny, 1665.* *Oude stijl* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 379), n.p., translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt in the Netherlands*, 157.

people take their places, not only in the States and the Council of State but also in the treasury and in all towns where the same measures are required and especially in the Council of War?”²²⁴ While the ‘watchman’ may be the author, ‘watchman’ may also refer to the reader of the treatise as a call to action and the duty to protect the fatherland from civil and foreign tyranny.

One of the more radical sources to emerge in the late 1570s, *Cry of the Watchman* reminded its readers that they were responsible for the progress of the revolt so far, not magistrates or councilmen: “Therefore, as God has given His blessing to your initial actions, do not doubt that the end result will be good and blissful too, if you carry on the same lines... Therefore you must restore your system of government to its traditional form and fashion, that is, according to your privileges and freedoms.”²²⁵ The document encouraged the inhabitants of the Low Countries to actively resist the enslavement of their consciences and of their homeland. More importantly, it appeared to empower *all* inhabitants to take up arms in the names of the fatherland and liberty. Rarely did philosophers or pamphlet writers give such power to their population. Following Theodore Bézà’s *Du droit des magistrats sur leurs sujets* (1572), most theorists viewed monarchy as the preferable form of government and saw the danger in unrestrained authority. Bézà never gave the people, that many-headed monster, the authority to act against a usurper or unlawful tyrant: it was the duty of the magistrates installed as a buffer between the king and the institution of sovereignty to be responsible for

²²⁴ Ibid., n.p., translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt in the Netherlands*, 158.

²²⁵ Ibid., 159.

the legal and military defense of the realm.²²⁶ A mob was a dangerous entity to empower through an anonymously-written booklet.

Conversely, *The True Patriot to the Good Patriots* expanded on the terms of political peace while making specific demands about the role of religion in the provinces. It is ascribed to Peter Beutterich, chief counselor of Count John Casimir of the Palatinate who in October 1578 arrived in Ghent with his troops paid for by Queen Elizabeth.²²⁷ It was one of the most important documents related to the development of patriotism, the idea of the fatherland, and religious freedom. *The True Patriot to the Good Patriots* claimed that the Low Countries would find deliverance when patriotism and faith were unified. The author blamed the Spanish and those who allied with them—openly or secretly—for trying to destroy liberty and for betraying both the fatherland and true patriots. Spain was currently at war with the Turks in the Mediterranean, a fact that Beutterich used to his advantage: “To keep the Roman Catholic religion in this country and to maintain [Spanish] tyranny are the same thing... Even the tyrannical Turks allow freedom of conscience.”²²⁸ The author formed a rhetorical alliance between the Low Countries and one of Spain’s most hated enemies in one move.

²²⁶ Philip Benedict, *Rouen during the Wars of Religion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 160.

²²⁷ *Le Vray Patriot aux Bons Patriots*, 1579 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 392).

²²⁸ “Maintenir la seule Religion Catholique Romaine en ce pays, & y maintenir la Tyrannie, n’est qu’une mesme chose. Je dis, que maintenir la seule Religion Catholique Romaine en ce pays, & maintenir une Tyrannie plus que Barbare & Turquesque, est un mesme fait. Le Turq tyrannise le corps laisse la conscience libre, les mainteneurs, de la seule Religion Catholique Romaine, veulent Tyranniser corps & ame.” *Le Vray Patriot aux Bons Patriots*, B3.

While the *Cry of the Watchman* apparently empowered the provincial population to take action against the oppressors of freedom, *The True Patriot to the Good Patriots* took a more calculated stance. Religious conditions were discussed frankly and at length, which was something that was absent from the language of the 1579 Union of Utrecht. The author of *The True Patriot* made specific demands from the Spanish sovereign. First, banishments needed to be rescinded and confiscated property was to be returned. Next, gibbets needed to be removed from all street corners. The Inquisition was to be recalled and never again enacted in the provinces. And finally, the “horrible and cursed placards... a hateful abomination” needed to be recalled.²²⁹ The tyranny of fear in the Low Countries would no longer have any power over the people.

Yet the author could not resist putting in a few measured jabs. Obedience to Roman Catholicism, the Spanish government, representatives, and king was a continuation of the “yoke of slavery.” Beutterich called the bishops and priests “little tyrants” who carried out the anti-liberty agenda of the monarchy. Bonds were violated, oaths were broken, and promises were annihilated while the inhabitants struggled to meet the demands of the sovereign. The rhetoric became more visceral and polemic as the text of *The True Patriot to all Good Patriots* moved toward its thesis: “How long have you resembled the patient about to perish or survive? Or rather you resemble a patient who has had a stomach load of bad humors that it cannot remove by vomiting... those nasty humors infect their whole body and

²²⁹ Ibid., B4.

they perish.”²³⁰ The people needed to remove Spanish influence and could not linger in false hope any longer.

The True Patriot to All Good Patriots ended with a brief mention of the nature of sovereignty in the Low Countries, but avoided a full dialogue about the issues because it was not necessary to embark upon a discussion of the duty of the subject to his sovereign magistrate, for it was a delicate matter that would distract them from their real purpose. It would also take the ‘good patriots’ too long to reply to the calumnies and the fabricated lies of their enemies.²³¹ Two years later, the Act of Abjuration (July 26, 1581) emerged after nearly two decades worth of debate about freedom of conscience, toleration, and patriotism. The Act removed Philip II as the leader of the Low Countries and ended provincial obedience to the Habsburg dynasty.

²³⁰ “*Combien de temps vous savez ressembloit le patient svr le point de périr ou survivre? Ou plutôt vous ressemblez à un patient qui a eu vne charge de l'estomacq de mauuaises humeurs qu'il ne peut pas supprimer de vomissements ... ces humeurs mauuaises infectent tout leur corps et ils périssent.*” Ibid., n.p.

²³¹ The author continued, “*Car rendre obeissance deuë au Souuerain, ne leur signifie pas, luy obeir selon droit, Justice, & equite, selon les priuileges, & coustumes anciennes: mais rendre obeissance deuë leur vault autant, que faire tout ce que le Tyrant e commandera, sans sonner mot, sans estriuer, sans resister: C'est proprement estre serf, & esclave.*” Ibid., B5. (“For [they are due to] render obedience to Sovereign, which does not mean they obey him according to law, justice, and equity, or per privileges, and ancient customs; but render obedience due to the worth [of the sovereign], as all Tyrants command, without ringing words, no writing, and without resistance: It's strictly to be a serf and a slave.”). This was an expansion of resistance-right theory whereby a sovereign—in this case, one who demanded obedience without respecting the constitutional agreement or protecting the customary privileges and rights of the people—could legally be identified as a tyrant and resistance was justifiable.

A placard was ordered stating that Philip was no longer sovereign, that his head should no longer be used on their coinage, and that his name and style should no longer be used in their official acts. The Act of Abjuration settled the question of who governed the Netherlands in theory only; it did nothing to clarify the practical issue of who was to exercise supreme authority in Philip's place.²³² The document presented many of the arguments that had been circulated in pamphlets, small books, flyleaves, and other circulations since the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566. The States General accused Philip II of depriving the Low Countries of their freedoms and customary privileges, and also of trying to bring the entire population under the slavery of Spanish tyrannical rule. The ideas that drove the placards and the Inquisition were described as "abominable and odious as the worst slavery."²³³ And although freedom of religion was only mentioned once in the edict, the importance of personal liberty and liberties of the fatherland was emphasized often.²³⁴ Interestingly, the Act of Abjuration

²³² Parker and Lane, *The Dutch Revolt*, 197.

²³³ *Edict van de Staten-Generaal van de Verenigde Nederland waarmee zij verklaren dat de koning van Spanje heeft verloren de soevereiniteit en de regering van de voornoemde Nederland, met een uitvoerige uitleg van de redenen daarvan, en waarin ze verbieden het gebruik van zijn naam en zegel in deze zelfde landen, 26 juli 1581*, translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 216.

²³⁴ "Indeed, until quite recently we kept envoys in Cologne [for the peace conference], hoping that through the mediation of His Imperial Majesty and the Electors who took part in the negotiations we might obtain a firm peace guaranteeing some freedom granted in mercy, principally freedom of religion for this mainly concerns God and men's consciences. But from experience we learned that we could obtain nothing from the king by such remonstrances and meetings, for the only purpose of these negotiations was to sow discord among the provinces and divide them." *Edict van de Staten-Generaal van de Verenigde Nederland waarmee zij verklaren dat de koning van Spanje heeft verloren de soevereiniteit en de regering van de voornoemde Nederland, met een uitvoerige uitleg van de redenen daarvan, en waarin ze verbieden het gebruik*

used language to remind the audience and Philip II that the decision to void his authority over the Low Countries was not taken lightly. In fact, the edict portrayed the States General as forced to make the brutal decision to abandon their sovereign because he had committed treason against his subjects and betrayed the dignity of his position as protector of the people. In that way, the States General defined patriotism as the active defense of the principles and existence of the *vaderland*: loyalty was not given to the sovereign king without mutual demonstration of respect of liberty and privileges. Although there was still an underlying sense that the provinces were willing to compromise on certain issues to reestablish public peace, by 1581 the Low Countries' government had joined the resistance that began in the pamphlet literature in 1566.

What was the significance of *vrijheid van geweten* to the intellectual development of the Dutch Revolt? Freedom of conscience, recognition of ancient privileges, the value of representative institutions, and the need to protect the lives and goods of both the subjects and the sovereign were important to the populations of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries during the sixteenth century because they had been part of their customary contract with the Habsburg rulers. The provinces had traditionally acted somewhat independently of each other and were connected through their borders and their involvement in the States General. There was not a reason for the provinces to unite together prior to 1566. Granted, the question of Catholicism and the Reformed religion was an ever-present issue that influenced political, commercial, and intellectual exchange.

van zijn naam en zegel in deze zelfde landen, 26 juli 1581, translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 225.

But it would not be accurate to claim that the period of iconoclasm solidified the significance of freedom of conscience. It was Philip's demonstration of his readiness to use force against his subjects, his unwillingness to compromise or negotiate on matters of religious freedom or the authority of the States General, and the placement of provincial loyalty in their *vaderland* that brought about the change in the stance of the Low Countries. The provincial population would have been firstly concerned with their personal conditions: property, sustenance, taxation, and conditions of employment. Indeed, daily reflection and debate on the conditions of intellectual and political freedom may have not played a large role in the lives of many people. The notion of liberty—especially Christian liberty—had been a critical component of the early years of the Reformation. The early Lutheran ideas of freedom of conscience were politically ambiguous due to the ongoing debate on the status of the liberty of the will of man. Luther's assertion that "free choice is nothing" would have undercut the intellectual, religious, and political developments in the Low Countries.²³⁵

The Protestants in the Low Countries, however, needed a viewpoint that offered solace and protection to them during periods of violent persecution. During the Dutch Revolt *vrijheid van geweten* was defined as the freedom to make righteous decisions based on personal beliefs without fear of retaliation, punishment, or pain. Thus freedom of conscience was used to dispute sovereignty, argue in favor of religious toleration, and delineate the boundaries of the *vaderland*. The authors of circulated pamphlets and edicts defined their

²³⁵ Martin van Gelderen, "Liberty, Civic Rights, and Duties in Sixteenth-Century Europe and the Rise of the Dutch Republic," in *The Individual in Political Theory and Practice*, edited by Janet Coleman (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 103.

freedom by virtue of what they had lost along the way: the guarantee of public peace, the demonstrability of personal expressions of faith, and support from the sovereign king.

Chapter Four

Philip of Marnix, Lord of Saint Aldegonde, and the Consolidation of Dutch Politics

Philip of Marnix, Lord of Saint-Aldegonde, was not a sixteenth-century radical political theorist. Although his experiences in Geneva with Calvin and B  za influenced his religious perspectives, the Reformed Religion was neither the primary focus nor motivation of his writings. Consequently political reform, re-establishment of the authority of the States General, and securing public peace in the Low Countries drove Marnix's agenda. Religion and politics, however, were inextricably intertwined during the Dutch Revolt. Following French writers such as Guillaume Bud  , Michel de l'H  pital, and Jean Bodin, Marnix defined functional sovereignty in the Low Countries based on historical precedent and tradition. While his language was considered seditious because it threatened Spanish rule of law and governance, it is incorrect to identify Marnix as an extremist simply because he had views contrary to the Catholic majority. He did not argue for a new form of governance in the provinces but supported the traditional autonomy of the States General, the protection of pre-existing customs and traditions by a foreign sovereign, and the toleration of both Catholicism and Protestantism in the provinces. Marnix also recognized that the specific issues within the Low Countries required a tailored constitutional approach that, despite his best efforts, was never considered an option by Philip II.

Because Marnix worked as a close advisor to William of Orange and because it was known that he was the author of numerous published tracts condemning the tyrannical rule of Philip II and the corruption of the Catholic Church, he is often identified in primary and secondary works as a political radical and a fanatical Calvinist. This characterization is misleading and fails to identify the intentions behind and value of his writings to the larger

scope of constitutionalism. Marnix's contributions to the constitutional ideas of the Dutch Revolt were three-fold. First, his ultimate objective was to restore public peace and civil order to the provinces through the establishment of a policy of religious toleration. Second, Marnix harnessed the power of popular literature to unite political and religious groups with different ideals under a common cause: namely removing the oppressive Philip II as sovereign and thereby removing the threat of confiscation of goods and property, torture, and execution from the lives of the people. Finally, Marnix's works identified the importance of maintaining its representative institution as the bulwark of the Low Countries' constitutionalism. Returning the States General to their traditional role in representing the needs of the provinces was of the highest concern. His most significant—and sometimes overlooked—edicts, tracts, letters, and discourses prove that Philip of Marnix was a moderate constitutionalist who argued that toleration and functional representative institutions were protected by customary law and were vital to bringing an end to the disastrous civil wars.

The Early Sources: Religious Conflict and Constitutional Complications

Image-breaking had occurred early in the sixteenth century during riots in Germany, England, France, and Scotland, but in none of those locations did it become as fervent or widespread as in the Low Countries. The Iconoclastic Riots began on August 10, 1566 in Flanders and quickly spread through Antwerp, north into Holland, and reached Friesland and Groningen in the first half of September. Priceless Church treasures—from images, mass vestments, and organs to unique manuscripts—were destroyed.²³⁶ In a letter to one of his ambassadors to Rome, Philip II wrote, “Thus, you can assure His Holiness, that before suffering the smallest thing that would bring prejudice to religion and service to God, I would

²³⁶ Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 11.

lose all my states, and would lose even a hundred lives, if I had them, for I could never be a lord of heretics.”²³⁷ By 1566 Marnix was in an influential position as William of Orange’s advisor and he knew that the chaos and destruction caused by the *Beeldenstorm* threatened any progress that had been made or would be made to protect the members of the Reformed Religion. The Low Countries’ nobles came together and presented Margaret of Parma with the Compromise (January 1566) in which they requested an end to the brutal enforcement of the anti-Protestant edicts. Even though Margaret put a temporary hold on the placards, Marnix began to prepare for possible retribution from Spain and the Catholic provinces of the Low Countries.

Marnix’s *Vraye Narration et Apologie des choses passées au Pays-Bas, touchant le Fait de la Religion* (1567) attempted to reconcile the iconoclastic riots with Calvinist political doctrine. He reflected on the chaos caused by the *Beeldenstorm* and asserted that maintaining political order and peace was a high priority for the nobility. He wrote, “After having seen the cost of the great iniquity and impudence of our accusers and others distort the justice and goodness of our cause and the faithful obedience that we have always given... it pleases [Philip II] to leave us only free consciences to serve God according to His Word, to use the rest of our body and soul in the service of his majesty, to which we have always dedicated and devoted ourselves, for the present, with all our heart.”²³⁸ Marnix attempted to

²³⁷ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 91.

²³⁸ “*Et voulons par tous moyens interceder vers nostre bon Roy & Prince, à celle fin qu’il n’employe ses forces pour destruire ses pauvres & humbles sujets: ains qu’en quittant toutes fausses impressions qu’il a conceues contre nous à l’occasion des faus blasmes & accusations de nos calomniateurs, il luy plaise se*

detach himself and Reformed nobles from the chaos of the image breaking, although his letter indicated that he understood the motivation of the iconoclasts. Still, the task of addressing the offenses committed under the sanction of Philip II while simultaneously excusing him from blame and asserting their obedience to him was difficult for Marnix.

He recognized the constitutional significance of the religious riots to the revolt, and his treatises, letters, and discourses reflected his concern with the larger political situation. Marnix did not view the *Beeldenstorm* as a series of isolated religious incidents. Instead, the riots represented the crux of the conflict between inflexible Spanish sovereignty and the Low Countries' domestic policies on religion and governance. A common rhetorical trend in Marnix's writings was to move the attention of the reader away from the actions of the Protestants and redirect them toward the infractions of Spain and the Catholic Church. In the Low Countries, the extravagance of the Church, the extensive wealth and vast landholdings of the clergy, and the use of sacred authority to inflict violent punishment on other Christians was intolerable. His *True Narration and Apology* stated that Philip could not deny the abuses of the Catholic Church and boldly asked the sovereign how killing Protestants helped anyone's cause.²³⁹ Not only were torture and execution against God's will but peace "would

souvenir de sa douceur & clemence accoustumée. Et en nous laissant seulement les consciences libres, pour servir Dieu selon sa Parolle, employer au reste nos corps & biens au service de sa Majesté, à laquelle nous les auons tousiours dediez & consacrez, comme encore pour le present nous faisons de tout nostre coeur." Philip van Marnix, van Sint Aldegonde, *Vraye Narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas, touchant le Fait de la Religion, en l'an 1566. Par cevs qui font profession de la Religion reformée audit Pays.* Imprime en l'an MDLXVII (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 150), A3.

²³⁹ Marnix, *Vray narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas*, B1. He wrote, "Who is so blind or so dull that he does not see and understand that the powerful hand of God brought this on? Of God, I

not be found at the cost of blood and goods.”²⁴⁰ Marnix connected the religious struggles in the provinces with the unbending policies of Philip II.²⁴¹ It was Philip’s enforcement of the hateful edicts and placards that pushed the Netherlanders into rebellion. It was the threat of the Inquisition that made the provinces react to the clergy in self-defense. And it was the use of sacred authority to enhance secular power that united the people against the Spanish crown. Marnix concluded *Vraye Narration et Apologie* by reminding Philip that although his subjects remained loyal to the “natural prince,” they would not hesitate to take up arms in

say, who struck the magistrates with stupor and tied their hands, lest they try to prevent his work? If a sparrow cannot fall to the ground without His will and ordination, how can we think that this incredible work happened by chance or through the desire and diligence of men?” Ibid. The English translation of the text within this footnote is located in “A true narrative and apology of what has happened in the Netherlands in the matter of religion in the year 1566, By those who profess the reformed religion in that country, 1567,” in Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 81.

²⁴⁰ Marnix, *Vraye narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas*, A8.

²⁴¹ Historians of the Reformation have long debated the role that religion may or may not have played in the iconoclastic riots. Scholars argue that the violence was a result of economic problems that grew as Spain increased the rate of taxation while others think that the outbreaks were solely aimed at destroying Catholic idolatry. Peter Arnade writes, “Iconoclasts were not ventriloquists for economic grief or social complaint, nor the worker bees for the theological projects of Calvinist ministers. They were people, almost all of Reformed conviction... who were alert to the tussles of their age, and convinced through religious principles that the sacred representations Catholics so vigorously attended could be exposed as nothing more than a mere assemblage of materials. Their sensibility was material, their means was physical destruction, and their inspiration was squarely religious.” Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 95. This dissertation supports the notion that economic, political, social, and religious issues influenced the iconoclastic riots. Marnix’s interpretation of the *Beeldenstorm* in his critical documents directed the focus away from the religious elements in order to emphasize the political problems in Spanish sovereignty over the Low Countries.

self-defense against vagabonds and thieves: “The ruin of the Low Countries—caused by the lack of mercy and reason—is the fault and weakness of Spain. The introduction of the hated and malicious Inquisition will finish the job.”²⁴²

Unfortunately the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566 had far-reaching consequences for the Protestants in the Low Countries. Despite Marnix’s best efforts to reconcile the actions of a few renegade Calvinists with the peaceful agenda of the other members of the Reformed Religion, the riots changed the way that Philip II treated the provinces. He decided to send Spanish troops to the Netherlands where they would create an army of no less than 60,000 troops. The duke of Alva was invited to serve as commander and he agreed to punish mercilessly but justly all political and religious rebels.²⁴³ Alva quickly took over governance from Margaret of Parma, established the *Conseil des Troubles* to investigate claims of heresy and treason, enforced the Tenth-Penny and Twentieth-Penny taxes on the provinces, and began to execute leading nobles associated with the revolt.²⁴⁴ As Philip of Marnix prepared to publish *De Bijenkorf der Heilige Roomsche Kerke* (*The Beehive of the Holy Romish Church*) in 1569, he fully embraced the constitutional idea that the people of the Low Countries were not bound to support a ruler who violated his contract of sovereignty.

²⁴² “*La ruine des pays bas est de la faute et de la faiblesse de l’Espāge... causée par le manque de miséricorde et de la raison. L’introduction de l’Inquisition haïne et malueillant finir le travail.*” Marnix, *Vray narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas*, 14.

²⁴³ *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 12.

²⁴⁴ Counts Egmont and Hoorne were arrested and executed in June 1568. See Chapter Five, “Violence in the Low Countries: Rites of Power During the Dutch Revolt,” for a further discussion of the symbolism and significance of the deaths of Egmont and Hoorne.

The Beehive of the Holy Romish Church was a popular document that many of Marnix's contemporaries compared to Erasmus's *Praise of Folly* in terms of its use of satire and clever rhetoric. The framework of *De bijenkorf der Heilige Roomsche Kerke* leveled harsh criticism at the institution of the Catholic Church, the clergy, the Pope, and the Spanish crown. Written in response to a letter published by the Bishop of Bois-le-Duc, Gentian Hervet, Marnix reviewed Catholic dogma and took on the role of defender in his most famous work. Because Marnix's Protestant leanings were widely known by his audience, the biting satire made a powerful statement. Orange's advisor exposed the abuses of the Catholic Church and denounced its idolatrous ceremonies and the clergy's lust for power. In an effort to convince the Catholic provinces to join the Calvinists in their struggles against Alva, Marnix reminded the people that regardless of their religious convictions, they were all oppressed by the Spanish presence. While Philip II continued to punish the Low Countries for tolerating Protestant 'heretics', Marnix in turn used *The Beehive* to expose Catholic weaknesses and hypocrisies. He wrote that the Calvinists wanted "to bring down bishops, abbots, and monks from wealth and make poor beggars with sacks out of them."²⁴⁵ He continued writing that "the church leaders are like old foxes which cannot be taken in any trap... and [without leaders] the Church will have no other order or rule except what others

²⁴⁵ Philip van Marnix van St. Aldegonde, *The Beehive of the Romish Church*, with revised text and notes by Martin B. Pigott III (Raleigh, NC: Lulu Press, 2008), 55. Dutch text in Marnix's *De bijenkorf der Heilige Roomsche Kerke, met inleiding en varianten*, 2 delen, bewerkt door A. Lacroix & A. Willems (Brussels: Ter drukkerij van Fr. van Meenen, 1858).

consider good and whose intention is devotion to self.”²⁴⁶ The clergy, he continued, had corrupted the true purpose of the Church and intentionally misguided the people.

As established in his *True Narration and Apology*, Marnix believed that the religious and political problems in the Low Countries were connected to each other. He did not shy away from assigning blame to those who disrupted the public peace. He could not understand how Philip and his underlings could accuse the Protestants of heresy and treachery when their own Catholic clergy were openly sinful, and wrote in *The Beehive* that “the wicked and lewd life of priests cannot stain or disgrace the commendable and worthy order of their admission to be priests.” Marnix also stated that if the pope were a villain, he would not punish heretics because it is “unfit that one wolf should bite another.”²⁴⁷ Therefore, because the Low Countries’ Protestants were not heretics but were persecuted by Spain and Rome in the form of Alva and the threat of the Inquisition, the only rational conclusion the reader could draw was that the Pope was actually a heretic himself.

Marnix soon found himself in trouble with the Spanish crown. Before he wrote *The Beehive*, the Duke of Alva confiscated his possessions and property and condemned him to death. Marnix lived in exile in Germany from 1567-72. The Lutheran German lands welcomed the champion of Protestantism, and it was during his period of exile that Marnix wrote one of his most influential documents, *A Defense and True Declaration of Things Done Lately in the Low Countries* (1571). However, the influence of Marnix’s early writings reached far beyond those pivotal moments of iconoclasm and exile. Although his most important works were published during the 1570s and 1580s, and even though he closely

²⁴⁶ Marnix, *The Beehive of the Romish Church*, 56.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 365-67.

worked with and advised William of Orange through the periods of the Dutch Revolt, Marnix did not have the same powerful reputation as his contemporaries. He authored numerous tracts, edicts, discourses, and remonstrances in his lifetime, all of which had a profound influence on the development of political theory in the Low Countries. Marnix, however, is rarely presented on his own in modern historical monographs, and he is usually discussed alongside William of Orange, Egmont, and Hoorne due to their similar perspectives on religion, the States General, and lawful resistance.

One of Marnix's most compelling qualities was his commitment to the causes of freedom of conscience and maintaining the authority of the States General throughout the duration of the Revolt. Marnix demonstrated stalwart conviction and did not waver under threat of death, when the revolt faltered, or even after the death of Orange in 1584. Sixteenth-century Calvinists followed a more cautious route than other Protestants when it came to presenting new theories of constitutionalism and theories of the right to resist. Marnix studied theology under John Calvin and Theodore B  za in Geneva, and for the most part followed their directives. However, Philip of Marnix wanted to play a more active role to combat the bloodshed and destruction that characterized the Revolt. In terms of resistance theory, B  za walked the line between advocating resistance and denying the right of lawful resistance. In his 1554 treatise *The Punishment of Heretics*, B  za initially argued that inferior magistrates could be lawfully opposed, but later withdrew that argument. When he returned to the question of 'what is to be done if the civil magistrate abuses his power?',²⁴⁸ B  za wrote that

²⁴⁸ Theodore B  za did not believe that the people possessed the authority to act against a usurper or unlawful tyrant. Rather it was the duty of lawful magistrates, installed as a buffer between the king and the institution of sovereignty, to take responsibility for the legal and military defense of the land. B  za supported

“in times of great iniquity it is our task to bear ourselves with great patience,” flatly rejecting the suggestion that the people can do more, and he concludes by stating that “whatever our rulers may do, the word of the Apostle stays fixed, that we ought to be subject in conscience to all the higher powers.”²⁴⁹ In comparison to Marnix’s early writings and recommendations, Orange’s top advisor followed a different interpretation than his former teacher: lawful resistance was sanctioned when a tyrannical sovereign violated the conditions of rulership, forsook customs and privileges, and oppressed the people he was meant to protect.

Redefining the Bonds of Fealty

The era of the 1570s had a profound effect on the political theory of Philip of Marnix. While William of Orange was in exile, Marnix stood as his representative deputy at several important meetings of the States General. Marnix was also captured and held as a political prisoner by the Spaniard Julian Romero and the experience subsequently altered the advice that he gave to Orange. Yet his commitment to the Low Countries’ style of constitutionalism did not waver from the ideals set forth in his 1571 *Defense and True Declaration of Things*

monarchy as the preferable form of government and like many of his contemporaries believed that the real danger was in unrestrained authority. It makes sense then that one of Béza’s most influential works, *Du Droit des magistrats sur leurs sujets* established a constitutional theory that invested representative bodies, not private individuals, with authority over both the king and the people. Griego, *Constitutionalism and the Right to Resist During the French Wars of Religion*, 41-44.

²⁴⁹ Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought/ 2*: 215-16. Skinner notes that Robert Kingdon believes this tract is one of the first justifications of resistance theory by an Orthodox Calvinist, although Kingdon fails to note that Béza simultaneously denies and asserts the lawfulness of resistance.

*Lately Done in the Low Countries.*²⁵⁰ Larger ideas including freedom of conscience and religion, armed resistance in self-defense, and the fight for liberty influenced Marnix's works during that period and show that his was a moderate course aimed at the restoration of the authority of the States General and the public peace.

Originally attributed to the Reformed Protestant minister Petrus Dathenus, it is now believed that Marnix was the author of *Defense and True Declaration of Things Lately Done in the Low Country.*²⁵¹ Originally written in Latin as *Libellus supplex Imperatoriae Maiestati* on October 26, 1570, the document was published during the crux of distress in the Low Countries. Alva's *Conseil des Troubles* was actively persecuting heretics and had recently executed the Counts Egmont and Hoorne, public protests in the provinces were increasing, William of Orange lacked public support and his confidence wavered after a failed invasion, and Orange once again found himself in exile looking for foreign support. For the duration of the revolt, the Low Countries looked to Germany for support and often theorists wrote

²⁵⁰ The complete title is *A Defence and true declaration of the things lately done in the lowe Countrey whereby may easily be seen to whom all the beginning and cause of the late troubles and calamities is to be imputed, and therewith also the slanders wherewith the adversaries do burden the churches of the lowe Countrey are plainly refuted*, (1571).

²⁵¹ Marnix, *A Defence and true declaration of the things lately done in the lowe Countrey whereby may easily be seen to whom all the beginning and cause of the late troubles and calamities is to be imputed*, in Gelderen, *The Dutch Revolt*, xv. This knowledge is based on a letter in which Marnix mentioned that he had been asked to write a request to the German Reichstag. Marnix was a principal publicist for the Latin version and the argument of the document is similar to what he had previously published.

specifically to the Reichstag, the German Parliament, hoping to align their causes.²⁵² The *Defense* offered both an account of the origins and causes of the troubles in the Netherlands and a defense of the Dutch exiles and their activities.²⁵³ The most important points addressed by the author involved locating Low Countries' constitutionalism within the historical framework of Roman law codes and recognizing the mistakes made by the provinces in their struggles against Philip II.

As discussed above, Theodore B za supported a view of rebellion that limited action to those holding elector positions, namely the magistrates. That perspective was echoed in many tracts published after 1566 and through the late 1570s, when many people still held out hope that Philip II was acting on the advice of malicious advisors rather than on his own. It was difficult to maintain that position during Philip's enforcement of the anti-heretical edicts, the executions of leading nobles, the violent suppression of local uprisings, and the general lack of compromise on the part of the Spanish crown. Sixteenth-century conceptualizations of kingship required that subjects believe in the goodness of the 'natural prince' who was bound by the sacred oath of rulership to protect his subjects from those who threatened their customs, goods, and lives. The brutal religious conflict in both the Low Countries and France forced people to rethink how they would persevere when it was the prince himself who threatened their livelihoods and lives. The *Defense* made progress in defining the limits of

²⁵² "This, my Lord, has caused the noble men and others of Low Germany to publish in supplication, by them exhibited to the Emperor, the Electors, and other princes assembled at Speyer, the report of their doings and sufferings, with request of good interpretation and charitable aid." Marnix, *A Defence and true declaration of the things lately done in the lowe Countrey*, in *The Dutch Revolt*, 5.

²⁵³ *Ibid.*, xvi.

authority and the rights of the people to act in self-defense against a tyrannical sovereign but still located the source of the conflict in the corrupt Catholic clergy.

Marnix wrote to the electors and princes of the Reichstag:

Whereby certain idle men, which, only in name and outward posture, professed a solitary lie severed from all governance of commonwealths, and only addicted to the preaching of the word of God or quiet study of holy scriptures, began to creep into courts of Kings and Princes, and covering their greedy affections with the cloak of religion, to minister such counsels whereby they might, by their new devised means of Inquisition against heresy, draw to themselves from the civil magistrate the hearing and judgment of the controversies of greatest weight and importance. And so little by little, they have attained not only by searching and inquiring to become Lords of every private person's goods, possessions, houses and most secret places, yea and their wives and children, but also to bring the magistrates and Princes themselves in subjection to their authority.²⁵⁴

Even when writing to the German Parliament, Marnix avoids placing full blame on either Philip or his magistrates. Rather the sinister monks and clergy who directed the Inquisition as a means for improving their personal situation are located at the crux of the problem. As he moves through the history of events in the provinces, however, he takes aim at the hypocritical word and actions of the Spanish sovereign and criticizes Philip's failure to be physically present in the Low Countries as one of the main sources of discontent.²⁵⁵ It

²⁵⁴ Marnix, *A Defence and true declaration of the things lately done in the lowe Countrey*, in *The Dutch Revolt*, 7.

²⁵⁵ There were several incidents where poor communication and misunderstandings characterized the relationship between Philip and his subjects in the Netherlands, one of the most notable being when Egmont traveled to Spain to meet with Philip personally. He returned with the impression that Philip was willing to soften and eventually end the enforcement of the placards against heretics. The confusion was part of a larger incident that precipitated Spanish action in the provinces. The 'Letters of the Segovia Woods' were letters written between Philip II and Margaret of Parma in October 1565 and July 1566. Although Egmont maintained that Philip agreed to abolish the hated placards against the Protestants, Philip had not actually given him a

appeared to Marnix that Philip was not personally invested in governing the provinces and that he also poorly chose who he appointed as governor-general, particularly his commission of the Duke of Alva. Similar to the actions taken by the Catholic clergy, Marnix accused Alva of moving into a province, identifying valuable property, quickly declaring the residents “as enemies and traitors,” and establishing his authority “with great ignominy and reproach.” He continued, “[Alva] took from cities and towns all their liberties, laws, statutes and privileges, he overthrew all order of humanity, he clearly took away all duties of Christian charity, chiefly commanded by the laws of God... and thus he alienated and withdrew the minds of children from their parents, of parents from their children, and of wives from their husbands.”²⁵⁶ Not only were the Spaniards attempting to stake a claim on the Protestants’ physical possessions, they were also sowing discord, strife, and division amongst families and neighbors.

After all, living in fear for one’s life could lead to false confessions, lies about religious affiliations, spying, and turning in suspected heretics. And, as Marnix repeatedly asked of his audience, to what end? If Alva and Philip intended to convert the entire population of the Low Countries to Catholicism, they were going about it in the wrong way. The *Defense and True Declaration of Things Lately Done in the Low Country* addressed the

response. Margaret allowed for the cessation of the placards, and the Calvinists began to practice their religion publicly. Once Philip received news of the new developments, he ordered the heresy placards reinstated and also forbade the convocation of the States General. These events precipitated the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566 and established a relationship of mistrust between the Spanish sovereign and the people of the Low Countries.

²⁵⁶ Marnix, *A Defence and true declaration of the things lately done in the lowe Countrey*, in *The Dutch Revolt*, 59.

failure of violence to coerce people starting with the circulation of the Edicts against heretics by Charles V in 1521:

...the Emperor Charles, a prince otherwise by nature gentle and merciful, decreed without the assent of the estates to publish, and from time to time to renew with most cruel Edicts, and such as seem rather to be written with blood than with ink. Not that he meant to have them executed with extremity, but that he hoped by the terror of this unaccustomed cruelty to call the people's minds from the study of that religion, which he in conscience accounted wicked.²⁵⁷

Although the *Defense* does not resort to discussing the need to win the hearts and minds of the people, Marnix points out that they are already subjects of the Spanish crown.

What did Alva and Philip II hope to gain by torturing and alienating those who had already sworn allegiance to them?²⁵⁸ It was his torturous methods and unyielding enforcement of inquisition-style persecution that damaged the oath of fealty sworn by the people of the Low Countries. Despite the provinces' previously stable relationship with the Spanish crown, despite identifying the clergy as the perpetrators of the original persecutions, and despite holding out hope that the anti-heresy placards would be rescinded, at the end of the *Defense and True Declaration*, Marnix admitted to the German Reichstag that the Low Countries were committed to fully defending "ourselves, our wives, our children and riches, but above all our conscience from the pride of the inquisitions, from the avarice of the new

²⁵⁷ Ibid., 21. The attempt to soften Philip's heart by reminding him of the kindness of his father was almost always unsuccessful. See Chapter Six, "The Mythology of William of Orange," for a further discussion on the relationship between Charles, Philip, and William, and how it affected Philip's governance.

²⁵⁸ "...[Philip II] showed himself utterly to denounce all humanity. For if all humanity be maintained by the mutual society and company of men, must he not need be the enemy thereof, which by violence seeks to take away that one gift, whereby man only shows himself to differ from the brute beasts." Marnix, *A Defence and true declaration of the things lately done in the lowe Countrey*, in *The Dutch Revolt*, 70.

bishops, and from the outrageous lust of the most mischievous ministers of the Inquisition, and rascal soldiers.”²⁵⁹ It was the Christian duty of the Calvinists to protect themselves from hateful, relentless, and unlawful persecution regardless of the oaths of loyalty they had previously sworn.

On July 19, 1572, Marnix found himself standing in as William of Orange’s representative deputy before the meeting of the States General of Holland at the province of Dordrecht. Conflict between the French Huguenots and Catholics was at a feverish pitch,²⁶⁰ and the situation in the Low Countries was also worsening. While Orange was in political exile in Germany, it fell to his most important advisor to deliver a critical message to the States. It is important to consider the tremendous responsibility and authority that Marnix bore at that moment. He was popularly recognized as the voice of the Protestant rebels and moved in powerful circles. The question is raised as to why Marnix did not assume leadership of the revolt while William was away from the Low Countries or at any of the other opportune moments. Marnix believed that Orange was the best person to pull the Low Countries out of oppression and to establish religious toleration. Marnix also saw firsthand the chaos and discord that could be sown when leadership was overthrown. Consistency and moderation were two of the most important elements in his plan to consolidate Dutch politics

²⁵⁹ He also requests of the Germans: “But if no occasion shall be offered you, to restore us unto our country again, yet give no ear to our adversaries’ accusations, nor place to their insatiable cruelty.” *Ibid.*, 75.

²⁶⁰ Within a month, the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre occurred (August 24, 1572) and changed the nature of French political and religious theory. The massacre also demonstrated the extent to which Catholic extremists were willing to go in order to remind their brethren that their faith was the one true religion. Marnix and his colleagues recognized that the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre was an ominous foreshadowing of their own struggles against the Spanish sovereign.

after all. For Marnix, the movement for religious and political autonomy was greater than any personal ambition that he may or may not have harbored.

The meeting of the States General at Dordrecht in 1572 was an act of rebellion because Philip had expressly forbidden any meetings without his permission. The insurrection continued in the letter that Marnix read aloud. William asked two things of the States: first, that he be recognized as governor-general and *stadhouder* of the king over Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, and the bishopric of Utrecht; second, he asked that he also be appointed as the chief member of the States General and assume responsibility for “protecting the country from foreign tyrants and oppressors according to its old rights and privileges.”²⁶¹ By 1572 the language of the revolt appeared consistently in the documents: restore customary privileges and rights, return the States General to independence and authority, and religious toleration must be enforced. William’s speech was significant because he requested a formal alliance between himself and the States as representatives of the people that superseded his previous appointments. Marnix was also directed to declare verbally—the addendum about religion was not part of the written text—that both Protestants and Catholics should be allowed to hold private and public services at their discretion and that Catholic clergy were not to be assaulted. Despite being in exile, Orange was still an

²⁶¹ *Cartons voor de geschiedenis van den Nederlandschen Vrijheidsoorlog*, II, edited by R.C. Bakhuzen van den Brink (The Hague, 1898). Translated in “Instruction and Advice for the Honourable Philip Marnix, lord of St. Aldegonde etc., delegate of my gracious lord and prince, the prince of Orange, to go to the town of Dordrecht on behalf of his Highness and to address the assembly of the States as directed and charged by His Highness, 1572,” in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 98n.

active player in the events of the revolt and Marnix continued to be one of his most reliable advisors.

When Julian Romero captured Marnix near Maaslandhuis on November 4, 1573, the tone of Marnix's writing changed under the stress of the situation. He took on a more conciliatory position that asked Orange to consider compromise and negotiation. While Marnix was a moderate with regards to his constitutional and religious perspectives, the language of his sources was still powerful and meant to rouse popular sentiment. For example, in his 1571 *Defense and True Declaration of Things Lately Done in the Low Country*, Marnix wrote about the horrific acts of violence committed by Spanish soldiers: "Belike that they might spoil and rob their coffer, ravish their wives, kill their children and families at their pleasure, and leaving nothing free from their cruelty, avarice, and horrible wickedness; than the which what can be imagined more unjust? ... [Alva] has not feared with most brutish cruelty to break up the graves... and to take out their bodies, scarcely cleaving to the bones, hanging some on gibbets and burning the rest with fire."²⁶² Marnix readily drew on fear and other powerful emotions in order to rally support to Orange's cause.

Marnix's imprisonment was neither rough nor grueling,²⁶³ and his captors regularly moved him between Den Haag and Utrecht. Holland and Zeeland were both engaged in

²⁶² Marnix, *A Defence and true declaration of the things lately done in the lowe Countrey*, translated in *The Dutch Revolt*, 59-60.

²⁶³ Orange wrote to Marnix knowing that his captors would read the letter, "I hope very much that Monsieur Noircarmes and Seignior Valdez will treat you as Seignior Julian Romero treated you. If they do otherwise, I will be forced to do the same to those whom we keep in captivity. I will be very pleased to hear what they think about exchanging prisoners..." "*Le prince d'Orange à Philippe Marnix*, Delft, 28 November 1573," *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, Volume II, edited by L.P. Gachard (Brussels, 1850), 88.

battle with Spain (1572-76) while the States General tried to lure assistance from France with the promise of sovereign authority over the Low Countries. While Marnix lingered in captivity, Orange continued to organize the revolt and recognized the need to expand the resistance efforts beyond Holland. When Orange wrote to Marnix, he responded to his advisor's earlier requests:

I think that in order to deliver this people from this miserable war, you would like to induce and persuade me to enter into some treaty and prejudicial accord, which would ruin rather than save the county... We have desired nothing so much as the tranquility and prosperity of the country based on a good and sure peace and this is what we still desire. The innumerable cruelties, and other outrages perpetrated contrary to all divine and human rights, which caused these troubles and forced us all, each according to his place and rank, to take up arms, always distressed us deeply and still do.²⁶⁴

Did Philip of Marnix truly change his viewpoint on Orange's management of the revolt?

Were his requests to Orange so different from what he had previously asked of his leader?

Marnix was isolated from his network and had a different perspective on the revolt from his confinement in Den Haag. Undoubtedly personal hardship and stress influenced his writings. However, since Marnix followed a moderate path in his political theory, it was not surprising that he would suggest that Orange also consider a more conservative approach while dealing with Philip II and the Duke of Alva.

The Protestant bloodshed and Spanish violence that he passionately decried in the *Defense and True Declaration* no longer appeared to justify the right to resist for Marnix; instead they became the reasons why he suggested Orange sue for peace. Orange's advice to Marnix was simple and unapologetic: stay the course. He recognized that "wars always cause

²⁶⁴ "Le prince d'Orange à Philippe Marnix, Delft, 28 November 1573," *ibid.*, 90.

endless suffering and disasters,”²⁶⁵ but they had already sacrificed too much by 1573 to consider giving in. Additionally he reminded Marnix of the 1572 St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre in France, stating that just because Catholics accepted a peace treaty did not mean that they would honor that peace.²⁶⁶ Marnix eventually returned to his place alongside Orange both physically and mentally as demonstrated in his next substantial publication, *Oraison des ambassadeurs du serenissime prince Matthias archiduc d’austriche &c Gouverneur des pais bas*.

The *Oraison* was published on May 7, 1578, for the German Reichstag at Worms. In the lengthy document, Marnix supported and carefully defended the appointment of Archduke Matthias of Austria as Governor-General of the Low Countries. Matthias was appointed to govern the provinces and to work closely with the Council of State and was limited in power pending the approval of the States General.²⁶⁷ The States were careful to include a clause that stated that the people of the Low Countries were lawfully empowered to take up arms against Matthias should he violate the conditions of his privilege. Matthias took the oath in Brussels and the right to resist was then grounded in the bonds of the Joyous

²⁶⁵ Ibid., 90.

²⁶⁶ “*Mémoire du massacre en France aussi, ce qui se est passé en dépit d’une paix si solennellement juré, ne peut pas être effacé de nos cœurs et nous enseigne où placer nostre confiance. Nous ne pouuons pas oublier qu’il a eu lieu longtemps après la guerres, en temps de paix et même au cours d’une noce. Nous deurions uraiment considérer ce qui, selon toute probabilité estre en magasin pour nous, avec notre pays encore plein de soldarts et des soldarts espagnols en particulier.*” “*Le prince d’Orange à Philippe Marnix, Delft, 28 November 1573,*” *ibid.*, 89.

²⁶⁷ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 138.

Entry.²⁶⁸ Despite the fact that the installation of Matthias by the States General was a radical move against the authority of Philip II, Marnix defended the new governor-general. The *Oraison des ambassadeurs du serenissime prince Matthias archiduc d'austriche &c Gouverneur des pais bas* reminded Philip that his faithful Dutch subjects had endured Spanish mischief with “exceptional patience and moderation.”²⁶⁹ Marnix wrote that although the Duke of Alva and the Spanish military commander Don Juan of Austria were two different people, they brought equal ruin to the provinces, trampled privileges, and brought the Low Countries back into civil war. What else could Philip II’s subjects do except install a new governor-general to protect themselves from persecution?

Technically the States possessed the authority to appoint a new governor. The historical privileges of Brabant gave the institution and the people the right to resist a sovereign if said sovereign violated the bonds of his oath.²⁷⁰ That argument fell in line with

²⁶⁸ Also refer to *Articulen ende puncten, geconcipieert bij die generale Staten, waer op... Matthias... van Oostenrijck aengenomen is voor Gouverneur over dese Nederlanden*, Leeuwarden, 1578 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 323) for a similar argument regarding the appointment of Matthias.

²⁶⁹ He continued, “*Ce pendant neantmoins le Serenissime Archiduc d’Austriche Matthias ne cessera de se parforcer avecques tous les Estats en general (aussi auant que faire se pourra & que le permettra l’estat de ceste guerre embrasee avecques l’esgard des voisins) qu’il y ait en ce vn ordre & forme legitime establee qui soit accommodee aux affaires du S. Empire.*” Philip van Marnix, van Sint Aldegonde, *Oraison des ambassadeurs du serenissime prince Matthias archiduc d’austriche &c Gouverneur des pais bas: & des Estats generaux desdits pais, Recitee en la diette tenue à VVormes deuant les conseillers deputez par les princes electeurs, & autres ambassadeurs ...l’an ... M.D.LXXVIII. le VII. iour de May* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 355), H3.

²⁷⁰ The Joyeuse Entrée of 1477 established that upon the entrance of a new authority into a particular city, the ruler was bound to protect and adhere to the customs and privileges already established. It was a

Marnix's theory of the right to resist and therefore did not constitute an act of extreme rebellion against the authority of Philip II. The sovereign had forced the Low Countries' hand through his unwillingness to compromise on the matters of religious toleration and autonomy for the States General. The *Oraison* spent considerable time on the justification of self-defense—an important point in resistance theory because neither their religion nor their political perspective supported an unprovoked offensive strategy—and claimed that it was the “law of nature... that is imprinted on the hearts of all animals regarding the charge and care of their survival and health.”²⁷¹ Marnix demanded that the traditions, customs, laws, ordinances, and privileges be restored; a demand that appeared in every document that he produced during the 1570s. Finally, he wrote briefly about the importance of religious integrity especially in relation to Roman Catholicism.

Philip of Marnix did not criticize Catholicism in the late 1570s as meticulously as he did following the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566. In the *Oraison*, he moved away from disparaging the rites and beliefs of Catholics and turned his focus on the clergy. The clergy, he wrote, were doing a disservice to Catholicism and its adherents by performing acts of violence and persecution in the name of the Church. Should Spain attempt to fully introduce the Inquisition, Marnix warned, the reaction of the people would be unpredictable: times had significantly changed since the rule of Charles V and the introduction of religious oppression. Regardless of their convictions of faith, the inhabitants of the Low Countries all risked their

contractual agreement validated by verbal recitation and via the ceremonial rights of the procession. See Chapter Five, “Violence in the Low Countries: Rites of Power during the Dutch Revolt,” for analysis of the significance of ceremonials, oath swearing, and public displays of violence.

²⁷¹ Marnix, *Oraison des ambassadeurs du serenissime prince Matthias archiduc d'austriche &c*, H1.

property, their freedom, and their lives through the continued presence of the Spanish military in the provinces.

Following the appointment of Matthias as Governor-General in May 1578, Marnix quickly composed another pamphlet in June 1578 that argued in favor of the appointment of the Duke of Anjou as sovereign of the Low Countries. This letter was addressed to Marnix, written by someone posing as a German nobleman. It was a strong rhetorical maneuver for two reasons: first, supporters of the rebels and the Protestants in the Low Countries often wrote to the Germans to ask for assistance and alliance; and second, it allowed someone else to engage with and validate the arguments that Marnix had made for the past decade. Marnix himself wrote letters directly to the Reichstag in the hopes of drawing Lutheran support to their cause. Although Marnix did not write the *Lettre contenant un avis de l'estat auquel sont les affaires des Païs-Bas* (1578), the author engaged with and offered support of many points in his argument. While the States General felt that they possessed the power to appoint their own governor-general and sovereign, the author noted that action was easily construed as treason.²⁷² However, he wrote, “you are so accustomed to living under seigniors, that even when you condemned your prince of the crime of tyranny and waged war on him, you claimed to do so in his name and under the authority of a man who was his lieutenant and

²⁷² *Lettre contenant un avis de l'estat auquel sont les affaires des Païs-Bas, tant pour le regard des principals provinces et villes en particulier, comme de toutes ensemble en generale, avecq la recherche du party, le plus prompt el plus asseure, que les Estats puissent prendre contre l'Espagnol, pour leur conservation et salut, MDLXXXVIII* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 358), n.p.

near relation.”²⁷³ Anjou also seemed to be a natural selection for the Low Countries’ next sovereign because he was a descendant of the House of Burgundy and therefore close in succession to Philip II: “You should not be fearful of being blamed because you try to find a happier life and to liberate yourselves from that monstrous power that has made you wretched and miserable.”²⁷⁴ By the end of the 1570s, Marnix’s definitions of the right to resist and the meaning of the revolt were largely embraced by States General and the population of the Low Countries. Because he was successfully able to expand the concerns of the revolt beyond purely religious concerns, Marnix made progress in helping William of Orange expand the struggle beyond the borders of Holland and Zeeland. Even though some of his decisions and arguments appeared extreme, Marnix consciously grounded his justifications in the customs and law codes of the Low Countries. His moderate stance become more conservative during his period of imprisonment under Julian Romero, but William’s stern letter reminded Marnix what they had lost, what they had to gain, and the importance of staying the course. Marnix’s constitutional theories were based on the bonds of fealty, the contractual obligations sworn and assumed by the institution of the sovereign.

²⁷³ The author referred to Archduke Matthias of Austria, who was Philip II’s cousin. By explaining the difficulty of the argument regarding the people’s need to protect themselves from their sovereign, the author clarified intricacies of Low Countries’ constitutionalism. Marnix, *Lettre contenant un avis de l’estat auquel sont les affaires des Païs-Bas*, n.p. Translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 152.

²⁷⁴ “Vous ne devriez pas auoir peur d’être blamé parceque vous essayez de trouuer une vie plus heureuse et de vous libérer de ce pouvoir monstrueux qui vous a fait malheureux, miserable.” Marnix, *Lettre contenant un avis de l’estat*, n.p.

Remonstrance and Refutation

“Remember that I am neither the first nor the last to be wrongly accused, but all those working in the maintenance of public affairs are subject to such fortunes.”²⁷⁵ The last words in Philip of Marnix’s *Bref recit de l’estat de la ville d’Anvers*, published in 1585, were written during one of the lowest points of his life. His close friend and leader, William of Orange, was assassinated in July 1584, Henry III of France refused to assist the Low Countries in their open war with Philip II, and by August 1585 Marnix surrendered the city of Antwerp to Spanish forces. The first half of the 1580s was dominated by Habsburg powers reconquering the southern provinces. The Union of Utrecht had attempted to create the peace that Marnix and William had envisioned all along: a compromise between the rebels, the Calvinists, and the king of Spain. But compromise proved unacceptable to all parties. For middle-of-the-road men there seemed no way out: they must either defect to the king or fully go over to the Calvinists. Many key figures of the time suffered inner conflict, fighting the outward struggle of the revolt within themselves as well as participating in the conflict outwardly.²⁷⁶ It was the same position that Marnix found himself in during his capture in 1573 and the pamphlet literature reflected the turmoil of the situation. He continued to write and remained moderately active in the political scene following the assassination of William

²⁷⁵ “*Se souuenants que je suis le premier & ne seray le dernier qui suis blasmé a tort: mais que tous ceux qui s’emploient a la maniance des affaires publiques sont subiects a telle fortunes...*” Philip van Marnix, van Sint Aldegonde, *Bref recit de l’estat de la ville d’anvers, du temps de l’assiegement & rendition d’icelle. Servant en lieu de Apologie pour Philippe de Marnix Sieur de Mont Sainct Aldegonde, contre ses accusateurs, au regard de l’administration qu’il y a eue.* MDLXXXV (Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, B88672 [SO-231 e]), F3.

²⁷⁶ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 205.

of Orange in 1584, but it seemed that the great theorist had lost his drive and impetus. The death of Orange was a tremendous blow to Marnix and put the future of the revolt in danger. Marnix's final writings demonstrate the on-going development of his moderate political theory as he slowly removed himself from the public realm.

The center of power moved from North Holland to Brussels and Antwerp when Orange moved south in 1577 to control Anjou's growing influence in Flanders. In 1580 the States General attempted to install François, Duke of Anjou—the younger brother of the French king—as the new conditional sovereign over the Low Countries. If the rebels could gain the support of the king of France and the Lutheran princes of Germany, the strength of the revolt would greatly increase. The offer of power to Anjou was tightly bound by constitutional safeguards: first and foremost, the States General did not offer the title “sovereign” to Anjou because, as Marnix stated, there was no Dutch equivalent for that particular French word. Instead, Anjou was proclaimed prince and lord of the Netherlands.²⁷⁷ The provinces could not adopt a new sovereign without getting rid of the previous one first.

The Duke of Anjou had a different understanding of the meaning of his appointment in the Low Countries. Anjou worked closely with Jean Bodin who was one of the leading political theorists in France and has often been called the creator of the modern state. His *Six Livres de la République* (1576) was written to counter the pamphlet literature published by the Calvinist Huguenot monarchomachs. Bodin insisted upon the limits that were provided by natural and divine law, contracts, and popular consent. By vesting the throne with unconditional sovereignty, the people entrusted themselves to the prince and his successors

²⁷⁷ Anjou's appointment essentially nullified the need for Archduke Matthias and he left the provinces in March 1580. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 209.

who were not obligated to bind themselves to customs or privileges beyond their wish to uphold traditions.²⁷⁸ The Low Countries, however, neither believed in nor practiced unconditional sovereignty. In fact, it was the limits placed on the sovereign that defined their system of constitutionalism and empowered the autonomous States General. Bodin also did not condone violent resistance or the removal of the ruler: revolution and civil war only brought ruin to the people and to the country. Naturally Anjou arrived in the Low Countries with Bodin's particular vision of sovereignty in mind. Conflict between Anjou and the States General loomed, but at that time the provinces supported the installation of the French duke.

Marnix, Lord of Aldegonde, was only forty years old when he published *Advis d'un affectionne au bien publique a la Bourgeoisie d'Anvers* in 1580. Circulated on July 19, the letter attempted to justify the legality of the States' offer to Anjou.²⁷⁹ Marnix wrote that the situation in the Low Countries was like "a body of various humours, unbalanced and needing swift remedy."²⁸⁰ The solution was the removal of Spanish troops from the provinces and Philip's abdication as sovereign. Marnix argued the legality of their desire to install Anjou based on constitutional precedents that appeared in many of his earlier works: the Low Countries had always been loyal to the institution of the prince but could no longer obey the cruel and changing man who held that seat of power. Orange's advisor boldly reminded

²⁷⁸ Griego, "Constitutionalism and the Right to Resist During the French Wars of Religion," 93.

²⁷⁹ Philips van Marnix, van Sint Aldegonde, *Advis d'un affectionne au bien publique a la Bourgeoisie d'Anvers*. En Anvers, Par Abraham de Doremael. Le 19 Julliet 1580 (Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Rare Book Collection, E107519).

²⁸⁰ "Nostre estat este fort & riche, bienque nous ne auons ni Capitaines, ni soldats, ni pour de l'argent... Espaignols perdra cette guerre." Marnix, *Advis d'un affectionne*, A3.

Spain of their power alliances with France and with England and wrote, “our state is strong and rich although we have neither captains nor soldiers nor money... but Spain will lose this war.”²⁸¹ The language was uncharacteristically bold and it appeared that the notion of compromise no longer served the larger interests of the revolt. He ended the *Advis* assertively:

There *can* be a mild prince, gentle and virtuous. *You* placed a tyrant in our cities, subjected us to your laws and removed our privileges, eliminated the States, failed to appoint good governors or magistrates, garrisoned the cities in the provinces, and believed that we would deal with it. How can you deny the authority [of Anjou], the French successors of the Dukes of Burgundy? *You* have only made enemies...²⁸²

However, the *Advis* still suggested to Philip that his physical presence in the south would help ameliorate the issues, a suggestion that indicated that the States, Marnix, and Orange wanted to frame their action within a legal framework. It would be much easier if Philip II would give up power over the Netherlands by choice rather than by force.

Philip II did not have the opportunity to renounce his position though—not that he considered doing so. In July 1581, the States General agreed on the text of the *Plakkat van Verlatinge*, the Act of Abjuration, that renounced the king of Spain as lawful sovereign over the Low Countries, removed his portrait from coins minted in the provinces and from general seals, and erased the Habsburg coat of arms from public buildings and documents. There was

²⁸¹ Ibid., A3.

²⁸² “*Que sera vng Prince clement, doux, & vertueux. Vous peult il tyrannizer, se mettant entre vous, dās vos villes, subiect à vos loix & priuileges, pregnant le Conseil par l’election des Estatz, ne mettant Gouverneurs, Magistratz, ne arnison dans voz villes que de vostre nation & agreables aux Prouinces, comme contiennent les articles conceuz pur traicter avec luy. Pourquoi vous ameneroit il les François, nō plus que les Ducz de Bourgoingne ses predecesseurs qui se sont renduz ennemys...*” Ibid., A6.

to be no further reference to the king of Spain, or any of his titles, in courts of law, town halls, or any official body. Additionally, new oaths were sworn by all office-holders that removed them from their bonds to Philip II and required them to “swear further to be true and obedient to the States against the king of Spain and his followers.”²⁸³ And so Marnix found himself observing a situation that both he and William had not imagined occurring in their first two decades together: the Low Countries broke their solemn oath of obedience to their sovereign. Although the act was grounded in a legal framework, the bold decision had lasting consequences.

Aggaeus de Albada, an important sixteenth-century Spiritualist jurist, wrote *Acts of the peace negotiations which took place in Cologne* in 1581. One of the highlights of Dutch Revolt literature, Albada’s *Acts* attempted to justify the policies of the States General and justified armed resistance against Philip II. Albada emphasized that princes had been made by the people and not the people by princes.²⁸⁴ One of his primary sources was the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* written by Philippe du Plessis-Mornay in 1579. Du Plessis-Mornay was similar to Philip of Marnix in that his experiences with violence, warfare, and religious persecution shaped his political theories. Popular sovereignty was a critical element for the Huguenot monarchomach writers although, like Theodore B  za, Du-Plessis Mornay did not advocate giving power to *all* of the people: any individuals who drew the sword against the

²⁸³ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 209. An Annotated English translation of the Act of Abjuration is contained in *Texts of the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 216-28.

²⁸⁴ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 153-54.

king were “seditious, no matter how just the cause,” since no commonwealth was ever derived from or founded on purely individual interests.²⁸⁵

The influence of the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* on the work of Aggaeus van Albada was two-fold: first it asserted that sovereignty had to be given from the beginning before the heir could rightfully become king; and second it nullified the heritable tradition of the crown.²⁸⁶ For the Low Countries, that meant that the States General was empowered to choose a new conditional sovereign if they determined that their laws and privileges and lives were in danger. Albada maintained that “there had been a common people before there ever was any magistrate” and that all officials regardless of rank and bloodline were subject to the people who had elevated their highness.²⁸⁷ Albada’s theories were more extreme than any notions that Marnix had written since 1566. In relation to the appointment of Anjou and his eventual attempt to overthrow the States General and Orange by force, there was a difference of constitutionalism between France and the Low Countries. Even among the influential authors of the provinces, lawful moderation guided most of their tracts.

Marnix’s works became more emotional and less based on reason between 1583 and 1585. Following the Act of Abjuration, William of Orange was given “high authority and government” over Holland and Zeeland, and the right to exercise “full authority and power” as sovereign and overlord for the duration of the war. His appointment was an affront to Anjou who had been invited to act in nearly the same capacity. Following substantial disagreements and failed coups by Anjou, the States General created a treaty with William of

²⁸⁵ Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought*/ 2: 334.

²⁸⁶ Griego, “Constitutionalism and the Right to Resist During the French Wars of Religion,” 52.

²⁸⁷ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 155.

Orange that was nearly identical in language to the treaty they had established with Anjou. Marnix was increasingly defensive of Orange as demonstrated in his *Answer from a good patriot and citizen of the town of Ghent to the notorious pamphlet* (1583). Marnix verbally battled Frederick Perrenot, Lord of Champigny (Granvelle's brother), who had slandered Orange in a pamphlet. Marnix denied that William ever wanted to be sovereign of the Low Countries and reminded Perrenot that "a man who prefers another prince to himself cannot be rightly judged to aspire to the sovereignty. A man who puts the crown on the head of another cannot be as ambitious as you represent him."²⁸⁸ Marnix reminded Perrenot of Orange's strength and determination to serve the cause of the revolt as demonstrated by his survival of an assassination attempt in 1582. William, he wrote, carried the faith of the people of Holland and beyond, and a statesman always ruled better than a prince.²⁸⁹ The mythology surrounding William of Orange had begun to permeate Dutch culture and also influenced Marnix's evaluation of his friend and colleague. Marnix returned to the role of religion in the rebellion although he did not usually write about faith explicitly.

Throughout his involvement in the revolt, Philip of Marnix consistently maintained that public peace would only be established if freedom of conscience was granted throughout the provinces. Freedom of conscience meant the ability to think and worship without fear of

²⁸⁸ Philips van Marnix, van Sint Aldegonde, *Response d'un bon patriot et bourgeois de la ville de Gand au libelle fameux intitule Avis d'un bourgeois de la ville de Gand, qui se resent amerement des calamitez de sa ville, MDLXXXIII* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 633), n.p. Annotated English translation in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 241.

²⁸⁹ Marnix, *Response d'un bon patriot*, n.p. Annotated English translation in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 241.

punishment or execution. Specifically, Marnix did not think that religion—either Catholic or Protestant—was the primary concern of those rebelling against Spain. When he discussed religion, even during the iconoclastic riots of 1566, Marnix considered the larger issues at play: continuation of customary privileges, practice of new Christian faiths, freedom of expression, and the power of representative institutions. When *Discourse of a nobleman* was published in 1584, Marnix returned to the religious question. “Undoubtedly,” he wrote, “to invoke the pretext of religion is the right way to go about abolishing all a country’s liberties, rights and privileges... As we know in that in the Netherlands the introduction of the inquisition disturbed first liberty and then the entire state of the fatherland.”²⁹⁰ He admitted that the discussion about the need for freedom of conscience was challenging because, after all, an individual’s mind was always essentially free from the command of other men. The Spaniards, he argued, found pretext for persecution in any action or behavior that they thought indicated Protestant leanings. People were compelled via threat of confiscation of goods and property, injury, and even death to reveal their private thoughts or to lie in order to save their lives. Marnix claimed that since the mind was ultimately uncontrollable it was fruitless to attempt to control it. Additionally, “it ought to be no more difficult for them to permit the public exercise of a religion which they confess to be in accordance with the ordinances of the apostles, than to give freedom of doctrine and inner faith which they maintain to be entirely erroneous and pernicious. How is it then possible to grant freedom of

²⁹⁰ Philip of Marnix, Lord of Sint Aldegonde, *Discours d’un gentil-homme amateur de la patrie et du repos public, sur le fait de la paix et de la guerre en ces pays-bas* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 705), n.p. Translated in “Discourse of a nobleman, a patriot partial to public peace, upon peace and war in these Low Countries, 1584,” in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 264.

conscience without exercise of religion?”²⁹¹ Those with the power to grant freedom of conscience were the very people who were enforcing persecution of those of the Reformed conviction. Marnix examined the limitations of Christianity in his *Remonstrance serieuse sur l'estat de la chrestienté* (1584). He wrote that the present struggle with Spain required the consideration of many issues, especially “The disturbances, trouble, and general confusion of all things... It is necessary that these provinces and those nearest who have been agitated by waves and waves of immoderate ambition are not ultimately enveloped and engulfed by the abyss of horrible calamity.”²⁹² Marnix’s argument returned to the notion that the sovereign was bound to protect his people, not to hang them from the gallows, behead, or burn them.

While it would not be accurate to describe the last fourteen years of Marnix’s life after the 1584 assassination of Orange as ‘in decline’, he published less and somewhat withdrew from public life. Following the prolonged siege and after hearing the news that Henry III would not support the Low Countries in war against Philip II, Marnix surrendered Antwerp to Spanish forces in August 1585. He spent the next decade working behind the

²⁹¹ Marnix, *Discours d’un gentil-homme amateur de la patrie et du repos public*, n.p. Translated in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 266.

²⁹² “*Le perturbation, trouble, & confusion generale de toutes choses... Il est necessaire, que les prouinces plus voisines, & celles aussi qui en sont plus eslongees, estans emeues & agitees, par les flots & vagues de ceste ambition immoderee de leurs voisins, soyent finalement aussi enveloppees, & englouties, par le gouffre d’une calamite si horrible.*” Philip van Marnix, van Sint Aldegonde, *Remonstrance serieuse sur l'estat de la chrestienté: et des moyens de la conservation et salut d’icelluy, dedié Aux tres-puissans et tres-illustres Roys, Princes, Potentats, et aultres Estats de la Chrestienté. Par un gentil-homme Allemand amateur de sa patrie*. MDLXXXIII (Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Rare Book Collection, K72629 [C2-545]), A2.

scenes to secure an alliance with Elizabeth I and hammering out the details of the appointment of the Earl of Leicester. Marnix also found himself in a literary battle in the final years of his life. Emmery de Lyere sarcastically called Marnix the champion of Netherlandish Calvinism and challenged his moderate political theory in a document entitled *Antidote ou contrepoison contre les conseils sanguinaires et envenimez de Philippe de Marnix Sr. de Ste. Aldegonde*. Marnix's failure to hold Antwerp against Spanish forces in 1585 had weakened his position in the Low Countries and his withdrawal from political life in the 1590s made him vulnerable to criticism.

Emmery de Lyere was an admirer of the religio-political persuasions of Michel de Montaigne and Sebastian Franck. Lyere came from a family that had lived in Antwerp for several centuries. The Lyere family had ties with the important Anabaptist leader, David Joris, and generally did not support the violent measures that began taking place in the provinces following the enforcement of Charles's anti-heretical placards.²⁹³ Lyere had also served as squire to William of Orange and was exposed to many discussions and debates regarding the development of the rebellion. William of Orange used him beyond the duties required of a squire: Lyere worked as both a messenger and a secretary for Orange starting in 1577.²⁹⁴ After Orange's assassination in 1585, Emmery de Lyere found himself in a battle

²⁹³ *Emmery de Lyere et Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde: Un admirateur de Sebastien Franck et de Montaigne aux prises avec le champion des calvinistes néerlandais. [Emmery de Lyere] Antidote ou contrepoison contres les conseils sanguinaires et envenimez de Philippe de Marnix Sr. de Ste. Aldegonde*, edited and with an Introduction by C. Kramer (The Hague: Martinus Nihjoff, 1971), 91.

²⁹⁴ *Emmery de Lyere et Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde*, 93.

over supplementary taxation and he left the service of the house of Orange and held a series of offices and military appointments in the following years.

The *Antidote ou contrepoison* attacks Marnix on the grounds that he failed to offer a defense of *all* non-Catholics and that Marnix was particularly vicious in his condemnation and separation from the ideals of other Christian religious groups. Lyere focused his attention specifically on Marnix's condemnation of the Spiritualists and the Anabaptists in his *De bijenkorf der Heilige Roomsche Kerke* (1569). The author of the pamphlet attacked Marnix's political theories as well as his stance on the persecution of heterodox religions.²⁹⁵ His answer to Lyere, *Response apologeticque*, reminded the audience that Marnix would not bow to unjustified criticism especially regarding a document that he published twenty years earlier. The debate between Marnix and Lyere was a fitting capstone to the final intellectual contributions of one of the leading political theorists of the Dutch revolt.

²⁹⁵ Both religions were recognized as part of the Radical Reformation of the sixteenth century. Spiritualists focused on the inner qualities of religious experience and diminished the authority of the written Word of Scripture. Although there were tendencies of spiritualism in Lutheranism, Luther himself has no toleration for the Spiritualist movement. Sebastien Franck, to whom *Antidote ou contrepoison* was dedicated, questioned the reliability of human knowledge regarding religious issues and therefore advocated universal religious toleration. The Anabaptists believed that their re-baptism was not a second baptism (rebaptism made them subject to prosecution under the Code of Justinian) but rather the one true baptism. Their church membership was voluntary and practiced an inclusive lifestyle that closed them off from the rest of the world. In doing so, the Anabaptists did not believe that they were liable for taxes, did not serve in official capacity, nor do any other things associated with obedience and loyalty to the province and country. Although these sects were somewhat peaceful in nature, their unwillingness to support either the religious or political agenda of the Dutch Revolt was condemned by leaders like Philip of Marnix.

In 1595 Marnix published *Examen et refutation radicale des enthousiastes* and expanded the discussion that he and Theodore B  za had initiated in the mid 1560s regarding the radicals.²⁹⁶ Marnix focused on the persecution of the members of the Reformed religion, and condemned the fact that Calvinists were still banned from holding public religious ceremonies and continued to live under the threat of punishment for practicing their faith. Emmerij de Lyere was disappointed that Marnix at once condemned inquisition-style persecution while denouncing the works of the Spiritualists. How could the bastion of toleration and the champion of Dutch Calvinism judge those with whom he ought to be working in alliance?

The *Antidote ou contrepoison* argued against six points:

That we should punish heretics to death. That we should send the heretics into exile. That excommunication should be exercised in the Church of God. It is wrong to accuse the zealous Spiritualists of heresy because they seek a spiritual or allegorical interpretation of Holy Scripture. It is [Marnix of] Aldegonde, not the zealous Spiritualists, who stains and removes any remorse of conscience from men's hearts. The lord Aldegonde judges his Christian brothers too precipitately, and charges them with infinite false calumnies and injuries.²⁹⁷

²⁹⁶ *Ondersoekinghe ende grondelycke wederlegginge der geestdruvische leere, aen gaende het geschrevene woort Godes, in het Oude ende Nieuwe Testament vervatet: mitsgaders oock van de beproevinge der leeren aenden richtsnoer desselven* (1595). Emmerij de Lyere et Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde, 1.

²⁹⁷ “*Qu'on ne doit punir    mort les h  r  tiques/ Qu'on ne doit envoyer en exile les heretiques/ Que l'excommunication ne doit   tre exercee en l'eglise de dieu/ Qu'on accuse a tort d'heresie les Zelateurs spirituels a cause qu'ils cherchent une interpretation spirituelle ou allegorique a saintes   critures/ Que c'est le Aldegonde et non point les Zelateurs spirituels, qui tache d'enlever tout remors de conscience des coeurs des homes/ Que le dit seigneur Aldegonde juge ses freres en Christ d'un judgment trop precipite, les chargent d'une infinite de faux calumnies et injuriez.*” Emmerij de Lyere et Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde, 119.

Lyere's view of religious toleration was similar to the views espoused by Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert during the same period: both favored religious toleration not so much for reasons of state but because they felt that concord and union as the foundation of all communities was threatened principally by factions arising out of religious diversity.²⁹⁸

According to Lyere, religious toleration—not suppression—was the best and only solution. Interestingly, this was also the position espoused by Philip of Marnix. Lyere accused Marnix of giving William of Orange poor advice during the last turbulent years before his death, and wrote that Marnix's failure to protect the Spiritualists from persecution—even casting public judgment on them himself—made him just as terrible as the Catholic church.²⁹⁹ He continued, “So, how can I console myself with the little flock and righteous judgment without the affection of my good will? ...I will consider my little work well employed, which I brought to light at the insistence of my friends, not for any hope of praise nor to spread my name, but for the peace, service, and freedom of all Christians.”³⁰⁰ Lyere insisted that Marnix include all heterodox religions in his requests for religious toleration: what good was toleration if it was still given conditionally?

²⁹⁸ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt*, 259. Interestingly, when the *Antidote ou contrepoison* appeared in 1598, Emmery de Lyere categorically denied having authored the pamphlet.

²⁹⁹ *Emmery de Lyere et Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde*, 159.

³⁰⁰ “Voilà, pourquoi je me console en ce que le petit troupeau et gens de bien jugeront sans affection de ma bonne volonté, et que la plus saine partie (memes d'entre les religion réformée) reprouveront avec moi c'est archiheresie la persecution, Lors j'estimerai mon petit labour bien employé, lequel j'ai permis de mettre en lumiere par l'instance de mes amis, non pour aucun espoir de louange, ni pour epandre mon nom ains pour le service repos et liberte de tous Chretiens.” *Ibid.*, 205.

Marnix's response to Lyere's *Antidote ou contrepoison* lacked the cohesion and fortitude that dominated his earlier publications. He focused on the problem of authorship of the pamphlet—Lyere denied having written it himself—and focused on linguistic analysis to prove that Lyere was indeed the author.³⁰¹ Marnix remained committed to his stance on the need for toleration between the members of the Reformed Religion and those of the Catholic Church. His response emphasized the importance of public peace and of obediently serving the state. Marnix claimed that the disruptive and unorthodox practices of the Anabaptists and the Spiritualists undermined the intentions of the Revolt. Unity within and between the provinces was not possible if sects were allowed to exist that challenged the Low Countries' interpretation of constitutional governance. Marnix's attempt to separate himself and the movement from the Radicals was comparable to the way he dealt with the radical Calvinists who perpetrated the *Beeldenstorm* of 1566: identify the differences and stay the course. The battle of words between Marnix and Lyere was his last literary contribution before his death in 1598. The debate represented the conviction and determination with which Marnix maintained his position. He strongly refuted accusations that he gave William of Orange poor counseling or that he attempted to use the Prince to advance his own political agenda. The debate over the conditions of toleration, freedom of conscience, and political authority continued long after the Marnix's death, and the notion of Christian liberty remains one of the hallmarks of the Dutch Revolt.

³⁰¹ The author was rumored to be a German gentleman, however Marnix stated that the linguistic characteristics of the writer indicated someone of French or Dutch heritage. Willem Broes, *Filip van Marnix, heer van St. Aldegonde, Bijzondere aan de Wilhelm I*, Volume 2, Part I (Amsterdam: Johannes van der Hey end Zoon, 1839), 25.

The works of Philip of Marnix, Lord of Saint Aldegonde, are an important lens through which to view the Dutch Revolt. The pamphlet literature and propaganda circulated between 1560 and 1598 often took extreme and fanatical views of religion, politics, and resistance theories. Marnix represented a moderate constitutional perspective based on the need to establish public peace and he identified three main goals through his publications. Although he was a Calvinist he did not allow his convictions to solely drive the rationale behind his arguments. Marnix realized that despite his repeated attempts to convince Philip II and the Catholic Church of the negative effects of the corrupt behaviors of the clergy, the abuse of power, and the use of brutal inquisition-style persecution to coerce Protestants to convert, there would not be a peaceful compromise between the faiths. His first goal was the establishment of a policy of religious toleration but, as demonstrated in Marnix's debate with Emmery de Lyere, he did not advocate a universal policy of toleration. Second, Marnix used the power of the printing press and his vast publications to unite the people of the Low Countries under a common cause: namely removing the oppressive Philip II as sovereign. Lastly, Marnix's works identified the importance of maintaining the States General as the guarantor of the Low Countries' constitutionalism. Marnix's publications are significant because they represent the work of a man dedicated to establishing freedom of conscience and constitutionalism. His sources showed the inner turmoil and distress that he endured while sharing the burdens of both the people and the leader of the revolt. Marnix faltered, he reacted emotionally to personal issues, and he struggled to maintain his convictions during dark times. But above all else, Philip of Marnix was a moderate constitutionalist who wanted

to bring an end to the disastrous civil wars. He was the complex epitome of the literary spirit of the Dutch Revolt.

Chapter Five

Violence in the Low Countries: Rites of Power During the Dutch Revolt

The strict and unforgiving placards issued by Charles V in the first half of the sixteenth century against the members of the Reformed Religion encouraged the identification and active persecution of Protestants in the Low Countries. Widely hated across the provinces, the placards were an important religious and political focal point for the duration of the Dutch Revolt. Because the placards equated heresy with *lèse-majesté*, treason against the sovereign, those charged as heretics were brought before central judicial authorities rather than tried in local courts. What made matters worse was that the heresy legislation also stipulated that the property of the condemned be confiscated. The survival of an entire family was threatened if a single member of the household was found guilty.³⁰² The placards not only undermined the autonomy of individual towns and villages to legally process criminals without involving larger judicial institutions, but they also threatened local domestic and economic stability.

Philip II was a product of the Spanish court and represented stern and steadfast Catholic orthodoxy in his approaches toward the Low Countries. When it came time to choose a regent to rule as the governor-general in Brussels, he needed to find an individual who shared and would enforce his religious and political perspectives. Philip decided that a Privy Council rather than the regent would be the center of authority in Brussels and appointed Antoine Perrenot, soon to be Cardinal Granvelle, as head of the Privy Council.³⁰³ Granvelle's appointment and the creation of the new council generated resentment among the

³⁰² Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 28.

³⁰³ Charlie R. Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2013), 57.

Netherlands' aristocracy who expected to play the role of advisors to the regent under the new regime. The death of Mary of Hungary—whom Philip fully intended to reinstall as regent over the Low Countries—caused him to turn his attention to Margaret of Parma. She was the ideal candidate for regency: her experience in political life; her traditional and unenthusiastic religious opinions; her lack of dynastic ties to the aristocracy; and her obedient nature were all the qualities that Philip II needed in his representative.³⁰⁴ The structure of her appointment, however, put Margaret in a difficult political position: she was expected to consult with the Privy Council on all matters and was unable to respond immediately to rising political situations in the Low Countries. She was by no means a weak ruler but rather was limited by the amount of power Philip II gave her. She took the seat of Governor-General of the Low Countries in 1559.

Political criticism spread quickly through the pamphlet literature and images during the early 1560s. Margaret and Granvelle were easy targets of the popular satirical works. Egmont, Hoorne, and William of Orange had been so closely connected to the sphere of power in Brussels that it was still unimaginable that they would become the primary opposition to the Spanish crown during the Dutch Revolt. All three rightly suspected that Granvelle would pare back their established sphere of influence, especially that of Orange,

³⁰⁴ Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life*, 59. Steen argues that Margaret's appointment represented Philip's expectations of her as a loyal servant, but ultimately Philip underestimated her capabilities. By doing so, Philip effectively undermined Margaret's authority as governor-general by preventing her from responding to political situations in the Low Countries on her own. Steen notes that Margaret's force of personality and understanding of the nobles who surrounded her as well as her respect for traditions in the Low Countries were important components of her success as governor-general. While she attempted to work with the nobility in the Low Countries, she remained loyal to the Habsburg dynasty which was the basis for her authority.

who would not abide Granvelle's appointment of archbishop in the very province in which his most important lands were located, a fact made worse by Granvelle's elevation as cardinal in 1561. The nobles also refused to passively defer to the illegitimate half-sister of the king.³⁰⁵ Additionally, the religious question continued to be a pressing matter in the Low Countries. Philip's religious beliefs and his understanding of the divine nature of his rulership overlapped to such a high degree that he could not think of them as separate: thus rebellion against the sanctioned religion of his realms was rebellion against the Spanish crown.

In February 1562, the deputies of the States of Brabant wrote a petition to the king directly requesting that the vacant abbacies of Saint Bernard and Tongerlo be filled. The States were concerned that Granvelle planned to absorb those seats into the larger bishopric, a move that undermined their local privileges. Philip, already home in Spain by 1559, denied the primacy of their complaints and privileges and responded that any privilege, however strong, had to give way to overriding necessity: religious reasons were the highest reasons and the public safety must be the supreme law.³⁰⁶ On the surface, Philip's claims that he was acting in the interests of public safety were similar to the covenants of the Dutch Protestants and leaders of the revolt that consistently emerged after 1566. However, Philip's argument was based in the notion of *princeps legibus solutus*, a "ruler above the law" or, what

³⁰⁵ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 58-59.

³⁰⁶ Koenigsberger cites two Latin quotations as used by Philip to justify his claims: *cum summa sit ratio quae pro religione facit* and *salus populi suprema lex sit*. H.G. Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments: The Netherlands in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 203.

amounted to the same thing, a ruler who could change the interpretation and definition of the law as he saw fit. Philip's response to the Brabantine petition represented the fundamental reason why conflict between the States General of the Low Countries and the king of Spain escalated into open war and why all attempts to negotiate and compromise failed.³⁰⁷ The inhabitants of the Low Countries could not support a sovereign who claimed to have powers of omnipotence and who demonstrated a willingness to bend the laws of the country.

Philip II faced several challenges while responding to the growth of Protestantism and secular rebellion in the Low Countries. He did not have the same power of personal rule that his father, Charles V, had exercised largely because his obligations in Spain and the growing problems in the Mediterranean kept him preoccupied. When Philip left the Low Countries in 1559, he never again returned. Philip II also trusted Margaret of Parma and his council to uphold and implement Spanish policy in the provinces. Lastly, the king of Spain underestimated the value of civil liberties and traditional privileges to his subjects in the Low Countries: it was the threat to private rights and of bodily injury that eventually motivated the inhabitants of the provinces to unite against Spain. But the ruler recognized that the Low Countries were an important economic lifeline for Spain. Not only were three-fourths of Spain's chief export, wool, sent there for market but over four-fifths of the ships plying the trade route between the north and the peninsula were from the Netherlands. Additionally, the loans that helped finance the late emperor's wars were largely negotiated there.³⁰⁸ Philip's rebellious subjects needed to be brought under control quickly and with minimal resistance.

³⁰⁷ Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*, 202-05.

³⁰⁸ Henry Kamen, *The Duke of Alva* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004), 58.

Granvelle's consolidation of the bishoprics and subsequent interference with traditional privileges and customary rights was met with harsh criticism in the Low Countries. William of Orange and Margaret established a reliable relationship based on their common interests, primarily their fierce opposition to Granvelle. However her moderate and calm demeanor was put aside as public displays of rebellion increased and the Reformed Religion began to spread throughout the provinces. Margaret frequently relayed news of the civil disturbances to Philip and advised, "In the Name of God! If only Your Majesty would bother to consider and provide for things as is proper... if you do not understand and act as is necessary, and quickly, it will be difficult to keep things from falling into some huge and irreparable quandary."³⁰⁹ Despite her relationship with Egmont, Hoorne, and Orange, Margaret was not acting to defend their interests. Instead, her letters to Philip indicated her awareness of the larger issues of social unrest and discontent.

Her letters expressed that hopelessness of expecting the Low Countries to bend to the wills of Granvelle and Philip. She wrote that Spain was able to establish a firm force in France with minimal burning, sacking, looting and pillaging and should take a similar approach within the Low Countries. Her final advice to Philip was that regardless of the path that he chose to use in the provinces, it was unlikely to bring the result that he desired, presumably religious orthodoxy and sacrifice of privileges in the name of the Spanish crown, and she expressed regret that she saw no end to resistance on either side.³¹⁰ Suspicion of the

³⁰⁹ "Letters of Margaret and reports of *baillage* officials in Tournai, 19-24 Sept. 1562," cited in Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life*, 97.

³¹⁰ "*Mais tout ce que s'y est peu faire, est si peu qu'il ne mérite le mettre en consideration, et si est en hazard de bumber par terre tout ce que y est fait, à faulte de povoir continuer ce qui est commencé, qui me*

motives of the States General became fixed in the minds of Philip II and his supporters. Philip sent Margaret a message that forbade her allow the convocation of the States General and, in an attempt to appease the opposition, he withdrew Cardinal Granvelle in 1564. The nobility celebrated Granvelle's removal but recognized that Philip had no intention of accepting their demands. Above all, the issue of the enforcement of the heresy placards was still unsettled. Meanwhile, Margaret continued to work to bring the nobility into the center of government and attempted to create an environment of public peace and co-existence in the Low Countries.³¹¹

The removal of Cardinal Granvelle and the subsequent introduction of Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alva, changed the tone and course of the Dutch Revolt by escalating the political and religious tensions in the Low Countries. Combined with Philip's ill-defined approach to bringing the provinces under submission, the residents' intense hatred of the heresy placards, and local insecurities regarding traditional rights and privileges, it was not surprising that both the Netherlanders and the Spanish turned to violence as a solution. Through his *Raad van Beroerten*, or Council of Troubles, Alva initiated a systematic use of public displays of violence to try and force the rebellious inhabitants of the Low Countries into obedience. After 1568, neighbors turned against one another and torture, mutilation, and

cause ung incroyable regret, pour n'y pouvoir faire ce que je voudroys et ce que je voys il conviendroit au service de Vostre Majesté, bien, sheurté et repoz de ces pays." "Margaret to Philip, 16 October 1562," in Griffiths, *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, 401.

³¹¹ Steen notes that Philip resented the loss of his close ally and the fact that he had to make a tremendous concession to placate the States. Margaret embraced her new political power but was still bound to uphold and enforce the unyielding expectations of Philip. Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life*, 102-04.

executions became commonplace. Although there were similar acts of cruelty performed by Netherlanders, they lacked the systematic organization and attentive management that characterized the tactics of Alva's regime. Despite Spanish attempts to justify the need for aggressive suppression of Protestantism and rebellion, the inhabitants of the Low Countries did not believe that the law sanctioned the placards, persecutions, and executions. Rather than isolating the members of the Reformed Religion and uniting the rest of the Netherlandish subjects under Philip's rule, the public widely condemned Alva and began to come together against what was perceived as oppression and abuse sanctioned by the Spanish crown. Religion was an important factor in the Spanish struggle against non-Catholics but it was neither the only motivating factor nor the most important. Violent acts committed during the Dutch Revolt were not intended to coerce religious adherence. Protestants and Catholics used violence to show their commitment to their communities, to teach their enemies lessons about the dangers of disobedience and condemnation, and to identify specific targets who disrupted public peace.

“We Are Prey Exposed to Everyone”:

Early Netherlandish Responses to Spanish Policies

Prior to the outbreak of the *Beeldenstorm* in 1566, anonymous authors began to submit requests and appeals to the Governor-General, Margaret of Parma, asking her to modify the heresy placards. One of the documents published early in 1566, *Request Presented to the Duchess of Parma on the Fact of the Execution of the Inquisition and Placards of the Catholic Religion*, stated that the placards not only unlawfully persecuted Calvinists, but they were also evidence of the presence of the Spanish Inquisition in the Low Countries. The petitioner indicated that the nature of the placards and their violent

enforcement meant that those members of the Reformed Religion would never be safe and that “for the most part, within our homes and our country properties, we are prey exposed to everyone.”³¹² The suggestion that the inhabitants had the right to safety within their own domicile and should expect protection rather than threats from their government returned to one of the key elements of sovereignty: it was the duty of the sovereign to protect his subjects from harm and tyranny, even if that source of oppression was the sovereign himself. Typical of most of the documents produced during the Revolt, the request ended with traditional declarations of loyalty to God, Philip II, the gentlemen of the royal council, and Margaret of Parma. The author stated that the people believed in the good process of the law and trusted that Philip would take their requests under strong consideration. At that point, it appeared that there was still faith in the good will of the king of Spain toward alleviating the suffering of his subjects in the provinces.

The pamphlets produced during the mid-1560s did not yet have the typical elements of the more seditious and libelous sources published after 1572 when the St. Bartholomew’s Day massacre in Paris threatened the safety of Protestants across northern Europe. Those early sources did not demonize the enemy or idealize their own leaders or simplistically

³¹² “...pour la plusgrande part noz maisons & biens situez aux champz, exposez ala proye de tout le monde.” *De la Requete presentée ala Ducesse de Parme &c. regent: Le cinquiesme jour D’auril XVc. Soixantecincq, auant Pasques. Par pluisieurs Gentilzhommes de pardeça. Sur le fait de L’inquisition & l’execution des Placcars dela religion catholique. Ensemble de l’Appostille donnée par son Alteze sur ladicté requeste. Avecq preuilege de son Alteze. Imprime en la ville Bruxelles/ par Michiel de Hasmont, Imprimeur iure/ demeurât soubz la maison de ceste ville, 1566 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, University Library Pamphlets, PMFLT 1566: 4), A3.*

present current problems as a choice between Good (us) and Evil (them).³¹³ Prior to the destruction of Catholic images, statues, churches, monasteries, and cloisters during the iconoclastic riots of 1566, the people of the Low Countries did not typically respond to violence with violence. The common interests of the rulers and the States General were public peace, civic justice, and moderate toleration. The nature of Spanish rulership in the seventeen provinces was that of sacral authority, at least in the eyes of Philip II. He justified his social status, authority, and morality in terms of his religious convictions. Philip's defense of Catholicism in the Low Countries—and the Duke of Alva's perspective by extension—was grounded in the understanding that there were political and theological consequences for resisting the will of the sovereign. The realms that Philip inherited following Charles V's abdication in 1555 could not be yielded, especially not to heretics or infidels, for each loss would strengthen Spain's enemies.³¹⁴ While the various duchies, counties, and lordships of the Netherlands did not recognize the Spanish sovereign as an absolute monarch, they understood the ways in which he viewed himself and his royal responsibilities. The standard concluding lines in materials published in the Netherlands that paid homage to Philip's authority and recognized the role of God in governance were not simply a matter of lip-service: rather those closing lines were an important component of the oaths and obligations inherent in the customary agreement of sovereignty.

Numerous documents presented a different perspective on the conflict that was steadily unfolding. There were not always indicators of the authors' religious affiliation in

³¹³ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 25.

³¹⁴ *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*, edited by Graham Darby (London and New York: Routledge, 2001), 16.

the pamphlet literature and that meant that not all inhabitants of the Low Countries based their identity and political perspectives on their religion. For example, *Ordinance and Placard Published Within the City of Utrecht* (1566) claimed that the civil unrest was much more than was ever experienced by their Burgundian ancestors and stated that “rest, peaceful nature, silence, and friendship” must be reestablished.³¹⁵ The author argued that the presence of the Reformed Religion and the failure of the government to eliminate it created all of the problems and discord in the Low Countries. Hedge preaching and Protestant meetings, he wrote, ought to be forbidden from taking place near any churches, hospitals, cloisters, and other places within the city. Those who held and attended sermons, either directly or indirectly, ought to be identified as law-breakers and punished as such. Yet for all of their cries for peace and friendship in their communities there was not a solution put forth on how the members of the Reformed Religion would be reintegrated into society. In the letters that he wrote to Margaret, Philip could not accept the suggestion that her advisers had proposed for placating the nobles and advancing their early attempts to force him to negotiate moderate toleration.³¹⁶ Philip was not necessarily opposed to tolerance but resisted it because he

³¹⁵ “...overigge, rustige naturr, stilte, en vriendschapp...” *Ordinantie ende placcaet ghepubliceert binnen der Stadt Utrecht uit den ende van weggen des overluchtighen ende hoochge boren heeren nijn here die Prince van Orangien Grave van Nassau. Ridder vander oorde van den gulden vliese/ Stadth ouder ende Capiteyn generael Co. Ma. Ouer Bourgundien/Hollant/Zeelant Overtvrieslant ende Utrecht. Gheprent tot Utrecht. Int ulieghent herte, 1566* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 130), 6.

³¹⁶ “To remedy this you told me earlier that your advisers saw only two possibilities, namely to take up arms (which would be very difficult) or to give in on some points, to abolish the Inquisition and to moderate the rigour of the edicts little by little... I am certain, Madame my dear sister, that you can easily imagine the great

believed that the Protestants were challenging his authority as king. The solution for most inhabitants seemed to revolve around the belief that the followers of the Reformed Religion should abandon their spiritual identity and conform for the greater public good, at least while in public.

When the wave of iconoclasm or *Beeldenstorm* opened in 1566 it circulated through Flanders, Hainault, Brabant, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Gelderland, Friesland, and Groningen. The increasing violence and destruction caused by the iconoclastic riots cast the nobility into disarray as the middle position completely disintegrated.³¹⁷ Margaret expected the magistrates to continue to fulfill their duties and she drew up legal ordinances when her needs were not met. In the towns where royal forces remained, Margaret of Parma ordered commanders to resist all petitions and demands put forth by “malignant, turbulent and seditious” people. These included both Calvinists and Confederates, already called Beggars among the populace.³¹⁸ When the iconoclastic fury against Catholic institutions in the

sorrow this very important matter causes me. What is at stake is on the one hand the respect for our holy Catholic faith which I have always had at heart and furthered with due zeal and in accordance with the obligation I have to maintain it; on the other hand I fear that great difficulties and trouble might come to so many of the honest vassals and subjects whom I have in the Low Countries: I cannot forget the natural affection I have always had and still have for them... Since my departure from there [in August 1559], I have not heard of any cruel execution or rigorous prosecution having been undertaken on the strength of the Inquisition or the edicts, which might account for these difficulties.” *Philip II to the Duchess of Parma, 31 July 1566*, in Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 70-71.

³¹⁷ Darby, *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*, 17.

³¹⁸ Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life*, 160. The Confederates were the gathering of nobles who opposed Spanish rule in the Netherlands from 1566 on. The most successful group of *Geuzen*, or Beggars,

Netherlands began on August 20, the authors of Netherlandish resistance literature began to alter the content of their publications. They attempted to create a clear distinction between those who were inciting the riots and those residents of the Low Countries who did not want to be associated with any anti-Spanish behaviors. One author wrote, “Our malicious and sworn enemies have only sought to satisfy their insatiable greed and have taken the blood and lives of the poor subjects of the King, have constantly used all kinds of tricks and practices to further strengthen the rigour of the placards, have placed our consciences under servitude, and weakened the freedoms and privileges of the Low Countries.”³¹⁹ Not only were their riotous neighbors responsible for the local bouts of violence, they were also to blame for the continued enforcement of the heresy placards. Some inhabitants of the Low Countries also believed that the actions of the *Beeldenstorm* had been strategically incited by Spain in order to draw the Low Countries into open war. However, Catholic propaganda was

operated at sea and were called *watergeuzen*. In the Dutch struggle for independence, the Sea Beggars secured an important victory at Brielle in 1572 that allowed them to gain a foothold in the northern provinces. The Calvinist celebration of this victory is described in *De Spangiaerden also met schanden ghevlucht...* (1572), and is contained in *Placcaet vanden Thienden ende twentichsten penninck/ op-gesteld by den Hertog van Alva, op alle roerende ende onroerende goederen inde Nederlantsche Provintien. Ende alomme gepubliceert inden naeme des Conings van Spangien/ inden Jaere MDLXXI* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 567/568), C2.

³¹⁹ “*Cependant les malueillans & ennemis jurez du Pays, qui de tout temps n’ont cherché que d’assouvir leurs cupiditez insatiables au pris du sang & de la vie de pures subjects du Roy, n’ont cessé de projeter toutes sortes des ruses, & pratiques, à fin de renforcer encore la riguer desdits placars, rendre la seruitude des consciences plus grande, & la liberté des priuileges du Pays moindre...*” *Vraye Narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas, touchant le Fait de la Religion, en l’an 1566. Par cevs qui font profession de la Religion reformée audit Pays*. Imprime en l’an MDLXVII (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 150), 11.

also used to undermine the religious faith of the Protestants in favor of labeling them as rebellious malcontents.

Anonymous engravings appeared in support of the Protestants' condemnation of the use of carved and painted images in church. In all, about five hundred churches were attacked during the *Beeldenstorm*. In some cities, however, magistrates succeeded in protecting the churches, sometimes by removing works of art before they could be destroyed. *Engraving 1566* depicts a scene of chaos and fury (see Figure 7). In the foreground, soldiers use brooms to destroy chalices and statues while in the background other men use buckets of water to literally wash away the sins of idolatry. At the top of the image, a demon or the Devil flies away carrying crucifixes, banners, scepters, chalices, and other physical items of Catholic worship before the Protestants can destroy them.³²⁰ To the left of the engraving, monks, a bishop, and a cardinal pray for help from the pope who is depicted like the Whore of Babylon, riding the seven-headed beast of the Apocalypse. Although there were not sanctions of violence against humans depicted in the image, the broken statues of human likeness and various carved limbs scattered about the scene perhaps foretold the darker implications of the *Beeldenstorm*.

The iconoclastic riots of 1566 made Philip II reconsider his military strategy in the Netherlands. Years earlier in 1563 the leading nobles of the political and religious resistance—William of Orange, Lamoral of Egmont, and Philippe de Montmorency, count of Hoorne—sent an ultimatum to Philip demanding the resignation of Cardinal Granvelle. Granvelle had advised Margaret of Parma to use a firm hand in her dealings with the leaders

³²⁰ James Tanis and Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty-Years' War* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1993), 39.

of the resistance. Several months passed as Margaret tried to support the cardinal and pacify the restless nobles. In response to the information that Egmont, Hoorne, and Orange were



Figure 7. Engraving 1566, Anonymous. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.³²¹

pressing to have Cardinal Granvelle removed, Alva's reply was typically aggressive: "Every time I see letters from those gentlemen in Flanders, I get so enraged that if I did not try to control myself Your Majesty would take me for a madman." On no account, he advised, should Granvelle be removed. And reverting to his standard turn of phrase, he called for the heads of the three Flemish nobles to be cut off.³²² Even three years before the *Beeldenstorm*, Alva had already committed himself to an unwavering and forceful position against the

³²¹ The text at the bottom of the image reads, "Let us pray without end in the hope of preserving our sanctuary/ Let us sweep quickly and not become weary, for all this paraphernalia belongs to the Devil."

³²² Kamen, *The Duke of Alva*, 59.

Netherlandish rebels. Philip eventually removed Granvelle from his post in Brussels and Alva retreated to his residence at Besançon, no longer certain that he had any influence on Philip's decisions.

There was a deep rift between how the Duke of Alva wanted to deal with the rebellion and how Philip approached the problem. Following the Petition of the Nobility in the Netherlands in 1566, Margaret of Parma began to make more concessions to placate the nobles who threatened to resign from the Council of State. She issued an order to moderate the application of the heresy placards and began to move toward a policy of toleration. The support of moderate Catholics in Flanders for religious toleration in the Low Countries was not without its merits. But Philip feared that in the Netherlands any concession over religion would lead to a rapid collapse into the situation that France was currently facing. The issue was rebellion much more than heresy: "The flames are spreading everywhere," he wrote, "and if those realms do not make haste to quench them, they could be consumed beyond remedy."³²³ But the king of Spain was still not convinced that aggressive military action was the best way to resolve the conflict.

It was not until after a letter from Margaret of Parma arrived at Vaslaín on September 3, 1566, that Philip accepted Alva's earlier advice. Margaret reported widespread anti-

³²³ "Las llamas se están extendiendo por todas partes, y si esos reinos no apresuran para saciar ellos, no podían ser consumidos sin remedio." King to Francés de Álava, 27 Nov. 1567, in Pedro Rodriguez and Justina Rodríguez, *Don Francés de Alava y Beamonte, Correspondencia Inédita de Felipe II con su Embajador en Paris (1564-1570)*, San Sebastian 1991, doc. 70, in Kamen, *The Duke of Alva*, 69.

religious riots and cruel destruction of images in the cities of the Netherlands.³²⁴ In Ypres cathedral the Calvinists had blasphemed in the pulpit and then spent all day sacking the building. In west Flanders alone some four hundred churches were sacked.³²⁵ After that report, Philip could no longer deny that his subjects in the Netherlands were in a state of rebellion. A special meeting of the council was convened on September 22 and all agreed that an army had to be sent in. The time for clemency and negotiation had passed.³²⁶ The Duke of Alva supported their decision and advised that “the disorder be crushed as soon as it appears” by sending an army that would punish the main instigators, pardon the rest, and

³²⁴ Philip recognized the similar warnings that Margaret had given him since 1562 but was frustrated that she was unable to control the rebellious nobility: “I have now decided upon those three things: the inquisition, the moderation of the edicts as well as the general pardon, and my visit to the Low Countries, and everything connected with these issues, as you will see... so far as my good conscience and the obligation I have to serve God and to conserve the holy faith and the state allow me, but also because I am naturally inclined to treat my vassals and subjects rather with love than with rigour and severity... Meanwhile the situation there must be improved: the religious services and most pernicious and dangerous assemblies with all the troubles that may ensue from them must be stopped. You had better send some troop of ordinance to the places where they are held, and foot-soldiers from the garrisons, to hinder and disturb them.” The contradictory messages within Philip’s responses to Margaret are problematic. He wants to moderate the enforcement of the anti-heresy placards but gives no direction on how to alter that mode of persecution. He also claims to love his subjects but is ultimately suspicious of their intentions and refuses to allow unauthorized assemblies—religious or political—of any sort. “Philip II to the Duchess of Parma, 31 July 1566,” in *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 69.

³²⁵ Geoffrey Parker, *Spain and the Netherlands, 1559-1659: Ten Studies* (Short Hills, NJ: Enslow Publishers, 1979), 78.

³²⁶ Kamen, *The Duke of Alva*, 71.

prepare the way for a visit by the king, who would distribute pardons and favors and thereby consolidate his position.³²⁷ The Duke of Alva reluctantly accepted the position as commander of the Spanish army and received his commission on December 1, 1566.

The previous conflicts raised the question: who was in control of the government in the Low Countries during the iconoclastic riots? Granvelle had been recalled to Spain, Margaret of Parma raised troops to combat the Calvinists, and Philip was preparing for another assault from Sultain Suleiman in the central Mediterranean. By the spring of 1567 Margaret and her allies in the Netherlands establishment had triumphed: the structure of society and its ethos remained firm; royal authority and the safety of the Catholic religion had been reestablished; and Calvinist authority and preaching ceased.³²⁸ Margaret brought the Spanish military presence into the provinces and convinced numerous Calvinist enthusiasts to change sides. The governor of Guelders, the count of Megan, for example, switched sides after a strongly worded reprimand from Margaret of Parma and became a Spanish spy at the meetings of the Calvinist rebels.³²⁹ She increased the presence of governmental troops and began to suppress the Protestants in the Walloon provinces to the south. During the same year, Protestant preaching ceased in the Walloon countryside and hundreds of Calvinists reconverted to Catholicism. Preachers fled, churches closed, and consistories were suppressed.³³⁰ It seemed that the rebellion was dead and the Low Countries had been brought back into the Spanish fold.

³²⁷ Ibid.

³²⁸ Koenigsberger, *Monarchies, States Generals and Parliaments*, 216.

³²⁹ Ibid., 215.

³³⁰ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 152-53.

While the use of brutal methods of persecution, torture, and execution of Calvinists during the Dutch Revolt tends to be associated with the Duke of Alva, the role of Margaret of Parma in tormenting the members of the Reformed Religion cannot be overlooked. Following the bursts of destruction during the *Beeldenstorm*, the Calvinists' hedge-preaching and public sermons became more volatile and disruptive. Margaret's hostility toward the members of the Reformed Religion grew immeasurably, and her descriptions of them, which were never friendly, became abusive.³³¹ She condemned the "contagion of heresy, tumult, and sedition" caused by the Calvinists in the provinces and wrote that they were not content to fester among themselves but "must go on to corrupt and despoil others, traveling in groups of great number from place to place to spread their errors... they intend to infect and contaminate all."³³² An important characteristic of the violence of the Dutch Revolt was its intention of cleansing the environment and the inhabitants.

During the French War of Religion—a revolt that occurred concurrently with the Dutch Revolt—the presence of 'community pollution' was a dangerous thing to suffer in a society, from either a Protestant or Catholic point of view, for it would surely provoke the wrath of God.³³³ The destruction of Catholic icons and churches and the military pursuit of

³³¹ Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life*, 175.

³³² *Ibid.*

³³³ Natalie Zemon Davis, "The Rites of Violence: Religious Riot in Sixteenth-Century France," *Past & Present*, No. 59 (May, 1973), 59. Zemon Davis argues that the "targets and character of crowd violence differed somewhat between Catholics and Protestants, depending on their perception of the source of danger and on their religious sensibility." While I am wary of applying a model of violence in sixteenth-century France to the Dutch Revolt, the players, political endgame, and religious conflict are strikingly similar. More importantly, the primary sources support the application of Zemon Davis's framework of violence to the Low Countries.

the members of the Reformed Religion follow that same model: Catholics and Protestants wanted to cleanse and purify their communities by removing and destroying profane and sacrilegious things, including people. Each group believed that they acted in defense of religious truth and purity. Margaret of Parma, therefore, was fulfilling her religious and political duties as the governor-general of the Low Countries and as a member of the Habsburg dynasty. While she attempted to empathize and listen to the nobles' complaints regarding the suppression of customary rights and privileges, and was also somewhat critical of Philip's lack of presence in and approach toward the Low Countries, her persecution of the Dutch Calvinists should have been expected. She ruled because Philip II granted power to her, and she was beholden to the complex network of expectations and traditions that came with bearing the Habsburg name. Ultimately, Margaret of Parma's actions to suppress the rebellion and the rise of Calvinism in the Low Countries fell in line with her duties as a representative of her family dynasty and her responsibility to preserve public peace as defined by the religio-political worldview of Philip II.

When the Duke of Alva arrived in the Low Countries in August 1567, he brought with him 10,000 Spanish and Neapolitan troops supplemented by German auxiliaries. Alva's perspective on the use of violence and public punishment to shut down the rebellion was not a new strategy. Public displays of justice had been used during the Middle Ages to give resolution to private conflicts. Judicial duels and trial by ordeal put an official ritual frame around what was essentially private combat to resolve disputes or to call upon divine intervention to establish guilt or innocence.³³⁴ No stranger to the efficient use of violence to

³³⁴ Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 108.

squash enemies of the Spanish crown, Alva's strategic plan showed that his views of sovereignty were enforced at the end of a blade. Heresy, rebellion, and *lèse-majesté* were bound together by their perceived intentional contempt toward Philip and the conditions of sovereignty. And perhaps anticipating the danger posed by the arrival of Alva in the Low Countries, the anonymous authors of published pamphlets reiterated their claims that "with all our hearts we hate any rebellion, sedition, and mutiny."³³⁵ Public dissent was soon answered by public displays of violent punishment and retribution. Back in Spain, Philip II responded to the iconoclasm by accepting that military intervention was the best and only solution to quieting his openly rebellious subjects in the provinces.

The Council of Troubles, the Council of Blood

Upon his arrival in the Netherlands, Ferdinand Toledo, Duke of Alva immediately set up the *Raad van Beroerten*, or the Council of Troubles, a commission designed to swiftly identify and eliminate threats of heresy and rebellion from within the provinces. Instituted on September 5, 1567, the Council of Troubles was an effective institution. It was charged with examining all persons involved in recent disturbances and all persons charged with heresy. At least 12,000 people were summoned; probably thousands were executed or banished; the property of many others was confiscated.³³⁶ Some 8,950 persons from all levels of society were investigated and sentenced for treason or heresy, or both, and more than one thousand were executed.³³⁷ Initially, the patent that established the Council of Troubles intended for it

³³⁵ "Nous détestons toute rébellion, sédition, & la mutinerie comme toutes nos cœurs." Vraye Narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas, B5/24.

³³⁶ Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 13.

³³⁷ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 156.

to function alongside the Council of State, the Privy Council, and the Council of Finances. However in practice it soon became clear that Alva's Council functioned above and independent of the other Netherlandish bodies, and did not consider itself beholden to the policies and procedures of the law code established in the *Blijde Inkomst* that was respected by Margaret of Parma and the other leaders in the Low Countries. Alva made his expectations of the Low Countries clear: he wanted to confirm Catholic orthodoxy and confirm obedience to the sovereign ruler, Philip II of Spain. The inhabitants' claims to natural rights and hereditary privileges did not matter to Alva because he viewed privileges not as contracts between the people and the sovereign but as gifts generously granted that could be withdrawn should the subjects' behavior make that advisable.³³⁸ Thus the Council of Troubles immediately undermined the fundamental claim to lawful resistance that was held by many people in the Low Countries.

Previously, residents of the Low Countries had been aware that if they chose to fully engage themselves in the Reformed Religion then they were endangering their social status, their property, and their lives. Up to and following the arrival of Alva, there were a number of people who had chosen to outwardly conform to the Catholic Church and made a pretense of having Catholic convictions. Many times in spies' dispatches to Margaret of Parma the conduct of dissembling Catholics was exposed.³³⁹ It was difficult to prosecute those who feigned adherence to the official religion of the Netherlands. But those subjects were

³³⁸ Ibid., 156-57.

³³⁹ Guido Marnef, "The Changing Face of Calvinism in Antwerp, 1550-1585," in *Calvinism in Europe, 1540-1620*, edited by Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 152.

expressing their own interpretations of the importance of freedom of conscience: only God knew what was truly in their hearts. Others were less willing to take the chance that God would accept their dissimulation. Martyrdom became another tangible option for some residents of the Netherlands. Alva's presence meant that the followers of the Reformed Religion would soon have to make a choice.

The fall of Valenciennes to Margaret's troops on March 23, 1567, was bad news for the Protestants. On April 9, Lutherans and Calvinists held their last services in the city and two days later hundreds of Protestants fled and William of Orange returned to his residences in Nassau-Dillenburg as an exile. Under pressure from Alva, the new governor, and from the Council of Troubles, a severe repression was established: in Antwerp 370 Calvinists were tried during the years 1567-1576, of whom 22 were executed and 316—most of them *in absentia*—banished.³⁴⁰ William of Orange had left his son studying at the university in Leuven when he went into emergency exile. They would never see each other again. On the advice of Granvelle, who was back in Spain but saw an opportunity to strike back at his old rival, Orange's son was seized and brought back to Spain partly as a hostage, but especially to be raised as a good Catholic and loyal subject who could, should Philip decide, be made Prince of Orange in place of his ousted and dispossessed father.³⁴¹ There did not appear to be any limits on the extents to which the Spanish throne, Alva, and the Council of Troubles would go to effectively reestablish Catholicism and assert the authority of Philip II. The Council of Troubles soon became known by another name: the Council of Blood.

³⁴⁰ Marnef, "The Changing Face of Calvinism in Antwerp, 1550-1585," 153.

³⁴¹ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 157.

As fear over the arrests, trials, and pending executions reigned in Brussels and beyond, publications continued to circulate. Images of the interpretations of Alva's cruelty were regularly printed and served to remind the public that Philip II sanctioned the Duke's purpose. He was to punish the population and to impose strict obedience to royal rule, not to engage in political dialogue or even to try to maintain popular appeal.³⁴² The authors and engravers set out to align the villainous Alva with other problematic administrators of the Low Countries. A popular image and accompanying poem entitled *Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands* lamented the severe punishment that members of the Reformed Religion had endured. Portraits of Margaret of Parma, Cardinal Granvelle, and Philip II were elevated over scenes of Protestants being beheaded, hung, tortured, and burned alive by seemingly gleeful executioners (see Figure 8). A devout Protestant continues to pray while a Spaniard applied fire to the tinder below and another man tightens the garrote around his throat. In the background one woman is suspended over a large barrel filled with water while another woman is blindfolded as an executioner raises his sword to behead her. Meanwhile nobles gathered around each scene of death and observed, idly chatted, or grasped their crucifixes.

The image's poem urged the inhabitants of the Low Countries to "hew into memory... how they have played with you and shed your blood," while the lusty Spanish executioners "strip away lives and slay the innocent." The author of the accompanying poem associated the violence of Philip II and his minions as a continuation of the brutal policies of Charles V, an association that did not often appear in the publications of the Dutch Revolt. More importantly, the poem and image warned the residents of the Low Countries that the "tyrannical and severe persecutions" were committed without discrimination for age or

³⁴² Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 29.

gender or religion, and lamented the cruel and inhuman ways in which the Protestants were put to death. No one had been or would be safe from persecution: the effects of the Council of Troubles' violent exemplary punishment ended up fueling resistance rather than encouraging obedience.



Figure 8. *Spaensche tirannye in Nederlandt*, 1567. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

In the same way that some Calvinists in the Low Countries blamed their neighbors for attempting to draw the Spanish into open warfare through seditious behaviors and publications, so too some Catholics blamed the spread of heresy on preachers who were not

doing their jobs. Alva's Council of Troubles addressed the need for Catholic reform in the provinces and ensured that all bishops could take up their seats, the new university of Douai became a center for Catholic orthodoxy, and by the late 1570s Walloon Flanders became one of the few areas where Counter-Reformation Catholicism had taken hold.³⁴³ But the Council of Troubles did not earn the nickname "The Council of Blood" for its efforts to reform Catholicism in the Low Countries. The terror associated with the Inquisition-style tactics was also connected to the mistrust of the community. It was the testimony of the community—of neighbors, relatives, and enemies—that the accused most dreaded.³⁴⁴ Resentment and vengeance inspired much of the evidence offered to both the Inquisition in Spain and Alva's Council of Troubles in the Low Countries.

While the Inquisition was not formally introduced into the seventeen provinces, Spanish authors of the late 1560s and the early 1570s refer to the decrees of Alva's council as inquisitorial in nature.³⁴⁵ In the eyes of the Duke of Alva and Philip, the actions taken by the

³⁴³ Judith Pollman, "Countering the Reformation in France and the Netherlands: Clerical Leadership and Catholic Violence, 1560-1585," *Past & Present*, No. 190 (Feb., 2006): 116.

³⁴⁴ Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition: An Historical Revision* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1997), 175.

³⁴⁵ The anonymous author of this source condemned the "shameful crimes of defection, apostasy, heresy, and the rebellion done under Philip II and against the Mother Church" and claimed that the people of the Low Countries "revealed themselves as renegades, heretics, and rebels with all of their power." "*Die Conincklijcke Maiest. Ghesien hebbende die Informatie by synen bevele gheschiet/ ghenomen op de schandelijcke mis daet van defective/ apostatie/ hetierie/ ende oproerihen/ ghedaen by synen Ondersaten der Nederlanden/ hebbende van ghelijcken ghesien die brieven...*" *De Sententie vanden Coninck hier op ghepronuncieert*, 1568 (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Number Unknown), A2.

members of the Reformed Religion against the Catholic Church negated their requests for the softening of the placards or the Inquisitorial-type punishment doled out by the Council. In Spain the Inquisition was in every way an instrument of royal policy and remained politically subject to the crown, although authority and jurisdiction exercised by the inquisitors came directly or indirectly from Rome.³⁴⁶ Under that particular definition, Alva's Council of Troubles could not be viewed as an extension of the Inquisition: he had royal sanction but was not acting as an extension of the Catholic Church. For all intents and purposes, he literally *was* the Council, whose members could not arrive at conclusions without his approval. "Not a day passes," he wrote, "without me spending seven hours, morning and afternoon in the Council.... We are rounding up the sackers of churches, the ministers of the heretical groups, and those who took up arms against Your Majesty. I have ordered all these to be executed."³⁴⁷ The Iron Duke's tough policies created anger and resistance in the provinces and in other major European states. Alva had always advocated using a firm hand to manage the rebellious Netherlanders and with Philip's sanction, he enthusiastically set about to set up a strategic plan to silence the heretics. Numerous Protestant pamphlets called attention to the notion that the law could not be manipulated by force or will, but it appeared that the Duke manipulated the law according to the needs of the Spanish throne and his own will.

In the Low Countries where heresy and resistance to sovereign authority were considered high treason, the ends of protecting Spanish interests in the provinces justified the means. *Translation of Letters of Renewal* (1571) praised the inhabitants who reconciled with

³⁴⁶ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 136.

³⁴⁷ *El duque de Alba al rey Felipe II, 1568*, in Kamen, *The Duke of Alba*, 91.

the Catholic Church and chastised “the other half who pretend ignorance or make other legally-based excuses.”³⁴⁸ The author of the document did not proclaim any particular religious or political affiliation but spent considerable time criticizing the apparent abuses of freedom that he saw in his neighbors and brethren. In a significant statement, the author wrote “Be it known that we ourselves hold great love and affection [for the Catholic Church and Philip II] and we will contribute toward the prosperity and salvation of the Church where it has been abused by our freedoms.”³⁴⁹ In one of the first instances of a pamphlet turning the idea of freedom—both physical freedom and freedom of conscience—against those who claimed it as a natural and God-given right, the author argued that the freedoms exercised by the inhabitants of the Low Countries actually violated their civic rights and the rights of the sovereign. Published during the midst of Alva’s tyrannical reign, *Translation of Letters of Renewal* took an active stance to indirectly curb the on-going episodes of protest and punitive violence that were taking place in the provinces. The author made no claims of religious conversion but urged his neighbors to adhere to the expectations of the crown.³⁵⁰ Instead that document indicated a real effort to make the wishes of the governor and the sovereign clear

³⁴⁸ *Translaet vande briefuen van prolongatie duff heeren des Coninex/ vanden termijn by tpardoen generael van zijnte Maiesteyt gegenen, vy tstuc vande Reconciliatie/ ter faken vande voir le den troublen. Voix andere drye Maenden naest commende. Nae de publicatie van dien. Met privilege der Con. Ma. Gheprint inden Princelijcke Stadt van Brussele by my Michiel van Hamont (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Tiele 120), n.p.*

³⁴⁹ “*Doen te weten dat we ons houden grote liefde en genegenheid en we zullen bijdragen aan de welvaart en de redding van de kerk waar hij is misbruikt door onze vrijheden...*” *Translaet vande briefuen van prolongatie duff heeren des Coninex*, n.p.

³⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

and widely known. The executioners were standing by and the Council of Troubles was prepared to call them into action.

The Public Performance of Violence in the Low Countries

The violence that the inhabitants suffered through and often perished from during the second half of the Dutch Revolt was due to three primary causes. First, they were subject to Inquisition-style interrogation and torture tactics intended to elicit a confession of guilt and the identification of other heretics. Second, the inhabitants of the Low Countries lived in cities or villages that known to harbor political exiles and rebels and were therefore condemned along with the ‘guilty’ members of the community. And lastly, mutinying Spanish military units took out their deeply wrought frustrations on the populations of cities across the country and introduced new acts of cruelty and destruction to the Low Countries. Popular artists like the Flemish engraver Hans Collaert and the Cologne printmaker Frans Hogenberg captured the barbarous acts committed by the Spanish against the inhabitants of the northern and southern provinces. Propagandistic images circulated during the Dutch Revolt were intended to glorify one position and vilify another. By contrasting the desirable with the undesirable elements, the beholder was able to make efficient comparisons. Exaggeration of real or imaginary strengths and the omission of weaknesses, or the reverse, presented a clearer and unambiguous image to the viewer.³⁵¹ The images impacted both the

³⁵¹ Netherlandish production of anti-Catholic or anti-Spanish propaganda needed to be done anonymously or pseudonymously to avoid prosecution. Prints and pamphlets bearing the names of their makers were only issued in the liberated northern provinces or from safe refuge abroad, most often in Germany or England. Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 25.

literate and non-literate parts of the population, and also created a specific Netherlandish memory of the events that took place under Alva and Philip's command.

The authors, artists, and publishers who circulated the ideas of resistance played a role that was just as important as that of the political activists and religious figureheads. The rebels justified their resistance by claiming that the heresy placards were brutally and unlawfully enforced, asserting that Philip and his associates abused the Low Countries and her inhabitants by denying their rights of freedom of conscience and the protection of privileges and customary rights, and identifying and defining historical notions of sovereignty and tyranny within their own borders. Yet for all of the lofty discussions of ideology and justice and constitutionalism, it was the images that portrayed the violence—real or perceived—committed by the Spanish against the Netherlanders that elicited a strong reaction from the domestic and international community. Violence was a ceremonial public performance that shaped the identity, memory, and myth of the Spanish presence in the Low Countries during the late 1570s.

Engravings were political rhetoric and they succeeded in intentionally creating a new image of the Netherlanders for the rest of the world to see. Spanish imperial policy was portrayed as chaotic, cruel, vindictive, and enforced upon the people who lived in the provinces without concern for political or religious distinction. Engravings of scenes of violence including beheading, dismemberment, castration, drowning, and quartering were hung on doors, attached to posts, circulated as flyleaves, and included with pamphlets. The function of the images was achieved through their private and public consumption, and the ideas of resistance spread quickly. The images could be read in several different ways. From the Protestant perspective, the scenes of public executions were further evidence of the

extreme techniques that the Duke of Alva used to force the population back into obedience to Spain. From the Spanish perspective, the scenes of death demonstrated their commitment and their ability to guarantee law and order. Under Alva, however, executions instead came to demonstrate the wide gap between the regime's perception of justice and that of the local community.³⁵²

Public punishment for disloyalty and treachery was not a new practice in the Low Countries. Executions had typically been treated as theatrical events that usually took place in front of a large crowd. The 'drama' involved certain stock characters: the condemned, the executioner, and representatives of the authorities who, through the act of the execution itself, could be seen to be administering justice and taking care of the society that they had been appointed to govern.³⁵³ Before the sentence was carried out, the verdict was read for everyone to hear "in order that everyone know the cause of the said execution, and that the latter serve as an example to the people."³⁵⁴ Because much of the violence took place during Alva's time in the Low Countries, it could be argued that those episodes represent the ambitions of a single individual and did not reveal the overall quality of the revolt. However, the performative and public nature of the actions carried associations with the Spanish throne and the indirect endorsement of Philip II. The audiences of those images were active viewers

³⁵² Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 31.

³⁵³ *Ibid.*, 30.

³⁵⁴ This quotation is located in Article 45 of Alva's new code of criminal justice that was published in 1570, *Ordonnance edict et decret du Roy nostre Sire sur le faict de la iustice criminelle es Pays-Bas*, Antwerp, 1570. Cited by Andrew Pettegree, *The French Book and the European World* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2007), 129.

in the sense that they were participating in the consumption of Spanish displays of authority. Whether they witnessed the executions and torture first-hand or through the engravings, the viewer became part of the larger meaning of those urban ceremonies.

In a striking demonstration of the range of the authority of the *Raad van Beroerten*, on September 9, 1567, Alva ordered the arrest of Lamoral, Count of Egmont, and Philip de Montmorency, Count of Hoorne. Along with William of Orange, Egmont and Hoorne were the leading figures of the Dutch Revolt and members of the *ridderschap* or knighthood of the Flemish provinces. Previously Egmont had worked closely with Margaret of Parma and Philip II to attempt to reach a compromise on the enforcement of the heresy placards. Despite having several opportunities to flee before their arrest, Egmont and Hoorne were captured during a meeting at Alva's own residence in Brussels. Back in Spain, Philip was hopeful that the arrest of two of the three leading rebels would put an end to the growing trends of resistance in the Low Countries. Alva had already issued an order to arrest William of Orange if he dared to return to the Netherlands from his sanctuary in Dillenburg.³⁵⁵

Although Egmont and Hoorne could have reconciled with the Spanish Crown, the policy of exemplary punishment as outlined by Alva required high-profile victims. Alva's action, therefore, was grounded less in political pragmatism than in a sacrificial rite: the dramatic execution of two powerful noblemen, reconciled before death to Church and

³⁵⁵ Before he left for his estate in Germany, Orange tried to persuade Egmont to join him. "Cousin," he said, "if you take arms, I will join with you; if not, I must leave you and quit the country. Do you forget how the Duke of Alva used to say to Charles V: '*Hombres muertos no hazen guerra*: dead men make no war?' I will not wait for their justice nor trust to their kindness." Roger Williams, *The Works of Sir Roger Williams*, edited by John X. Evans (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 66.

Crown, to serve as a prologue for an eventual general pardon that he would grant.³⁵⁶ Similar to Margaret's approach toward persecuting unruly Calvinists, Alva was bound by his attachments to the Habsburg dynasty to cleanse and purify the Low Countries by virtue of the religio-political perspectives of Philip II. The judicial murder of both Egmont and Hoorne turned them into martyrs for the Reformed Religion. The deaths of the two nobles represented Alva's tyranny and struck Christological chords: two vassals of the king sentenced to death by a tyrannical provincial governor who considered their deaths as a gateway to a general pardon, their blood shed for the forgiveness of others.³⁵⁷ Interestingly, Egmont's roles in the Council of State and as the governor of Flanders made him an ally of royal power. He identified as a Catholic and a royalist. Hoorne, however, had been active in the Compromise of 1566 and part of the 1563 League and regularly made concessions for Calvinists following the *Beeldenstorm*.

Egmont and Hoorne were held in captivity for the next nine months until they were brought to the Grand Palace along with eighteen other rebel nobles. On the afternoon of Saturday, June 5, 1568, in the main square at Brussels that was bounded on all sides by three thousand Spanish troops, the counts of Egmont and Hoorne were beheaded for high treason. The Abbé Morillon later reported that Alva could not restrain his emotion while watching the terrible events and shed "tears as large as peas."³⁵⁸ This description, however, fails to align

³⁵⁶ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*, 185.

³⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 185-86.

³⁵⁸ Kamen, *The Duke of Alva*, 88. This appears to have been a propagandistic attempt by Spanish pamphleteers to restore the semblance of virtue and dignity to Alva following his execution of Egmont and

with the goals of the execution of Egmont and Hoorne articulated by Alva. In fact, it was Alva's treatment of the two martyrs that solidified resistance against Spanish rule.³⁵⁹ He put both men's heads on pikes attached to the scaffold and left them there for two hours. The Duke's formal report to his king was dry and terse: "The punishment was carried out in the manner that Your Majesty will see from the enclosed dispatches. Your Majesty is today Lord of these states."³⁶⁰ Alva believed that justice had been rightfully implemented that day.

Frans Hogenberg recreated the execution of the two counts in an engraving that captured the public nature of the spectacle (see Figure 9). Closely surrounded by ranks of armed Spaniards on foot and on horseback, the executioner's platform was a stage on which the death sentences unfolded. The decapitated body of Egmont lay covered in a shroud to the left of the platform. Hoorne knelt blindfolded and with his hands held in prayer as the executioner stood behind him and raised his heavy sword in preparation for the final blow. A group of four men, Spanish administrators and Catholic clergy, hovered near the back edge of the platform in anticipation. Hogenberg's depiction of the death scene clearly showed that

Hoorne. While several modern historians are revising Alva's reputation and his role in the revolt in the Netherlands, there is little support behind this overly sympathetic anecdote regarding the beheadings.

³⁵⁹ Orange was devastated by the loss of Egmont and Hoorne, and he fumed about Alva's abuses of elements of public ceremonial rites in the aftermath of their execution. Arnade writes that Alva violated cultural norms by denying them the comforts of imprisonment associated with their titles; they were executed on the eve of Pentecost and in a public square used for ceremonies and celebrations, and he desecrated their bodies by beheading them. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*, 188.

³⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 39.

public displays of punishment would be the main tools used by Spain to suppress all forms of rebellion—real or perceived—against the rule of Philip II.

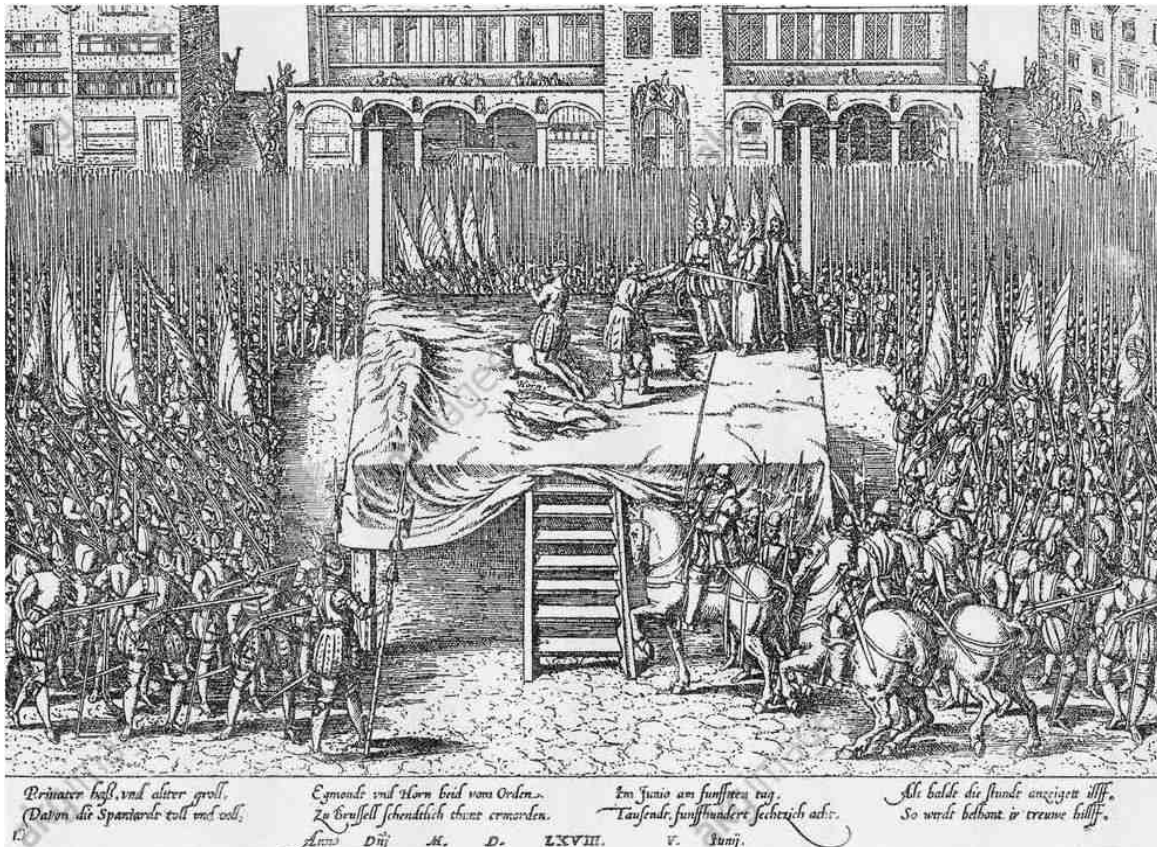


Figure 9. *The Execution of Counts Egmont and Hoorne*, 1568, Frans Hogenberg. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

The deaths of Egmont and Hoorne and the exile of William of Orange temporarily curbed on-going episodes of rebellion. The authority of Spain was tentatively reestablished in the provinces. On the face of it, things were going as planned: within a couple of Alva's years of arrival, executions had dwindled, Calvinist worship had seemingly been uprooted, the nobles were firmly on the regime's side, and local authorities were following orders.³⁶¹ Statues and prints that portrayed Alva as the restorer of Catholicism and the destroyer of

³⁶¹ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 44-45.

treason appeared in Brussels and Antwerp. But Alva's brutal policies ultimately failed to inspire sympathy or devotion toward the Spanish regime. *Articles and Decisions of the Spanish Inquisition on the Raiding and Overtaking of the Netherlands* (1568) suggested outright that if Philip removed his governor-generals and army from the provinces then the inhabitants would fall into obedience: the author claimed that the Spanish sovereign would be more effective *in absentia*.³⁶² The author continued, "The Netherlands have been underestimated and will quarantine themselves against the Spanish, and are open to using riot and sedition to defend their cause."³⁶³ While the public demonstrations of resistance were temporarily quelled, resentment and resurgence continued to grow.

William of Orange circulated his *Faithful Exhortation to the Inhabitants of the Netherlands against the Vain and False Hopes Their Oppressors Hold Out to Them* in 1568. He claimed that Alva's system was a departure from traditional rule and thus relieved the people of the Low Countries of their vows of obedience to the sovereign and his minions. He wrote:

Do they not suspect you of mutiny, rebellion and revolt as they wrongly call the duty which they know you are entitled to perform? Do they not command such pitiless inquisition against you all that there will hardly be one whom they may not in some way or another judge guilty if they so wish? ...Do they not want to force you, by putting a rope around your neck, forever to stop speaking not only about your salvation but also about your liberty, rights, and customs? Do you not see how they put you at the mercy of officers, provosts and fiscals by confounding all order and justice? Do you still expect any grace, pardon or impunity, when it is so widely known that they have had so many good inhabitants apprehended and killed in divers places simply for having attended sermons, which they say are new, although they were tolerated and permitted by the regent and the magistrates? Therefore, my

³⁶² *De Artijckelen ende busluyten der inquisitie van Spaegnen/ om die vande Nederlanden te overvallen ende verhinderen* (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 77), A1.

³⁶³ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 44-45.

seigniors, brethren and companions, put aside these vain expectations, cease breaking your oaths, recognize the truth, take a firm stand for the maintenance of your own welfare, resist your oppressors with all your might, help by all means those who exert themselves to pull you out of this miserable servitude.³⁶⁴

Public displays of violence like the beheading of two leading rebels was intended by the Spanish to be an isolated demonstration of the extents to which they were willing to go in order to squash revolution. Instead Orange took advantage of the loss of his compatriots to bolster his claim that Philip was an unjust sovereign who was not fit to hold lordship over the provinces.

Resistance festered in the Low Countries through the end of the 1560s and the early 1570s. When the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre took place in Paris on August 24, 1572, a number of towns in the Low Countries had already shifted their allegiance to the Prince of Orange. Alva's regime also collapsed in 1572 under the strain of general disillusionment with his system of rule. Not only Protestants, but Catholics also who had welcomed him as a vigorous statesman capable of bringing law and order after the excesses of the iconoclastic riots, were now eager to see him depart.³⁶⁵ Across the provinces the Spanish troops were felt

³⁶⁴ *Fidelle exhortation aux habitants du pais bas, contre les vains et faux espoirs dont leurs oppresseurs les font amuser* (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Dutch Pamphlets, Knuttel Collection, 171), n.p. Translated in Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 88.

³⁶⁵ Even though persecution of the Protestants began under Charles V and was violently enforced by Margaret of Parma, the Duke of Alva is usually associated with the implementation of brutal tactics in the Low Countries. Both Margaret and Alva worked under the expectations and duties related to their roles under the Habsburg regime: one was part of the bloodline and the other was part of the political program. The degree of brutality in suppressing the Reformed Religion was certainly different between the two governors-general, yet the intentions were the same: to remove the 'pollution' of Calvinism from the Spanish realm, to bring the rebellious subjects into obedience, and to restore the authority of Philip II in the Low Countries.

to be an unbearable burden, not merely because they were Spanish but simply because they were troops. The new taxes were thought to prove Alva's utter indifference to the welfare of the country.³⁶⁶ The successive events of Orange declaring his authority over and protection of the northern provinces in 1572, Philip's refusal to allow the States General to meet without his permission, and Leiden's successful resistance to a Spanish invasion in 1574 required that Philip adjust his strategy. Alva was dismissed from his position as governor-general and was replaced by Luis de Requesens y Zuñiga, a Spanish politician and diplomat, whose main goal was to bring about reconciliation through moderation in all except religious matters. That decision was obviously intended to enhance confidence in the 'obedient' provinces and to persuade them to fight the Hollanders or at any rate to provide financial and diplomatic means for war.

Alva's removal seemed to cause an increase in the incidents of public violence in the Low Countries. The elements of conscious and somewhat formal ceremonial violence were replaced with what may be considered unsystematic carnage. The author of *Placard on the Rebellion Against the Spaniards with Support from the Honorable Gentlemen Supporters* (1576) condemned the mutineering and destruction of Dutch cities by Spanish soldiers and wrote, "the hostile and vandal-like attacks made on our villages and cities have clearly revealed those rebels and enemies of ourselves and of our country, and they loot daily in rebellion."³⁶⁷ The author reminded his audience that the soldiers, regardless of their origins,

³⁶⁶ Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 19.

³⁶⁷ "De vyjandige en vernijting aenvallen op onse dorpen en stedden hebbende duideljk geopenbaard die rebellen en vyjanden van onszelf en van ons land, en zij dagelijks buit in opstand." *Placcaet op te rebelle vanden Spaignaerden met heuren aenhangeren/ ende resistencie tegen de selue ende des dyen*

each swore an oath to uphold the law and protect the people: the soldiers' looting and plundering of private homes was a violation of their sacred oath. The inhabitants of the Low Countries began to unite against the Spanish army and royal authority in the name of protecting the *vaderland*. The indiscriminate use of violence against the people pushed them to start to overcome their associations as Protestants, Catholics, Orangists, or royalists and unite as Netherlanders.

Meanwhile, Frans Hogenberg's engravings shifted and focused on acts of brutality in different cities across the provinces. From 1574 through the Spanish fury at Antwerp in 1576 that resulted in the deaths of more than 8,000 people, Hogenberg's images portray torture and dismembering, hangings, drownings, mutilation, and quartering of men, women, and children. His engravings lacked the allegorical and metaphorical references that shaped other prints and etchings: the time for subtlety had ended. *Marterszenen in Antwerpen, 1576* (Torture Scenes in Antwerp) depicted various scenes of the Spanish army tormenting the people of Antwerp (see Figure 10). Women were bound and hung from the ceiling by their breasts, men were eviscerated through their rectum, others were flayed alive, and bodies of dead children lined the streets. The violence portrayed differs from the depiction of the organized execution of Egmont and Hoorne. There are no scaffolds or formal executioners present: the scene lacks the tones of political sanction that accompanied the beheading of the two nobles. Instead, the scenes in Antwerp portrayed a chaotic, frenzied, and disorganized approach to violence. Hogenberg's engraving implied that while life had been dreadful under

aencleeft. Gheprent inde Princelijcke Stadt van Bruesselle/ by my Michiel van Hamont/ geworen Drucker der Co. Maiesteyt. Anno. M.D. LXXVI (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 254), A2.

Alva's reign, there was no hope for civil peace unless those of the Reformed Religion and Catholicism could unite to remove the mutinying Spanish armies from the provinces.



Figure 10. Marterszenen in Antwerpen, 1576, Frans Hogenberg. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

The images produced that portray the sack of Antwerp introduced a new element in their portrayal of violence. To the sixteenth-century reader, it was probably not shocking to see prints of men killing men on the battlefield or in different states of warfare. The engravers' inclusion of women as victims of horrific violence particularly during the sack of Antwerp was intended to expose cruel ways by which the Spanish army terrorized the population. Pamphleteers circulated reports of raped women and murdered children in their descriptions of the sieges of Mechelen, Zutphen, Naarden, and Haarlem in 1573. In those

instances, violence against females and children was not used to elicit sympathy but rather the opposite emotional response: women and children fought the Spanish invaders with whatever means was at their disposal often right alongside trained soldiers. Protagonists rather than victims, women and the young were important in preventing a quick takeover of the city.³⁶⁸

A series of sixteen prints entitled *Spiegel de Spaansche Tiranny in Nederland* (A Mirror of the Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands) portray women as suffering deaths unique to their gender. In the records of the siege of Oudewater in 1575, a particularly disturbing image shows a woman hanging from the rafters by her wrists while a Spaniard holds open the flesh of her pregnant belly (see Figure 11). Another soldier stands holding the apparently full-term baby as he prepares to run it through with his sword. In the back of the home, the young woman's relatives are hung dead from the rafters by their necks. In a different etching from the same series, a woman named Anna Vittenhoven prays for deliverance as priests, bishops, townsfolk, and soldiers look on. The Catholic church looming in the background lends stronger religious association to that image than was depicted in other engravings.

³⁶⁸ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, & Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*, 238.

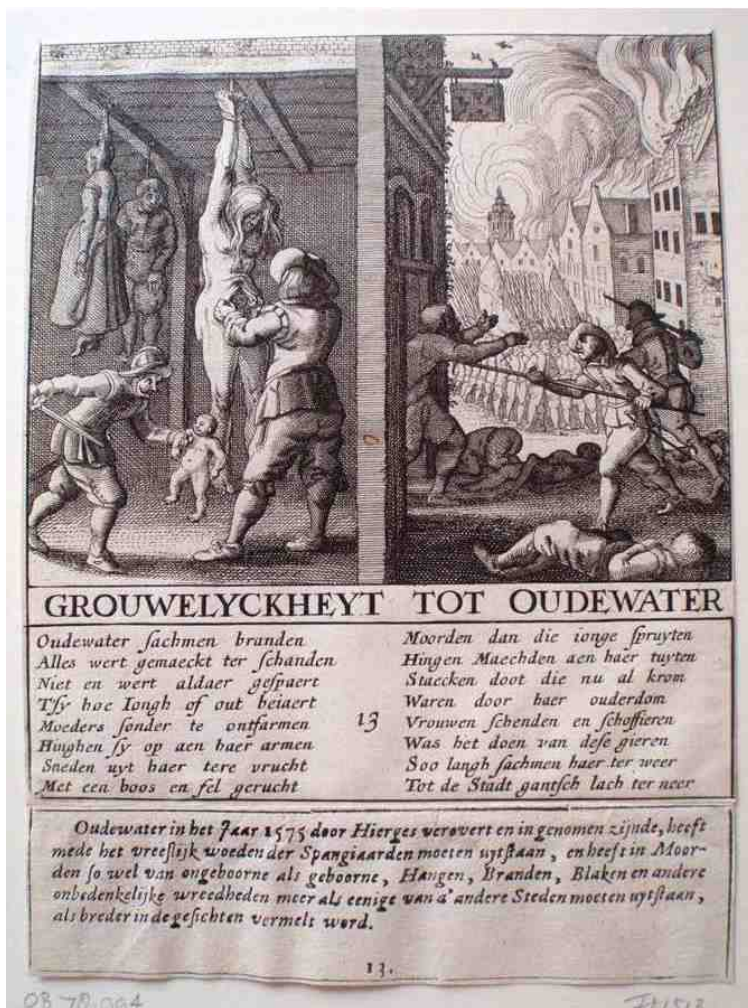


Figure 11. *Grouwelyckheyt tot Oudewater: Spiegel de Spaansche Tiranny in Nederland (Atrocities in Oudewater: Mirror of Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands)*, 1575 (ca. 1610). Rijksprentenkabinet, Amsterdam.³⁶⁹

The audience could read the image as evidence of the on-going persecution of the members of the Reformed Religion by the Catholic Church, and were reminded that religion was still an important factor in the struggle against Philip II and his impositions of orthodoxy

³⁶⁹ The text in the bottom portion of the image states “In the year 1575 Oudewater was conquered by Hierges and taken, the terrible rage of Spaniards was outstanding, and they have [committed] murders of the unborn as well as the born, hangings, burnings, and other objectionable atrocities...”

in the Low Countries. The woman prayed to God in her final moments before being buried alive and presented a strong emotional image of martyrdom (see Figure 12). The portrayal of Spanish violence against women in the Low Countries served two purposes. First, by

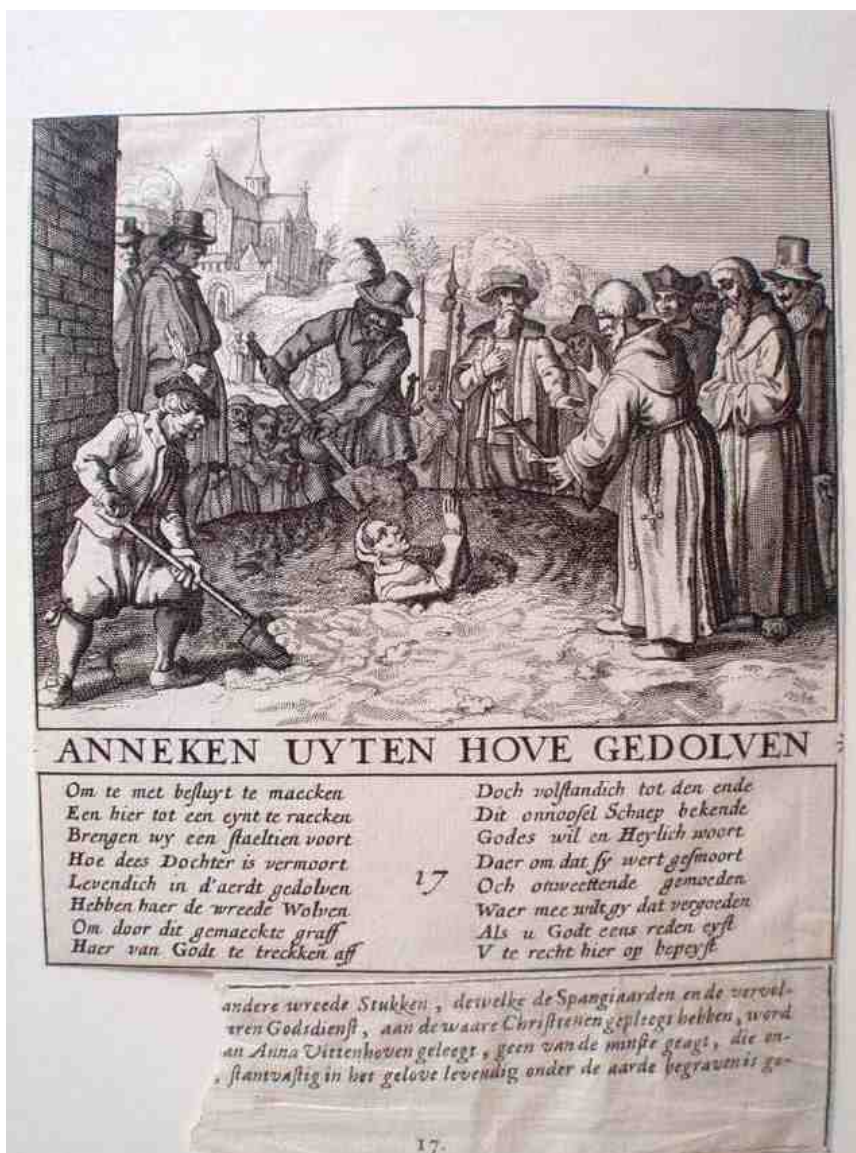


Figure 12. *Anneken uyten hove gedolven*, *Spiegel de Spaansche Tiranny in Nederland* (The Trial and Burial of Anna: Mirror of Spanish Tyranny in the Netherlands), n.d. (ca. 1610). Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

attacking the sex that was typically portrayed as weaker or gentler than their sixteenth-century male counterparts, the engravers cast the Spanish army as utterly barbarous and without a moral conscience. That realization would have been used to strike fear into the hearts of the provincial inhabitants and to rally support for the anti-Spanish movement. And second, when women endured extreme sadism like genital mutilation, rape, and forced abortion they represented the resilient Netherlandish character and would have been used to inspire their neighbors and brethren to resist Philip's governance.

The acts of violence that occurred in the early to middle 1570s during the Dutch Revolt showed that Spanish leadership in the provinces had shifted from the systematic use of violent acts to suppress political rebellion to unorganized violent acts used by the soldiers to express frustration with lack of payment and poor living conditions, and by the weary ruler to attempt to control his resistant population. Although religion remained an important concern for the Spanish throne, coercing religious adherence to Catholicism was not the primary concern for Philip or for his governors-general. By the autumn of 1576, the Habsburg regime was as good as gone from the public scene. The traditional channels of public communication, proclamations and ceremonial, were completely out of the regime's hands.³⁷⁰ The Pacification of Ghent was signed soon after the disastrous events of the Spanish fury at Antwerp. The Pacification offered a general pardon for crimes committed since the beginning of the revolt, suspended the heresy placards, secured the removal of all foreign troops from the provinces, and agreed to summon the States General to resolve the

³⁷⁰ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 80.

religious issues.³⁷¹ Both the leaders in the Low Countries and the Spanish throne recognized that there was a distinction between state-sponsored violence—the religious placards, the actions of the *Raad van Beroerten*, and public executions—and unsanctioned violence against the general population of the Netherlands—atrocities committed by the mutinying soldiers, neighbor on neighbor attacks, and the assaults on women, children, and the elderly.

Consequently, the apocalyptic overtones of the Dutch Revolt and the Reformation at large shaped many of the texts and images produced between 1550 and 1598. The confrontation between Catholicism and Protestantism—between Christ and Antichrist, according to Protestant terminology—drove the social, political, and religious crises of the sixteenth century. The image of the four Horsemen in the Book of Revelation was powerful, and many works and sermons were published during the period that interpreted suffering as God’s visitations, either in the persons of the Four Horsemen or as the three scourges of God’s anger: war, famine, and disease.³⁷² While Spanish texts attempted to create a direct link between the Catholic Church, the Crown, and political authority, their engravings were able to create more powerful and effective propagandistic link between the apocalypse, the antichrist, and the rise of Protestantism. Interestingly, the images created by the members of the Reformed Religion took a similar stance. They portrayed their suffering under the hands of Margaret of Parma and the Duke of Alva as penance delivered by an Antichrist who was determined to eradicate Calvinism. It was imperative that the Calvinists endure and survive

³⁷¹ The Catholic faith, however, was the only religion permitted outside of the borders of Holland and Zeeland.

³⁷² Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine, and Death in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 13.

the punishment because it was a test of their faith and resolve. Calvin was a firm believer in a collective Antichrist and his conception extended beyond a single individual to a single kingdom that extended through many generations as a foul abomination of the papists.³⁷³

The image of the Red Horse, the apocalyptic harbinger of war, was a devastating and ever-present force during the sixteenth century. The relevance and popular resonance of this image was closely associated with the growing reality of war during the period when news of battles and sieges quickly reached most European city centers via the new printing presses of northern Europe.³⁷⁴ Warfare touched the most private elements in the subjects' lives and, as demonstrated in the various images of torture, brutality, and execution provided above, no one was exempt from the scourges of war. War was necessary to fight the presence of evil and to protect the people and name of Christ the Redeemer, an argument used by both Catholics and Calvinists during the period of revolt. In Dutch Reformed theology, the Duke of Alva quickly came to represent the pope's or Antichrist's henchman. Repeatedly Alva was shown as sitting on a throne waiting for the devil to crown him, presumably as king of Spain and the Netherlands, while Cardinal Granvelle, who bellowed advice in his ear, was offered the papal tiara.³⁷⁵ The image of Alva as the harbinger of war and the scourge of Dutch Calvinists was an instrument used consistently by the rebels in the Low Countries.

³⁷³ Bernard McGinn, *Antichrist: Two Thousand Years of the Human Fascination with Evil* (San Francisco and New York: Harper San Francisco, 1994), 212.

³⁷⁴ Cunningham and Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine, and Death in Reformation Europe*, 95.

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, 152.

The popularity of the 1569 print *The Throne of the Duke of Alva* was significant in terms of the apocalyptic perspectives of the Dutch Revolt (see Figure 13). While the primary focus is the Duke of Alva sitting on his throne to the left of the image, Calvinists are tortured in the background. Egmont and Hoorne are beheaded, their blood creating a lake from which a cardinal fishes out a money pouch, representative of their confiscated property. Instruments of the Inquisition decorate the canopy over Alva's throne while ancient privileges and rights have been torn up and thrown on the ground.³⁷⁶ Other members of the Reformed religion are flayed, burned alive, stretched on the rack with tremendously heavy weights on their ankles, or hung from the trees. Combined with the series of images entitled *Spiegel de Spaansche Tiranny in Nederland*, these engravings achieved symbolic significance as prime examples of Spanish cruelty and persecution of godly Reformed civilians.³⁷⁷ The Red Horse of the apocalypse was well suited as a propagandistic element employed by Catholics and Calvinists during the Dutch Revolt. The provinces were caught in a war that had far-reaching consequences on their political, social, and religious lifestyles: religious hostility as perceived through the lens of the apocalypse enabled the Calvinists to embrace their suffering and losses at the hands of the Spanish because such a perspective enhanced their position as obedient and true followers of Christ while the Spanish played the role of the Antichrist.

³⁷⁶ Tanis and Jorst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty Years' War*, 51.

³⁷⁷ Cunningham and Grell, *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse: Religion, War, Famine, and Death in Reformation Europe*, 155.



Figure 13. *De troon van der hertog van Alva (The Throne of the Duke of Alva)*, 1569, Anonymous. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

The Catholics responded to the Protestant challenge in the Low Countries by spreading the myth of the Antichrist and apocalypticism. Catholic sources intended to demonize the Calvinists, idealize their own leaders, and reduce the conflict of the Dutch Revolt to a simple choice between Good (us) and Bad (them).³⁷⁸ In battling the iconoclasts who destroyed church icons and buildings, one Catholic song from 1566 claimed that “They [the Geaux] say this is God’s word that images must be destroyed and hurled from the

³⁷⁸ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 25.

churches; But I say let them have their words, it is the devil's work.”³⁷⁹ Although leaders including Marnix and William of Orange attempted to distance the larger interests of the revolt from the isolated incidents of iconoclasm, the Catholic propagandists worked diligently to demonstrate a connection between them. Alva, however, was not interested in mounting a sustained pamphleteering campaign but instead planned to use force to subdue his enemies. Meanwhile the Protestants also worked to create a visual alliance between their causes and Christ. During the Dutch Revolt it was easy to cast the Spanish Crown in the role of the evil kingdom and numerous engravers laid apocalyptic imagery on those people who posed the greatest threats to the provinces. Alva was willing to punish the rebels and force obedience to the Spanish crown; he was willing to be the bad guy. His attempts to draw attention to the religious character of the war against the rebels drew popular support to Philip II: after all, a Spanish victory in the Low Countries represented a Catholic victory in the larger international context

Nevertheless, pamphlets circulated during the late 1570s that repeatedly recognized the need and desire to return to their daily activities, and to avoid unpredictable episodes of violence and public displays of authority and rebellion. Published in 1578, *Order and Edict Concerning the Order and Rule to be Observed by the People of War* stated that the inhabitants of the provinces needed to recreate their sense of community and establish public peace in order to avoid perpetual discord.³⁸⁰ Similar arguments had been made following the

³⁷⁹ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*, 170.

³⁸⁰ Other articles stated that the colonel or the captain will make the necessary preparation/arrangement for quartering under threat of punishment, while villages that resisted quartering soldiers would also be punished. All goods including wine, beer, pork, chicken, veal, delicacies, and others would either be replaced or

Beeldenstorm of 1566 with the critical distinction that following the attack on Antwerp violence was considered an appropriate response. The common interests of the rebel leaders in the Low Countries had historically been grounded in lawful defense of traditional rights, justice, and peace. The Spanish sovereign, however, justified his social status, authority, and morality in terms of his religious convictions. Philip's political strategy in the provinces—first enforced by Margaret of Parma, then forcefully implemented by Alva, and later weakly maintained by his successor, Requesens—was directly connected to his religious convictions. Philip's understanding of the nature of his rule meant that his faith in God was bound to his legitimate authority to hold the royal throne.

Spanish rites of power were rooted in the traditions of the crown that were enforced in the Netherlands through public displays of violence. Up until 1576, Philip sanctioned persecutions and executions in so far as they were done with the intent of eliminating heresy, exposing rebels and traitors, and enforcing the sovereign authority of Spain. Alva's interpretation of power was influenced by his personal experiences in the Netherlands and the influence that he wielded over the Council of Troubles. Alva used public displays of violence to advance Spanish political interests and to punish Protestants for their failure to

repaid by the commanding officers. Abuses and lack of payment to the hosts of quartered soldiers would be recorded and punished. Also, villagers were allowed to seek justice for abuses incurred against their persons and properties. "En chargeant & ordonnât enoutre que tous les biens pillez & desrobez soyent renduz & restituez aux proprietaries d'iceux en cas qu'ils soyent en ester: ou non, la valeur d'iceaux." *Ordonnance et Edict touchant l'ordre et Regle a observer par les gens de guerre: ensemble sur les foulles & oultraiges que iceulx gens de guerre, & vagabondz, & autres mauuais garnemens font aux poures subiectz des pays de pardeça.* A Anvers, De l'Imprimerie de Christofle Plantin, Imprimeur du Roy. M.D. LXXVIII (Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 364), B1.

return to the Catholic Church. Protestants and Catholics both used violence to show their commitment to their individual communities, to teach their enemies lessons about the dangers of disobedience and persecution, and to identify specific targets that violated the laws and disrupted public peace. The rebel Protestant engravers and pamphleteers who worked in the Netherlands took advantage of the increasing episodes of violence to create their own agenda: to increase popular support for the removal of Philip II and the Spanish presence from the Low Countries, and to promote an image of the inhabitants as stalwart, principled, unwavering supporters of freedom and autonomy.

Chapter Six

“They see that which I have done, they can not iudge my hearte”:

The Mythology of William of Orange

Political ideology in the sixteenth-century Low Countries did not develop in a linear, uniform process. Ideas about resistance, freedom of conscience, and sovereignty were continually reinterpreted and opinions about privileges and disobedience became increasingly radical. The printing houses in both the Low Countries and Spain worked overtime to circulate publications that defined treason, tyranny, authority, and rule of law. Powerful figures including Margaret of Parma, the Duke of Alva, and Philip II dominated the images and literature that appeared in the provinces and played a role in determining allegiance through personality. More than any other person of the period, William of Orange became a figurehead for the Protestant movement and the arbiter of privileges and lawful rulership.

Similarly Orange’s mythos did not develop on a direct path. His political equivocations and hesitations often challenged the image that his social circle and propagandists created. William of Orange emerged as the leader of the Dutch Revolt because he was a complicated and polarizing figure who remained true to the traditions and ideals of the Low Countries. Orange was the chief noble during the revolt and led the resistance forces to victories on the battlefield and in the court of public opinion. He surrounded himself with educated and opinionated advisors, and continually kept the plight of the people in consideration. Orange did not forget that he was a member of the noble house of Nassau-Dillenburg, and that awareness shaped his slow and equivocal responses to Philip’s aggressive actions in the Low Countries. His service to the court of Margaret of Parma

initially shaped his conservative political leanings. But when the Spanish throne began to consolidate authority away from the States General and sanctioned the persecution of the members of the Reformed Religion in the Low Countries, Orange could no longer remain silent. Sixteenth-century pamphlets and treatises portrayed William as a contemplative man who reluctantly stepped up to lead the charge against Spanish tyranny. Following his assassination by Balthasar Gérard in 1584, Orange became a martyr for the rebel cause. He turned into a figure of “living death”³⁸¹ and inspired the participants of the Dutch Revolt to move forward in their state of weakened resistance and to adhere to their convictions. This chapter will examine the real life of William of Orange alongside his portrayal in popular pamphlets, circulated literature, and engravings to explore the impact of action and mythology during the revolt. William of Orange’s mythology was established by his actions and promoted by his inner circle to foster an image of political unity, religious toleration, and loyalty to the *vaderland* among the provinces and to Philip II of Spain.

A Stranger in the Low Countries

The idea of the *vaderland* influenced discussions of obedience, sovereignty, and lawful resistance because it forced the inhabitants of the Low Countries to identify their hierarchy of loyalty. Being a natural subject of the Low Countries was important for

³⁸¹ The notion of ‘living death’ means that in death a person has become more powerful and influential than in life. The surviving members of the individual’s culture can then refashion their legacy into something that serves a critical function of mythology: “to foster the centering and unfolding of the individual in integrity, in accord with himself, his culture, the universe, and that awesome ultimate mystery which is both beyond and within himself and all things.” The ‘living dead’ become symbolic of the people’s needs, sentiments, dreams, and experiences. Joseph Campbell, *Creative Mythology: The Masks of God* (New York and London: Penguin Books, 1976), 6.

identifying trustworthiness in political and religious affiliations. But because the Low Countries were united through a common respect for the time-honored particularities of their neighbors, William's foreignness made him well suited to influence provincial interests. The Nassau family was ancient and distinguished, though their status has diminished rather than increased since the 1530s. William, Count of Nassau-Dillenburg, was forty-six when his oldest son William was born on Thursday, April 24, 1533. The family was not wealthy but lived a quiet life away from the turmoil of international politics. Although all of the children were baptized in the Catholic Church, William and his wife Juliana seceded within a few months of William's birth.³⁸² They followed Lutheranism and taught their children the values of discipline, generosity, and following a moral code.

The death of his older brother René in July 1544 elevated William to the rank of prince of Orange, a small but technically independent state in the heart of France. The sovereign principality of Orange included part of Brabant, large areas of Luxemburg, Flanders, Franch-Comté, Dauphiné, and the county of Charolais.³⁸³ William was also *stadhouder* of Holland, Zeeland, and Utrecht. Upon arriving in the Netherlands, William's advisors educated him about the differences between the provinces of the Low Countries. With regards to language, the northern areas down to Brussels spoke Dutch, and in the more

³⁸² C.V. Wedgwood, *William the Silent: William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, 1533-1584* (London: Phoenix Press, 1944), 9-10. Wedgwood's biography of William of Orange was specifically chosen because it relies upon and perpetuates the same myths that surrounded Orange during the sixteenth century.

³⁸³ Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 13. The lands were valued at 170,000 *livres* per year and included legal claims to the obsolete kingdom of Arles, the dukedom of Gravina, three Italian principalities, sixteen countships, two margravates, two viscounties, fifty baronies, and about three hundred small estates.

densely populated and wealthier south the inhabitants primarily spoke French. Families from the Low Countries frequently married into French and German families. William spent time at court with Philip, the son of Charles V, Holy Roman Emperor but they did not form a friendship.³⁸⁴ At the request of Charles V, Orange undertook a Catholic education and soon became the emperor's confidant. And when Charles V announced his abdication from all of his realms on October 25, 1555, the Emperor supported himself with his left hand on a stick and his right hand leaning on the shoulder of the Prince of Orange.³⁸⁵ Recognizing the unsteady situation that Philip faced in the Low Countries, Charles V warned him against sudden changes, urged him to respect the susceptibilities of the people, and suggested he employ none but Netherlanders, or at least no Spaniards, in the administration of the country.³⁸⁶ Charles also encouraged the new ruler to work closely with and listen to the advice of Orange.

The Prince of Orange felt nervous following Charles V's abdication. Having spent considerable time with him, William was aware of Philip's stringent religious policies and

³⁸⁴ Wedgwood notes that the personalities of William and Philip were in constant conflict, but her binary definitions of the men is overly reductive: "Philip's sense of duty was mystical, William's practical; Philip's sensuality was shamefaced, William's frank; Philip's courage was all of the mind, William's of the body as well; Philip had the cruelty of the self-tormented, William the easy kindness of the contented mind; Philip was intellectual but not intelligent, William intelligent but not intellectual. One thing only they had in common – a dogged, persevering obstinacy." *Ibid.*, 22.

³⁸⁵ Henry Kamen, *Philip of Spain* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), 62. Although Kamen does not identify as strong a difference in personalities as does Wedgwood, the narrative is influenced by Philip's jealousy of the young German's closeness with Charles V.

³⁸⁶ Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 24.

his brutal enforcement of Spanish law codes. Orange's cosmopolitan upbringing and exposure to humanist philosophies helped him to acclimate and thrive in a variety of cultural environments. Although the Nassau-Dillenburg family was of German origin, Orange's investment in his acquired territories and favored role alongside Charles V solidified his role in the Low Countries early on. On June 16, 1559, William, the Count of Egmont, and the Duke of Alva entered Paris as Philip's representatives to conclude the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis. Ever the trustworthy royal confidant, Henry II spent time with William about his fears about Spanish plans for persecuting Protestant heretics, commenting "that the Duke of Alva, sought and spoke of the means, to root out all those that were suspected to be of the [Protestant] religion in France, and in this country, and throw out all Christendom."³⁸⁷ Orange later reflected that during 1559 he was consumed by "pity and compassion towards so many good people, as were appointed to slaughter," and that he felt a new awareness of his personal responsibility to protect his people and the "whole country to which I was so much bound... from that time forward, I did earnestly attempt to help to drive out of the country this vermin of the Spaniards."³⁸⁸

Later, following the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, William found himself in a situation where he had to decide between loyalty to the Spanish crown and his own sense of justice.

³⁸⁷ *The Apology of Prince William of Orange against the Proclamation of the King of Spaine*, edited by J. Wansink after the English edition of 1581 (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1969), 61.

³⁸⁸ *The Apology of Prince William of Orange against the Proclamation of the King of Spaine*, 62. The *Apology* was published in 1581 and by that point William had developed a much stronger position against Philip and the policies and action of his governors-general in the Low Countries. The significance of propaganda and creating historical memory for the public will be addressed in the following sections of the chapter.

For several more years the Prince of Orange remained loyal to Philip and attempted to reconcile Spanish rule of law with Netherlandish notions of freedom, privilege, and toleration. Perhaps he did not fully identify as a subject of the Low Countries or maybe he was too deeply entrenched in noble obedience to risk open rebellion in the first years of the revolt. Orange remained sensitive to the idea that he was a stranger and an outsider to the suffering and principles of the people who looked to him for leadership in the 1560s.

Spanish propaganda focused on Orange's origins in Nassau-Dillenburg and accused him of not being a gentleman of the Low Countries. He responded, "But what do they mean by the term stranger? Verily such a one, as is born out of the country, then if that be so, [Philip] him self shall be a stranger as well as I, for he was born in Spain, a country which is naturally the enemy of the low country, and I was born in Germany, a country which is naturally a friend and fellow to this country."³⁸⁹ By tracing his obedience to the *vaderland* and the people of the Low Countries as far back as 1559, the Prince of Orange staked his claim as a subject of the country while also asserting that his devotion ran far deeper than the false claims made by Philip II.

The notion of the *vaderland* united the identities and loyalties of the people.³⁹⁰ It was an idea to which all inhabitants of the Low Countries could adhere because, regardless of bloodline or wealth or position, they were part of the *vaderland*. Rule of law required that the subjects be obedient to their ruler, but the subjects were inherently required to remove a tyrannical ruler who broke the civil contract. Thus William of Orange's 1581 assertion that

³⁸⁹ Ibid., 48.

³⁹⁰ See Chapter Three, "Freedom of Conscience: The Case for Toleration in the Low Countries, 1564-1582," for a discussion of the definition and interpretation of *vaderland*.

he was a son of the Low Countries by virtue of his shared principles was not only a defense of his bloodline but also a statement of constitutionalism. A stranger in the Low Countries was therefore identified as a person or country that acted contrary to the will of the people and against the rule of law. While Orange might not have intentionally set the stage for his justification of the right to resist Philip II as early as 1559, he was already working from the perspective that he was obligated to protect the Low Countries.

Critical Texts and the Prince of Orange

William of Orange did not enter the Netherlands as a political or religious revolutionary. He was raised in a household that embraced first Catholicism and later Lutheranism, and he himself returned to the Catholic Church when he initially came upon his inheritance in the provinces. Orange did not have strong objections to the persecution of heretics initially but he was not convinced that it resulted in conversion and he disapproved of the brutal methodology. As a nobleman, Orange and his family owed their prestige and offices to Charles V and his lineage. One of the strongest characteristics of William's early texts was his devotion to Philip II, and his willingness to place blame upon evil magistrates, misguided clergy, and selfish military leaders before he considered accusing the Spanish king of treachery and deceit. Because William was involved with both the Catholic and Protestant churches and understood the provincial customs of the Low Countries as well as the hereditary bases of Spanish power in the provinces, he was careful to not take extreme positions against one side or another.

Within the Council of State, William found himself in the company of politicians including Lamoral, Count of Egmont, and Antoine Perrenot, Lord of Granvelle and Margaret of Parma's primary advisor. Both the representatives from the Low Countries and Philip's

counselors had strong political ambitions and their quarrels over political authority, privileges, religious appointments, and brutal persecutions of the Calvinists were always related to the struggle for power. Philip eventually withdrew Granvelle from the Low Countries in 1564 but that did not signify a lasting victory for the leading nobles.³⁹¹ William continued to gather support for his cause and called for the need for moderation of religious persecution of the members of the Reformed Religion in the Low Countries. The outbreak of iconoclastic riots in 1566 undermined William's and the Council's attempts to establish a temporary peace. Margaret reacted to the uprising by taking action and raising troops in Valenciennes and Tournai, and she continued to enforce the anti-heresy placard in the provinces. Both cities refused to open their gates, but Margaret's forces eventually besieged and defeated the armies in revolt.

In a series of letters written to Margaret of Parma in September of 1566, Orange attempted to convince the royal regent why she should alter the persecutorial placards and moderate Spanish religious policy in the provinces. He recognized that the actions of the iconoclasts had become "so licentious and audacious that they tried to submit everything to their will," but also pointed out that the members of the Reformed Religion could be easily

³⁹¹ Granvelle's exit from the Low Countries in 1564 was welcomed by most of the inhabitants, by William of Orange, and especially by Margaret of Parma. The Cardinal overestimated the amount of authority of his position and aggravated the religious and political conflicts. Rather than fading into the background when Granvelle challenged his authority, Orange rallied his supporters in resistance and he himself became more confident in resisting the decrees from the regent and the magistrates of the Spanish crown. Steen, *Margaret of Parma: A Life*, 104-07.

subdued by allowing them to have their services within the town.³⁹² He argued that by allowing Protestant sermons to be preached within the city gates, she would prevent strangers and vagabonds from outside of the stronghold reentering the cities and causing problems and disorder. By doing so he demonstrated his commitment to the public good and reminded Margaret that she shared common interests with the rebels.

When public order was restored, the nobles were asked to swear a new oath of loyalty. Egmont took the oath but Orange refused to do so.³⁹³ He left the Low Countries and returned to his family in Dillenburg. Not long content to remain in Germany while the Duke of Alva set about terrorizing his people with taxation and persecution, in 1568 William of Orange fully adopted the Reformed faith and started to gather money from his foreign allies in France and England.³⁹⁴ He invaded the country and took Mons and Valenciennes while Alva was forced to retreat and withdraw his forces from Holland. In the summer of 1572 almost all of the major towns in Holland made the momentous decision to support William of

³⁹² “*De prins van Oranje aan de hertogin van Parma*, Antwerp, 4 September 1566,” *Correspondance de Guillaume le Taciturne*, Volume II, edited by L.P. Gachard (Brussels, 1850), 213.

³⁹³ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 38.

³⁹⁴ In his *Fidelle exhortation aux inhabitants du pais bas, contre les vains et faux espoirs dont leurs oppresseurs les font amuser*, the prince of Orange addressed concrete notions of constitutionalism in print. He wrote, “You well know that by the king’s own proper consent you are free and released from the oath and obedience you owe him, if he or others in his name infringe the promises and conditions on which you have accepted and received him, until finally every right has been restored” (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Dutch Pamphlets, Knuttel Collection, 171). Translated in “Faithful exhortation to the inhabitants of the Netherlands against the gain and false hopes their oppressors hold out to them, 1568,” in Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 86-88.

Orange in his position against the Spanish Crown.³⁹⁵ At that point, Orange became much more prolific in his letter writing and his publications: he needed to assert his viability as the leader of the resistance and he needed to unite his colleagues under a common understanding of the religious and political questions (see Figure 14).

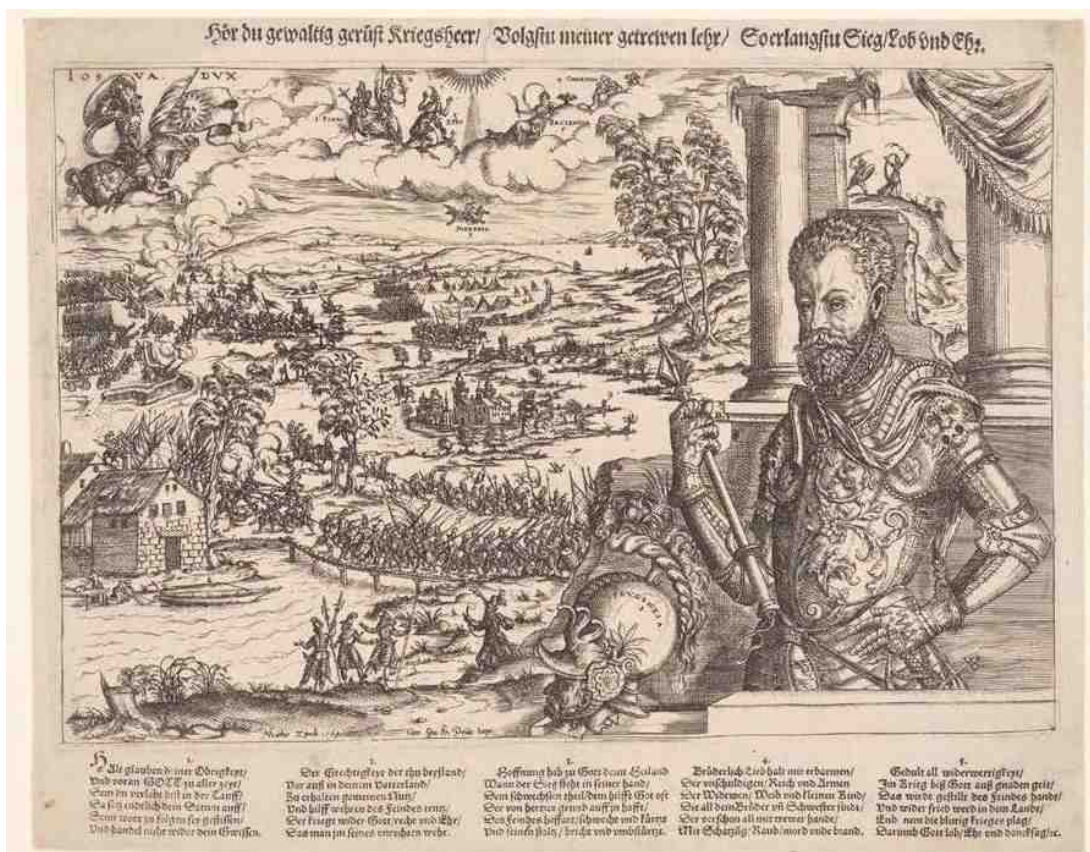


Figure 14. *Der vrome veldheer Oranje ver geleken met Jozua (The Pious Commander Orange Compared to Joshua)*, 1569, Mathis Zündt. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁵ In his book, *Gouda in Revolt: Particularism and Pacifism in the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572-1588* (Utrecht: H&S Publishers, 1983), C.C. Hibbin recognized that we cannot attribute on singular reason for each province and city deciding to join with the resistance. Each town should be considered on a case-by-case basis but this particular chapter does not presently address those issues.

³⁹⁶ The pious Orange was compared to Joshua, the greatest of Hebrew political figures, in order to enhance Orange's image as the savior of the people and the warrior protecting the fatherland.

Through the 1570s William of Orange was still not willing to completely abandon his loyalty to Philip II as the sovereign of the Low Countries. Alva's Tenth Penny and Twentieth Penny taxation invoked the hatred of the provincial inhabitants and many joined Orange's resistance as a result. The rebel invasions and their gain of a territorial base at Brill meant that the focus had to shift from matters of internal government—largely tax collection and continued action against heresy—to outright warfare.³⁹⁷ William remained close with his circle of councilors and wrote often to Philip of Marnix and Count John of Nassau in 1573 and 1574. These letters again indicated that Orange's primary concerns were securing the public peace and ending the war, but his analysis of the core issues had evolved significantly. William separated the office of the sovereign of the Low Countries from the physical man who held the seat. The idea of the throne existed in sempiternity and therefore the throne itself could not be corrupted. The king was corruptible though and therefore could potentially break an oath by violating the sacred vow to protect the interests of the people of the Low Countries. William wrote, "We do not fight His Majesty but must protect ourselves and avoid being finally overwhelmed and ruined completely and placed forever in intolerable servitude, and made slaves of a master who tyrannizes over our bodies, possessions, and consciences."³⁹⁸ He continued in a separate letter to his brother, John of Nassau, that "if this

³⁹⁷ Additionally, Alva's military forces were dwindling in size and he was coming up short with the funds to pay them. 13,000 Spanish men were spread about in garrisons throughout the Low Countries. The potential for mutiny was close on the horizon. Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 56.

³⁹⁸ "Nous ne combattons pas Sa Majesté, mais devons nous protéger et éviter d'être débordés et finalement complètement ruiné et placé à jamais dans la servitude intolérable et fait esclaves d'un maître qui tyrannise notre corps, possessions, et les consciences." "De prins van oranje naar philip Marnix, delft, 28 november 1573," in Gachard, *Correspondance de Guilluame le Taciturne/ 2*, 88.

country should one day be lost and brought back under the yoke and tyranny of the Spaniards, the true religion will be gravely endangered in all other countries and may even humanly speaking be uprooted for ever leaving not the least vestige.”³⁹⁹ Circulated letters soon become publicly available and Orange’s warning that Protestantism was on the verge of extinction would have hit close to home for his compatriots in France and England.

Constitutional terminology that appeared in the texts of writers like Philippe du Plessis-Mornay and Aggaeus van Albada crept into William’s writings. Born in Normandy to a Protestant family, Philippe du Plessis-Mornay began his career as a Huguenot pamphleteer in France working under Admiral Gaspard de Coligny. When violence against French Protestants broke out on August 24, 1572, du Plessis-Mornay sought sanctuary then later fled Paris. His initial pieces, such as *Remonstrance aux Etats pour la paix* (1576), embraced a moderate policy similar to that held by the conservative *politiques*. Like William of Orange, du Plessis-Mornay demanded toleration, peace, stability, and an end to the cruel war. His *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos* (1579) was his most famous publication and set a standard for constitutional language and lawful resistance to a tyrannical sovereign. Du Plessis-Mornay paid close attention to defining his version of ‘the people’:

When we speak of all the people, we understand by that only those who hold their authority from the people, to wit, the magistrates, who are inferior to the king, and whom the people have substituted or established, as it were, consorts in the empire,

³⁹⁹ “*Si ce pays doit un jour être perdu et ramené sous le joug et la tyrannie des Espagnols, la vraie religion sera gravement menacée dans tous les autres pays et peut même humainement être déracinées pour jamais quitter pas le moindre vestige.*” “*Le prince de l’orange au comte Jean de Nassau, Dordrecht, 7 May 1574,*” *Archives au Correspondance inédite de la Maison d’Orange-Nassau*, le série IV (Utrecht: Kemink et fils, 1857), 385. Available from American Library: <https://archive.org/details/archivesoucorre10pringoog>.

and with a kind of tribunitary authority, to restrain the encroachments of sovereignty and to represent the whole of the people.⁴⁰⁰

Philippe du Plessis-Mornay worked closely with William of Orange and others leading the resistance in the Low Countries. His ideas and works established the justification to resist a sovereign king based on both legal and customary precedents.

Another writer who strongly influenced the language and perspective in the works of William of Orange was Aggaeus van Albada. A well-known Frisian lawyer, Albada received a thorough humanist education in Paris, Orléans, Bourges, and Italy. Albada loathed any form of religious coercion and favored a sober broad church, without sacraments and rituals but fully recognizing that the spirit of God was free and could not be tied to any outward ceremony.⁴⁰¹ He also served as the principal spokesperson for the States General. His constitutional policies were grounded in arguments made by du Plessis-Mornay in the *Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, and Albada argued that “since a king is made by the people and because of the people, and without the people could not remain king, who will be surprised that we conclude that the people is above the king?”⁴⁰² Albada’s publications also invoked

⁴⁰⁰ Junius Brutus, or Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, *A Defense of Liberty against Tyrants, a translation of the Vindiciae Contra Tyrannos*, with an historical introduction by Harold J. Laski (Gloucester, MA.: G. Bell & Sons, 1963), 97. Bartolus of Sassoferrato, a fourteenth-century Italian law professor and a famous medieval jurist, introduced early ideas of constitutional sovereignty. His ideas were influential to writers and politicians during the French Wars of Religion. He stated that people would never be so foolish as to give one man more power than they held. Philippe du Plessis-Mornay and his colleagues were known as Bartolists for their views on sovereignty.

⁴⁰¹ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 153.

⁴⁰² “Omdat een koning wordt gemaakt door de mensen en vanwege de mensen, en zonder dat de mensen konden niet blijven koning, die zal worden verrast dat we concluderen dat de mensen boven de

familiar rhetorical strategy by relying on terminology like *vaderland*, *patria*, and *vrijheid van geweten*.

Consequently, Albada's pamphlet on the proceedings of the peace negotiations at Cologne which took place in 1581 made important claims about the significance and power of the States General in relation to the public peace and sovereign authority. He wrote, "the States know better than the king which persons are disposed to keep the peace and which to stir up new revolts, and whether or not such persons are respectable and capable of governing and administering justice, and to whom functions and offices should be given."⁴⁰³ Despite offers from William of Orange, John of Nassau, various German princes, and the king of Denmark to enlist Aggaeus Albada for his services, Albada shunned active politics and preferred to devote himself to the study of legal and political writings. Like William of Orange, Albada felt connected to the events of the Dutch Revolt and like du Plessis-Mornay, he was conversant with existing political theory and intimately familiar with literature on the

koning?" Acten van den vredehandel gheschiet te Colen, in de Teghenwoordicheyt van de commissarissen der Keys. Maiesteyt... (Washington, D.C., Smithsonian Libraries, Van der Wulp 493), n.p.

⁴⁰³ "De Staten weet beter dan de koning die personen zijn geneigd om de vrede te bewaren en die aan te wakkeren nieuwe opstanden, en ongeacht of deze personen zijn respectabele en kan beheersen en het toedienen van rechtvaardigheid, en aan wie functies en kantoren moet worden gegeven." *Acten van den vredehandel gheschiet te Colen*, n.p. Albada's statement gave substantial power to the States General and effectively rendered the sovereign immaterial in terms of Low Countries governance. Perhaps it was no coincidence that Albada played a formative role in the States General and also took steps to set the States General above the sovereign authority in terms of morality and purpose: "No one who examines this carefully can consider himself entitled to criticize the States for their conduct. Their laws, privileges, and decrees and the examples of their ancestors show that their policy was perfectly legal." *Ibid.*, n.p.

most recent political theories circulated in France, Germany, England, and the Low Countries.⁴⁰⁴ Orange's political leanings were guided by those writers and theories whom he found most significant in terms of driving legal justification for the right to resist and constitutionalism related to customary privileges and rights. In those ways, Orange's attempts to lead the Low Countries against Philip II were representative of the larger European struggles to assert the people's freedoms against all oppressors of freedom of conscience and rule of law.

In one of his last published discourses in 1583, the prince of Orange had grown weary of warfare and constant danger, especially after he survived an assassination attempt by Jean Jauregay in 1582.⁴⁰⁵ In *Advice of the Prince of Orange as to which course to take in the critical situation in which the Netherlands find themselves* (1583), Orange once again called for a general toleration of all religious practices rather than focusing on the Reformed

⁴⁰⁴ Wiebe Bergsma, *Aggaeus van Albada (c. 1525-1587), schwenckfeldiaan, staatsman en strijder voor verdraagzaamheid. Proefschrift ter verkrijging van het doctoraat in Letteren aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen op gezag van de Rector Magnificus Dr. L.J. Engels in het openbaar te verdedigen op donderdag 7 april 1983 des namiddags te 4.00 uur* (Groningen: Krips Repro Meppel, 1983), 145.

⁴⁰⁵ Jauregay acted like he needed to present the prince with a paper and instead pulled out a pistol and fired at Orange: "The pistol, however, had been overcharged with powder. It exploded in the assassin's hand, taking off his thumb. The force of the blast stunned the prince, seared his face, and set fire to his hair and beard. The bullet veered upwards, entering the prince's neck just below the jaw, passing through his mouth, somehow without damaging either tongue or teeth, and exiting through the cheek, between jaw and ear, on the far side of his head. William later said that he was unaware of the pistol-wielding intruder, or that he had been struck by a bullet, but thought the house had collapsed on his head." Lisa Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent: The First Assassination of a Head of State with a Handgun* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005), 65.

Religion. Aware that the people of the provinces were tired and stricken from the burden of war and garrisoning troops, Orange was hesitant to call for more soldiers. Finally, the prince of Orange stated that he had changed his mind and was prepared to send for a foreign prince. He recognized the risks associated with bringing in a stranger to act as sovereign over the Low Countries, but lamented that the alternative was continued destruction of the churches, lands, and people. Orange closed with the claim that “I state it openly that I will never approve of negotiating with the Spanish king... If the third course of action is feasible, I would infinitely prefer it but upon certain conditions, for otherwise we run the risk of ruin, together with so many worthy people.”⁴⁰⁶

William of Orange’s literary role in the Dutch Revolt reflected his complicated attitude toward the political and religious issues of the sixteenth century. Despite his evolution as a folk hero, Orange did not intentionally create that image for himself. In fact, it was in spite of his own pessimism about the situation with Philip II and the failure of his first three military campaigns that William—known as William the Silent after surviving the 1582 assassination attempt—began to be hailed as the country’s hero and potential savior. The creation in letters, pamphlets, and speeches of a potent and lasting image of William the Silent as a man of heroic integrity, fighting selflessly on behalf of freedom for the *vaderland*, was the achievement of a group of distinguished intellectuals who formed part of William’s

⁴⁰⁶ “Advice of the prince of Orange as to which course to take in the critical situation in which the Netherlands find themselves, 7 February 1583,” in Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 236-39.

entourage: Philip of Marnix and Philippe du Plessis-Mornay, among others.⁴⁰⁷ Orange himself did not operate solely from a concern with public opinion or for crafting a civic image (although his advisors always kept these notions in consideration). As shown in his own writing, the prince of Orange was driven by the desire to help the people of the Low Countries assert their political rights, salvage the governance and functionality of the States General, and protect the members of the Reformed Religion from ruthless and violent persecution. William's own texts demonstrated the personal qualities that helped to elevate him to the status of a folk hero: practicality, determination, and conscientiousness.

Het Wilhelmus and The Apology of Prince William of Orange

The prince of Orange was not initially an enthusiastic revolutionary. He showed himself more than willing to play the dissenting statesman who sought compromise and it was only after the death of the charismatic Hendrik van Brederode in 1568 that Orange stepped up to lead the opposition.⁴⁰⁸ William also became the *Grand Geaux*: the sobriquet *Geaux* or 'beggar' had been associated with Brederode and the Compromise of the Nobility.

⁴⁰⁷ Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent*, 37. For further reading on another influential intellectual, Loyseleur de Villiers, William's court chaplain and advisor, see Cornelia Boer, *Hofpredikers van Prins Willem van Oranje: Jean Taffin en Pierre Loyseleur de Villiers* (The Hague, Netherlands: Martinus Nijhoff, 1952).

⁴⁰⁸ Brederode, along with Orange's younger brother, Count Louis of Nassau, took the lead in harnessing the mounting agitation amongst the lower and middle nobility and also set up the famous League of the Compromise. When Brederode and some two hundred noblemen forced their way into the presence of Margaret of Parma in order to present her with the Compromise of the Nobility on April 5, 1566, he cemented his role in organizing resistance to Spanish policies in the Low Countries. Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 145.

The term ‘Beggars’ fit the nobles handily, even if it was said derogatorily. It parodied the noblemen’s privilege by reference to their social opposites—a combination they heartily embraced. At the heart of the Beggar’s mockery was the tension between expressions of fidelity to the king and contempt for Catholic religious practice.⁴⁰⁹

The Beggars produced popular songs called *geuzenliederen* or Beggars’ Ballads. Satirical and pointed, the *geuzenliederen* criticized leaders like Margaret of Parma and Cardinal Granvelle and accused them of being puppets of the pope, Alva, and Philip II (see Figure 15). The conscious creation of Orange’s role as an independent leader fighting an unjust king had permeated the literature and images of the Low Countries by 1566. He actively worked with literary figures including the Antwerp pensionary Jacob van Wesembeke and the lawyers Gilles le Clercq and François Baudouin to enforce Orange’s image as a wise, valiant hero.⁴¹⁰ The Orangists quickly seized upon other media to make

⁴⁰⁹ Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, & Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2008), 80.

⁴¹⁰ One of Wesembeke’s most well known publications was *De beschrijvinge van den geschiedenissen inder religion saken toeghedragen in den Nederlanden* (*The description of the events which happened in the matter of religion in the Netherlands*, 1569). That document has been credited as one of the most true and reliable accounts of the disturbances in the Low Countries. Wesembeke focused on Philip’s broken oath to protect his subjects, the inability of the Spanish crown to stop the flow of publications that opposed the heresy placards and the cruel magistrates, and the fact that the violation of religious freedom in the provinces was a larger crime against civil liberty and customary privileges. Jacob Wesembeke, *De beschrijvinge van den geschiedenissen inder religion saken toeghedragen in den Nederlanden*, 1569 (Universiteit Leiden, Bijzondere Collectie: Knuttel Collection, 147).



Figure 15. *Margaretha van Parma, Granvelle en de paus steunen Alva's missie (Margaret of Parma, Granvelle, and the Pope Support Alva's Mission)*, 1567, Anonymous. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.⁴¹¹

their case for William, particularly artwork and popular balladry.⁴¹² The most famous of these early cultural efforts was the *Wilhelmus*, the composition in the Beggars' Ballad

⁴¹¹ The Duke of Alva receives his payment from Pope Pius V while Margaret of Parma and Cardinal Granvelle stand behind him in support. The first stanza read: "The pope gives glory to the cruel Alva, Granvelle, and Parma for ruining the Low Countries."

⁴¹² For more information on pamphlet literature and other genres produced during the Dutch Revolt, see Craig Harline, *Pamphlets, Printing, and Political Culture in the Early Dutch Republic* (Dordrecht: Martinus Nijhoff, 1987), and Daniel R. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit: Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand [1566-1584]* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003).

repertoire that in an updated version in 1932 became the national anthem of the Netherlands.⁴¹³

Most likely written between 1568 and 1572, the *Wilhelmus* continued the tradition of glorifying the deeds and honor of the prince of Orange while also inspiring its singers to rally behind themes of resistance including the battle against an unlawful sovereign and the obedience to God above all else:

William of Nassau am I,
Of a German blood line,
I dedicate undying
Faith to this land of mine.
A prince am I undaunted,
Of Orange, ever free,
To the king of Spain I've granted
A life-long loyalty...⁴¹⁴

The ideas of the *vaderland* and *Duitsen bloed* reminded the audience that although Orange came from Germany, his loyalty was to the people of the Low Countries. *Het Wilhelmus* was one of the first sources to identify Orange as *pater patriae*—the father of the country—a phrase that further enhanced his image as a devout leader.⁴¹⁵ *Vaderland* was used vaguely because the political and religious affiliations of the Low Countries and her leaders existed both within and between borders. The celebrated Beggars' Ballad created popular attachment to William of Orange and gathered support for the resistance against Spain. *Het Wilhelmus*

⁴¹³ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 274-75.

⁴¹⁴ “*Wilhelmus van Nassouwe/ Ben ick van Duytschen bloet,/ Den Vaderlandt ghetrouwe/ Blijf ick tot inden doot:/ Een Prince van Oraengien/ Ben ick vrij onverveert,/ Den Coninck van Hispaengien/ Heb ick altijd gheert...*” Dr. H. Bruch, *Slaat op den trommele: Het Wilhelmus en de Geuzenliederen* (Leiden: A.W. Sijthoff's Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1971), 29. I altered my translation to fit a modern rhyming pattern.

⁴¹⁵ Bruch, *Slaat op den trommele*, 49.

was also one of the most successful and recognizable pieces of propaganda published in the 1570s.

At the Dordrecht meeting of the States General in 1572 William of Orange was proclaimed *Stadholder*, financial support for the revolt was secured, and freedom of religion was officially proclaimed.⁴¹⁶ Most of the inhabitants and nobility of the Low Countries rallied support for the causes and image of their new leader.⁴¹⁷ Orange was active in the several major events including the liberation of Leiden from Spanish siege in 1574, the Pacification of Ghent in 1576, and the Union of Utrecht in 1579. Philip II issued his *Edict of Proclamation* against William of Orange on March 15, 1580. The Spanish sovereign outlawed the ‘defender of the fatherland’ and called for his assassination. Philip called Orange a hypocrite who used *vrijheid van geweten* at his convenience: “He afterwards proceeded to bring in liberty of conscience, or (to speak truly) confusion of religion. Whereupon immediately after it fell out, that the Catholics were openly persecuted, cast down, and driven away... that he might thereby, overthrow and root up (if he would) our Catholic and holy religion, which hath been always observed by the whole estate of Christians.”⁴¹⁸ The prince of Orange was accused of breaking oaths, disturbing the public peace, and destroying the religious structure and hierarchy in the Low Countries.

⁴¹⁶ Gelderen, *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555-1590*, 43.

⁴¹⁷ *Het Wilhelmus* was followed by a *geuzenliederen* sequel entitled *Ras zeventien provincen*. Like the original song, *Ras zeventien provincen* was probably written by someone within Orange’s close social circle. It has been attributed to Marnix of St. Aldegonde, and has a stronger religious perspective than *Het Wilhelmus*. See Bruch, *Slaat op den trommele*, 72-74 for the Dutch text of *Ras zeventien provincen*.

⁴¹⁸ *The Apologie of Prince William of Orange*, 154.

Written in 1581, *The Apology of William of Orange against the proclamation of the king of Spain* was Orange's most important and influential publication. The *Apology* was most likely written by William's court chaplain Loyseleur de Villiers, one of his close advisors who worked alongside the Huguenots Hubert Languet and du Plessis-Mornay to craft the document and William's public image. The *Apology* was a lengthy and detailed defense that also justified the Dutch Revolt and William's role in the resistance efforts. Addressed and offered to the States General, the document presented Orange as "lawfully elected and chosen" by the States, his "superiors", and the people "to be the claimer and challenger of their liberty."⁴¹⁹ The text's language also invoked words and phrases familiar to the audience: tyranny, freedom of conscience, right to resist, and protection of privileges had been part of the political discourse since the late 1560s.

The document opened by justifying Orange's righteous place among the land-owning nobility of the Netherlands—he deeply resented the charge that he was a stranger in the Low Countries—and reminded his accusers and his audience that he had been a close confidant and favorite of Charles V.⁴²⁰ Drawing on the ideas of sovereignty and definitions of tyranny published in France, the prince declared Philip II had lost the right to rule over the provinces because he violated the oath that he swore to uphold as sovereign. His unrelenting persecution of the Reformed Religion alienated his subjects and instilled in them distrust for

⁴¹⁹ Ibid., 120.

⁴²⁰ This would have been particularly offensive to Philip II who often resented his father's closeness with the affable Orange at court. "In remembrance and memorie of the Emperour Charles ... who shew me so much honor, as to have nourished me in his chamber, by the space of nine yeeres, to whom also I yeeledded & performed, most faithfull and most willing service." Ibid., 21.

the intentions of the Spanish crown. William believed that the Inquisition was at work in the Low Countries despite a lack of formal installation and claimed that it was the deceitful and brutal treatment of his people that finally moved him to action: “I will not cease, by the power of God... to employ all the power that I have, with you (my Lords) to purge the whole country in general, from this vermin, and to cause them and all their adherents... to trouble their own Countries if they will, and to suffer us to live here, in peace and quiet possession, of bodies, goods, and conscience.”⁴²¹ The *Apology* also condemned Philip II for lacking the qualities of a just and lawful ruler that included keeping oaths, maintaining customs and privileges, protecting the people, and upholding the laws of the *vaderland*: the author naturally associated those qualities of just rulership with William of Orange.

Loyseleur de Villiers, the *Apology*'s author, was conscious of the need to recognize the humility and suffering of Orange to create a deeper contrast with Philip. He wrote,

But that which was done by my charge and appointment, is in such sort known to all the world, that they are not able, either to disguise or darken the same... that which I have done virtuously, they say, that I have feigned, that the thing did displease me. But who hath told them that I feigned? Or who is he that hath revealed unto them so much of my secrets? They see that which I have done, they can not judge my heart, neither is there any man so malicious... which ought not rather to give judgment upon that which he seeth, than upon that, which he maliciously and wickedly suspecteth.⁴²²

The *Apology* did not broadly condemn all Catholics or all Spaniards and believed that among Philip's other subjects were “sundry good people, and lovers of their Country”⁴²³ who should understand William's need to protect his people at all costs. It concluded with the powerful statement “let us with one hart and good will go together, and let us together embrace the

⁴²¹ *Ibid.*, 63.

⁴²² *Ibid.*, 88.

⁴²³ *Ibid.*, 142.

defense of this good people.”⁴²⁴ Orange’s *Apology* was the epitome of political propaganda although it did not make original contributions to the development of political thought during the revolt. It was a masterstroke in the art of consciously creating a folk hero while simultaneously justifying the causes and legitimacy of the rebellion against Spain. The document restored authority to the States General and outlined the historical customs and lawful privileges that the Low Countries expected their sovereign to uphold.

William’s Depiction in Engravings

The mythology of William of Orange that was created by his pack of advisors and supported by the prince’s own letters and texts became even stronger after his death. But his public character was not limited to ideas circulated by himself and his noble companions. Orange’s image permeated many of the critical engravings that appeared during the era of the Dutch Revolt. The Low Countries emerged as one of the more literate countries in Europe during the sixteenth century, and their visual propaganda influenced religious, political, and philosophical beliefs. The graphic engravings were created to stir emotions and to win the support of the people and despite Protestant resistance to images in the church, pictorial narratives of the Dutch Revolt became increasingly popular. With regards to the formation of William of Orange’s mythos, copper engravings played as important a role as pamphlets and broadsheets.

Fernando Alvarez de Toledo, the Duke of Alva, and William of Orange first appeared as opponents in engravings between 1570 and 1572. Early examples set out to illustrate and make known the tyrannical nature of the rule which Alva had imposed, including the execution of the Counts of Egmont and Hoorne, Alva’s pride, his greed, and his disregard of

⁴²⁴ Ibid., 146-47.

old provincial privileges and customs.⁴²⁵ *The Statue of Alva in Antwerp* engraved by Philips Galle in 1571 was an example of social commentary on another artistic installation (see Figure 16). Carved by Jacob Jongheling, the statue of victorious Alva was erected in 1571 and showed the commander standing over a two-headed figure that represented heresy and rebellion. Naturally the Low Countries rejected the presence of the statue. It was regarded, especially by Alva's adversaries in court and in the provinces, as most inappropriate for a person in the service of the king to glorify himself instead of dedicating his victories to his sovereign.⁴²⁶ For the Reformed Religion, the statue was an ever-present reminder of the brutality and vicious persecution that they continued to suffer under Alva. The engraving capitalized on Alva's vice of pride and was used to denigrate the reputation of the Spanish commander during the height of his power in the Low Countries. An anonymous author later wrote a satirical poem about the image of Alva's statue: "Behold, o Netherlander widely renowned/ This metal statue of your tyrant standing high/ Although he stands frank, daring, and undaunted, / He is completely frozen, so do not tremble for him."⁴²⁷ Alva was eventually removed from the Low Countries in 1574 and the statue was moved into storage in a citadel. Many similar images of Alva were circulated during the 1570s that depicted him as the main

⁴²⁵ Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 25. Engravers Theodoor de Bry's and Marcus Gheeraerts the Elder's allegorical images worked from a strong dichotomy of personal traits in Alva and William. William was associated with wisdom, humility, benevolence, honor, forgiveness, love, generosity, and freedom. Alva was associated with foolishness, pride, dishonor, poverty, war, discord, hate, captivity, and greed.

⁴²⁶ Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 29-31.

⁴²⁷ "Aensiet o ghy Nederlander Seer Wyt vermaert/ Dat metalen beelt ws tiran seer hooch verhaven/ Al state hy vrymoedich stout onvervaert/ Hy state gheheel vercout wilt voor hem niet beven." *Willem van Oranje: Om vrijheid van geweten, 1571-1572*. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam. Translated *ibid.*, 87.

cause of injustice, persecution, and violence in the provinces. William, however, was portrayed as the bastion against evil and the beacon of light and hope for the Low Countries.



Figure 16. *Standbeeld van der hertog van Alva (Statue of the Duke of Alva)*, 1571, Philips Galle. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Propagandistic literature and art in the sixteenth century operated under a binary code of good versus evil, Orange versus Alva. Orange's loyalty to the provinces and powerful leadership were often depicted as the well-known animal representative of the Netherlands: the lion. Following the difficulties that surrounded the Pacification of Ghent, an engraving emerged that depicted William as a solitary lion brandishing a broadsword above his head (see Figure 17). Behind the lion, the provinces—represented as women—sat within a low wooden enclosure, each displaying the insignia of their provinces on their lap. Outside of the

enclosure, Spanish troops loomed threateningly with muskets, swords, cannons, and pikes closing in on the lion and his Low Countries. William, despite the difficulty and at times seeming futility of his cause, was consistently represented as a bold protector of the provinces, their history, and their privileges against Spanish assault.



Figure 17. *Allegorie op de Pacificatie van Gent (Allegory of the Pacification of Ghent)*, 1576, Adriaen Pietersz. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Another important theme that shaped the visual rhetoric of engravings was William's devotion and absolute trust in the will of God. As the leader of the resistance against Spain, William embraced the Reformed faith. He often sought the middle regarding political and religious conflict, but he gradually began to understand that only the narrow, intolerant fanatical could fight the narrow, intolerant fanatical.⁴²⁸ By 1569, the prince of Orange made a

⁴²⁸ Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 110-11.

full commitment to Protestantism as part of his policy that only through unity could the Low Countries overthrow the tyrannical Spanish authority. Following the death of his first wife, Anne of Egmont, in July 1555, William cemented his loyalty to the Reformed Religion by marrying Anna of Saxony, the daughter of the firmly Protestant Maurice of Saxony who had been fighting for the Protestant cause since 1553. As anticipated, William and Anna's marriage created a political focus for anti-Catholic feeling in the northern Netherlands.⁴²⁹ However William dissolved his marriage to Anna of Saxony in 1571 after her affair with Jan Rubens and wed Charlotte of Bourbon in 1575.

Charlotte came from the rather poor family of the Duke of Montpensier and did not have a dowry of her own. She was intelligent and seriously educated, and she was also closely involved with the Protestant movement. Because William's new wife did not come with wealth or political influence, it was decided by many that he was simply deeply in love with Charlotte, a point that added to his complex and honorable mythology.⁴³⁰ In an engraving that emerged in 1577, two years after Charlotte and William were married, the prince and princess of Orange kneel on opposite sides of a small table on which were placed

⁴²⁹ Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent*, 29-30.

⁴³⁰ "William's divorce from Anna of Saxony was pronounced in accordance with God's law by the Dutch Calvinist divines and William and Charlotte were married on June 12, 1575. The wedding was intimate and small with no more than four tables of guests. Dancing was definitely ruled out. But the welcome given to the bride by the people, cities, and States General was genuine, and the simple, solid presentation cups and goblets which they gave as wedding gifts were the spontaneous expression of their goodwill to her and gratitude to him." Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 155.

their prayer books, Orange's coat of arms, and the family motto (see Figure 18).⁴³¹ Behind William and Charlotte stand a large crowd of people kneeling with their hands in prayer: the group behind Orange contains the upper classes including some of his officers while those behind Charlotte represent the lower echelons of society such as farmers and burghers.



Figure 18. *Willem van Oranje en Charlotte van Bourbon knielend en landschap* (William of Orange and Charlotte of Bourbon Kneel in a Landscape), 1577, Adriaen Huybrechts. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

⁴³¹ “*Je maintiendrai*” or “I will maintain” is the motto of the house of Orange and Nassau, the royal family of the Netherlands.

Two hands of God descend from the heavens. One hand holds a crowned heart indicating that God has supreme influence over the heart of the king. The other hand grasps an instrument of punishment, the birch rod, and the accompanying text reads “If you, like the people of Niniveh, avow guilt, then God will take from you the rod of chastisement.”⁴³² By its portrayal of humility, devotion, concern for the public good, and utter obedience to the will of God, the image of William and Charlotte not only strengthened the powerful lore of the prince of Orange but also served to remind the inhabitants of the provinces that unity in faith and service would help them defeat Spanish oppression. Only by embracing the Reformed Religion would the people be delivered from evil.

Assassination and Elevation of the Prince of Orange

William of Orange first appeared in Spanish texts around 1564 when, along with Count Egmont and Count Hoorne, he convinced Philip II that Cardinal Granvelle should be recalled from Brussels. Once Granvelle had left the provinces, the nobles expected that the persecution of the members of the Reformed Religion would wane if not stop completely. Philip was not willing to let rebellious grandees determine his religious and political strategies. In a letter written in the Segovia woods, Philip instructed Margaret of Parma that the heresy placards were to be strictly enforced and that leniency or compromise would be read as weakness on the part of the crown.⁴³³ The nobility quickly reunited and drafted the

⁴³² Tanis and Horst, *Images of Discord*, 92-93.

⁴³³ Philip wrote, “If one fears disturbances there is no reason to think that they are more imminent and will be greater when one does allow the inquisitors to perform their proper duties and when one provides assistance... but I assure you that my orders are designed for the welfare of religion and of my provinces and are worth nothing if they are not obeyed. In this way you can keep my provinces in justice, peace and

Compromise of the Nobility that demanded the end of the Inquisition in the Low Countries and the suspension of the hated heresy placards. Unable to meet the demands of the Spanish king and unwilling to completely bend to the local nobility, Margaret found herself in a difficult position. Philip would not tolerate his subjects openly questioning Habsburg policies. The image of William of Orange and his colleagues that subsequently emerged in Spanish sources was one of a group of ungrateful and self-righteous wealthy men desperately trying to create their own source of power based on weak legal and customary precedent.⁴³⁴ The propaganda machines on both sides of the Dutch Revolt began to work overtime to influence popular opinion.

According to the Spanish sources, heresy and rebellion were the driving forces behind the Dutch Revolt. One of the prominent war chronicles was *Historia de las civiles guerras y*

tranquility.” “Philip II to the duchess of Parma, 17 October 1565,” in Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 53.

⁴³⁴ Alonso de Ulloa, *Comentarios del s. Alonso de Ulloa de la Guerra, que el ilustriss. y valerosiss. Principe Don Hernando Álvarez de Toledo duque de Alva [...] ha hecho contro Guillermo de Nasau principe de Oranges* (Venice, 1569). The Spanish chronicles and pamphleteers first took on the Dutch idea of freedom. Alonso de Ulloa, one of the first Spaniards to address the problems in the Low Countries, pointed first to Martin Luther as the source of the unrest and the corruption of the provinces. Driven by the desire to spread the “false religion”, certain persons led by William of Orange, his brother Louis, the Count of Egmont, and the Count of Hoorne deliberately created civil disturbances and reached beyond their personal authority and wealth. In particular, William of Orange decided to turn his back on his lawful master and attempted to get the States-General to do the same.

rebellion de Flandes written by Pedro Cornejo in 1581.⁴³⁵ Like other Spanish authors of the period, Cornejo distinguished between the rebels—those who had strayed from the true faith and risen in revolt against their rightful sovereign—and the rest of the people.⁴³⁶ Much in the way that French and Netherlandish authors located blame in the evil and corrupt magistrates, Cornejo warned the people of the Low Countries against blindly following a wealthy and charming rebel leader. William of Orange was presented in a negative light in every respect: raised as a heretic from childhood, violated the sacred vows of marriage through his divorce and remarriage, explored different religions, and regularly lied and tricked his people.⁴³⁷ The prince of Orange had a dark reputation in Spanish propaganda that was thoughtfully created to help achieve religious and political ends.

The first attempt on William's life on Sunday, March 18, 1582, was not necessarily surprising considering the amount of violently anti-Orangist literature circulated in the Low Countries and in Spain. William was terribly wounded by the bullet that pierced his neck, went through his mouth without breaking any teeth, and exited out of his cheek. The pamphleteers and other writers took to the streets to spread the news. Some were quick to spread the rumor that the prince and several of his family were dead while others pointed the finger of blame at the Spanish for having encouraged the attempt on Orange's life. Many

⁴³⁵ Other important chronicles include Alonso Ulloa's *Comentarios* (1569), Bernardino de Mendoza's *Comentarios de las guerras de los Países Bajos* (1592), and Antonio Trillo's *Historia de la rebellion y Guerra de Flandes* (1592).

⁴³⁶ Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes: Self and Other in Historical and Literary Texts of Golden Age Spain (c. 1548-1673)* (Oxford and Bern: Peter Lang, 2008), 69.

⁴³⁷ Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt Through Spanish Eyes*, 80-81.

people recognized that it was William's position as Stadtholder—an elected position not based on heredity—that gave him power to lead and knew that the revolt was in trouble if strong leadership did not continue.⁴³⁸ The healing process was slow and painful and although William eventually made a complete recovery, his wife, the princess of Orange died the day after his first public appearance following his recovery, on May 4, 1582.⁴³⁹

Despite the creation by his close advisors of his confident and unwavering mythos, William's political life was consistently dogged by his slow decision making and hesitation in taking chances. It was his reluctance to immediately take action against Philip II in the early years of his leadership that led to people calling him *le taciturne* ('the tight-lipped'), in Dutch *de Zwijger*, and in English 'the Silent.'⁴⁴⁰ Even when Philip's 1580 *Proclamation* offered 25,000 crowns of gold to the person who delivered Orange "unto us quick or dead, or at the least taking his life from him,"⁴⁴¹ the prince still continued to receive petitioners and keep his doors open to the people. Religion had, however, become in the last years of his life a profound and important element, and he accepted the Calvinist doctrine of predestination with logic and consistency enough to believe that taking precautions against an inevitable end was a waste of time.⁴⁴² In 1584 William found himself busy with affairs of state in Delft

⁴³⁸ See Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent*, for extended narration and analysis of the use of magic and conspiracy in the first assassination attempt on the prince of Orange.

⁴³⁹ Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent*, 74.

⁴⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 29.

⁴⁴¹ *The Apologie of Prince William of Orange Against the Proclamation of the King of Spaine*, 165.

⁴⁴² Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 248.

where he stopped on his way to the French border when the Duke of Anjou when received news of William's death.

Tuesday, July 10, 1584 was a rather ordinary day in the life of the fifty-one year old prince of Orange. He met with his officials during the day and settled in for dinner with his family. His new wife, Louise de Coligny—a French Huguenot and daughter of Gaspard de Coligny—was wary of a new figure in the room but William dismissed her concerns. The man who drew her attention was Balthasar Gérard and he had snuck into the noble residence with the purpose of killing William the Silent. A fanatic Catholic, Gérard came from Franche-Comté and was deeply inspired by Philip's *Proclamation*. He slipped into Orange's court, the *Prinsenhof*, by posing as a Huguenot exile eager to assist the patriot's cause.⁴⁴³ As the prince was taking leave of his military officers following dinner, he laid his hand briefly on the head of the kneeling Captain Roger Williams. Gérard pointed his pistol at William's chest and fired at point-blank range (see Figure 19). His single-barrel handgun was loaded with three bullets: two passed through his victim's body and struck the staircase wall; the third lodged in William's chest. The prince collapsed, mortally wounded.⁴⁴⁴ Captain Williams and others apprehended Gérard before he could escape the palace, and Gérard endured horrendous torture before he finally was executed.⁴⁴⁵

⁴⁴³ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 319.

⁴⁴⁴ Jardine, *The Awful End of Prince William the Silent*, 50.

⁴⁴⁵ Gérard's torture and interrogation took place over four days. He spent the first day on the Strappado in the open-air market, the second day he was whipped, salted, and his right hand was cut off. The third day his chest was cut open, salted, and his left hand was removed. On the final day, Gérard was bound between two stakes and heated pinchers of iron were used to pinch and pull pieces of his flesh from his bones across his

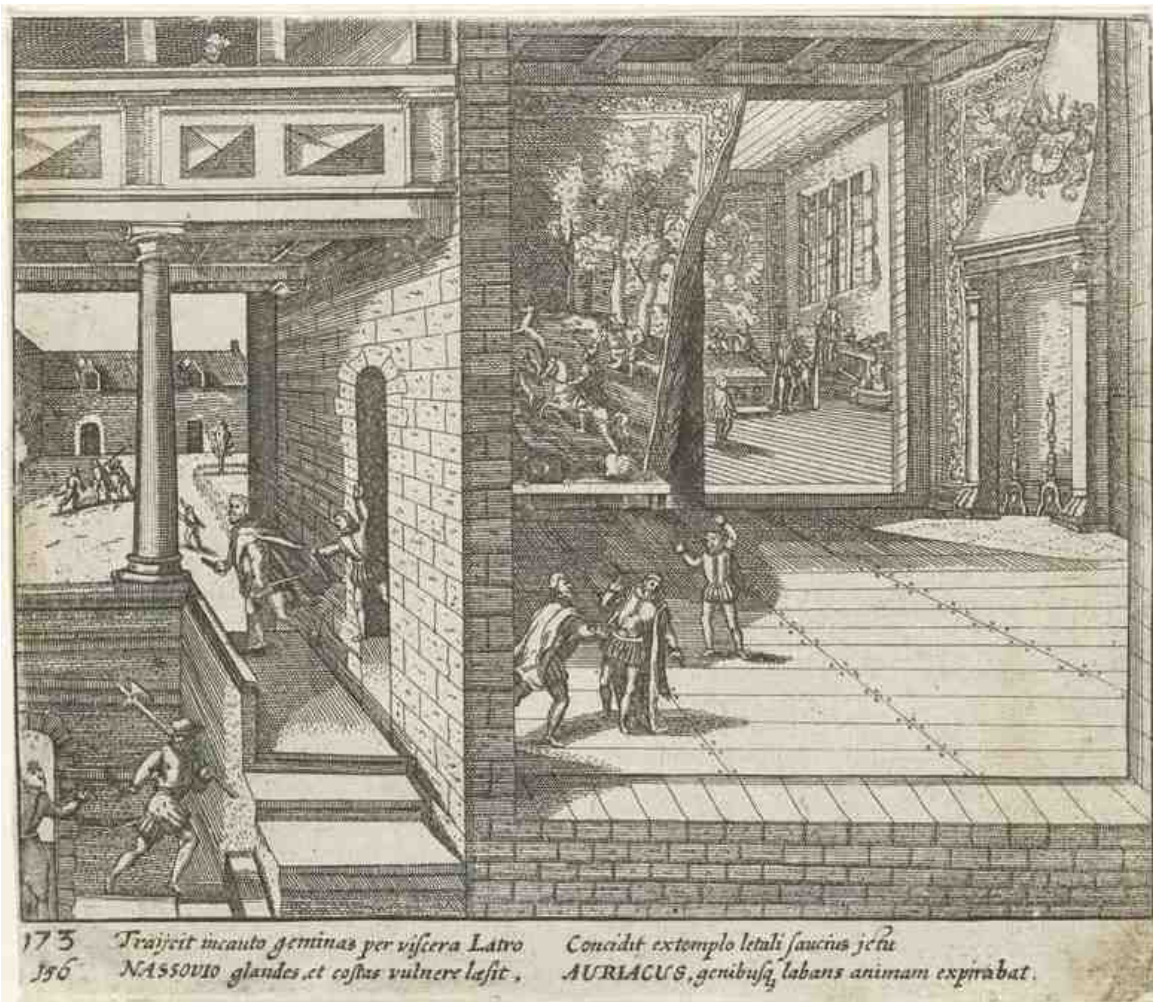


Figure 19. *De moord of Wilhelm van Oranje (The Assassination of William of Orange)*, 1584, Frans Hogenberg. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

The prince allegedly cried, “My God, have mercy on me, I am seriously wounded; My God, have mercy on my soul; My God, have mercy on these poor people!”⁴⁴⁶ His wife, Louise, and her stepdaughters stood unmoving while someone ran for the physician, Peter Forest. Only the Countess of Schwarzenburg knew that there was nothing to be done to save entire body. He was then tied to four stakes on the ground, still conscious, and slowly eviscerated. His bowels were burned before his face and then he was drawn and quartered. *Ibid.*, 59.

⁴⁴⁶ “*Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de moi, je suis grièvement blessé; Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de mon âme; Mon Dieu, ayez pitié de ce pauvre peuple.*” Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 249.

the prince. Kneeling at the foot of the staircase where he had collapsed, she took his hand and spoke low and clear: “Do you die reconciled with your Savior, Jesus Christ?” He opened his eyes and said, “Yes.” William of Orange did not speak again and was dead before Forest arrived.⁴⁴⁷ More than the loss of a husband, father, stepfather, and friend, the Low Countries suffered a terrible loss on the day that Orange was assassinated: the tremulous alliance between the provinces hung in the balance and the opposition to Philip II was suddenly without a leader.

The Netherlandish printing presses went into overdrive and quickly spread the news of the death of William of Orange by the hand of an obsequious follower of Philip II. A pamphlet emerged in 1584 that lamented the loss of the leader of the resistance and the current state of the Low Countries:

It is already a month, or rather almost six weeks ago since our wise prince departed this life. He was the true father and protector of our fatherland and by his unique wisdom and deliberation he was able to steer our ship like a good and sure helmsman in the midst of the terrible thunderstorm and tempest in which we are in danger of being shipwrecked. With God’s help he was able to protect us from being lost. Now the body is without a head, the boat is adrift without a helmsman. We will inevitably perish unless in [the States General’s] wisdom you take the necessary measures as soon as possible.⁴⁴⁸

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid., 250. Other accounts of Orange’s assassination include J.J. Frederiks, ed., *Oorspronkelijke verhalen en gelijktijdige berichten van den moord gepleegd op Willem van Oranje* (Den Haag, 1884), R. Fruin, “De oude verhalen van den moord op prins Willem I,” in R. Fruin, *Verspreide Geschriften*, 10 vols. (The Hague, 1900-1905), and L.J. van der Klooster, “Drie gelijktijdige berichten over de moord op prins Willem van Oranje,” *Jaarboek Vereniging Oranje-Nassau Museum* (1984).

⁴⁴⁸ *Vertooch aen mijn heeren de Staten Generael op de wederoprichtinghe ende behoudenis van den state van de Nederlanden (door eenen Edelman uut Vlaenderen)*, MDLXXXIV. Translated in Kossman and Mellink, *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*, 261.

The people and the presses had created a romantic image of the prince that endured well after his death. His increased glorification, especially in the 1570s after several important victories, sat uneasily beside the reality of the polarized perceptions of him. In his final years, Orange lost the support of the coalition of Catholics and Protestants he had worked to unite against a common enemy. His vision of a unified state secured through a religious peace was unrealized due to a rebellion now almost completely in the hands of urban Calvinists, with most of the Low Countries' nobility, and almost all Catholics, reconciled with the Spanish king.⁴⁴⁹ The confusion following Orange's death left the provinces in chaos. The prince of Parma, Alexander Farnese conquered the rebellious provinces including Flanders and Brabant, Bruges and Ghent fell followed by Brussels and Antwerp in 1585. The immediate consequence for the southern provinces was a dramatic exodus to the north: about half of the population left Ghent and Antwerp lost about 38,000 people—more than a third of its population.⁴⁵⁰

Philip had considered killing William of Orange since at least 1573 when Alva's Council of Troubles had sentenced Orange to death. Requesens and Granvelle suggested the idea to Philip and although he disliked the notion of assassination, he was convinced that the death of Orange was the only way to regain his foothold in the Low Countries. The killing of a tyrant (the word commonly understood to mean anyone who exercised power illegitimately or abused his power: in this case, however, William of Orange was identified as a tyrant) was sanctioned by most theologians, both Catholic and Protestant because in the right situation, it

⁴⁴⁹ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 319.

⁴⁵⁰ Gelderen, *The Dutch Revolt*, xxvii.

might solve a problem and save lives.⁴⁵¹ In Spain, Mira de Amescua's *Lo que le toca al valor y el príncipe de Orange* was the first and only play to deal with William of Orange. Balthasar Gérard was hailed as a hero and martyr for the Catholic cause while the prince was depicted as a lusty philanderer who was distracted by a lady-in-waiting. Amescua lamented that Orange had time to repent before he died a heretic's death.⁴⁵² But the romanticized memory and mythology of William of Orange grew more powerful after his death than the Spanish chroniclers could hope to undo.

Meanwhile, Delft held an extensive and elaborate funeral for the prince of Orange (see Figure 20). The design of the funeral cortege's layout borrowed heavily from Burgundian elements but even more so from Charles V's 1558 royal funeral in Brussels that was memorialized by Johannes and Lucas van Deutecum in an edition printed by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp.⁴⁵³ Orange's Burgundian heritage was strong and the link to Charles V was personal, as shown by his prominent role in the Emperor's life, abdication, and funeral. It was made clear to the audience that Orange had achieved an equal level of political stature and fame as a figure of unmatched importance to Holland and the Revolt.⁴⁵⁴ The long

⁴⁵¹ Kamen notes that although Philip sanctioned Orange's assassination in his *Proclamation*, he preferred to hear about the deed after it was done: "Being told in advance made him a party to the conspiracy, and this he would on no account permit. For the same reason, he rejected a proposal by the duke of Guise to assassinate Elizabeth I of England." Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 255.

⁴⁵² Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt Through Spanish Eyes*, 211-212.

⁴⁵³ Johannes and Lucas van Deutecum, *La magnifique et sumptueuse pompe funèbre de Charles Cinquième*, 1559 (Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam). The Emperor's funeral procession was immortalized in thirty-three copper engravings.

⁴⁵⁴ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 321.

inscription, engraved at the request of the States General, opened nobly to remind the provinces of his value: “To the Glory of God and to the ever-lasting memory of William of Nassau, Father of the Fatherland, who valued the fortunes of the Netherlanders above his own.”⁴⁵⁵ In life the prince of Orange recognized the value of ceremonies and public displays of devotion and victory as important elements in securing the goodwill and faith of the people. After his death, the *ommegangen* or processions took on a more symbolic role in terms of sustaining the unity and energy of the weakening resistance.

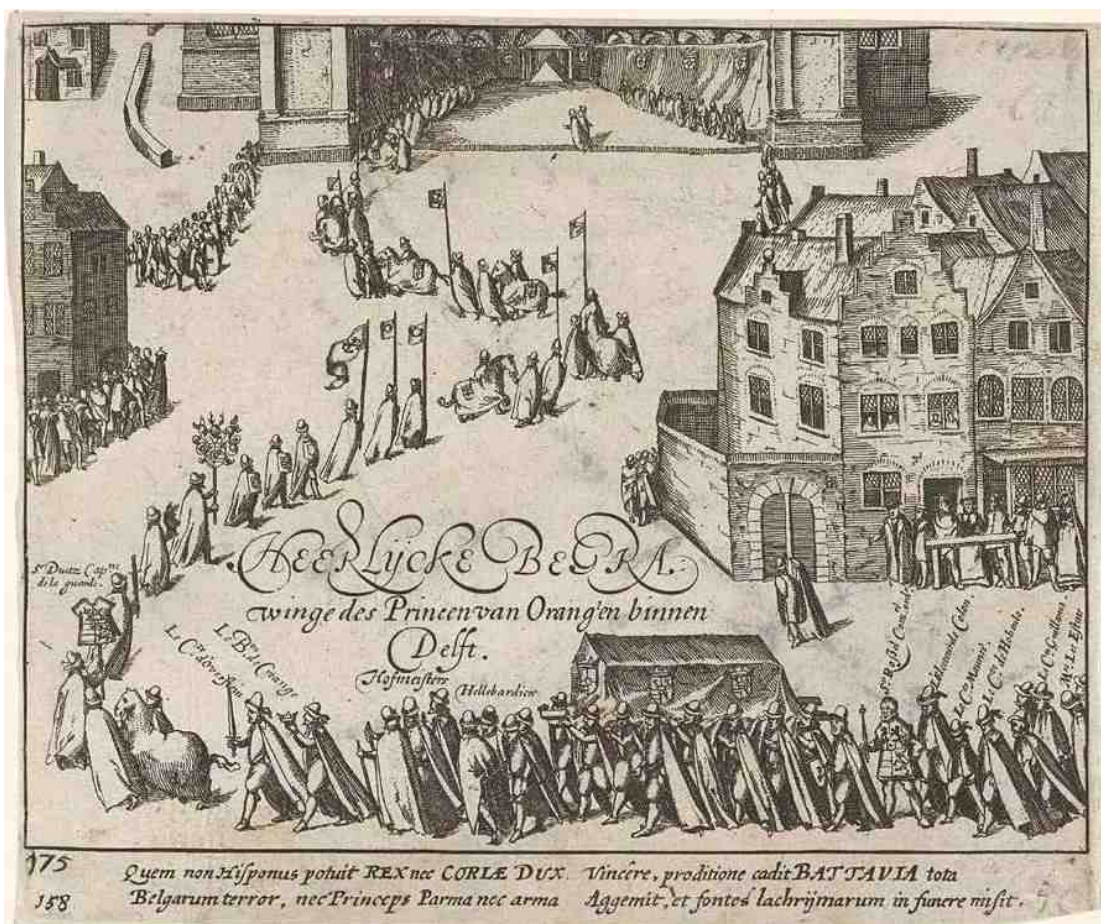


Figure 20. *Begrafenis van Willem van Oranje (Funeral of William of Orange)*, 1584, Frans Hogenberg. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

⁴⁵⁵ Wedgwood, *William the Silent*, 252.

The inhabitants of the Low Countries still held on to the hope and significance represented by William's funeral. It not only proved to the people that their leader was in fact dead, but it also reminded them of their oaths of fealty to the man and, more importantly, to the revolt. The moment that the people saw the casket marked the passing of the funeral rites from the domain of religious and government elites into a more public sphere.⁴⁵⁶ Funeral processions created a collective memory of the deceased by reminding the people for what that particular figure stood. In the event of Orange's assassination he became a martyr for the ideas that they had suffered and bled for: freedom of conscience, popular sovereignty, and public peace. The end of his life represented a victory for fanatical Catholicism and the extents to which Philip II was willing to go in order to establish his authority. William's advisors had carefully crafted his public image during his life and after his death they elevated him to martyrdom.

The mythology of William of Orange was created by advisors and literary figures who surrounded him on a daily basis. His tendency to hesitate before making critical decisions was one of his most frustrating characteristics and even contributed to his moniker among the people, 'William the Silent'. The greatest challenge faced by the leaders of the resistance in the Low Countries was to unite Catholics and Protestants against a larger enemy, Philip II. The works written by and about Orange drew on the importance of ideas that united the provinces rather than the differences that separated them. The Orangists and their leader strove to point out that should Philip and his corrupt governors-general and his mutinous armies and his misguided magistrates be allowed to rule in the Netherlands, even

⁴⁵⁶ Iain Fenlon, *The Ceremonial City: History, Memory and Myth in Renaissance Venice* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2007), 136.

those who allied with the Spanish throne would be cast into darkness alongside the Protestants and rebels. While some Spanish chronicles distinguished between those who were loyal to the crown and those who rebelled, Philip's policies were forcefully enacted on all of his subjects. While his propagandists and political activists worked hard to create a strong and untarnished public image for Orange, he himself had known that the Low Countries could not long resist Spanish armies on their own. His efforts to involve foreign powers in the struggle, either as mediators to deflect the wrath of Philip II or as allies to divert his resources, had been inconsistent at best. None of those overtures succeeded in creating an alliance that would permanently divert Spain's attentions from the Low Countries.⁴⁵⁷ The Treaty of Nonsuch signed by Elizabeth I the year after Orange's assassination was the strongest instance of foreign aid and dramatically changed Spain's political, religious, and military situations within only a few years.

William of Orange was the best figurehead to lead the Dutch revolt because he represented the evolving concerns of the sixteenth century and of the Reformation. He was neither a fanatic nor careless, but embraced religion as befit his political and ethical standards. Because he came from noble lineage, Orange's politics were not colored by desire for wealth or land. Indeed his reputation as the champion of the people was one of the strongest and most sympathetic elements of his public image. He was also cautious in the theater of war and principally wanted to establish public peace. The prince was intimately involved in the important decrees, unions, councils, and assemblies of his lifetime and was respected by prolific and controversial figures. The legacy of the 'Father of the Fatherland' was that the prince met many of the lofty expectations that his advisors created in his

⁴⁵⁷ Parker, *Spain and the Netherlands, 1559-1659*, 50-51.

mythology. In life and in death, William of Orange was the personification of the goals of toleration, freedom, and self-governance that were at the core of the Dutch Revolt.

Epilogue

In the months before his death, Orange had become convinced that the best course of action was to form an alliance with the French: he was confident that it was better for the Low Countries to be under the rule of the French king rather than Philip II of Spain. In his final years, Orange lost the support of the coalition of Catholics and Protestants he had labored to stitch together. His vision of a unified state secured through religious toleration was unrealized due to a rebellion now almost completely in the hands of urban Calvinists, with most of the Netherlands' nobility, and almost all Catholics, reconciled with the Spanish king.⁴⁵⁸ It appeared that the provinces had collectively agreed upon the importance of establishing public peace and Orange's habits of vacillating over important political decisions had overtaken his ability to make effective changes. Unable to accept defeat, however, he later changed his mind, decided to override Anjou's pending appointment and, with the support of the States of Holland and Zeeland, Orange put himself forward as the 'count of Holland and Zeeland' with sovereign rights over the two provinces. The pending alliance with the Duke of Anjou was nullified.⁴⁵⁹ The plan to elevate Orange ended abruptly when he was assassinated in 1584. Orange's funeral brought in a new era in the political

⁴⁵⁸ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 319.

⁴⁵⁹ Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 216.

chapter of the Low Countries: it captured both the persistence of public ceremonial forms⁴⁶⁰ and the vitality of the House of Nassau as the locus of princely charisma.⁴⁶¹

The States General of Holland, while devastated by the loss of Orange, immediately took action and sent a letter to Brabant, where the Spanish troops were encircling Antwerp, and urged the States there not to give up the struggle but to fight on “for the defense and liberation of the country against Spanish tyranny.”⁴⁶² The ideals of independence and the Dutch notions of constitutionalism were guaranteed by the States General’s decision to continue to pursue the revolt despite the loss of their leader. As presented in Chapter Six, William’s mythology was designed to inspire and to establish a legacy of freedom and autonomy: in death, Orange became more powerful as a martyr for the revolt. The ‘paper war’ that circulated constitutional ideals and Calvinist rhetoric continued to be waged. However, it is important to notice the change in audience targeted by the pamphleteers.

Although the element of persuasion was a fundamental feature of the literature published between 1550 and 1598, the pamphlets were not aimed at the Spanish loyalists or Catholics living in the Low Countries. The Protestants and those who supported the States General and the creation of a constitutional form of government were the target audience for the pamphlets. Following the assassination of Orange, the authors, intellectuals, and leaders of the rebellion had to actively prove to their supporters that the cause was still worth

⁴⁶⁰ See Chapter Six, “‘They See That Which I Have Done, They Can Not Iudge My Heart’: The Mythology of William of Orange,” for an analysis of Burgundian funerary elements and the importance of processions in sustaining the resistance effort in the Low Countries after 1584.

⁴⁶¹ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*, 321.

⁴⁶² Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 216-17.

fighting for. Just as the Spanish waged a propaganda war in the Low Countries and at home, so did the States General and the pamphleteers: for both the Spanish and the Low Countries, the pamphlets functioned to reinforce support for the existing regime rather than be spread far and wide in order to win over the hearts and minds of their enemies.⁴⁶³ Without its princely *vader*, Orange, and with grief-stricken Philip of Marnix positioned as acting mayor, Antwerp quickly found itself surrounded by Spanish forces and the city fell on August 1, 1585. Marnix's years working as a diplomat for Orange made him well suited to negotiation and reconciliation. The end result was a demonstration of political pragmatism: Alessandro, Duke of Parma, confirmed the city's beloved privileges and offered Calvinists and other Protestants four years to either embrace Catholicism or emigrate.⁴⁶⁴ Meanwhile, Philip II reevaluated the situation in the Low Countries from his throne in Spain.

Philip focused his gaze on England in the latter half of the 1580s: he was careful not to underestimate the danger of a possible alliance between Elizabeth and the provinces. After the death of Orange in 1584, the States General's attempts to avoid internal discord proved somewhat fruitless and Philip further committed himself to his plan of war. Although several foreign powers had offered aid and potential sovereigns to the Low Countries since 1572, they had always been discreet. Elizabeth had bound herself by the Treaty of Nonsuch in

⁴⁶³ Stensland, *Habsburg Communication in the Dutch Revolt*, 110. Stensland argues that although rebel [Protestant] pamphlets were indeed more numerous, they did not all sing along to the same tune. In contrast, although the loyalist material was not nearly as internally diverse nor as numerous, it did to a greater extent speak with one voice, and one voice only. *Ibid.*, 112.

⁴⁶⁴ Over 40,000 citizens of Antwerp left the city after 1585. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 324.

August 1585 to maintain 6,350 footmen and 1,000 horsemen in Holland, and to pay one-quarter of the total cost of the war against Spain.⁴⁶⁵ Philip began planning the invasion of England in 1586.

Undoubtedly the 1588 failure of the Spanish Armada was one of Philip's toughest losses. The execution of Mary, Queen of Scots in 1587 compounded Spain's struggles with the English monarch. Philip suffered the same bouts of gout as had his father, Charles V, and he was also sixty years old. Poor counseling, ill-advised delays of the launching of the Armada, and misguided hope kept the campaign from success.⁴⁶⁶ Many of the ships were lost and casualties were high after the battle: Parma was unable to reach the Spanish fleet to offer assistance, while stalwart resistance from the English galleons, and unfortunate weather patterns and Atlantic storms doomed the campaign. The failure of his fleet to land in England, which Philip attributed to the negative intervention of Providence, did not shake his

⁴⁶⁵ Parker, *Spain and the Netherlands, 1559-1659*, 34-35. Reflecting on the challenges of writing the history of the Dutch Revolt or any aspect of early modern European history, Parker wrote, "Were those enormous theses, sometimes running to over 1,000 pages even on relatively minor topics, really the best way of presenting history to the public? 'Total history', it has been observed, can easily become 'endless history'. And in truth, for the early modern period, it is also doomed to be incomplete: until the nineteenth century at least, there is simply not enough surviving data to permit the historian, however devoted his team of colleagues and however generous his financial resources, to study with confidence every group of people, let alone every person, in a given period or society, however minute." *Ibid.*, 13.

⁴⁶⁶ Kamen, *Philip of Spain*, 271-277.

determination to fight Elizabeth, and the Netherlands sank further still in his list of priorities.⁴⁶⁷

Although Philip lived for another ten years, the loss of the Armada increased domestic discontent and threatened the quasi-stability established in the Low Countries. Combined with his determination to enforce his ideological and political principles on his subjects everywhere, Philip found himself overstretched militarily and simply unable to focus on issues in the provinces and unable to offer adequate support to his army in the Low Countries. The historians Fernando González de León and Geoffrey Parker argue that this ‘materialistic model’ of Philip’s role in the Dutch Revolt overlooks a variety of important factors: First, Spain came within a hair’s breadth of victory on all fronts in the Netherlands in 1568, 1572, 1575, and 1585; second, Alva’s brutal persecution of the Protestants was the linchpin in driving the provinces together and Alva had acted against Philip’s advice in that matter; finally, the scholars argue that Philip’s decisions, delays, failures, and triumphs sprang from his political and ideological considerations, not from economic or military factors.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁶⁷ Fernando González de León and Geoffrey Parker, “The Grand Strategy of Philip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands,” in Darby, *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*, 125.

⁴⁶⁸ González de León and Parker, “The Grand Strategy of Philip II and the Revolt of the Netherlands,” 126-27. González de León and Parker argue that the variety of geopolitical situations in which Philip found himself involved during the sixteenth century accounts for his inability to capture and control the Low Countries. I disagree that the Low Countries was a ‘trap’ for Philip but propose rather that he failed to recognize that his policy of centralization would never work in a decentralized country. Perhaps it was also a misstep to underestimate the importance of public peace, political autonomy, and the States General. Even had Philip

From the beginning of the revolt, Dutch authors built their conceptions of good government on the constitutional legacy of their provinces and cities, which, as elsewhere, consisted of the great charters of the late medieval period.⁴⁶⁹ Charters such as the *Blijde Inkomst* (Joyous Entry) represented the political views that were most important to the towns and provinces of the Low Countries: protection of customary privileges and rights, political autonomy, and constitutional governance. While the Dutch Revolt did not formally conclude until 1648 at the Peace of Münster, political thought continued to evolve. The works of Hugo Grotius were the culmination of the literary struggles between the Low Countries and Spain. Grotius's theories of civil power defended the authority of the States General with references to the old charters, and Grotius also upheld the doctrine that "had maximum support among the Spaniards themselves that the power which has been given to the prince can be revoked, particularly when the prince exceeds his bounds, because then *ipso facto* he ceases to be regarded as a prince... He who abuses supreme power renders himself unworthy of it, and ceases to be a prince in consequence of what he does to make himself a tyrant."⁴⁷⁰ The Dutch Wars of Independence concluded by reinforcing the constitutional values and principles that had been molded and refined between 1550 and 1598.

single-mindedly applied his resources and attention to conquering the Low Countries, the biggest problem was a lack of conciliation between his religio-political goals and those of his subjects in the provinces.

⁴⁶⁹ These included the charters of 1477 and the famous Joyous Entry of Brabant, to which every duke of Brabant had to take a solemn oath on the occasion of his inauguration by the States of the duchy. Philip II took the oath in 1549. Martin van Gelderen, "From Domingo de Soto to Hugo Grotius: Theories of Monarchy and Civil Power in Spanish and Dutch Political Thought, 1555-1609," in Darby, *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*, 155.

⁴⁷⁰ Gelderen, "From Domingo de Soto to Hugo Grotius," 165.

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By engaging with the vast body of pamphlet literature, rarely seen engravings and images, personal and official correspondence between leading figures, edicts and proclamations, visual renderings and written accounts of public ceremonials, and songs, poems, and placards published between 1550 and 1598, this dissertation endeavored to create a comprehensive analysis of the religio-political relations and social change in the Low Countries. This dissertation complements modern historiography by providing a more fully developed portrayal of the perspectives of Protestants living in the provinces during the revolt. I attempted to identify a unified theory of constitutionalism in the Low Countries during the period of rebellion, and demonstrated that argument by analyzing the content of Reformed Protestant political pamphlets alongside engravings and images. By working with a variety of interpretations of the Dutch Revolt in theory, print, image, and perception, this dissertation explored the motivation and justification behind the “Black Legend” narrative that portrayed the inhabitants of the Low Countries as ‘good’ and Philip II and his supporters as ‘evil’.

The dissertation evaluated the premises that appeared most consistently in the literature and images circulated during the Dutch Revolt: strategy and communication, sovereignty and constitutionalism, freedom of conscience, political theory in the Low Countries, rites of power, and the creation of popular mythology. Whether within the borders of the individual provinces or the *vaderland* of the Low Countries at large, the conscious creation of Protestant identity and authority demonstrated how communication between the Low Countries’ subjects, their representative institutions, and their sovereign came to define the development of the Dutch Revolt.

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appaiser, et y mettre fin. À Dovay, 1579. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Dutch Pamphlets, KW Pflit 00513.

Emmery de Lyere et Marnix de Sainte Aldegonde: Un admirateur de Sebastien Franck et de

Montaigne aux prises avec le champion des calvinistes néerlandais. [Emmery de Lyere] Antidote ou contrepoison contres les conseils sanguinaires et envenimez de Philippe de Marnix Sr. de Ste. Aldegonde. Edited and with an Introduction by C. Kramer. The Hague: Martinus Nihjoff, 1971.

D'executie van Iustitie, tot onderhoudinge vande publieke en christelicke vrede in Engelandt

ghedaen/ teghen seker oproermakers/ ende aenhanghers vande Verra ders ende vyanden des Rijcks/ sonder eentghe ver volghinghe der seluer/ om eenige question die de Religie aengaen/ gelrick by de voorstaenders/ en de gene die haer verraderye gonstich zyn/ valscelick naar beseght en vuyt gegheuen wordt. Ouergheset vuyt het Enghelsche. Middelbvrgh, By Richardt Schilders, Drucker der Staten van Zeelandt. 1584. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 715.

Fidelle exhortation aux inhabitans du pais bas, contre les vains et faux espoirs dont leurs

opresseurs les font amuser. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Dutch Pamphlets, Knuttel Collection, 171.

- Fontanus, Saxus. *Die Grootte Prognosticatie ofte Practica/ op dat Jaer naerder ghevoorte onses here Iesu Christi M.DV. LXXXJJJJ*. Ghedruckt tot Amstelredam by Cornelis Claesz, opt water int Schrifboeck. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 3006.
- Franklin, Julian H., ed. *Constitutionalism and Resistance in Sixteenth-Century France: Three Treatises by Hotman, Bézac, and du Plessis-Mornay*. New York: Pegasus, 1969.
- Een goede vvaerschouwinghe voor den borgheren, ende besonder dien vanden leden van Antwerpen, dat sy hen niet en souden laten verlocken met het soet aengheven vande bedriechlijcke artijkelen van peyse, onlancx ghecomen van Cuelen, MDLXXIX*. Ghedruckt, s.n. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Tiele 108.
- Gelderen, Martin van, ed. and trans. *The Dutch Revolt*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Grace et pardon general donné par la Maiesté de Roy Catholique: à cause des troubles et seditions suruenus en Flandres et pays circonuoisins*. Lyon, 1570. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 00182.
- Granvelle, Antoine Perrenot de. *Papiers d'État du Cardinal Granvelle: D'Après les manuscrits de la Bibliothèque de Besançon, publiés sous la direction de M. Ch. Weiss, Tome IV*. Paris: Imprimerie Royale, 1841.
- Griffiths, G. ed. *Representative Government in Western Europe in the Sixteenth Century: Commentary and Documents for the Study of Comparative Constitutional History*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.
- Grotius, Hugo. *The Free Sea*. Translated by Richard Hakluyt. Edited and with an Introduction by David Armitage. Indianapolis: Liberty Fund, 2004.

_____. *Prolegomena to the Law of War and Peace*. With an Introduction by Edward Dumbauld. New York: The Liberal Arts Press, 1957.

D. Gvilielmi Nassavii Principis Avrantii &c. Germaniam Inferiorem libertati vindicantis. Ad Ordines et popvlvm denvntiatio. 1572, 16 Iunij. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Number Unknown.

La justification du prince d'Oranges, contre les faulx blasmes, que ses calumnieurs taschent à luy imposer à tort Place. 1568. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Dutch Pamphlets, 00159.

Kohler, Alfred, ed. *Quellen zur Geschichte Karls V*. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1990.

Kossman, E.H., and A.F. Mellink, eds. *Texts Concerning the Revolt of the Netherlands*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974.

Landwehr, John. *Emblem Books in the Low Countries, 1554-1949*. Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1970.

Lettre contenant le claircissement des actions et deportemens de monsieur filz & frère de Roy Duc d'Anjou, d'Alençon, &c. Tant pour le regard des choses qui sont auenues es guerres ciuiles de la France, comme en ce qui concerne le faict & deffence des pays bas contre les Espagnols. À Roven. Pour Iean Ysoret. L'An 1578. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 350.

Lettres contenant un advis de l'estat auquel sont les affaires des Païs-Bas tant pour le regard des principales provinces et villes en particulier, comme de toutes ensemble en general, avecq la recherche du party, le plus prompt et plus assuré, que les Estats puissent prendre contre l'Espagnol, pour leur conseruation et salut. MDLXXIX A

- Reims. De l'imprimerie de François du Pré, 1578. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, K7394 [C2-Ds 1].
- Lettres des princes electeurs, assemblez a cologne pour accorder la Pais des Paix Bas...*
Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, R16.25.
- Lettres interceptes de quelques Patriots masques.* Imprime en l'An MDLXXX. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, A77.
- Listes des moyens generavx, resolvs par son Alteze, Monseigneur le Prince d'Oranges, le conseil d'Estat, & les Estatz generaux.* À Anvers, de l'Imprimerie de Christofle Plantin, Imprimeur du Roy. M.D. LXXVIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 351.
- Marnix, Philips van, van Sint Aldegonde. *Advis d'un affectionne au bien publique a la Bourgeoisie d'Anvers.* En Anvers, Par Abraham de Doremael. Le 19 Julliet 1580.
Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Rare Book Collection, E107519 [C2-547 d].
- _____. *Antwoorde op een cleyn boecxken onlancx wt ghegheuen, ghenoeemt de Declaratie vande meyninge van heer Don Jan van Oostenrijck: hier achter by ghevoecht: Inde welcke claerlick ontdeect wort de waerachtige meyninge vanden seluen H. Don Juan.*
Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 343.
- _____. *The Beehive of the Romish Church.* With Revised Text and Notes by Martin B. Pigott III. Raleigh, NC: Lulu Press, 2008.
- _____. *De bijenkorf der Heilige Roomsche Kerke, met inleiding en varianten, 2 delen.*
Bewerkt door A. Lacroix & A. Willems. Brussels: Ter drukkerij van Fr. van Meenen, 1858.

- _____. *Bref recit de l'estat de la ville d'anvers, du temps de l'assiegement & rendition d'icelle. Servant en lieu de Apologie pour Philippe de Marnix Sieur de Mont Sainct Aldegonde, contre ses accusateurs, au regard de l'administration qu'il y a eue.* MDLXXXV. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, B88672 [SO-231 e].
- _____. *Discours d'un gentil-homme amateur de la patrie et du repos public, sur le fait de la paix et de la guere en ces pays-bas.* Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 705.
- _____. *Godsdienstige en kerkelijke geschriften voor het eerst of in herdruk uitgegeven met historische inleiding en taalkundige opheldering.* Door J.J. Van Toorenenbergen. 'S Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1878.
- _____. *Lettre contenant un avis de l'estat auquel sont les affaires des Païs-Bas, tant pour le regard des principals provinces et villes en particulier, comme de toutes ensemble en generale, avecq la recherche du party, le plus prompt el plus asseure, que les Estats puissent prendre contre l'Espagnol, pour leur conservation et salut, MDLXXXVIII.* Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 358.
- _____. *Lettre d'un gentilhomme vray patriot, a messieurs les etats generaulx assemblez en la ville d'Anvers.* Anno MDLXXXIX. Museum Plantin-Moretus, Number R16.25.
- _____. *Lettre d'un gentilhomme, vray patriot, au messieurs les estats generaulx assemblez en la ville d'Anvers.* Anno MDLXXIX. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Rare Book Collection, K49133 [C2-538 e].
- _____. *Oraison des ambassadeurs du serenissime prince Matthias archiduc d'austriche &c Gouverneur des pais bas: & des Estats generaux desdits pais, Recitee en la diette tenue à VVormes deuant les conseillers deputez par les princes electeurs, & autres*

- ambassadeurs ...l'an ... M.D.LXXVIII. le VII. iour de May. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 355.*
- _____. *Remonstrance serieuse sur l'estat de la chrestienté: et des moyens de la conservation et salut d'icelluy, dedié Aux tres-puissans et tres-illustres Roys, Princes, Potentats, et aultres Estats de la Chrestienté. Par un gentil-homme Allemand amateur de sa patrie. MDLXXXIII. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Rare Book Collection, K72629 [C2-545].*
- _____. *Remonstrance sérievse sur l'Estat de la Chrestienté: & des moyens de la conseruation & salut d'icelluy, dédié Aus tres-puissans & tres-illustres Roys, Princes, Potentats, & aultres Estats de la Chrestienté. Par vn Gentil-homme Allemand amateur de sa patrie. M.D. LXXXIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 628.*
- _____. *Response d'un bon patriot et bourgeois de la ville de Gand au libelle fameux intitule Avis d'un bourgeois de la ville de Gand, qui se resent amerement des calamitez de sa ville, MDLXXXIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 633.*
- _____. *Response a vn libelle famevx nagveres pvblié contre Monseigneur le Prince d'Orenge, & intitulé. Lettres d'un gentil-homme vray patriot &c. faicte Par Philippe de Marnix, Seigneur du Mont Ste Aldegonde Conseillier d'estat, A messieurs les Estats generaulx du pays-bas. Avec ledit libelle icy joint à la fin. Imprimé en Anuers, chez Giles vanden Rade. L'an M.D. LXXIX. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Tiele 200.*
- _____. *Vraye Narration et apologie des choses passées au Pays-bas, touchant le Fait de la Religion, en l'an 1566. Par cevs qui font profession de la Religion reformée audit Pays. Imprime en l'an MDLXVII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 150.*

Meijer, Marijke, and Els Stronks, eds. *Wat wonders, wat nieuws! De zeventiende eeuw in pamfletten*. Amsterdam: Athenaeum – Polak & Van Genneep, 2002.

Nederlandse Emblemata: Loemlezing uit de Noord- en Zuidnederlandse Emblemata-Literatuur van de 16de en 17de eeuw. Samengesteld door P.J. Meertens met medewerking van Hilary Sayles. Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1983.

Nederlantsche Oorloghen, beroerten, ende Borgelijcke oneenicheyden, Beginnende mette Opdrachte der selver Landen/gedaen by Keyser Karel de V. aenzijnen zoon Koninck Philippus van Spangien/ tot de dwevige door van zijn Excell. Willem Prince van Orangien hoogl. Memor. Beschreven door Pieter Bor Christiaenz. Tot Leyden by Govert Basson. Tot Amsterdam by Michiel Colyn. 1621. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSIA 702.

Een nieuwe Prognosticatie vanden wonderlijcken ende ellendighen Jar eons Heeren 1578. Ghecalculeert by M. Niclaes Bazelius, Medecijn ende Chirurgijn ordinaris der Stede ende Casselrye van Sinte VVinox-Bergen in VVest-Vlaenderen. Tantwerpen, inde Lelie-bloeme, 1578. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 326.

A noz treschiers & bien amez, Les President & gens du Conseil du Roy en Flandres. Don Loys de Reqvesens et de Cuniga, grand Commandeur de Castille, &c. Lieutenant, Gouverneur & capitaine general, 1573. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 194.

Opie vanden eedt/ ghearresteert by den Magistraet deser Stadt, op den XXV. Octob. 1584. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 594.

Ordinancie, statvyt ende Policie Ghemaect byden Coninck onsen aldergenadichsten Heere, op tfeyt vande contracten vande assurencien ende verfekeringen in dese Nederlanden. Thantwerpen, ghebruct by Christoffel Plantin. Met Preuilegie. 1570. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, 170.

Ordinantie inhoudende die Oude en Nieuuwe Poincten, van onser Brouvven Ommeganck, der Stadt van Antwerpen, Gheschit inden Iare, 1564. Gheprint thantwerpen, inde Cammerstrate inde Rape, by Hans de Laet. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 112.

Ordinancien en de Statuten by der Keyserlicker Maiesteyt ghegheur inde Stadt van Utrecht/ den xxx dach van Januario in t'jaar ons heeren Dusent vijfhondert enee XLVI... Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, R14.36.

Ordinnances de monsieur le Prince d'Orange svr le fait de la police en zeelande, ov il est traité de l'obseruation du Sabbath, des assemblees secretes, des Mariages & autres points seruans à la gloire de Dieu & au bien public. Translatees nouvellement du Flameng, par Daniel de nielles, Ministre de la parole de Dieu en l'Eglise Françoise de Middelbvrgh. Middelbvrgh, Chez Richard Schilders, Imprimeur des Estats de Zeelande. 1599. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 534.

Ordinantie ende placcaet ghepubliceert binnen der Stadt Utrecht uit den ende van weggen des overluchtighen ende hoochge boren heeren nijn here die Prince van Orangien Grave van Nassau. Ridder vander oorde van den gulden vliefe/ Stadth ouder ende Capiteyn generael Co. Ma. Ouer Bourgundien/Hollant/Zeelant Overtvrieslant ende

Utrecht. Gheprent tot Utrecht. Int ulieghent herte, 1566. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 130.

Ordonnance et declaration nouvelle dv Roy svr l'entretenelement de la Pacification de gand, & assurance y ensuyuie, de ne traffiquer ou communiquer avec l'ennemy, ne prescher ou proferer quelzques paroles ou actes scandaleux tendans à sedition ou distraction du respect & obeissance deuë à son Alteze monsieur le Prince d'Orenge & aux Estatz generaulx de pardeça, ensemble de fair iurer à tous l'Edicte Pacification. En Anvers, De l'Imprimerie de Christofle Plantin. M.D. LXXVIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Voet 2019.

L'ordonnance et edict de l'empereur Charles le Quint, renouvelle au mois d'Avril.

MCCCCC. Cinquante, pour l'extirpation des sects et erreurs pullulez contre nostre sainte foy catholiue, et les constitutions et d'ordonnances de notre mere sainte eglise... Avec le Cathologie des livres reprouvez et prohibez, et aussi des bons livres qui se devouront lire et enseigner aux ieunes escoliers, par l'advis de L'universite de Louvain. Imprime audict Louvain par Srevais Saßenus imprimerur Iure, Par commandement desa Maieste. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, B2169.

Ordonantie inhoudende de nievv Poincten vanden Ommeganck half Oogst, Anno. 1566.

Ghenaempt den Tyt present. Gheprint Thantwerpen by Hans de laet, opdie Lombaerde Veste, inden Sayer. 1566. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 134.

Ordonnance edict et decret du Roy nostre Sire sur le faict de la iustice criminelle es Pays-

Bas. En Anvers de l'imprimerie de Christofle Plantin, Imprimeur du Roy. 1570. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, Rare Book Collection, A53.

Ordonnance et Edict touchant l'ordre et Rigle a observer par les gens de guerre: ensemble sur les foulles & oultraiges que iceulx gens de guerre, & vagabondz, & autres mauuais garnemens font aux pources subiectz des pays de pardeça. A Anvers, de l'Imprimerie de Christofle Plantin, Imprimeur du Roy. M.D. LXXVIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 364.

Ordonnance, statvt et Edict provisional du Roy nostre Sire, sur le faict & conduyte des Imprimeurs, Libraires & Maistres d'escolle. Avec preuilege de sa Maiesté. Imprimé en la ville de Bruxelles, par Michiel de Hamont, Imprimeur juré, demeurant sur le Pongelmerct, ou soubz la Maison d'icelle Ville. L'an M.D. LXX. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 164.

Ordonnancie aengaende de wake. Gheboden ende wtgheroepen by here Ian van Ymmerssele, Riddere, heerevan Boudries, Schoutet, Borghemeesteren, Schepenen ende Rade der stadt van Antvverpen, Open x. dach Nouembris. MDLXIII. Ghedruct tot Andtwerpen opde Camerpoort-brugghe inden gulden Enghel, by Willem Siluius, Drucker der 1564. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 113.

Ordonnantie van de Polityen/ Binnen Hollant. In s'graven-haghe, by Hillerant Iacobssen, Ordinaris ende Ghesworen Drucker vande Ed. Mog. Heeren Staten van Hollandt ende VVest-Brieslandt. Anno 1617. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 442.

Orange, William I. *Advis dv prince d'Orange svr les trovbles exites par le dvc d'Aniov es Pais Bas le XVII de ianvier 1583.* 1583. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Dutch Pamphlets, KW Pfl 00663.

_____. *De verantwoordinge des princen van Oraengien, teghen de valsche logenen, daer mede sijn wedersprekers hem soecken t'onrechte te beschuldighen.* Wesel: A. van Hasselt, 1568. The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek Dutch Pamphlets, KW Pflf 00160.

Petit traicte servant d'instruction a messieurs les estatz et tous bons patriots, à fin qu'ils s'efforcent pour remectre le país en repos par moyen d'une paix asseuree sans se laisser abuser des offres amiellees qui ne tendent que pour nous reduire soubz le ioug de la pristine servitude. À Gand, Chez Iean Mareschal. 1579. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Petit 290.

Placcaert vande Staten Generael vande Gheunieerde Nederlanden: byden vvwelcken... men verklaert den coninck van Spaegnien vervallen vande overheyt ende heerschappije van dese voorsz. Nederlanden, Leyden 1581. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, University Library Pamphlets, PAMFLT 1581: 4.

Placcaet ende Ordinantie onff heeren des Conincx/ aengaende de Annotatie/ opserijuijge/ faisissement/ toeflachen denunciatie/ vande Ruerende ende onruerende goeden. Mitgaders vande Actie en Recht den Rebellen oft weder Spenningen/ en anderen zijner Maiesteyts regen partie houdende/ ende heuren aen hengeren/ toehoirende ende competerende. Met preuilegie der Co. Maiesteyt. Gheprint tot Brussele/ by Michiel van Hamont/ gesooren drucker der Con. Maiest. M.D. lxxij. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Tiele 122.

Placcaet vande Generale Staten Slants ende Graeffelickheys van Zeelandt, Opt verbot vande Heelsche, Berghsche, Bommelsche, ende Batenvorghsche Daelders/ ende Stuyuers/ binner de Prouintie van Zeelandt. Met consent vande Staten van Zeelandt. Ghedruet

tot Middelburgh, by Rich. Schilders, woenende ins-graue Strate. 1582. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 481.

Placcaet ons Heeren des Coniner/ teghens de Rebelle die vy vonisse verclaert zijn ghebannen/ om tseyt van coniuratie/ tdragen van wapenen oft anderssins gecommitteert te hebbene t'Criem van Lese Maiest. Acten eyude dat niemant eenich verstant/ correspondentie oft practijcke metten seluen houden oft gebruycken en sal. Ghepubliceert ende afgelesen Thantwerpen/ presentien van Jonckeren Dierick vander Meeren/ Inderschoutet der seluer Stadt. Thantwerpen/ Gheprint inde Cammerstrate int Muelenysen by Jan Derwithaghen/ gheswoten boerduicker der Conincklijcker Maiesteyt. Anno. M.D. LXVIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 152.

Placcaet ende Ordinantie ons Heeren des Conincx/ op die verclaringhe der Confiscatien. Gheprent Ishertoghen Bossche, by my Ian Schoeffer. Int. Missael. Anno. M.D. LXXXII. Met Gratie ende Preuilegie. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 490.

Placcaet op te rebelle vanden Spaignaerden met heuren aenhangeren/ ende resistencie tegen de selue ende des dyen aencleeft. Gheprent inde Princelijcke Stadt van Bruesselle/ by my Michiel van Hamont/ geworen Drucker der Co. Maiesteyt. Anno. M.D. LXXVI. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 254.

Placcaet van geen Verstant noch Correspondentie te houden/ noch hulpe ended Gystant te beewijsen den rebellen/ weder Spannighen ende ghevannen om die voorleden troublen ende Geruerten. Geprent tot Delft. n.d. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 153.

Placcart et ordonnance dv roy nostre sire, pour remedier aux Saccaigemens, Pilleries & Tuynes des Temples, Eglises, Cloistres & Monasteres. Et donner ordre à l'Emotion populaire, en ce Pays d'embas. Auec Preuilege de son Alteze. Imprime en la ville de Bruxelles/ par Michiel de Hamont, Imprimeur iure demeurant sur le Pongelmert/ou soubz la maison de ceste Ville. 1566. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 126.

Placcart du Roy nostre Sire, Par lequel à tous Marchans, Bourgeois, & Manans de la Ville d'Anuers, est accordé de pouuoir vendiquer leurs biens, par les Espaignolz amutinez & leurs adherens, pillez & Despouillez, & Enoultre contenant aultres poinctz & articles, pour preuenir à la totale ruyne de ladicte Ville, & inhabitans d'icelle. Auec preuilege de sa Maiesté. Imprimé en la Ville de Bruxelles, par Michiel de Hamont, Imprimeur juré de sa Maiesté. L'an 1577. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 273.

Poincts et articles concluds et arrestez par son Alteze, son excellence & membres de la ville d'Anvers pour le commun bien & respos d'icelle ville... Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, R16.25.

A proposition de Monsievr de bellieuvre Ambassadevr dv Roy de France, faicte à son Alteze & Messieurs des Estats du Pais bas le 4. d'Aoust, 1578. Anno M.D. LXXVIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 375.

Protestation es fideles en la ville d'Anvers dediez a la confession d'Augsbourg, presentee au conseil des Estats, sur les articles de la Pacification du Pais-Bas; faict a coulogne le xviiij Iulliet, &c. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, R16.25.

Rapport fait par le Seigneur Guillaume vanden Hecke Tresorier, & maistre Cornille

*Aertssens Secretaire de la ville de Bruxelles, a Messieurs du Magsitrat d'icelle ville
le ix d'Avril, & reitere le x d'icellui mois l'an xv lxxix en l'assemblee des Estats
generaux en Anvers... L'an 1579. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, R16.25.*

*Recveils d'Aretophile, contenans Par quels moyens les gens de guerre Espaignols amenez
es Pays bas par le Duc d'Alve, s'estans mutinez en iceux diuerses fois, entrerent en
Anvers le xxvj d'apuril XVc. Lxxiiij. Ou ils commirent innumerables desordres, estant
esdits pais Lieutenant, Gouverneur, & Capitaine general pour le Roy Catholique
des Espaignes don Philippe le Second, le grand Commandeur de Castille don Louis
de Requesens & de Cuniga. Et comme depuis soubs le gouvernement du Conseil
d'estat, après la mort dudi grand Commandeur, le mesme ville fut force par les
mesmes Espaignols dereches mutinez, associez d'autre soldats estrangiers
mercenaires dudit Roy, où ils saccagerent & meurdirent plusieurs iours de toutes
nations, d'ages, & sexes: outre infinies cruautez, & abominables villainies qu'ils
perpetrerent, ayans bruslé grande partie de la ville. Dont n'est suiuy aucun chastoy,
ni demonstration de iustice. À Lyon, Par Nicolas Guerin. M.D. LXXVIII. Leiden,
Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 243.*

*Les Regretz de Charles d'Austriche Empereur, Cinquiesme de ce nom. Ensemble la
description du Beauvoisis, et autres oeuvres. Par Jacques Grevin, de Cler-mont.
Dediez à Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Vvarty. A Paris. Chez Martin
l'Homme, Imprimeur demourant a la rue du Meurier pres la rue saint victor. 1558.
Avec Privilege. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, B3642.*

Les Regretz de Charles d'Austriche Empereur, Cinquiesme de ce nom. Ensemble la description du Beauvoisis, et autres oeuvres. Par Jacques Grevin, de Cler-mont. Dediez à Madame Magdaleine de Suze, Dame de Vvarty. A Paris. Chez Martin l'Homme, Imprimeur demourant a la rue du Meurier pres la rue saint victor. 1558. Avec Privilege. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Rés. Ye-1806.

Religions-Vrede, ov Accord de Religion, consenti et publiée en Anuers le XIJme de Iuin, M.D. LXXIX. A Anvers, De l'Imprimerie de Christofle Plantin, Imprimeur de sa Maeiste. M.D. LXXIX. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 457.

Remaniment de traicte de perpetuele vnion, ligue & confederation, entre les pays, prouinces, villes & membres d'icelles cy après declairez, arreste en la maison de Ville d'Vtrecht & publiée le xxix de Ianuier, Anno M.D. Lxxix. Imprimé à Vtrecht. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 378.

Remonstrances d'un Abbé a ses moines. Par lesquelles on pourra cognoistre comment iusques à icy les Moines ont voulu couurir toutes leurs meschancetez de leur faux seruice divin. 1564. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 114.

De la Requeste présentée ala Duchesse de Parme &c. regent: Le cinquiesme jour D'auril XVc. Soixantecincq, auant Pasques. Par plusieurs Gentilzhommes de pardeça. Sur le fait de L'inquisition & l'execution des Placcars dela religion catholique. Ensemble de l'Appostille donnée par son Alteze sur ladicte requeste. Avecq preuilege de son Alteze. Imprime en la ville Bruxelles/ par Michiel de Hasmont, Imprimeur iure/ demeurât soubz la maison de ceste ville. 1566. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, University Library Pamphlets, PMFLT 1566: 4.

Ripa, Cesare. *Iconologia or Moral Emblems, London 1709*. New York and London:

Garland, 1976.

Rowen, Herbert H., ed. *The Low Countries in Early Modern Times*. New York: Walker and

Company, 1972.

*Sekere Brieven Vvaer inne den aengheuanghen Vrede-handel deses Iaero LXXIII. Van het
Nederlandtsche oorloghe vertaet is: Mitsgaders de Requite der Staten van Hollandt/
Zeelandt, heur toeghedaene Steden/ arn de Conincklicke Maiesteyt ghesonden: de
anteoorde ende wederant woorde der sels met alle andere omstandierheden.*

Ghedruet tot Delft in Hollandt, Anno. M.D. LXXIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden,
Knuttel 224.

De Sententie vanden Conick hier op ghepronuncieert. 1568. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden,

Number Unknown.

*Sommaire declaration des griefs dangers et calamitez esuelles pourroyent tomber les
habitans du pays bas, en cas qu'on rece__ le concept des articles et conditions de la
paix de Couloigne mis en lumiere...* Anno MDLXXXIX. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-
Moretus, R16.25.

De Staten van Brabant beuindende/ dat tsindt de lesten Placcate ghemaet en ghepubliceert

*opde Saecke vande Munten, vele ende eiueersche misbruycken sijn inghebroken,
vander Daten den xix. Decemb. XVCLXXIX*. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Petit 323.

Titlemans, Pierre. *Het opschrift was als volght. Aen Madam/ Hertoginne van Parma ende
Playsance etc. Regente ende Gouvernante/ etc*. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik
Conscience, K Pfl 1643 [DS66 18].

Translaet vande briefuen van prolongatie duff heeren des Coninex/ vanden termijn by tpardoen generael van zijnte Maiesteyt gegenen, vy tstuc vande Reconciliatie/ ter faken vande voir le den troublen. Voix andere drye Maenden naest commende. Nae de publicatie van dien. Met privilege der Con. Ma. Gheprint inden Princelijcke Stadt van Brussele by my Michiel van Hamont. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Tiele 120.

Treuhertige Erinnerung an die Christliche Kirchen in Brabant/Flandern/____/ und ander umbligende/ so entveder noch under dem Creuk Siken/ oder die auf ser dem ander gewichen sendt/ hochdienstlich zu croft und stertung gegen alle anse changen in disen berusten zeiten. Erstlich in Niderlendischer sprache beschrieben durch en Edlen und Chrenfesten Philippen von Marnix/ heren zu gant Allegonde. Jeht aber dem gemeinen Mann zu gut in unser Deutsch sprach ubergeseket. In Jahr MDLXXXI. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, B88677 [237 e].

Trouhertighe vermanighe, aende verheerde Nederlantsche Provintien: ende het alghemeyne eynde ende voornemen des Spaengniaerds/ t'welck is d'oprechtinghe van een voorghenomene vijfde Monarchie: Mitsgaders hunne Resolutie over dese Nederlanden: Dienende de Uereenighde tot en geode ende ghetrouwe waerschouwinghe ende opwaeckinghe. Door een Lief-hebber des nederlandschen Bryheids voor-ghestelt. Anno MDLXXXVI. Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, K88528 [C2-D57].

Ulloa, Alonso de. *Comentarios del s. Alonso de Ulloa de la Guerra, que el ilustriss. y valerosiss. Principe Don Hernando Álvarez de Toledo duque de Alva [...] ha hecho contro Guillermo de Nasau principe de Oranges*, Venice 1569. PDF e-book:

http://books.google.com/books?id=Tj_2p0oRiBEC&printsec=frontcover#v=onepage&q&f=false

Vanden artyculen begrepen inden accorde/ berbontenissen ende centeheydt ghemaect ende opgherecht tusschen den Staten der prouintien vanden Nederlanden ende den Doorluchtighen hooch ghebooren Borst ende here de Prince van Oraengien/ Graue van Nassau etc. Staten van Hollandt Zeelandt ende heure geassocieerden door comissarissen ouer beyde syden respectiue licken ghedeputeert: besloten tot Gendt Op ten viij, Nouembris, 1576. Ghedruckt inde vermaerde Coopstadt Doordrecht. Anno. M.D.LXXVI. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 265.

Van het Placcaet van d'Inquisitie gemaect ende gepubliceert by den Nieuwen Bisschop van Luyck. Mitsgaders een Christelicke Waerschowinghe aen de Inwoonders de Landts van Luyck/ ende alle andere goethertighen. Tot Dordrecht, by Peeter Verhagen Woonende in mijn s'Heeren herberghe, Anno. M.D. LXXXII. Met consent. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Pamphlets Bibliotheca Thysiana, THYSPF 501.

Verflaers ende wtschrift des Duerluchtighsten/ Noch gheborenen Vorsten ende Heexen/ here Willem/ Prince van Orangien ende zijn Excellentien noost fakelicke Defensie teghen de Dvca Alva/ ende zijne grouwelijcke Tyrannye. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Number Unknown.

Verhandelinghe vande vnie, Eeuvvich Verbondt ende Eendracht. Tusschen die Landen, Provincien, Steden ende leden van dien hier naer benoempt, Binnen die Stadt Vtrecht gheslooten, ende ghepuliceert vanden Stadt-huyse den xxix. Ianuary, Anno M.D. LXXIX. Ghedruct t'Vtrecht, by my Coenraet henricksz: vwoenende inden gulden Enghel, by die Gaert-Brugghe. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 415.

Vertooch aen mijn heeren de Staten Generael op de wederoprichtinghe ende behoudenisse van den state van de Nederlanden (door eenen Edelman uut Vlaenderen),

MDLXXXIV. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 700.

Vertooch ghedaen aen myne Heeren de ghedeputerde vande Staten general/ den ix Januarij/ 1580/ by Mijn here den Prince van Orangien. T'antwerpen, by Gillis rade/ opt

Ulemmer-belt inden gulden Rinck. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, A77.

Verzameling Documenten. Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus, A3536.

Le Vray Patriot aux Bons Patriots. 1579. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 392.

Waerachtig verhael van de voortreffelijcke victorie, welke het glieft heeft God Almachtig te

verleenen aen de navale macht van Sijne Majesteit van Groot Brittaigne. Onder het

beleyt van ... den heere Hartogh van Yorck. Tegens de vloot van de Staten Generael

der Vereenighde Nederlanden. Op den 3 Juny, 1665. Oude stijl. Leiden, Universiteit

Leiden, Knuttel 379.

Vvaerschouwinghe aen alle geode Inghesetenen vanden Nederlanden, die tot beschermenisse

vande vrijheydt van hunne Religie, personen, Preuilegien, ende oude hercomen,

teghens die tyrannie vande spaignaerden ende heuren aenhanck, t'samen verbonden

ende vereenicht sijn. Anno. M.D. LXXXIII. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 655.

Wesenbeke, Jacob. De beschrijvinge van den geschiedenissen inder religion saken

toeghedragen in den Nederlanden, 1569. Leiden, Universiteit Leiden, Knuttel 147.

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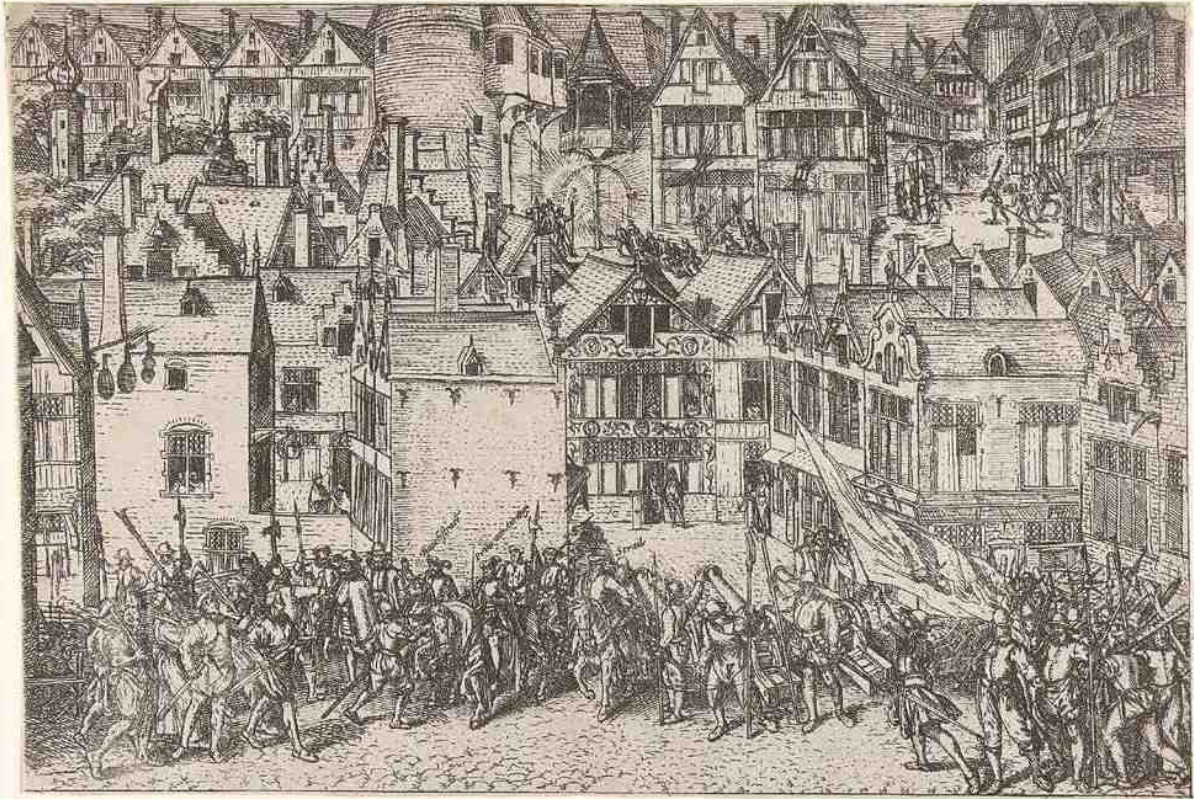
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Appendices

Appendix A <i>Calvinistisch oproer in Antwerpen bedwongen (Calvinistic Riots Subdued in Antwerp), 1567</i>	328
Appendix B <i>Ordinantie inhoudende die Oude eñ Nieuwve Poincten, van onser Vrouvven Ommeganck, der Stadt van Antvverpen, Gheschit inden Iare, 1564 (Ordinance which contains old and new points related to women in processions, from the City of Antwerp)</i>	329
Appendix C <i>Le Vray Patriot aux Bons Patriots (The True Patriot to the Good Patriots), 1579</i>	330
Appendix D <i>Houdt op in mijn tuin te wroeten Spaanse varkens! (Stop digging in my garden, Spanish pigs!), 1578</i>	331
Appendix E <i>Typvs Præfectvræ, Allegorie op de moeilijkheid van het besturen (Allegory of the Many-Headed Beast), 1578</i>	332

Appendix A

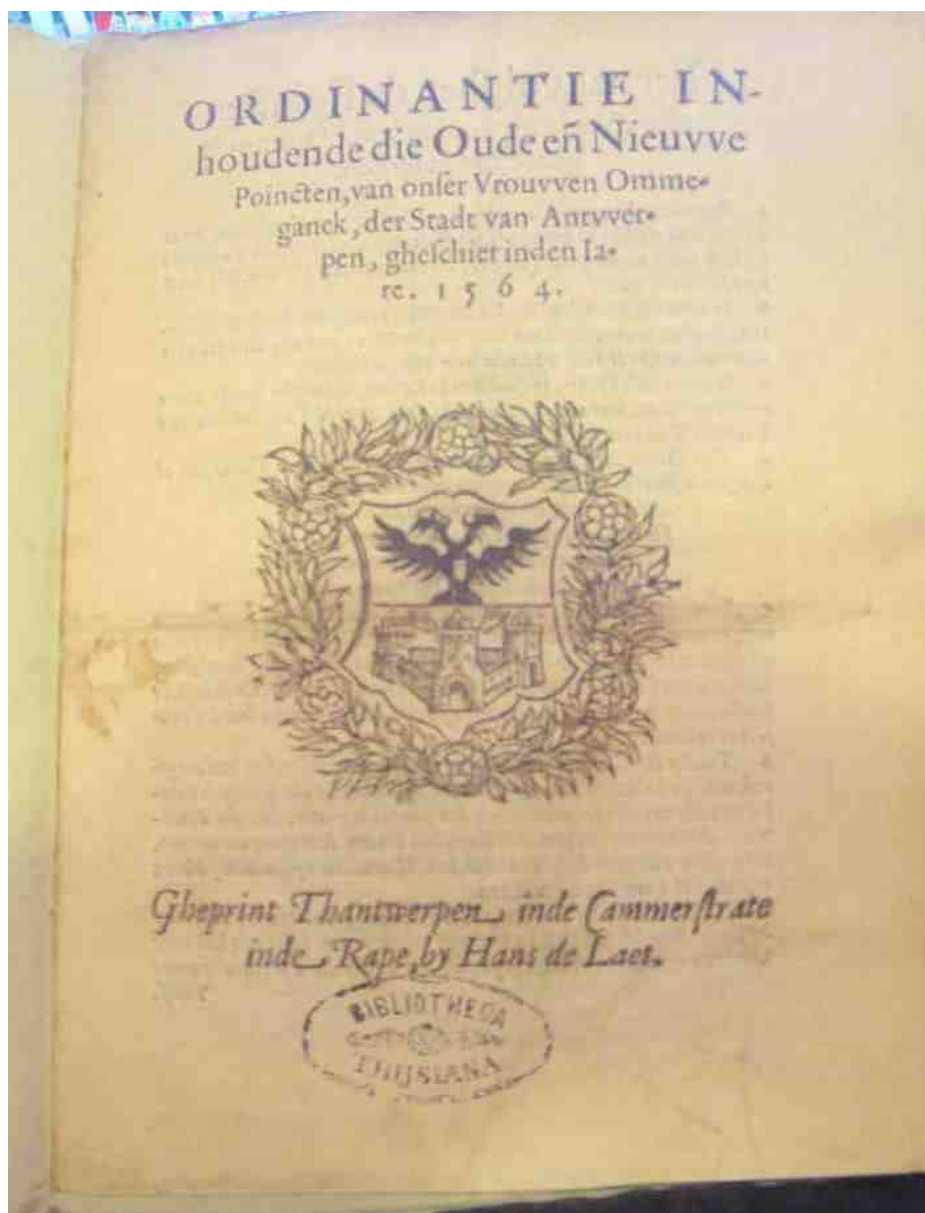
Calvinistisch oproer in Antwerpen bedwongen (Calvinistic Riots Subdued in Antwerp), 1567



Frans Hogenberg. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Appendix B

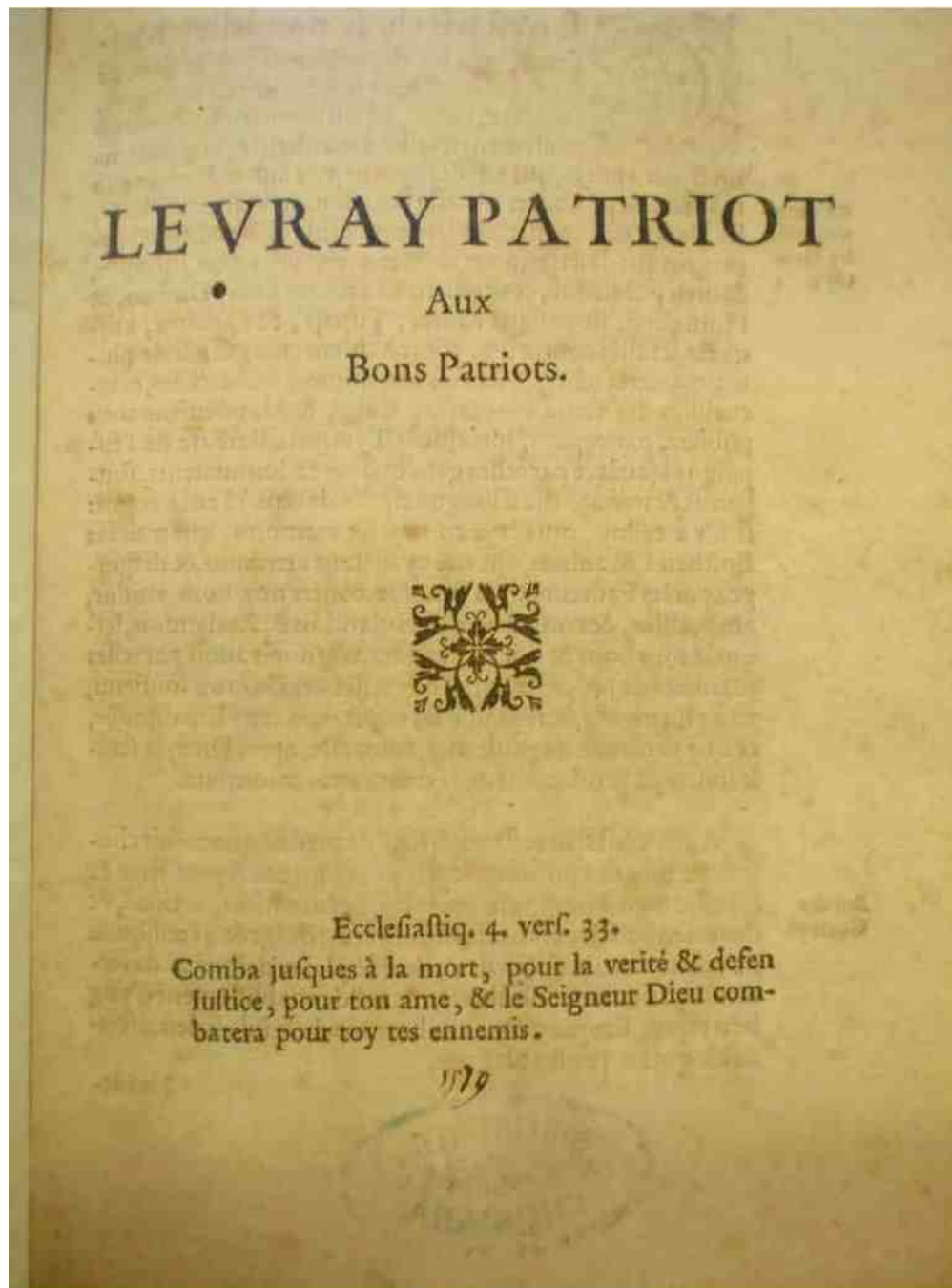
Ordinantie inhoudende die Oude en Nieuwve Poincten, van onser Vrouvven Ommeganck, der Stadt van Antwerpen, Gheschit inden Iare, 1564 (Ordinance which contains old and new points related to women in processions, from the City of Antwerp)



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Appendix C

Le Vray Patriot aux Bons Patriots (The True Patriot to the Good Patriots), 1579



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Appendix D

*Houdt op in mijn tuin te wroeten Spaanse varkens! (Stop digging in my garden,
Spanish pigs!), 1578*



Anonymous. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.

Appendix E

Typvs Præfectvræ, Allegorie op de moeilijkheid van het besturen (Allegory of the Many-Headed Beast), 1578



Pieter van der Borcht. Rijksmuseum Prentenkabinet, Amsterdam.