

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Santa Barbara

Public Displays of Affection:

Negotiating Power and Identity in Ceremonial Receptions in Amsterdam, 1580–1660

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History of Art and Architecture

by

Suzanne Decemvirale

(née Suzanne van de Meerendonk)

Committee in charge:

Professor Ann Jensen Adams, Chair

Professor Mark A. Meadow

Professor Richard Wittman

December 2018

The dissertation of Suzanne Decemvirale is approved.

Richard Wittman

Mark A. Meadow

Ann Jensen Adams, Committee Chair

December 2018

Public Displays of Affection:
Negotiating Power and Identity in Ceremonial Receptions in Amsterdam, 1580–1660

Copyright © 2018

by

Suzanne van de Meerendonk

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for this dissertation was first conceived during my time as an MA student at the University of Amsterdam in 2010. For key considerations in this project that are still evident in its final version, I am indebted to Eric Jan Sluijter and Jeroen Jansen. Since its conception this project has additionally benefited from the wisdom and mentorship of professors, colleagues, family and friends, as well as financial support provided by several institutions. For each of these contributions I am immensely grateful, as they allowed such incipient ideas to materialize in the manuscript before you today.

My largest debt and greatest thanks is to my adviser Ann Jensen Adams, who was my first advocate at UCSB and a constant source of expertise and encouragement during the almost seven years that followed. I am also thankful to Mark Meadow and Richard Wittman for their thoughtful insights as members of my doctoral committee. The department of History of Art and Architecture has supported me financially with fellowships, TAships, and a pre-ABD travel grant that allowed me to kickstart my research in the summer of 2014. As the recipient of a Murray Roman Fellowship in 2016-2017 I had the opportunity to supervise a most wonderful group of undergraduate interns at UCSB's Art Design & Architecture Museum. Bruce Robertson, Elyse Gonzales, and Eva Haller provided me with valuable advice and knowledge on the topics of museum work, mentorship and philanthropy during this period. I was also incredibly lucky to find at UCSB a welcoming and supportive community of graduate peers. My "Dutch sisters," Diva Zumaya, Erin Travers, and Maggie Mansfield kindly and frequently shared information and references related to their respective projects, and as such expanded my knowledge as a specialist of Dutch art in ways I could not have imagined or arrived at otherwise. Alex Schultz and Ashleigh Lynch helped me navigate campus and the specifics of the US graduate system since the first day we jointly set foot on campus.

Several sources of extramural funding have supported my dissertation research. An Albert and Elaine Borchard European Studies Fellowship provided the funds for a significant phase of archival and library research in the Netherlands during the summer of 2016. I was able to study first-hand the extensive holdings of festival books in the collections of the New York Public Library and Getty Research Institute because of the

funds provided by a Renaissance Society of America-Kress NYPL Fellowship and Getty Research Library Grant, respectively. The generous support of a Robert H. and Clarice Smith Predoctoral Fellowship from the Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA), finally, allowed a crucial final year of research and writing (2017-2018). While in the Netherlands, the hospitality of Frank Persijn, Lut Vanhellemont, Tatjana van Run, Rozemarijn Landsman, and Edgar Foley allowed me to be in close proximity to my sources, while stretching my research budgets infinitely further than I could have without the housing options they so kindly made available to me.

In many ways, critical support during my graduate career has come from family and friends. My parents, Agnes and Peter van de Meerendonk, have encouraged me to undertake any project I could conceive of, big or small, since I was young. My sister Emilie and brother-in-law Gijs have provided me with level-headed advice and precious relief from my occupied mind on many occasions. My art history familia, To Be Determined writing group, and countless other friends and colleagues to whom I am indebted for council, encouragement and friendship: many, many thanks. A final word of gratitude I reserve for my husband, J.V. Decemvirale, who has been an ideal partner in the pursuit of knowledge, dreams, and art, since the day we met.

VITA OF SUZANNE DECEMVIRALE (née VAN DE MEERENDONK)
March 2019

EDUCATION

PhD, History of Art and Architecture, University of California, Santa Barbara, December 2018 (expected).

MA, Art Studies, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 2010 (Cum Laude).

MA, Golden Age Studies, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 2008 (Cum Laude).

BA, Art History, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, 2007.

PROFESSIONAL EMPLOYMENT

Internship Coordinator, Art Design & Architecture Museum, UC Santa Barbara.
September 2016 – June 2017.

Teaching Assistant, History of Art & Architecture, UC Santa Barbara.
September 2013 – June 2014; September 2015 – June 2017.

Student Assistant, Image Resource Center, UC Santa Barbara.
February 2013 – June 2015.

Provenance Researcher, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam.
February 2012 – December 2012.

Graduate Intern, Project for the Study of Collecting and Provenance, Getty Research
Institute, Los Angeles.
September 2010 – August 2011.

Research Assistant Intern, Netherlands Cultural Heritage Agency, Amsterdam
Nov. 2009 – Sept. 2010.

Curatorial Intern, Amsterdam Historical Museum, Amsterdam.
Sept. 2007 – Dec. 2007.

PUBLICATIONS

S. van de Meerendonk, “Een Gruwelijk Voorbeeld”, in: S. Mareel and M. Coenen (eds.), *Roep om Rechtvaardigheid. Kunst en Rechtspraak in de Bourgondische Nederlanden*, Veurne 2018, pp. 207-210.

S. van de Meerendonk, M. van Eikema Hommes, E. Vink, A. van Drunen and K. Keune, “Striving for unity: the significance and original context of political allegories by Theodoor van Thulden for the 's-Hertogenbosch town hall”, *Early Modern Low Countries* Vol. 1 (2017), no. 2, pp. 231-272.

S. van de Meerendonk, “Chumash and Catholic Sacred Space at the Interstices of the Missions”, *Noticias: Journal of the Santa Barbara Historical Museum*, vol. 55 (2017), no. 3, pp. 144-151.

S. van de Meerendonk, "Ratliff Farmhouse, La Quinta", in: V. Welter, *Walter S. White. Inventions in mid-century architecture*. AD&A Museum, UC Santa Barbara, 2015, pp. 84-85.

S. van de Meerendonk "'Amsterdamsche Vreugdtriomfe': het bezoek van Amalia van Solms en haar dochters in 1659," *Amstelodamum maandblad*, vol. 96 (2009) 99-111.

AWARDS AND FELLOWSHIPS

2017-2018: Robert H. and Clarice Smith Predoctoral Fellowship, Center for Advanced Study in the Visual Arts (CASVA).

2017-2018: Renaissance Society of America (RSA)-Kress New York Public Library Fellowship.

2017-2018: Getty Research Library Grant.

2017: Chairperson's award, History of Art and Architecture, UC Santa Barbara.

2016-2017: Roman Murray Fellowship, AD&A Museum, UC Santa Barbara.

2016-2017: Albert and Elaine Borchard European Studies Fellowship for Dissertation Research.

2015: Award for Department Service, History of Art & Architecture, UC Santa Barbara.

2014-2015: Pre-ABD Research Travel Grant, History of Art & Architecture, UC Santa Barbara.

2014-2015: Mallory Departmental Fellowship, History of Art & Architecture, UC Santa Barbara.

2012-2013: Mallory Departmental Fellowship, History of Art & Architecture, UC Santa Barbara.

2010-2011: Getty Graduate Intern Fellowship, Getty Foundation, Los Angeles.

FIELDS OF STUDY

Major Field: Seventeenth-Century Dutch Art and Architecture

Under the guidance of Professor Ann Jensen Adams

Minor Field: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Spanish Colonial Visual Culture

Under the guidance of Professor Jeanette Favrot Peterson

SERVICE

2016-2017: Lecture Committee, History of Art & Architecture, UC Santa Barbara.

2015-2016: Symposium Co-organizer, Art History Graduate Students Association, UCSB.

2014-2015: Co-Chair, Art History Graduate Students Association, UCSB.

2012-2014: Departmental Representative, Graduate Students Association, UCSB.

ABSTRACT

Public Displays of Affection:

Negotiating Power and Identity in Ceremonial Receptions in Amsterdam, 1580–1660

by

Suzanne van de Meerendonk

The Union of Utrecht treaty (1579) established a confederation of Dutch provinces that previously had never formed a cohesive geographical or political entity. United mostly by a common *enemy*, this region and its inhabitants were soon in search of a common *identity*: a task that not only involved the consolidation of a varied range of locally defined power structures, but also that of a notably heterogeneous body politic. Mythic narratives regarding the nation's ancient origins and heroic leadership and liberation were developed to provide an inspired cover for the political and religious strife living directly underneath its surface.

To gain insight into the processes by which idealized notions of *patria* were evoked differently by competing factions in the Republic, this dissertation examines ceremonial receptions of military leaders and royal visitors that took place in Amsterdam during the first eight decades of the Dutch Republic (1580- 1660). I argue that these events and their representations in print functioned as platforms for the formation and contestation of emerging hierarchies, and ask to what political end various media such as performance, poetry and print were employed to help negotiate a new system of government, as well as sustain proto-nationalistic narratives and diplomatic efforts on behalf of the city.

Seen through the lenses of urban space, print culture, cultural networks and cultural memory theory, this dissertation analyzes several ceremonial entries that took place in Amsterdam between 1580 and 1660. These are discussed in chronologically ordered chapters that trace how artistic and literary conventions were applied and transformed in relation to their immediate historic and political circumstances. In my first chapter I focus on the receptions of William of Orange (1533-1584) in 1580 and the Earl of Leicester (1533-1588) in 1586, taking place in the transitional period shortly before and after the Union of Utrecht (1581), as well as two triumphal entries of William's son, Stadtholder Maurice (1567-1625) in 1594 and 1618. As I argue in this chapter, these entries demonstrate that a monarchical ceremonial language was used to explore, negotiate and legitimize the terms of a "mixed constitution" Republic, in which an aristocratic Captain-General (the Stadtholder) served the provinces and States-General.

The joyous entries of the exiled Maria de' Medici (1575-1642), Queen-Mother of France, in 1638 and her daughter Henrietta Maria Stuart (1609-1669), Queen of England, in 1642, form the topic of my second and third chapter. I contend that these remarkable receptions utilized tropes of Dutch Republican progress and state-making to bolster the credibility of the young state on the international diplomatic stage, through alternative emphases on Amsterdam's merchant regents and the House of Orange. In my fourth and last chapter, finally, I argue that the marriage politics of the Oranges effectively pressured Amsterdam to orchestrate two receptions of Orange-Nassau family members during the First Stadtholderless Era (1650-1672), in 1659 and 1660. As such forcing a public consideration of the importance of the Stadtholders during the Revolt years, the events yielded mixed responses from Amsterdam's polemical printing press.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction.....	1
I. A body with many heads: Governors and Stadtholders, 1580-1618	17
A. Continuity and change of a format.....	22
B. William of Orange: March 17, 1590	29
C. Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, March 20, 1586	39
D. Maurice of Nassau, Stadtholder, August 19, 1594	50
E. Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, May 23, 1618	57
II. The Queen and the <i>Koopstad</i> : merchant magnificence and the makings of sovereignty (1638)	77
A. Deliberations and expenses: How to treat a Queen?.....	84
B. Presenting the <i>Koopstad</i> : the <i>Medicea Hospes</i> as a source	94
C. A new approach: the entry on September 1	98
D. Tasting and touring the city: September 2	109
E. Spectacles on the water: September 3	115
F. Immersion and participation: September 4.....	119
G. Dispersing the <i>Blijde Inkomste</i> : memory and identity in word and image	122
H. Conclusion	131
III. "To demonstrate to the entire world that it does not have to yield to any other": Orange and Stuart in Amsterdam (1642).....	133
A. Alliance and union: welcoming a royal couple in Amsterdam.....	139

B. From image to argument: creating and presenting an equal union ..	144
C. From argument to image: the illustrations in the <i>Beschrivinge</i>	154
D. Coster's <i>Beschrivinge</i> and the legacy of the chambers of rhetoric ...	161
IV. Requiem or Resurrection? Orange and Stuart in Amsterdam (1659, 1660) 1Error!	
Bookmark not defined.7	
A. 1659 and 1660: invitations and motivations	173
B. Modern monumentality: urban space in 1659 and 1660	180
C. Strategic Praise	194
D. Princes in Print	202
E. Conclusion	218
Conclusion	221
Bibliography	233
Images	247

ABBREVIATIONS

Koninklijke Bibliotheek	KB
Koninklijk Huis Archief	KHA
Stadsarchief Amsterdam	SAA
Universiteits Bibliotheek Amsterdam	UBA
Universiteits Bibliotheek Leiden	UBL
Utrechts Archief	UA

Introduction

On October 2, 1549, the Habsburg Prince Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) entered Amsterdam as the city's future sovereign ruler, a position he was projected to fulfill upon the expected abdication of his father Emperor Charles V (1500-1558).¹ Arriving in the city by ship, the Prince was first welcomed with pageants in the waters of the *Damrak*, where the bridges had been decorated to appear as triumphal arches. Upon disembarking, he encountered a freestanding triumphal arch – the first ever recorded to have been erected in the city on the occasion of a royal entry – located at the *Damsluis*. The fervently Catholic city had decorated the structure with paintings depicting Faith's victory over Heresy, while texts along the processional route towards the New Church made analogous references to the people of Israel and their joy over King David's abdication in favor of Salomon. Per long existing custom, the prospective ruler attended mass and publicly swore an oath to uphold the city's rights and privileges in the central Dam Square. In return the city promised its loyalty and obedience to their new ruler.

Unbeknownst both to Philip and the city that had carefully crafted these public displays of affection, the young Prince would, in fact, be the last sovereign monarch to enter Amsterdam in this ritual capacity until the arrival of Louis Bonaparte, almost two-and-a-half centuries later in 1808. Ceremonial entries into the city by other figures, however, would continue without a significant hiatus during the formative period that ensued. The decorative programs designed for them, in addition, grew both in size and complexity.

During the first eight decades of the Republic's history (1580-1660), receptions were held for the figures who now represented the emerging state's new leadership, such as

Stadtholders and Governor-Generals. In addition, several receptions were organized for foreign royalty in the period leading up to, and following, the Republic's recognition as an independent state in 1648. Arguably the most spectacular of such events in the Northern Netherlands were commissioned by the city of Amsterdam which, in tandem with this trend, quickly developed into the main center of the Republic's economic as well as political power. This dissertation analyzes these ceremonial entries, as well as their reproduction in print, as platforms for the production of competing identities, histories, and political hierarchies in the context of an emerging Dutch autonomous state. As argued in the chapters that follow, their example uniquely demonstrates the complex functioning and continued political significance of republican entry ceremonies in a seventeenth-century Europe that was marked by shifting attitudes towards power, tradition and media.

Urban ceremonial receptions featuring elaborate decoration schemes and pageantry formed a longstanding tradition in medieval and early modern Europe. Yet the nature and emphases of the programs and ritual structures of these festivities evolved over time and varied in different regions.² For centuries, however, royal entries formed key ritual moments during which the relationship between ruler and city was negotiated, reconfirmed or contested – at times violently so.³ Following the Dutch Revolt, the tradition in Northern Netherlandish cities such as Amsterdam took on a character that was remarkably different from either the period preceding it or from entries taking place elsewhere in Europe. How to

¹ D. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda. Triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16e en 17de eeuw* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1975) 19; J. G. Smit, *Vorst en onderdaan. Studies over Holland en Zeeland in de late Middeleeuwen* (Leuven, 1995) 258, and 263-355 *passim*.

² G. Kipling, *Enter the King. Theatre, liturgy, and ritual in the medieval civic triumph* (Oxford and New York, 1998).

³ P. Arnade, *Realms of ritual: Burgundian ceremony and civic life in late medieval Ghent*, Ithaca and London 1996; M. Thøfner, *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt* (Zwolle, 2007).

reunite the ritual's guiding principle of power negotiations, customarily between monarch and city, with the absence of a sovereign ruler in this new context?

Given the unorthodox and seemingly ambivalent nature of the ceremonial entries under study in this dissertation, it asks what role these festive receptions played in both the formation and contestation of the republic's emerging power structures, as well as its related factional allegiances and collective identities. How and to what political end were its various media, including performance, poetry, print and painting employed? Operating across media boundaries, my dissertation considers how different artistic traditions were employed to invoke idealized narratives of state and state-making, and how the emerging concepts of *patria* they constituted were received by opposing local and domestic audiences.

The study of monarchic ritual in early modern Europe, including that of royal entries into cities, gained momentum in the wake of World War II. Urban and courtly spectacles in this period were primarily analyzed as propaganda serving constructions of power and kingship.⁴ An increasing number of scholars have attempted in the last quarter century to correct the overly top-down vision of urban ceremony. Such approaches were sustained in part by influential work in the field of cultural anthropology, where scholars such as Victor Turner and Clifford Geertz investigated the role of public ritual in the cultural construction of hierarchies, and their ability to affect social change.⁵

Gordon Kipling, in *Enter the King* (1998) focused on the ritualistic and dramatic aspects of late-medieval royal entries and the roles of citizens and ruler enacted through

⁴ See for instance: J. Jacquot (ed.), *Les fêtes de la Renaissance*, Paris 1956-1960. For this approach in the discussion of Netherlandish spectacle see esp. H. Soly, "Plechtige intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Nieuwe Tijd: communicatie, propaganda, spektakel", *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 97 (1984): 341-361.

⁵ V. Turner, *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure* (Chicago and London, 1969); C. Geertz, *Negara: the theatre state in nineteenth century Bali* (Princeton, 1980).

them, while Peter Arnade in *Realms of Ritual* (1996) used the example of joyous entries in Ghent to emphasize the agency of cities and civic networks to negotiate and contest power relations.⁶ A recent surge of scholarly interest, predominantly focused on the Southern Netherlands, has further challenged the assumptions of previous interpretations by shifting attention in particular to the important communal potential of urban ceremonial as well as the significance and rhetorical construction of diverse festival publications.⁷

The tradition in the Northern Netherlands, by contrast, remains understudied due to a perceived lack in both splendor and political significance. The most prominent publication on the subject remains art historian Derk Snoep's *Praal en Propaganda*, which was published in 1975. While exemplary in its careful study of primary sources, the approach in this publication was predominantly that of (art) historical description and reconstruction. This in turn facilitated iconographic analysis as well as the tracing of artistic and formal genealogies evident in the various decoration programs discussed by the author. I believe, however, that it is the entries' function as a peculiar node within the political and cultural contexts of their day that makes them such a fruitful field of research; their analysis in this sense is virtually non-existent.⁸

⁶ Kipling 1998; Arnade 1996.

⁷ E. Peters, "Den gheheelen loop des weerelts (the whole course of the world): printed processions and the theater of identity in Antwerp during the Dutch Revolt," diss, University of California Santa Barbara, 2005; Thofner 2007; S. Bussels, *Rhetoric, performance and Power: The Antwerp entry of Prince Philip in 1549* (Amsterdam, 2012); A. C. Knaap and M. C. J. Putnam (eds.), *Art, music, and spectacle in the age of Rubens: the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi* (London and Turnhout, 2013); T. Cholcman, *Art on paper: ephemeral art in the Low Countries. The Triumphal entry of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella into Antwerp, 1599* (Turnhout, 2014). For a broader consideration of the various forms and functions of festival publications, see: M.-C. Canova-Green et al., *Writing royal entries in early modern Europe* (Turnhout, 2013).

⁸ A brief synopsis of the development in both the Southern and Northern Netherlands in this regard, unfortunately in a somewhat awkward translation and containing several errors, is provided by J. Becker, "Entries, fireworks and religious festivities in the Netherlands," P. Béhar and H. Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds.), *Spectaculum Europaeum. Theatre and spectacle in Europe (1580-1750)* (Wiesbaden, 1999), 705-720. See also J. E. Uitman, "Les fêtes baroques d'Amsterdam de 1638 à 1660. L'intelligibilité de leurs motifs allégoriques et historiques pour le public contemporain," *Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Sciences humaines. Dramaturgie et Société* (Paris, 1968) 221-226.

The study of Dutch Republican ceremonial is particularly compelling when considered in the context of debated historical shifts in the function and ritual significance of entry ceremonies in the Netherlands and Europe more broadly, particularly in relation to the epistemic upheavals of the early modern period. Referencing various historical contexts and factors, scholars have described a decline in the true ritual function of entries during the late-medieval and early modern period. In this vision, entries devolved from spaces for dialogue and negotiation into a largely empty form of ceremony that worked increasingly in the interest of rising absolutism and centralization. Huizinga saw the medieval festival culture at the Burgundian court to have lost its primary meaning already in the fifteenth century.⁹ Later authors, including Kipling and Arnade, likewise signaled a change in the ritualistic significance and functioning of such events, but placed this development rather in the first half of the sixteenth century.¹⁰ Roy Strong and Derk Snoep, at least in the case of the Southern Netherlands, trace a similar change as late as the first half of the seventeenth century.¹¹

Rather than serving as examples of such supposed loss of impact, this dissertation seeks to show that ceremonial entries in the Northern Netherlands, and particularly the elaborate receptions taking place in Amsterdam, have the potential to provide unique insight into the continued political significance and functioning of seventeenth-century urban spectacle. This is true for several reasons. Firstly, attention is focused on the continuity of a

⁹ J. Huizinga, *The waning of the Middle Ages. A study of the forms of life, thought and art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth centuries*, transl. F. Hopman (London, 1924).

¹⁰ Kipling 1998; Arnade 1996.

¹¹ R. Strong, *Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650* (Woodbridge, 1984). Strong differentiates between the developments in Southern and Northern Europe. While he argues the shift towards absolutism is completed in Italy and France by the late sixteenth century, he identifies the 1635 entry of Ferdinand into Antwerp as the last in a long tradition of *Blijde Inkomste* ceremonies that still constituted a meaningful moment of dialogue between the ruler and cities above the Alps. Snoep 1975, 14.

medieval ceremonial format in a period characterized by fundamental changes in the cultural, social, political and artistic sense, including the development of a capitalist world market and print-based public sphere. These are changes that, moreover, are often seen as manifested in exemplary ways in the Dutch Republic.¹²

Secondly, the ritual tradition in this case was adapted and implemented in a republican context. One of the key issues debated in scholarly discourse on the topic so far – the entry tradition’s efficacy to either promote or negotiate power relations between a sovereign ruler and his or her cities – is therefore not applicable. While the traditional objective of the ceremony is thus seemingly confused, this at the same time forces one to consider the adaptability of this *longue-durée* monarchical tradition to serve unexpected political purposes. The longevity of the ceremonial entry format, in fact, can be connected to its function as part of a transnational lexicon of both power and public diplomacy. That this was by no means an inert tradition, but rather an active and highly adaptable one, has also been stressed in recent scholarship.¹³ Its relevance to the Republic, which at this time sought

¹² Several scholars have remarked on the exceptional situation in the Republic in regards to the early presence of “modern” phenomena. There is an extensive scholarly discussion regarding the development of a trade-based capitalist economic system in the Netherlands during this period, see: F. Braudel, “The city-centered economies of the European past: Amsterdam”, *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Vol. III: The Perspective of the World* (Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1984 [1979]), 175-276; I. Wallerstein, *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750* (New York, 1980); J. de Vries and A. M. van der Woude, *The first modern economy: success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815* (Cambridge, 1997); C. Lesger, *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c. 1550-1630* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2006). For the existence of a broad public sphere and “discussion culture” based on print culture and high rate of literacy: W. Frijhoff and M. Spies, *1650: Bevochten eendracht* (The Hague, 1999); J. Pollmann and A. Spicer (eds.), introduction, *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands: Essays in honour of Alastair Duke* (Leiden, 2007) 1-9; J. Bloemendal and A. Van Dixhoorn, “Literary cultures and public opinion in the early Low Countries”, J. Bloemendal, A. van Dixhoorn and E. Strietman (eds.), *Literary cultures and public opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650* (Leiden and Boston, 2011) 1-35.

¹³ J. R. Mulryne, H. Watanabe-O’Kelly, and M. Shewring (eds.), *Europa Triumphans: Court and civic festivals in early modern Europe* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2004); J. R. Mulryne et al. (eds.), *Ceremonial entries in early modern Europe: the iconography of power* (Farnham and Burlington, 2015).

to forge a position and identity within the diplomatic context of Europe, cannot be underestimated.

As the examples in this dissertation show, the ceremonial visits taking place in late-sixteenth and seventeenth-century Amsterdam provide a fruitful study ground for the multivalence that urban ceremonial presents when framed by factionalism rather than monarchic decorum. The sectarian and decentralized character of the Dutch Republic's political structures and system of government has been observed both by contemporary authors and modern scholars.¹⁴ With shifts in power relations occurring therefore more often horizontally than vertically, the role of formal and politically-charged receptions in the processes of state-making is left highly flexible. Yet the entry ceremony's continued ability to function as a public platform where changes in position and status of city leadership, Stadtholder, and even the Republic as an independent state were negotiated and broadcasted, only comes into sharper focus.

A brief clarification of key terms is necessary at this point. I will refer to all instances in which a person of importance is received by a city with significant ceremonial display as "ceremonial receptions" or "ceremonial entries." Such entries, in fact, could take place in a variety of contexts. The joyous entries of sovereign monarchs, marking the first visit to their cities following coronation, or spousal entries following the marriage of a ruler, constitute a tradition that is arguably the richest, as well as most thoroughly discussed in a scholarly context. But significant receptions were also organized for victorious military leaders, including Kings or Emperors, returning from battle or conquest. This latter tradition was modeled on the example of the classical triumph, and was revived in the humanistic context

of the Renaissance both with concrete examples as well as literary variations on the theme.¹⁵ While less studied, other stately receptions were awarded to foreign royalty on their journeys, or other men and women of significant status, such as ambassadors or cardinals, whom the city wished to honor with the strategic goal of winning their affection and initiating or reinforcing existing diplomatic relations.¹⁶ The events analyzed and discussed in this dissertation drew on and engaged with all three traditions described above, which could broadly be labeled as the constitutive, triumphant, and diplomatic models of the entry tradition.

In order to assess how such models were both preserved and adapted for new purposes, I consider three interpretive contexts that inform each of my main chapters. The first is the quickly expanding urban fabric of Amsterdam.¹⁷ In the period under study, four expansions and the erection of new monumental buildings impacted the appearance and experience of the city and hence the formats and spatial effects of the consecutive decorative programs. I reconstruct processional routes and their major sites of importance based on

¹⁴ S. Groenveld, *Evidente factiën in den staet. Sociaal-politieke verhoudingen in de 17^e-eeuwse Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden* (Hilversum, 1991); J. L. Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century. The Politics of Particularism* (Oxford, 1994).

¹⁵ M. M. McGowan, "The Renaissance Triumph and its Classical Heritage," E. Goldring and J. R. Mulryne (eds.), *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2002) 26-47; T. Cholcman 2014, introduction, 9-31, esp. 12-18. See also: S. Scott Munshower and B. Wisch (eds.), "All the world's a stage" *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque. Vol. VI, Part I: Triumphal celebrations and the rituals of statecraft*, Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University, 1990.

¹⁶ For compelling examples, see: N. Murphy, *Ceremonial Entries, Municipal Liberties and the Negotiation of Power in Valois France, 1328-1589* (Leiden, 2016) 173-174, 178-217; P. Fortini Brown, "Measured friendship, calculated pomp: the ceremonial welcomes of the Venetian Republic", Wisch and Scott Munshower 1990, 136-186; R. Cooper, "Legate's luxury: The entries of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese to Avignon and Carpentras," N. Russell and H. Visentin (eds.), *French ceremonial entries in the sixteenth century. Event, image, text*, Centre for Reformation and Renaissance studies, essays and studies, vol. 11 (Toronto, 2007) 133-161; S. Mamone and C. Pagnini, "Florentine festivals for the entry of Archduke Leopold V of Austria in 1618," Canova-Green et al. 2013, 129-151.

¹⁷ J. E. Abrahamse, *De grote uitleg van Amsterdam: stadsontwikkeling in de zeventiende eeuw* (Bussum, 2010).

festival publications, unpublished accounts and archival records such as temporary decrees (*Keuren*) that were issued during the festival.

Secondly I examine cultural networks cultivated under the patronage of city authorities, evidenced by commissions in the city ledgers (*Stadsrekeningen*), correspondence, as well as poems and their dedications. Following Eric Jan Sluijter, I argue that literary and artistic circles in Amsterdam competed in the production of joyous entry spectacles, begging the question where agency was located in the translation of literary inventions into pictorial form and performance, and how this process affected the political efficacy of their ultimately multi-vocal messages.¹⁸

Finally, I embed the events in Amsterdam's lively print culture.¹⁹ Building on both established and recent work by scholars such as Christian Jouhaud, Margaret McGowan, and Tamar Cholcman, I analyze luxurious festival books as mnemonic agents that re-present the ceremony in a highly constructed and strategic fashion.²⁰ Cheap prints and pamphlets responding to the festivities, often overlooked by art historians in favor of commissioned publications, are utilized in this project to construct a “bottom up” investigation of the ceremonies and their popular reception. The veracity of printed sources claiming to inform the public on noteworthy events, as has been pointed out for instance by Peter Parshall, was

¹⁸ E. J. Sluijter, *Rembrandt's rivals. History painting in Amsterdam 1630-1650* (Amsterdam, 2015).

¹⁹ The definition of print culture is derived from the canonical work of Elizabeth Eisenstein, *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1979). For a critique of this argument, see: A. Johns, *The nature of the book: print and knowledge in the making* (Chicago, 1998).

²⁰ Ch. Jouhaud, “Printing the event: from La Rochelle to Paris,” R. Chartier (ed.), *The culture of print. Power and the uses of print in early modern Europe*, transl. Lydia G. Cochrane (Princeton, 1987) 290-333; M. McGowan, “The French royal entry in the Renaissance: the status of the printed text,” Russell and Visentin 2007, 29-54; Cholcman 2014.

a topic of great relevance to contemporary audiences.²¹ Taking this into consideration, appropriate attention will be given to the political and commercial motives and strategies that are apparent in such materials as well. These subjective motivations are not understood merely to assess their usefulness to the reconstruction of the event – which, for all intents and purposes, is forever lost to us – but rather to gain more insight in the extended function and meaning of entry ceremonies to contemporary audiences as discursive spaces.

In order to assess the cultural and political implications of the ceremonial receptions organized by Amsterdam during these formative decades it is, therefore, particularly useful to look closely at the way its various media were utilized to communicate ideas about the genesis of the Dutch Republic as a state and the foundational values on which it was supposedly grounded. How this story was presented and, importantly, how political agents were credited with both early and more recent successes included within the narratives presented, helps to gain insight into the formation of what may be called versions of proto-national Dutch Republican identities.²²

Aleida Assmann's identification of various forms of shared memory cultures, long grouped under the confused term of "collective memory," provides a particularly useful

²¹ P. Parshall, "Imago contrafacta: images and facts in the Northern Renaissance," *Art History* 16 (1993): 554-579.

²² The possibility of national identity formation in the early modern period, and in the Dutch Republic in particular, has been widely debated. Benedict Anderson places the development of a national consciousness based on the availability of an industrialized printing press during a later, yet not precisely defined, historical moment: B. Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism* (London and New York, 1991). Recent scholarship has argued for a reconsideration of the presumed modernity of such developments, and the earlier existence of a collective historical consciousness in particular. See: C. Lenarduzzi and J. Pollmann, "Het vaderlands verleden in de zeventiende eeuw. Inleiding," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29 (2013): 148-153. A good summary of the debate is provided in: L. Jensen (ed.), *The roots of nationalism: national identity formation in early modern Europe, 1600-1815* (Amsterdam, 2016). A particularly useful approach to the issue is proposed by Ingmar Vroomen, who seeks to decenter the "true" existence of a premodern national consciousness in favor of a focus on the aims and functions of patriotic rhetoric: I. Vroomen, "Taal van de Republiek. Het gebruik van vaderlandretoriek in Nederlandse pamfletten, 1618-1672", diss., Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 2012.

framework for this type of analysis.²³ Taking into consideration the extension in time and space, durability versus volatility of shared memory cultures, as well as the types of media involved in sustaining them, Assmann distinguishes between social, political and cultural memory formats. More complex than the top-down creation (or imposition) of political memory structures and more broadly sustained than social ones, she describes cultural memory as commonly shared understandings of the past relative to a specific social group, which exist on a spectrum of both celebration and dismissal. A dynamic selection process ultimately leads to the formation of a widely accepted “canon” and a more dormant “archive,” both of which are subject to a process of constant (re)negotiation.

The Amsterdam entries under study here, likewise, can be seen to function as vehicles through which the contested memories of recent Dutch republican history could be deployed, framed and re-framed. Particularly emphasizing narratives centering on the Revolt, I find that these highly public and increasingly well-documented events served not only to invent national heroes and reinforce powerful myths of origin, but also to bolster political positions and strengthen alliances.

I apply this methodological framework to eight prominent ceremonial entries that took place in Amsterdam between 1580 and 1660. The starting point of this project is based on the date of the first such event that followed the city’s break with Habsburg rule in 1579: the entry of William I of Orange (1533-1584) in 1580. Its endpoint is constituted by the last entry that took place in the city before the era of Stadtholder William III (1650-1702), which was the visit of Mary Stuart (1631-1660) and her son, then young William III, in 1660. This project does not claim to be exhaustive in its efforts, and it certainly does not pretend to be a

²³ A. Assmann, “Re-framing memory. Between individual and collective forms of constructing the past,” in: K. Tilmans et al. (eds.), *Performing the past. Memory, history and identity in modern Europe* (Amsterdam,

complete overview of all entries, or other urban festivities that took place in Amsterdam during this period. Rather, the entries discussed have been chosen for their ability to foreground different aspects of a changing ceremonial tradition.

In my first chapter I focus on a set of quickly succeeding receptions that were organized for new leadership figures after the city had joined the Revolt. These events took place in the transitional period shortly before and after the Union of Utrecht (1581) and amid discussions regarding the best system of government for what, at this time, was a loose coalition of provinces and cities primarily seeking to organize an effective joined war effort. The leader of the rebelling provinces, William of Orange, was received by Amsterdam in 1580. The Earl of Leicester (1533-1588), in his capacity of Governor-General, in 1586. Two triumphal entries of Stadtholder William's son, Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625) followed in 1594 and 1618.

I argue that these entries show that a monarchical ceremonial language was used to explore, negotiate and legitimize the terms of a "mixed constitution" Republic, in which an aristocratic Captain-General, as Stadtholder, served the provinces and States-General. Maurice's 1618 entry in particular served to further define this relationship amid increasing political and religious controversies. In these circumstances, it is significant that both sanctioned and non-official organizers were involved in the festivities for his visit. A prominent role was claimed in the event by the newly-established *Nederduytsche Academie*, headed by a young generation of literary figures, including Samuel Coster (1579-1665), who ultimately urged Maurice to take an impartial and unifying position.

2010) 35-50.

The joyous entry of the exiled Queen-Mother of France, Maria de' Medici (1575-1642), in 1638 forms the topic of my second chapter. Taking place under unorthodox, and diplomatically delicate circumstances, the entry's splendor was unprecedented in the history of the Republic. The visit also marked the first ceremonial entry for which an official illustrated account was commissioned by the city's burgomasters, authored by *Athenaeum Illustre* Professor Caspar Barlaeus (1584-1648). Both the ephemeral decoration program and its reproduction in this three-language publication emphasized Amsterdam's newfound glory as the international capital of maritime trade. Foregrounding its riches, exotic goods, and revitalized urban fabrics and harbor, Amsterdam positioned itself as a thriving *Koopstad*, the magnificence of which could rival the courts of Europe. This, I argue, was a deliberate strategy of the city's ruling class of merchants to legitimize the novel underpinnings of their political power: economic strength and trading privileges.

If my second chapter shows that this remarkable reception was utilized to bolster the credibility of Amsterdam leadership both at home and abroad, my third chapter shows that the reception in 1642 of Maria's daughter, Queen of England Henrietta Maria Stuart (1609-1669), served to solidify the role and position of the House of Orange on the international diplomatic stage. Following the marriage of Henrietta Maria's daughter, Mary Stuart to William II of Orange (1626-1650), the son of Dutch Stadtholder Fredrick Henry (1584-1647), the young couple visited Amsterdam just as the Stuart monarchy in England was unraveling amid the threat of a civil war. The decoration program for the stately reception was carefully constructed by veteran poet Samuel Coster in order to present the Orange-Stuart union as one of equivalent nobilities. Drawing on an existing tradition of bridal entries, the *tableaux vivants* made claims of power and status on behalf of the Orange-

Nassau dynasty that were closely interwoven with the family's role in the Dutch struggle for liberation.

The *tableaux vivants*' representation in print, alongside a narrative description, served to further underscore this theme. The *Beschrivinge* was modeled on the 1638 *Medicea Hospes*, and appeared at the initiatives of publisher-printmaker Pieter Nolpe (1613-1652) and Samuel Coster. The latter, also responsible for the textual descriptions of the program, additionally utilized the publication to commemorate the roles played in past ceremonial entries by the then defunct chambers of rhetoric as well as the short-lived *Academie*. As such, the festival book demonstrates its potential to help encode the positions of historical stakeholders, in this case the contributions of Coster's generation of *rederijkers*, into the city's cultural memory. Not coincidentally this occurred just as Amsterdam's cultural networks were being reformulated following the opening of the City Theater (*Schouwburg*) in 1637.

As my second and third chapter show, the ceremonial format of the joyous entry procession in this period was innovatively utilized both to formulate arguments for Dutch sovereignty and to bestow traditional notions of royalty and status associated with such events on a new order of recipients—including Amsterdam's own ruling class of merchants. More than the ones that preceded them, the events demonstrate the city's self-awareness in public diplomacy. Or, as Dutch writer and critic Arnold Leopold Hendrik Ising (1824-1898) already wrote in 1853:

It was said, indeed, that as then those honors were owed to the Queen-Mother of France, that one had now owed them to the Queen of England, since both France and England had supported the Commonwealth and provided aid against the Spanish enemy; but we do not know whether Amsterdam did not also intend to show that this help was no longer needed, that the Commonwealth had entered a phase of powerful growth, and that the wealthy trading city, which received the bounty of all continents in its ports – even while she did not acknowledge royal authority herself –

*still, when it pleased her, knew how to properly receive and treat with the required courtesy a person of high rank and royal blood.*²⁴

A question that arises from this keen consideration, then, is why it was of such importance that Amsterdam, as the commercial capital of the flourishing Republic, indeed *knew* how to engage in this variety of courtly decorum, and as such continue the monarchical and aristocratic languages of diplomacy in its interactions with foreign royals? In my last chapter, finally, I argue that these ceremonial traditions of monarchy still had enough currency to serve the city's international relations during a period of heightened republicanism. The marriage politics of the Oranges during the First Stadtholderless Era (1650-1672) effectively pressured Amsterdam to orchestrate two controversial receptions of Orange-Nassau family members in 1659 and 1660. Louise Henriette of Nassau (1627-1667), the eldest daughter of former Stadtholder Frederick Henry, was received by Amsterdam in the summer of 1659. Through her marriage she had become Electress of Brandenburg. This position not only warranted an honorable reception, but one that necessarily included a celebration of the Orange-Nassau dynasty from which she had descended.

The reception of William II's widow Mary Stuart, one year later in 1660, borrowed heavily from the previous year's playbook. Yet while the visit of 1659 had likely been initiated in part by the Orange Princess, this reception took place at the urgent request of the city of Amsterdam. The city received Mary, along with her young son William III of Orange,

²⁴ A. Ising, "Een feestelijke intogt binnen Amsterdam (1642)," *Mengelingen: proza en poëzij van Nederlandsche auteurs, verzameld door Mr. W. Van de Poll*, vol. 1 (Tiel, 1853), 101-131, 104: "Het heette, ja, dat men toen aan de koningin-moeder van Frankrijk, dat men nu aan de koningin van England die eerbewijzen schuldig was, omdat èn Frankrijk èn Engeland het Gemeenebest eenmaal hadden gesteund en geholpen tegen den Spaanschen vijand; maar wij weten niet, of Amsterdam er niet tevens op uit was, te toonen, dat men thans die hulp niet zóó zeer meer behoefde, dat het Gemeenebest zich ontwikkeld had tot krachtige bloei, en dat vooral de rijke handelstad, die de schatten van alle de werelddeelen in hare havens ontving, – ofschoon ze zelve geen koninklijke magt erkende – toch, indien het haar behaagde, een persoon van zeer hoogen rang en vorstelijke bloed voegzaam wist te ontvangen en met alle vereischte wellevendheid wist te behandelen."

as a representative of her brother Charles II (1630-1685), the newly restored King of England.

While the festival program was very similar in both years, the program's central component, a parade of floats designed by Schouwburg director Jan Vos (1612-1667), drew a significant range of responses from Amsterdam's polemical printing press only after its 1660 iteration. I argue that the heightened response to the floats was caused that year by their appropriation of Orangist themes and tropes, combined and juxtaposed with the physical presence of the young William III. The ten-year-old Prince was both represented by an actor on one of the floats and publicly toured the city on horseback on a different day during the week-long visit. This, I believe, invigorated audiences both enthusiastic and critical of the displays – and could be construed not only as evidence of the popular appeal of the spectacles, but also their relevance to the formation of public opinion about the Republic's leadership and its political direction.

I. A body with many heads: Governors and Stadtholders, 1580-1618.

On February 8, 1578, Amsterdam sided with other major cities in Holland, Zeeland, Friesland, Utrecht, Flanders, and Brabant in an escalating conflict with their shared sovereign, King of Spain Philip II. Following a period of increased pressure and economic isolation, the city reluctantly entered into the Pacification of Ghent by signing the so-called *Satisfactie*: a document that detailed Amsterdam's rights and obligations in the now joint struggle against the Spanish. It served in particular to guarantee the continued practice of Catholicism as the only publicly accepted church in the city. The sudden influx of orthodox Protestant militants, however, soon meant an inevitable change in city leadership as well as a radical upset of the preexisting social and religious structures of life within city walls. On May 26 the Catholic government was overthrown and banished, and the churches and cloisters expropriated: an event that came to be known as the Alteration. This marked a definite break both with Amsterdam's existing religious traditions and established political strategies, as the initially wavering city would eventually take on an important, even leading, role in the revolutionary project of the Dutch Republic.

In the relatively short period following these upsets, between 1580 and 1618, several military leaders and (prospective) governors of this nascent state were received in Amsterdam with a variant form of joyous or triumphal entry ceremony. These were Stadtholders William I, Prince of Orange (1533-1584), his son Maurice of Nassau (1567-1625), as well as foreign governor Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester (1533-1588), each of whom had vowed to protect and aid the rebelling provinces. Their entries into the city constituted a tradition of urban ceremonial that developed under the unique conditions of the early Revolt. These events, while to a certain extent comparable in their form and function to

the joyous entries of Habsburg Princes and Burgundian Dukes of times past, took place in radically changed circumstances, and for new political purposes.

In this chapter, I argue that these ceremonial receptions helped to negotiate and legitimize a “mixed constitution” Republic, in which an aristocratic governor, bestowed with various levels of political and military authority, served the increasingly autonomous provinces and States-General. No longer functioning as the city’s sovereign monarchs, the Stadtholders and Governor-Generals did wield far-reaching powers, which were therefore subject to an increased need for clarification. Their perceived duties and responsibilities, as elaborated below, were delineated and sculpted during such receptions by use of the traditional media of the joyous entry, even while lacking the formal specificity of a formerly publicly performed and published oath.

The diplomatic and military efforts of the rebelling provinces had been headed since 1567 by former Philip-loyalist William of Orange who, after having been dismissed in 1568, had been reappointed as Stadtholder by the States of Holland in 1572. The young Archduke Matthias of Austria (1557-1619) served alongside him as the alternatively proposed *landvoogd* from 1577 until the formal declaration of independence known as the Act of Abjuration in 1581. After this date, the Dutch provinces increasingly sought out, and received, the protection first of the French and later the English Crown.²⁵ Support from these foreign monarchs, Henry III of France (1551-1589) and Elizabeth I Stuart of England (1533-1603), took the form of financial assistance, troops, and the appointment of two foreign governors: Francis, Duke of Anjou (1555-1584), Henry III’s younger brother, who served

²⁵ R. Strong and J. A. Van Dorsten, *Leicester’s Triumph* (Leiden, 1964); F. G. Oosterhoff, *Leicester and the Netherlands 1586-1587* (Utrecht, 1988); K.W. Swart, *Willem van Oranje en de Nederlandse Opstand 1572-1584*, eds. R. Fagel, M.E.H.N. Mout and H. van Nierop (The Hague, 1994), 100-105, 208-214; J. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford, 1995), 209-213, 220-230.

from 1581 to 1583, and the Earl of Leicester from 1586 to 1588. Following the assassination of William of Orange in 1584, his son Maurice was appointed to the offices of Stadtholder and Captain-General of Holland and Zeeland in 1585, positions he would hold until his death forty years later.

Out of this list of historic figures, William of Orange was received by the city on March 17, 1580, and the Earl of Leicester, accompanied by Stadtholder Maurice, on March 20, 1586. The latter, moreover, was welcomed in his own triumphal entry eight years later on August 19, 1594, following the successful siege of Groningen.²⁶ A second entry of Maurice into Amsterdam took place during the peak years of tensions during the Twelve Years' Truce, on the 23rd of May 1618. Analysis of the decoration programs accompanying these entries shows that they responded to the practical and theoretical frameworks which were being developed for the emerging republic's governmental apparatus. The entries of William of Orange and Leicester engaged in particular with shifting discussions regarding the necessity of a princely head in order to sustain a healthy body politic. The two entries of Maurice, moreover, functioned to mediate growing and changing concerns regarding the specific position of the Stadtholder: a holdover gubernatorial position from the Habsburg era that would become a key component of the Dutch republican political system.

Although ultimate authority always belonged to the decentralized States General, it was initially proposed to be fully invested in a governor serving as its necessary eminent head. While thus being granted the right to make decisions and govern with the same authority, the governor's executive powers were in fact understood to be derived entirely

²⁶ Anjou was received in then Protestant Antwerp, where an elaborate entry program was devised in his honor. Representatives of the States of Holland and Zeeland, headed by Paulus Buys (1531-1594), traveled to Antwerp to take an oath of allegiance: Strong and Van Dorsten 1964, 16. For the 1582 entry into Antwerp see Peters 2005.

from the States General, with whom sovereignty resided.²⁷ The search for such an “eminent head” was, however, largely abandoned after the two unsuccessful governorships of Anjou and Leicester. While the position of the Stadtholder remained, this figure operated in an increasingly republican context by the grace of princely symbolisms as well as rhetoric of humble service.

Through its significant financial contributions to the war, Amsterdam would likewise come to play a crucial role in the constitutional processes of the republic. It had, however, joined the revolt significantly later than most cities. This necessitated both a redemption and redefinition of its relative position, reputation and identity in regards to the emerging body politic. In this context, the arguments and themes the decoration programs used to reflect on the Revolt, and the dilemma’s it had produced for the city, are highly significant for our understanding of Amsterdam’s evolving positions during this period.

The fraught issue of distribution of power between city, the States of Holland, and the Stadtholder came to a head following the establishment of the Truce with Spain in 1609. During this period of relative peace, the position of the Stadtholder was once more transformed as external pressure diminished. Internal factionalism along Protestant confessional lines, at the same time, caused a serious rupture between then Stadtholder Maurice and Grand Pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619), leading to Van Oldenbarnevelt’s imprisonment and execution in 1619.²⁸ Maurice’s second entry in 1618, in this context, functioned as a platform for the articulation of opposing views in the conflict, mediated not only by the involvement of Amsterdam’s chambers of rhetoric, *D’Eglantier*

²⁷ M. van Gelderen, “From revolt to republic: the quest for the best state of the commonwealth (1378—1590),” *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590* (Cambridge, 1992) 166-212.

and *'t Wit Lavendel*, but also the newly established *Eerste Nederduytsche Academie*, which had opened its doors just a year prior in 1617. This entry, which therefore took on a somewhat eclectic character, demonstrated not only the continued function of public entry ceremonial to negotiate the ideal relationship between the Stadtholder, the city, and its diverse community, but also realized its potential as a site for cultural and artistic competition in a republican context. As Maurice's entries of 1594 and 1618 furthermore indicate, his image as presented during these events was constructed in part by references to an emerging visual culture and historiography of the Stadtholder's career, which was strategically mined for differing arguments regarding his powers and responsibilities.

Scholarship on the Northern Netherlandish entries during this period thus far has been limited, and has focused predominantly on situating the *tableaux vivants* performed in the respective literary and dramatic oeuvres of the various chambers of rhetoric who produced them.²⁹ Noting the changed nature of ceremonial receptions following the Revolt, Snoep primarily discussed the artistic forms and iconographic content of the festival programs in line with his broader inquiry into the decoration programs of such *triumphalia*.³⁰ Scholarship on entry ceremonial in the Southern Netherlands in recent years has demonstrated the important constitutional function of both entries and their commemoration in printed word and image to provide legitimacy and authority to

²⁸ For a good summaries, see Israel 1995, 421-449, and A. Th. van Deursen, *Maurits van Nassau 1567-1625. De winnaar die faalde* (Amsterdam, 2000), 253-265. The response to the crisis in contemporary pamphlets has been detailed in Vroomen 2012, 35-117.

²⁹ For a discussion of the performances put on during Maurice's 1618 entry by M. B. Smits-Veldt, "De 'Nederduytsche Academie' van Samuel Coster: de eerste Nederlandse Volksuniversiteit (1617-1622)," *Literatuur* 1 (1984): 58-64, and idem, "Menenius Agrippa op het rederijkerstoneel in Vlaardingen en Amsterdam," K. Porteman and K. E. Schöndorf (eds.), *Liber amicorum Prof. dr. Kare Langvik-Johannessen* (Leuven, 1989) 185-197; For a brief and insightful summary of the Amsterdam entry tradition after the revolt in connection to the *rederijkers*, see: M. Spies, "Stadhouder Maurits wordt in Amsterdam verwelkomd met een tableau vivant dat Davids overwinning op Goliath uitbeeldt. De functie van tableaux vivants bij openbare festiviteiten", R. L. Erenstein (ed.) *Een theaterschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1996) 148-155.

governments amid the radical political upheaval of the Revolt years.³¹ A similar approach, however, has not been applied to the entries taking place in the Northern Netherlands during the same period.

With the exception of the entry of Leicester, which has been discussed by Roy Strong and Jan van Dorsten in their larger study of the Earl's tours of the Netherlands during the years 1586 and 1587, the cultural and political significance of the rapidly succeeding entries taking place between 1580 and 1618 have not been analyzed in depth nor as part of an integral process of state-making.³² While no festival books similar to those in the Southern Netherlands were produced in the North, the entries taking place in Amsterdam during the first decades of the Revolt, as I argue in this chapter, nevertheless demonstrate the unique potential of this *longue durée* ceremonial and artistic format to negotiate a new system of government for which, at this time, no earlier models existed.

Continuity and change of a format

From the available evidence for the entries in the years both directly preceding (1549) and following the Alteration (1580-1618) an established format for ceremonial receptions into Amsterdam emerges. Notably, the available data reveals a continued implementation and standardization of numerous formal elements, including a fleet escort, ritual entry into the city via the IJ harbor marked by the firing of heavy artillery, and a formal welcome at Dam

³⁰ Snoep 1975, 24-38.

³¹ For this function in regards to the entry of Anjou in Antwerp in 1582 and the formulation of a new Netherlandish State, see Peters 2005. On the communal potential of both entries and *Ommegang* processions before and after the Revolt, see Thøfner 2007. For the use of the ceremonial entry and festival book tradition to articulate an unprecedented autonomous state under Archduke Albert and Archduchess Isabella, Infanta of Spain, during their entry into Antwerp in 1599, see Cholcman 2014.

³² Strong and Van Dorsten 1964.

Square by city burgomasters. The entry procession was guided from here by the civic militia towards the place of lodging along a route marked by stages or triumphal arches.

In the period leading up to the Revolt, the Habsburg Princes, and the Burgundian Dukes before them, were received by the city of Amsterdam in their capacity as Count of Holland.³³ This title formed the basis of their authority over the city, which was affirmed during the central component of the entry: the oath ceremony by which the new ruler was sworn in. The official identification of the ruler as Count of Holland both legitimized and domesticated foreign nobles, and simultaneously formed the official subject-position from which negotiations regarding obligations, rights and privileges between ruler and city could take place.

The positions of the Stadtholders and Governors discussed in this chapter were not as well-defined and were certainly different from a legal perspective. Upon their first visits to Amsterdam, these figures were nevertheless received with the honors and celebrations consistent with those of a joyous entry, such as an escorted arrival announced by heavy artillery, as well as a solemn procession through the city along a decorative program of triumphal arches and *tableaux vivants*. The receptions, however, also presented key differences from previous ones.

Although no detailed knowledge about the material circumstances of joyous entries into Amsterdam during the medieval period has been preserved, it appears that the prepared spectacle was relatively limited before Philip II's entry in 1549.³⁴ Chronicler Cornelis Aurelius describes significant festivities in several cities in Holland during the entries of Philip the Fair in 1497, including plays (*batamenten*) and *tableaux vivants* (*stomme figuren*),

³³ For the pre-Revolt tradition, see Smit 1995, 263-355.

³⁴ For this entry, see the introduction to this dissertation, p. 1 and note 1.

though no mention is made, for instance, of triumphal arches.³⁵ An account of the 1515 entry of Charles V in the city paints a similar picture, mentioning “*batamenten*” and “*schone figuren*”.³⁶ While Amsterdam was included in a new ruler’s journey of the Hollandic territories since at least the middle of the fourteenth century, it was not traditionally the most prominent host city.³⁷ The festivities in the province were increasingly consolidated in the late fifteenth century, as the princely tour started to include a more centralized reception. This was first held in The Hague in 1468, and after 1486 in Dordrecht, where representatives of the States of Holland, as well as smaller cities and the countryside, honored the ruler and exchanged oaths.³⁸

Based on published accounts of the festivities, as well as decrees (*Keuren*) that were issued by city magistrates for the days of the entries, it is possible to reconstruct the arrival routes via IJ and Damrak, as well as the and main decorative components of the first Amsterdam receptions in the period following the Alteration (figs. 1-4).³⁹ On the day of the

³⁵ “[...] in den maent van junio, is hertoge Phillips mit groter staet van heren ende princen gecomen in Hollant, tot Dordrecht, daer hi seer eerliken ontfangen wert ende gehult na ouder costumen, ende vandaer tot Rotterdamme, tot Delft, in Den Hage, tot Haerlem, tot Amsterdamme, tot Leyden, ter Goude ende so weder na Dordrecht ende na Brabant toe. Ende in allen steden wert hi mit groter feesten ende bliscappen ontfangen; ende dair worden vele costlike batamenten ende stomme figuren getoent [...]” C. Aurelius, *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant, met die cronike der biscoppen van Utrecht (Divisiechroniek)* (ed. Aarnoud de Hamer), n.p. 2011, 418v. See also A. van Dixhoorn, *Lustige geesten. Rederijkers en hun kamers in het publieke leven van de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de vijftiende, zestiende en zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2009) 196-200, and Smit 1995, 311-317.

³⁶ KB, Hs. 76 H 42 (“*Amsterdamse Kroniek*”), transcribed in Smit 1995, appendix 3.16, 549-550.

³⁷ Smit 1995, 398.

³⁸ Smit 1995, 391-392.

³⁹ The arrival in this manner is described as such in accounts of the 1580 and 1586 entries: *Incomste vanden doorluchtighen Vorst [...] den Prince van Orangien, binnen der vermaerde coopstadt Amsterdam den xvijen Martij 1580*, Antwerp (Gillis vanden Rade) 1580 (Knuttel pamphlet no. 530); *Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, during his government of the Low Countries, in the years 1585 and 1586*, ed. John Bruce (London, 1844), Appendix V, 475-477; and *Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. Sir Henry Ellis, Vol. IV (London, 1808), 651-652; The manner of entry can also be deduced from decrees issued in 1580, 1586 and 1618, which demand the relocation of ships and market stalls from the Damrak and inner harbor area, as well as restricted access to the bridges and streets that would form part of the processional route: SAA 5020, inv. no. 10, fol. 210r, decrees dated March 9, 1580 and March 14, 1580; SAA 5020, inv. no. 10, fol. 272v-273r, decree dated March 20 1586; SAA 5020, inv. no. 12, fol. 197r-v, decree dated May 23, 1618.

entry, fleets were dispatched by the city's burgomasters to collect the entering guest from a location mid-way between Amsterdam and the location or town from which they were traveling. William of Orange in 1580 and Maurice in 1618, for instance, had both been in the Frisian town of Kampen in advance of their respective visits to Amsterdam, and were met by an honorary fleet in the nearby town of Muiden.⁴⁰ Following an initial greeting, guests were escorted to the city. Upon arrival before the wooden poles that delineated the city's IJ harbor, called "*het boom*", the heavy artillery placed on the city's fortified walls was fired to announce the ritual entry as the ship passed into the inner harbor, where a first word of welcome was spoken by a city representative typically sent by boat to greet the visitor. The entry via the city's harbor allowed direct entry into the heart of the city's political and economic center, but also underscored the city's maritime identity, which, as we again know from preserved decrees, was deliberately amplified for such occasions.⁴¹

This theme was furthermore emphasized through recurring pageants in the *Damrak* waters. The *Damrak* was divided into segments by three bridges which, in order of passing, were the *Nieuwe Brug* (New Bridge), *Oude Brug* (Old Bridge) and *Papenbrug* (Papists' bridge). These partitioned bodies of water could be used to create a staggered program of

⁴⁰ *Triumphe tot Amsterdam/ Over het Incomen van den Hooch-gheboren Vorst Mauritius Prince van Orangien [...] den 23. 24. 25. May/ Anno 1618*, Leiden (Uldrick Cornelissz. Honthorst) 1618 (Knuttel pamphlet no. 2594), unpag.: "*Den 23. Mey is zijn Princelijcke Excellentie getrocken van Campen op Amsterdam [...] Ontrent Muyden komende/ quamen hem te ghemoete menichte van Jachten die smorghens van Amsterdam geseylt waeren.*"; *Incomste 1580*: "*Des donderdarchs den XVII. Meert des jaers 80. des morghens ontrent 5.uren sijnde door bevel van de Burgemeesterê van Amsterdam, die armeye [...] van hier af ghesteken, ende tot Muyghen ghearrueert/ al waer sijn Excie [...] ontfangen sijnde/ ende alsoo triumphelijcken inde stadt gebrocht.*" Leicester was met by a fleet of twenty galleys at an unspecified location in between Haarlem and Amsterdam: *Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. Ellis vol. IV 1808, 651-652, and *Correspondence*, ed. Bruce 1844, 476. Maurice traveled from Harlingen to Amsterdam in 1594. An important description of this visit, signaled by Snoep 1975, 31, is provided by J. I. Pontanus, *Historische beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coop-stadt Amsterdam [...] (Amsterdam: Iudocum Hondium, 1614) 148-149*. Upon his arrival to the city, according to Pontanus, Maurice was greeted by many ships and pleasure yachts, and escorted into the city at the behest of the city magistrate: "*Als hy by Amsterdam ghecomen was/ is hy met vele Schepen ende speel-schuyten ontfanghen/ ende van den Magistraet seer heerlick in de stadt gheleydt.*"

pageantry and spectacle. In 1580, for instance, several structures were placed in between the *Nieuwe* and *Oude Brug*, one floating device representing Neptune on a whale, and one stage featuring a City Maid surrounded by merchandise.⁴² The whale, likely a modified ship, was painted by an artist listed in city ledgers as Jacob Lenaertsz.⁴³ This same vessel, or at least a very similar one, appears to have been repeatedly used in the following decades during subsequent entries into the city.⁴⁴

During the entry of Leicester a few years later in 1586, an eyewitness reports that a boat in the form of a whale was accompanied by a second boat shaped in the form of a seahorse. The two boats, as recorded by a person in the Earl's retinue, were "*made in monstrous greatness; on the one the shape or likeness of a horsse swimming, on the other the likeness of a fish, on each of them a man riding, signifieng the god Neptune.*"⁴⁵ Though sources are unclear whether the latter concerned a painted decoration or live person in 1580, in 1586 this figure was certainly portrayed by an *Amsterdammer*. Identified decades later by

⁴¹ In 1549 large ships that were anchored in the outer IJ harbor were ordered to stay there until after the entry had been concluded: Smit 1995, p. 270.

⁴² *Incomste* 1580: "*Comende nu tusschen de Nieve ende ouden brugghe al waer gestelt oft ghedreven hebbende den walvisch uit water daerop sittende Neptunus oft den Gode vande zee noch daer op sittende een maecht wel cierlijck toeghemaect, hebbende alle oostersche waeren by haer thuys van neringhe [...].*"

⁴³ SAA 5039, inv. no. 74, fol. 183r: "*Jacob Lenairtsz scilder betaelt vierthien gulden negenthien st& en[de] een halve over zijn arbeytsloon en[de] verscoten pen[ningen] by hem verdient an die visch en[de] Neptunus die gemaict worde teghens d. Coompste van zyn Excellencie hier ter stede blyct by zyn declaratie die by dair off overlevert mit ord& van d. Burghemr Tybert Roeloffsz In date den 3. martij a80 [?] zyn qt& xiiii . xv . viii.*" This seems to indicate that both the whale and Neptune were painted decorations in 1580, while in 1586 Neptune was impersonated by a person (see note 46). See also Breen 1924, 70; Snoep 1975, 25.

⁴⁴ While I have found no mention of the Neptune and whale or fish pageants in connection to the entries of Maurice in 1594 and 1618, Neptune and Hippocamps were scheduled to make their appearance in 1586, and again in 1638, and were also prepared to be shown in 1642 along with a personification of William of Orange as Arion riding a Dolphin. A change in arrival route prevented their performance at Damrak. See chapter 2, p. 101 and chapter 3, p. 145. One can wonder if these structures were only disposed of, along with other "triumphal arches and triumphal chariots", in 1666: see chapter 4, p. 219. Since the entries in 1594 and 1618 similarly took place via the IJ and Damrak waters, it is quite likely that some variety of water pageants would have been performed during those occasions, though the fragmentary evidence regarding the visits do not allow a confirmation of this hypothesis.

⁴⁵ *Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. Ellis Vol. IV 1808, p. 652.

Samuel Coster as “*Zwijns-kop*”, the sea god was most likely played by soldier and provost Juriaan Swijnscoop (dates unknown) that year.⁴⁶ An important model for these pageants must have been the performance of an *Arion on the Dolphin* spectacle in Brussels, at the occasion of William of Orange’s entry into Brussels in 1577, both described and depicted in Johan Baptist Houwaert’s account of the event in 1579 (fig. 6).⁴⁷

In addition to these pageants, which served as a mythical welcome on behalf of the city and an introduction to its reputation as a sea-faring nation, entertainments in the form of water jousting were organized in 1580 between the *Oude* and *Papenbrug*, as well as firework spectacles between the *Papenbrug* and the fish market two days after the entry.⁴⁸ After disembarking near the fish market, the honored visitor followed a processional route that started at the Dam Square and, from 1586 onwards, ended at the convent-turned-lodging-facility *Prinsenhof*.⁴⁹ Along the way, one or several triumphal arches erected, typically in the same locations, such as the *Damsluis*, *Peerdestal/Beursstraat*, and *Varkenssluis*, while the arrival at the Dam Square also formed the stage for the formal

⁴⁶ Preceding his account of the 1642 entry of Henrietta Maria Stuart, Coster provides an overview of the ceremonial entries that occurred in Amsterdam since Leicester’s entry of 1586: S. Coster, *Beschrijvinge vande Blijde Inkoopste [...] tot Amsterdam, den 20 May, 1642* (Amsterdam: Pieter Nolpe 1642) 6. For the commemorative function of this festival book, see chapter 3, pp. 161-166. Juriaan Swijnscoop was the father of the painters Jan Jeuriaensz Swijnscoop (1581-1641) and Daniël Swijnscoop (c. 1591- after 1629). I am grateful to Harmen Nijboer for this reference, see also: <http://www.vondel.humanities.uva.nl/ecartico/persons/10293>.

⁴⁷ J. B. Houwaert, *Declaratie van die triumphante Incompst vanden [...] Prince van Oraignien binnen die princelijcke stadt van Brussele [...]* (Antwerp: Christoffel Plantijn, 1579) 34-36. Houwaert describes that additional sea gods and goddesses, including Neptune, were planned but not finished in time for the Prince’s arrival two days ahead of schedule.

⁴⁸ Water jousts had also been organized during the 1521 visit Christiaan II of Denmark, and were also held in 1638 on the third day of festivities for Marie de’ Medici’s reception of 1638. J. C. Breen, “Het eerste bezoek van Prins Willem I aan Amsterdam na de Alteratie van 1578,” *Amstelodamum Jaarboek* 21 (1924): 63-81, esp. 71. See also chapter 2, pp. 118-119.

⁴⁹ In 1580, William of Orange stayed at the residence of the wealthy merchant and burgomaster Dirck Jansz. Graeff (1532-1589), located in the Warmoesstraat across from the Papenbrugsteeg. Breen 1924, esp. pp. 71-72. The *Prinsenhof* was utilized in this capacity until the *Oudezijds Herenlogement* took over this function following an extensive renovation in 1647. See chapter 4, p. 186.

welcome by city burgomasters in front of the town hall.⁵⁰ Aside from the town hall, the Old Church played formed a hallmark location in the festivities, as its steeple was lit by candles in paper lanterns during the evenings following the entries of William of Orange in 1580, as well as Leicester in 1586.⁵¹ Other festivities during the ceremonial visits in this period typically included a banquet, additional bonfires and fireworks, as well as the presentation of gifts.⁵² The latter ranged from moose skins, shields and hats for William of Orange and his halberds at a cost of almost 700 guilders in 1580, to a jewel valued over 1,129 guilders presented to Leicester in 1586, and silver cups and basins purchased for 381 guilders and 5 stuivers for Maurice in 1594.⁵³

⁵⁰ A formal welcome by burgomasters at Dam Square is documented in 1580, 1586 and 1618: *Incomste 1580*, “*Van daer comende aenden Dam opgaede aldaer zijn Extie blydelijcken van den Borgemeestere ontfange wert, en va daer op Stadthuys ghebrocht*”; *Correspondence*, ed. Bruce 1844, 475-477, esp. 476. No information in this regard is preserved for 1594, but Coster mentions the placement of a stage across from the Damrak landing platform in 1618 “so that the welcome of the Gentlemen [burgomasters], could be more conveniently done [...]” (“*t gezicht hebbende na de steyger, die om het op-treedden uyt de Schuyte, sierlijk en gemakelijk daarom aleene gemaakt was, en om dat de verwelkominge van de Heeren, gevoeghelijker gedaen mochte worden*”), thus indicating the formal welcome indeed took place here. In 1580 the reception of William of Orange by burgomasters at the town hall was furthermore followed by a muster of city troops: *Incomste 1580*.

⁵¹ The illumination is mentioned in the *Incomste 1580* pamphlet: “*Principalijcken om sien was datmen ouer de CC. pampieren lanteernen met keersen opten ouden siets Kercktoeren / III. hooch wthinck, die gebernt hebben van IX. Uren tsavonts tot II. uren tsmorghens.*” Lantern maker Mouris Harmensz was paid 11 guilders and 5 stuivers for 160 lanterns: SAA 5039, inv. no. 74, fols. 186r-v. Samuel Coster (Coster 1642, 6-7) recounts that a similar illumination took place in 1586: “*Des nachts scheen de Oude-Kerks-tooren beeter een vierige zuyle, als zijn spits te vertonen, dat met papiere lantaernen (’t was aerdigh en onkostelijck) van boven tot beneden dicht behangen was.*”

⁵² On the historical significance of gift exchange during entry ceremonies, see: M. Damen, “Princely entries and gift exchange in the Burgundian Low Countries: a crucial link in late medieval political culture,” *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007): 233-249.

⁵³ For the gifts presented to William of Orange and his halberds in 1580, see SAA 5039, inv. no. 74, fols. 117v, 185r, also Breen 1924, 65-66. For 1586, see SAA 5039, inv. no. 80, fol. 125v, also P. Scheltema, *De Graaf van Leicester, te Amsterdam, in de Jaren 1586 en 1587* (Amsterdam, 1851) 19, 64. In 1594 228 guilders and 10 stuivers are documented for “*de coop van een silveren cop wegende hondert veertig lott ende een vierendel loots*” and 152 guilders and 15 stuivers for “*twee silveren schalen wegende ses & tzeventich loot & anderhalff vierendel loots*”. These are not specified as bought for Maurice, but the *schalen* (basins) were purchased with the intent “to be gifted” (“*van hem gecoft om verschoncken te worden*”): SAA 5039 inv. no. 88, fols. 158v-159r. Maurice’s younger brother, Frederick Henry, was furthermore presented the same year with “*een gouden waterhondt*”, purchased for 92 guilders, idem, fol. 159v. While no gift is documented in the ledgers for 1618, the existence of a gilded silver basin and ewer decorated with representations of Maurice’s military victories dated 1614, now in the collection of the Rijksmuseum (BK-AM-17-A/B), could have been

The joyous entry, as a ceremonial format that included specific aspects such as a ritual reception, procession, and gift-giving practices, was thus seemingly continued during the early years of the Revolt. Through this link with pre-Revolt conventions, these ceremonies were able to invest the Stadtholders and Governors with a legitimacy that – at least in part – was designed to mitigate the unconventional circumstances under which their visits took place. The ephemeral performances and spectacles devised for these occasions, to which I will now turn, sought to address more explicitly the precise nature of the relationship between the city and the Republic’s successive political and military leaders.

William of Orange: March 17, 1580

When the Prince of Orange visited Amsterdam in March of 1580, the Stadtholder found himself at the crossroads of several concurrent developments in the Republic’s political and military history. Archival documents make clear that Orange’s visit, in fact, had the purpose of lobbying the city’s leadership for agreement on two initiatives he had put forth to transform the most central components of the united provinces’ government.⁵⁴ The first was the establishment of a new Council of State (*Landsraad*, or *Raad van State*), consisting of thirty representatives of the four main provinces in addition to Orange, that would be provided with the authority to make independent decisions on a federal level. The second was a proposal to realize the Prince’s long-held desire to promote the Duke of Anjou as the Netherlands’ lord and protector. A draft treaty to this end had been prepared in January of 1580.

presented to him on the occasion of his visit. Published in: G. Luijten et al., *Dawn of the golden age: northern Netherlandish art, 1580-1620* (Amsterdam, Zwolle and New Haven, 1994) 451-452, cat. no. 111.

⁵⁴ Swart discusses these as important motivations for Orange’s trip to the Northern provinces in the spring of 1580: Swart 1994, 206-207, 210-211.

The prospect of both initiatives materializing, however, were far from certain at this point and, as detailed below, the city council, composed of eminent Amsterdam citizens from which burgomasters were annually elected (*vroedschap*), had strong reservations regarding such developments. Most notably this call for centralization exacerbated existing rivalries between Amsterdam and other cities both within and outside the province of Holland. Under these circumstances, the decoration program that the city designed for the reception addressed the uncertainty of its own position by appealing to William of Orange directly as an alternative governor and “virtuous Prince,” who was called on to protect the city and its interests above those of other, and particularly Southern, cities.

Following the largescale destruction that Antwerp had experienced at the hand of mutinying Spanish forces in 1576, an event since known as the Spanish Fury, both radical Protestant and moderate Catholics united under the banner of a shared aversion for the Spanish presence in the Netherlands. Traveling from the Northern Netherlands, William had made his entry into Brussels amid adoring crowds in 1577, while support for the Revolt movement was strong in both the Southern and Northern provinces. Since then, however, the capable Duke of Parma had been placed at the head of a larger and better equipped army. As a result, several cities weary with the war, predominantly in the Southern Netherlands, were inclined to accept Philip II as their sovereign again under the right conditions.

William’s position at this point had weakened considerably. The Stadtholder was growing increasingly frustrated with the ineffective governmental apparatus by way of which the shared war efforts were coordinated and, as a result, suffered a chronic lack of funds. The signing in January 1579 of the respective Treaties of Utrecht and Atrecht, furthermore, had again widened the divide between the North and the South. Needless to say, any political and financial reforms involved complicated negotiations with the various cities and provinces in

the union, including Amsterdam. The earliest mention of William of Orange's upcoming visit, which would mark the first following both the *Satisfactie* and the Alteration, is recorded in the resolutions of the city council (*vroedschap*) dating February 27, 1580.⁵⁵ Over the next days, from the 1st of March until the 3rd, the councilors discussed a letter from the States of Holland regarding both the *Landsraad* and the appointment of Anjou, along with several other propositions regarding the collection of new excises for the benefit of general funds.⁵⁶

While resolving to agree to the institution of a central council for the provisional period of one year, the concerns of the Amsterdam *vroedschap* regarding its precise nature and authority can be gleaned from a long list of proposed amendments to the constitutional format as put forward to them by the States. Some of these amendments sought to restrict or clarify the authority of the council versus the hierarchical structures already in place. The city council, for instance, wanted to ensure that the cities of Holland would maintain their rights as stipulated in the Pacification of Ghent.⁵⁷ Preoccupation with the province's status and representation in the new council is particularly noticeable in the demand that Flanders should not be allowed to send more than four delegates – not serendipitously the same number as had been proposed for Holland – and that neither members of the clergy, nor foreigners, should be allowed to be nominated for such positions, but only “good and sincere

⁵⁵ Seven to eight hundred guilders were budgeted for a suitable gift. The choice of the gift itself was left to the discretion of the burgomasters: SAA 5025, inv. no. 4, fol. 98v: “*Ten voorsz daege [February 27] is by myn heren Geresolveert dat men zyne Exie tzynder Compste alhijer een schenkaige tot seven off acht honder gul[den] zall doen, stellen[de] nyet te min tzelffde ter discretie van myn heren Burgerm[eeste]r[e]n.*” See also Breen 1924.

⁵⁶ SAA 5025, inv. no. 4, fols. 99r-105v.

⁵⁷ SAA 5025 inv. no. 4, fol. 99v: “*Dat oick by tderde ar.l van voorsz Instructie werde gevoucht dat die van Holl[an]t zullen blyven by haer geregticheyt volgende pacificatie & daer en boven allen provincien en steden een yder by zyn vercregen gerechticheyt zoe in Crychs als politike zaecken. Ende dat by t vierde articule geaddeert werde dat in Holl[an]t geen veranderinghe van religie ingevoert zal worden.*”

patriots” born and owning property in the province.⁵⁸ Further resolutions of this nature concerned the terms and conditions of the voting process, such as the establishment of a ranking order and the presence of a required minimum of delegates to reach a quorum.⁵⁹

Perhaps of even greater significance in the context of Orange’s impending visit are the deliberations on the topic of the suggested promotion of Anjou to “*protector generael vuer de gemeene nederlanden*,” to which the councilors objected in the strongest of terms.⁶⁰ Despite the Stadtholders’s repeated efforts in this period to provide guarantees to Holland and Zeeland that Anjou’s absolute powers would be limited – by focusing his authority mostly on military matters, and declining him a say in political and religious decisions regarding these provinces – opinions on whether to accept Anjou as more than a vaguely described “defender of the liberties of the Netherlands” were still very mixed in these provinces towards the end of 1579 and the first months of 1580.⁶¹ The Amsterdam *vroedschap*, in fact, appears to have been deeply concerned by the Duke’s reliance on his brother, French King Henry III. On March 2, the council resolved to not only reject the idea of Anjou as governor, but instead that it would prefer to offer the “high governance and

⁵⁸ Idem, fols. 99v-100r: “*Ten alzou meer dan notoir is dat den Landen inde meeste verloop oirloghen en& discort gecomen zyn deurt regyere vande geestelickheijt als den Paeus onder Eedt verplicht zyn[de]. Verstaen daeromme [...] dat die van Vlaenderen onder den zelve niet meer hebben zullen dan vyere, en dat onder den zelfden Raedt geen geestelicke personen zullen worden geordonneert maer alle goede oprechte [...] personen die gekent geacht & gereputeert worden voor goede oprechte patriotten, die in een yder provincie gebooren zullen moeten wesen en& inde geunieerde provincien gegoet zynde [...].*” Deliberations between the Prince and the States General in this period had, in fact, resulted in a draft which listed five delegates for Flanders, versus two each from Brabant, Gelderland, and Holland. See Swart 1994, 206.

⁵⁹ Idem, fols. 100r-100v: “*Item opt vii.e ar.le twelck mentioneert vande pluraliteyt van stemen, verstaen den xxxvi Raede dat den stemen vande voorsz Lantraet niet gecollecteert zullen mogen worden naert getal der personen, dan provincialiter. By t ix.e articule van Instructie verstaen den Raede dat [...] byden voorsz Raedt niet geresolveert zall mogen worden dan by t tmerendeel van tcollegye en insonders dat vuyt yder provincie ten minste een van Raeden presente zall moeten wesen, opdat in egeene zaecke enighe provincie int particulyer concernerende eynte niet en worde gedaen zoude by wesen van enighe vande gedeputeerde van zelve provincie.*”

⁶⁰ Idem, fols. 103r-103v. For the position of the city in regards to Anjou before and during the 1580 visit see also Breen 1924.

⁶¹ Van Gelderen 1992, 166-173; Swart 1994, 167-168, 208-211.

sovereignty” to William of Orange, “a Prince proven faithful to Christians”, who should thus be provided with the same territories and obedience that had formerly been enjoyed by the Count of Holland.⁶²

The city government would, however, significantly soften its position on March 19, as evidenced by a resolution inscribed in the margins of the original deliberations of March 2. This new resolution, in which the city agrees that its delegates should vote in concordance with the majority of the most powerful provinces and Holland, is highly significant, as it was negotiated on the third day of the Prince’s visit. Breen notes that in the meetings of the States on the following March 28, the city proposed to offer Orange the governorship of Holland, who could then negotiate with Anjou regarding his role as Governor-General of the United Provinces.⁶³

In the context of these discussions, the city clearly endeavored to demonstrate the Prince of Orange a distinct show of support – not only as Stadtholder, but as the potential sovereign head of the union. As mentioned, Orange made his entry into the city by boat, where he encountered the waterborne displays of Neptune on the whale and the Maid of Amsterdam.⁶⁴ The latter in particular highlighted the city’s trade in the Baltic region, as her “house of commerce,” likely a modified vessel much like Neptune’s whale, featured both

⁶² SAA 5025, inv. no. 4, fol. 103v: “[...] *duncken den Raeden Raetsaem ter defensie vanden Landen dat men zyn Ex.e als een Christen getrouwen versocht furst die hoocheyt & Souveraniteijt vande geunieerde provincien zall daedelick aenbyeden, & met alder ontmoet versoucken die aen te nemen te beschermen mits contribuieren naert behooren, Mitsgaders dat zyne f. G.in Holl[an]t allen den domeynen toegevoucht & zulcke obediencie gedaen zal worden als den Grave van Holl[an]t is gedaen [...]*”

⁶³ Breen 1924, 77.

⁶⁴ *Incomste* 1580.

“oostersche waeren” and corner columns decorated with the princely coat of arms of the four “oosterschen hoofdsteden,” presumably the four *kontors* of the Hanze.⁶⁵

The most spectacular elements of the celebrations organized for the Prince, however, took place on the third day of the visit, following intermittent bonfires on the evening of his arrival, and an impressive illumination of the spire of the Old Church by lanterns on the second night. On March 19, the same day as the aforementioned resolution, the city had organized a fireworks display at the *Papenbrug*, followed by another, devised by the *Eglantier* chamber, at the *Damssluis* near the fish market (fig. 1). In contrast to the pageants that had appeared in the *Damrak* on the day of entry, these spectacles addressed the Prince directly in his role as military and political leader of the Revolt. Their themes and contents, both of which were complemented by texts written by the city’s rhetoricians, are described in a pamphlet printed in Antwerp in 1580, entitled *Incomste vanden doorluchtighen Vorst [...] den Prince van Orangien, binnen der vermaerde coopstadt Amsterdam den xvijen Martij 1580*.

Two structures were built at the *Papenbrug*, one that represented Breda Castle, where William of Orange had resided as Lord and Baron of Breda from 1551 to 1567, and the other Alva’s residence “in the way of the house at Antwerp (“*Duck d’Aluens huys [...] op de manier van thuys t’Antwerpen*”).⁶⁶ The latter possibly referred to the Antwerp Citadel, which was built between 1567 and 1572 by order of the Duke of Alva, and had housed a statue of Alva standing triumphant over a figure representing heresy. Following the Spanish Fury of

⁶⁵ *Incomste* 1580: “[...] noch daer by sittende een maecht wel cierlijck toeghemaect, hebbende alle oostersche waeren by haer thuys van neringhe, op elcken hoeck staande een Calomme daeraen geschildert warê de princelijcke wapens vanden oosterschen hoofdsteden [...]”

⁶⁶ *Incomste* 1580; Gherrit Henrycksz Vos, artillery master of the city, was paid 300 guilders and 5 stuivers for his work during the entry festivities, which included the “devising & decorating of the two castles at the Papenbrug” (“*het opmacken & stoffieren van de twe Casteelen op die papenbrugh*” SAA 5039, inv. no. 74, fol. 181v.

1576, the citizens of Antwerp, in an act of secular iconoclasm had, in fact, partially demolished this fort as well as destroyed the statue of Alva contained within it. The Duke, however, had resigned from his position in 1573 and Antwerp, an early center of the Revolt, had in fact entered into the Pacification of Ghent two years before Amsterdam did.

Nonetheless, both buildings functioned as symbols for the Prince and the hated Spanish General, who in turn functioned as the main protagonists in a narrative that referenced the ongoing war between the Spanish and Dutch forces. Given the concerns raised by the Amsterdam *vroedschap* regarding the city's political and economic position in this exact period, however, the choice to conflate the Spanish oppressor with a rival city, Antwerp, is both strategic and significant. As part of the discussion regarding proposed general taxes and embargoes discussed in the city council's resolutions described above, the city councilors tellingly, and somewhat bitterly, made it known that on this matter they wished that "those of Antwerp will not be permitted preeminence or authority and cause of deceit, to which they have always attempted."⁶⁷

The two houses, armed with fireworks, "attacked" each other over the course of an hour, leading up to the spectacular conclusion in which the house of Alva (and Antwerp) went up in flames. Both buildings were likely decorated with painted scenes as well as four "letters" explaining their iconography, which are also included in the *Incomste* pamphlet.⁶⁸ The houses juxtaposed William, presented as a true Christian Prince guided by God, patience and humility on the one hand, and Alva as a ruthless tyrant driven by deceit and

⁶⁷ SAA 5025, inv. no. 4, fol. 102v: "*Item en zall oick die van Antwerpen geen preeminentie off autoriteyt & oirseacke van bedroch toegelaten worden daertoe zy altyt hebben getracht.*"

⁶⁸ *Incomste* 1580. The total of eight scenes, four each for the likely rectangular houses, are described in verses that provide cues for a visual interpretation, such as a repeated introductory "here one sees" addressing and alerting the reader in several verses as a potential viewer. The first verse of the four scenes of the tyranny of Alva explicitly states that "in this painting all can see clearly" ("*In dese schilderije mach elck clear sien [...]*").

greed. While the first led his people to victory and peace, triumphing over enemies “outside of the garden of Holland” and re-establishing trade, the latter causing a mass exodus of men and women after the brutal murder of Protestant innocents who had been falsely promised a pardon. This juxtaposition was a familiar one and had been propagated in print since the early 1570s.⁶⁹ Like such polemical prints, these scenes quite unequivocally sought to equate the Prince of Orange to the city’s ideal of a virtuous prince. Orange was presented as temperate but ultimately serving as a protector of Holland’s interests above other provinces, and perhaps especially those of Brabant and Antwerp.

This message was further reinforced by the pyrotechnic display at the fish market, consisting of an illuminated structure in the shape of a crown decorated with oranges, to the side of which stood two standards with heptagrams lit by burning tarpots. In between them the rhetoricians had placed their blazon, at the center of which was displayed a text containing an “advice from the city of Amsterdam” to William, another “welcome to the Prince from the rhetoricians” to its right, and a “permission to triumph” addressed to Amsterdam’s citizenry to its left. The “advice” was the longest of these three, and deserves to be translated in its entirety here:

Eager, patient, brave both in word and deed,
He dedicated himself to liberating us,
Of the Spanish yoke; which is why this Princely seed
Of Nassau, in addition to our King, we honor and adore
Would one neglectfully forget this good deed?
Admirably he liberated us, his friends.
Prince, one of the ancient times,
Of those who will not be conquered, praised with dedication.
O Noble Prince, your glory was always told by us

⁶⁹ D. Horst, “The Duke of Alva & The Prince of Orange”, in: D. Horst and J. Tanis, *Images of discord: a graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War/ De tweedracht verbeeld: prentkunst als propaganda aan het begin van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Bryn Mawr, 1993) 25-37, also cat. nos. 17, 18, and 19; D. Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand 1566-1584* (Zutphen, 2003) 137-139, 182-185, 193-197.

Laurel wreath, we present to you, who with prudence
Generously saves us; therefore you are an honor to all.⁷⁰

Again William of Orange was portrayed as a victorious and princely liberator, while Amsterdam was cast in the role of grateful and ever-loyal recipient of his noble efforts. His virtuous leadership, according to this view, was reminiscent of that which the city had enjoyed in the past, possibly referring to the often glorified rule under the Dukes of Burgundy, or even Charles V. The verses thus evoke a continuity and lineage from one dynasty of just princes to their proposed successor, while effacing the city's uneven allegiance to the Prince and his party in recent years.

Orange's descendance from nobility, already present in the "advice", formed the leading motive in the second text, in which the rhetoricians addressed him as a valiant "*Vorst, Prins, Graef, Ridder ende Baroen*" whose prudence "merited an Empire." The third text, finally, instructed the city's community to be joyous and to "shoot, flaunt, play the trumpet and celebrate [...] for him, who governs over your matters with care" and "bravely fights for your freedom." The vivid image of the crown, and the accompanying texts thus emphasized the Prince's noble birth, and made an effort to bestow onto him the virtues associated with such princely figures.

Given the city's desire to offer the sovereignty of the United Provinces to Orange over Anjou, these displays were meant to shape and reinforce the bond between the city and its prospective new ruler. They advised him in particular to fight for Amsterdam's liberty and prosperity, in return for which the Stadtholder would receive the support of a joyous and

⁷⁰ *Incomste 1580: "Willich, lijdsaem, cloeckmoedich met raet ende daet/ Hem selven heeft hy ghestelt, om ons te bevryen/ Vant Spaensche jock; dies wy dit Princelijck saet/ Nassauwen, naest ons Coninck, eeren ende belyen/ Sou men dese weldaet verghetelijck laten glyen?/ Wenschelijck heeft hy ons, zijn vrienden, bevriet/ Prins, een van den ouden tyden/ Van die niet verwonnen worden, gheloeft met vliedt/ O Edel Prins, u lof wert van ons verhaelt altijt/ Rancke met Laurier, schenck wy u, die met wijsheyt/ Generoselijck ons verlost; dies u elck een prijs seyt."*

obedient people. The reciprocal design of these spectacles, as such, evoked the basic principle of a traditional oath ceremony. Yet while the latter was constitutional and legally binding, the former, still mediated by text, implied and alluded to the governing relationship rather than (re-)establish it.

Although the cited archival documents show that the city was not able to convince the Prince on its position regarding the prospective roles of Anjou and his own person, a resolution dated March 26 notably states that Orange, before his departure, had communicated to the Amsterdam councilors his belief that the city would “prosper and improve above all other cities” if it would only resolve its “issues and conflicts” regarding the terms of the *Satisfactie* of 1578 with the States of Holland.⁷¹ Among other matters related to the civic militia and churches, this treaty, importantly, had included a contentious clause stipulating that the city was not obliged to share in any pre-existing debts brought on by the Revolt.⁷²

While thus not entirely successful in convincing the Prince of the city’s viewpoints and arguments, the visit evidently formed part of a mutual process of negotiation that had its roots in a tradition where ceremonial entries performed such a function.⁷³ In contrast to the pre-Revolt period, such negotiations now did not merely involve the relation between ruler and city, or even ruler and Holland, but the relative status of Amsterdam within a

⁷¹ SAA 5025, inv. no. 4, fol. 105v: “*Idem xxvii Marty xv.c lxxx hebben myn heren den Burgermrn den xxxvi Raeden voor gehouden hoedat zyn Ex. voor zyn vertreck op henl[uyden] begeert heeft dat zy heur diligentie zouden doen op dat die questien en[de] geschillen tusschen deser stede & den Staeten van Holl[an]t ter neder geleyt mochten worden, te weten in questie van[de] oude schulden, mitsgaders tpoint van tverminderen van[de] vendelen binnen deser stede als anderen dagelicxs vuyt die Satisfactie verrijsende, die alles ter neder geleyt en[de] geaccordeert zynde, zyne Ex.e verstaet dat deser stede zall comen te prosperen & verbeteren boven allen steden [...].*” Also Breen 1924, 77-78.

⁷² See also Breen 1924, 65. The “*questie van oude schulden*” already appeared in the resolutions of the city council (vroedschapsresoluties) on February 6, 1580: SAA 5025 inv. no. 4, fol. 98v.

constellation of cities and provinces that formerly had moved in slightly different orbits. Amsterdam's leadership, to this effect, recognized Orange as an important interlocutor in the growing state apparatus, and his presence in the city as an opportunity to advocate for its own position and interests. This use of the ceremonial entry as a discursive platform would be used again six years later during the reception of the Earl of Leicester in 1586.

Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, March 20, 1586

Following the governorship of Anjou, which ended with the disastrous "French Fury" attack on Antwerp in 1583, and then the assassination of William of Orange on July 10, 1584, the republic's leaders, including William's son Maurice as Stadtholder, focused their political efforts on securing support from England. The Treaty of Nonsuch, which was signed with England on August 20, 1585, formalized an alliance between Elizabeth I and the provinces.⁷⁴ A faction consisting of noble figures in the environment of William of Orange in Holland and Zeeland and militant Calvinist circles in the court of Elizabeth I, including Leicester had, in fact, propagated the idea of an Anglo-Dutch state as early as the 1570s.⁷⁵ Following the treaty, in January 1586, the Earl was appointed Governor and Captain-General of the Netherlands. In contrast to previous governors, Leicester was awarded far-reaching yet ill-defined powers, including supreme authority on the important topics of war and state finances.⁷⁶ More restricted, however, was his ability to appoint members in the Council of

⁷³ For the development of a significant negotiation process regarding (new) rights and privileges in exchange for monetary support, held between the States of Holland and Zeeland and the Counts both preceding and surrounding joyous entries during the pre-Revolt era, see Smit 1995, 356-367.

⁷⁴ The treaty was ratified in October: Oosterhoff 1988, 43-47, 49-53.

⁷⁵ Strong and Van Dorsten 1964, 4.

⁷⁶ Oosterhoff 1988, 46, 63-66.

State or interfere with the governments, rights, privileges and customs of particular towns and provinces.

The new governor's tour through the Netherlands in the winter and spring of 1586, as argued by Strong and Van Dorsten, had the distinct purpose of legitimizing Leicester's rule over the Netherlands.⁷⁷ The English Queen herself, who had been largely unaware of the broad parameters of the governorship, had also been an important intended audience for the displays the governor encountered before arriving in The Hague, where oaths were exchanged on February 4, 1586. The spectacles therefore have been characterized as "somewhat unusual in that they had to establish a non-official image. Once it had been popularized and, one hoped, supported by everybody, then this 'image', a more or less legalized fact by then, was to be offered to a Queen, who was largely unaware of the real drift of events."⁷⁸

Leicester's position was argued to be comparable to that of the governors who had served over the Netherlands under Charles V. The decision to receive the new governor, however, was apparently not an obvious one, since on January 21, 1586, the Amsterdam *vroedschap* brought the matter up for discussion with the explicit consideration that other cities in the province, including Dordrecht, Delft, Leiden and Rotterdam, had already "properly received" the Earl, and "presented him with a few gifts".⁷⁹ For this reason, the

⁷⁷ Idem, pp. 31-63.

⁷⁸ Following a brief crisis, Elizabeth reluctantly acquiesced, though without accepting sovereignty: idem pp. 50-63, quote p. 53.

⁷⁹ SAA 5025 inv. no. 5, fols. 206-207: "*Ophuyden den xxie January xv.lxxxvi hebben mijnen heren Burgermrn de xxxvi Raeden voorgehouden, hoe dat zij schryven buyten Haeghe ontfanghe hebben en[de] zeecker geadverteert zyn datzynde Ex.ie de Grave van Leycester van menynghe is ter eerster gelegender tyt alhyer te stede te comen, ende enighe steden van Hollandt als Dordrecht, Delff, Leyden, en[de] Rotterdam, alwaer zyn Ex.ie is geweest zyne Ex.ie naert behooren inghaelt en[de] enighe vereeringhe hebben gedaen, Off den Raeden daerom nyet raetsaem vynden dat zynder Ex.ie van deser Stede wegen mede naert behooren were ontfangen en[de] vererynghe gedaen.*"

council resolved that the burgomasters were fully authorized to “preserve the city’s honor, both in the reception, the hosting of banquets and the presentation of further gifts, [considering] the benefits attached to that.”⁸⁰

The city council thus endeavored to be included on what Strong and Van Dorsten have called Leicester’s “second progress”, which followed the oath ceremony in The Hague.⁸¹ Various decoration programs designed for this second leg of the tour, including the one designed for the festive reception in Amsterdam, explicitly addressed the Earl as a substitute for Queen Elizabeth herself who, despite her own grave objections to this, was perceived by many the sovereign monarch under whose protection the United Provinces would henceforth come to reside. Both Elizabeth and the States of Holland, however, held the firm position that sovereignty had devolved from Philip II onto the States, and that Leicester’s authority as governor was merely delegated by them, rather than transferred onto his person.⁸² When the scope of Leicester’s appointment became known to the queen in February, payments from the English treasury were temporarily suspended.⁸³ Holland, meanwhile, was concerned the Earl’s influence would curb the province’s increased power within the United Provinces which, since the capture by Parma of all major cities in the South, was now predominantly centered on the Northern Netherlands.

The English period, in fact, has been characterized by Jonathan Israel as an opportunity for those opposing Holland’s growing hegemony to reshape the republic’s

⁸⁰ Idem, fol. 207: “*Ende die zaecke in communicatie geleyt zynde, hebben die xxxvi Raeden mijnen heeren de Burgermyn tegenwoordich, en[de] die toecomende volcommel[yck] geauthoriseert, deser Stadts eere int gindt voorsz te bewaren, zoe int ontfanghe, geven van bancketten, als enighe andere vererynge te doen, met tguut daeraen cleeft.*”

⁸¹ Strong and Van Dorsten 1964, 64-72.

⁸² On the inherent ambiguity of this situation, see Oosterhoff 1988, 63. On Elizabeth’s position on sovereignty, see Strong and Van Dorsten 1964, 59. On such ideas as articulated by Francois Vranck, town pensionary of Gouda on behalf of the States of Holland, see Van Gelderen 1992, 204-205.

governmental structure and hierarchy. In this context, the appointment of Maurice as Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland in November 1585 was designed to place a check on Leicester's authority even before his arrival in the Netherlands in early 1586.⁸⁴ As I argue below, the entry of the English governor in Amsterdam focused its efforts on constructing a militant representation of Elizabeth I as a pious savior of the Netherlands, while the role of Leicester was presented as secondary to both the Queen and the States' government.

The Earl was collected from the city of Haarlem on the 18th of March, 1586 by a fleet of twenty galleys sent for him by the city of Amsterdam. Arriving at "het boom" in the IJ harbor, the newly appointed governor, along with a large retinue that included Stadtholder Maurice, was greeted by a vessel carrying Colonel Jan Cornelis Hooft (d. 1600). Following the ritual entry by way of *Damrak*, where the aforementioned Neptune, whale, and seahorse *apparati* made their appearance, Leicester entered the Dam Square, where he was given a welcome speech by the city magistrates in front of the town hall. In their address, the burgomasters praised Elizabeth as a virtuous defender of the faith, and God's word and his people, and further expressed the city's joy and relief over her choice of Leicester to lead the mission, "being the only man in the world most wished for and desired of them."⁸⁵

From here, the Earl traveled toward the *Prinsenhof* located at the *Oudezijds Voorburgwal*, encountering three triumphal arches along the way that featured both theatrical performances and painted decorations. Details regarding the appearance and precise iconography of the festival program are somewhat fragmentary since no account of the event was published by its organizers. Two contemporary accounts, one an eye-witness

⁸³ Oosterhoff 1988, 68-69, 86.

⁸⁴ Israel 1995, 220-230.

⁸⁵ *Correspondence*, ed. Bruce 1844, 477.

account of a person in the Earl's entourage and the other provided in the unabridged version of the *Holinshed Chronicles*, in addition to a description of the arches penned by Samuel Coster in 1642, however, provide enough information to reconstruct the more significant themes communicated through its contents.⁸⁶

The first structure, likely a decorated stage rather than a freestanding arch, was placed across from the landing platform. According to Coster it was also the "widest," located adjacent to the horses' stable ("*peerdestal*") in what was, in his day, the *Beursstraat* (fig. 2).⁸⁷ The scene that was performed here is described in both of the contemporary accounts as a battle between the Israelites and the Philistines in which the first, led into battle by Joshua, prevailed as long as Moses, placed to the side, held his hand up in prayer. According to one account he was supported in this act by Queen Elizabeth.⁸⁸ The topic of this display, however, has been misinterpreted until now. It almost certainly represented the Battle of Refidim: the first battle in which the Jewish people engaged after leaving Egypt, which was fought against the Amalekites (Exodus 17:8-13), rather than the Philistines. In this episode, Moses commissioned Joshua to lead troops into combat while he observed the battle from a hill above. Consistent with the descriptions of the *tableau vivant*, the story

⁸⁶ *Correspondence*, ed. Bruce 1844, 475-477; *Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. Ellis vol. IV 1808, 651-654. This informative account was first signaled by Snoep 1975, 26; Coster 1642, 5-7.

⁸⁷ Coster 1642, 5: "*Aen de peerdestal, nu de Beurs-straat, de wijdeste.*"

⁸⁸ *Correspondence*, ed. Bruce 1844, 477: "*A lettell from that place was erected a stage, representing the battill betwixt the Isralytes and the Philistines, in one part wherof was placed Moyses prainge for the Isralytes, who being redy throughe contenuall prayer and faintnes to faill, was held up by the quenes majestie, they macking themselves the Isralytes, and the Spanyards the contrary.*" *Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. Ellis vol. IV 1808, 652: "*Right before him where he landed was a faire scaffold, whereon were placed armed men fighting, the one companie ouercomming and the other flieng. Ouer them, on the same scaffold kneeled an old man, holding vp his hands. Which signified that Iosua and the Israliits prevailed, aud ouerthrew the Philistines, so long as Moses did praie for them with his hands erected towards heauen; but when his hands were downe, the children of Israell had the woorst: and so now through the praier of good men, God had at length sent them succor and releefe. Vnder this were written these coupled verses: Ad Dominum qui confugiunt cum foedere pansies / Innocuis palmis, manet hos Victoria laeta. [To those who take recourse to the covenant with stretched hands, he hands this joyous victory.]"*

details that when Moses raised his hands in prayer the Israelites were successful, but if he would lower his hands the Amalekites gained the upper hand. Supported by Hur and Aaron as he grew tired, Moses was able to hold up his hands for the entirety of the battle which, therefore, resulted in a victory for the Israelites.

By analyzing the adaptation of the narrative for Dutch Republican purposes, however, the significance of the analogy becomes apparent. Moses, who is provided with material support by the English Queen, should for this reason be understood to personify the United Provinces. Through the act of prayer, importantly emphasized as a collaborative effort, they achieve victory for the Israelites, who thus can be identified as the Anglo-Dutch forces, while Joshua, as the army's commander, is allegorically compared to Leicester. The Amalekites, the archetypal nemesis in a biblical context, finally, are equated with the Spanish. In this configuration, the part that is assigned to Leicester, as Joshua, is relatively minor, as his success is dependent fully on the crucial actions and inherent strengths of Moses, while an important, but supporting – and thus secondary – role is assigned to Queen Elizabeth. Engaging the question of sovereignty in the complex interplay between the English Crown, States, and Governor, it thus appears that the first theatrical display Leicester encountered provided a subtle, but nonetheless striking argument regarding the envisioned distribution of power in the emerging Anglo-Dutch state, which foregrounded a Hollandic point of view.

The second arch, “extending above all buildings, and carrying the cog ship on top” was located at *Damssluis*.⁸⁹ The theatrical performance that was shown here, unfortunately, can only be surmised in its most essential terms due to a lack of detailed information based

on the available sources. The display is elusively described in the *Holinshed Chronicles* as “one seeming to be in great distresse, a tyrant being readie to kill him; but by the aid of Elisabeth queene of England, he was shielded defended and deliuered, and the enimie repelled and driuen awaie.”⁹⁰ It is safe to assume that this scene, too, showed a more specific scene that was meant to evoke an analogy with the current political situation. Though the exact narrative represented can no longer be identified, it is clear that the performance again celebrated the English Queen as a heroine and savior of the Dutch.

Aside from this brief description, the *Holinshed Chronicles* also provides several inscriptions that were placed on this arch. The first of these, more directly addressed to Leicester, was placed above the *tableau*, and beckoned him as “commander, & highest of England” to make his entry and see the honors bestowed on him by the city.⁹¹ To the sides, two inscriptions made reference to the restoration of a “lasting empire” under these new just conditions, and reminded the Earl of “the holy faith” as “the most blessed virtue of the human race.”⁹² At the very top of the arch, finally, was an inscription that alluded to the often unexpected arrival of a savior of “the pious cause” during the most uncertain of times.⁹³ While underlining once more the crucial relief projected to come from the English

⁸⁹ Coster 1642, 5-6: “*De tweede op den Dam-sluyt, 't hoofd stekende boven alle Huysen, dragende op den kruyn, de Kogge, die van wel bevaren zeeluyden, hoe lek die toen ter tijde ook was, met hulpe van verdreven Paylloten behoude binne gaats gebracht is geworden.*”

⁹⁰ *Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. Ellis vol. IV 1808, 652.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, “*Eia age magne, veni ô Anglorum ductor, & altos / Ingredere & celebres cape quos spondemus honores.*” [See very well, come, oh commander, & highest/greatest of England/ Enter and grasp in what way we pledge renowned honors].

⁹² *Ibidem*, “On the one side was written this that followeth: *Institutia & aequitas maximè/ Reddunt diuturnum imperium* [Instruction & the greatest justice/ Restore the lasting empire/ state/ command] On the other side was written this that followeth: *Fides sacra beatissimum humani/ generis bonum est.* [Faith is the most holy and blessed virtue of the human race.]”

⁹³ *Ibidem*, “*Ouer all was written this that followeth: Maximè vbi ancipiti filo pia causa tremiscit/ Ex insperato saepè redemptor adest.* [When the pious cause trembles from the most uncertain thread/ The redeemer often appears unexpectedly.]”

support, the precise identification of the “unexpected savior” with either Leicester or Elizabeth seems to have been rendered ambivalent here by the different emphases in word and image. In either case, the English aid to the Provinces was once more presented as a pious act, necessitated by the circumstances of a holy war.

This militant Protestant iconography was continued in the third and final arch, which was located in the *Doelenstraat*, most likely at the *Varkenssluis*.⁹⁴ Coster records the involvement of the painters Dirck Barendsz (1534-1592), Cornelis Ketel (1548-1616) and Jacob Lenaertsz, who, according to the poet’s testimony of 1642, had spent several months working on the decoration of the arch, of which “little remainders” were still preserved by “*Liefhebbers*” during his time.⁹⁵ This arch, thus likely decorated with paintings rather than showing *tableaux vivants*, according to the Holinshed Chronicles showed “*the likenesse of a queene most sumptuouslie appareled, and on both sides of hir was hanged all sorts of armour and munition for the wars.*”⁹⁶

The image carried an inscription that again presented a biblical analogy, this time equating the English intervention to the restoration of the old laws by King Josiah: “*Vt sacra Iosiae dextra olim restituisti/ Sic ope reginae Belgas Deus optime serva*” [As once the sacred rights were restored by Josiah/ So God best protects the Netherlands with the support

⁹⁴ Coster 1642, 6: “*De darde stond aen de Doelestraat [...]*” A decree issued by the city for the day of entry indicates the processional route included the Varkenssluis: “*Item dat nyemant hem en sal vervorderen int incomen van sijn voorsz Ex.ie aldaer hy sal comen te passeren ofte oick de schutterye tsy opde marct middeldam hallensteech varckensluys burchwallen & omh.e[?] straten, buyten desteopen te begeven ofte testaen [...]*” SAA 5020, inv. no. 10, fol. 273r.

⁹⁵ Coster 1642, 6: “[...] *waer meede Mr. Dirk Barentsz, Cornelis Ketel, en Iacob Leenertsz, (wel bekend, en tot deezen dage toe, om haare schilderkonste, by alle kenners in groot achtinge) met hulp van veele anderen, ettelijke maenden, bezigh zijn geweest: ze waren ook wel gedaen, en uytmuntende geschildert, als dat getuygen de weynigh overblijfzelen, die van eenige Lief hebbers bewaerd worden.*” Jacob Lenaertsz was previously mentioned as the artist who helped create the Neptune and whale devised for the 1580 entry of William of Orange, see p. 26, and note 43.

⁹⁶ *Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. Ellis vol. IV 1808, 652.

of the queen].⁹⁷ This comparison once more justified the Revolt, and England's involvement in it, as a battle fought in the interest of true religion, but also presented an implicit argument regarding the rights and privileges of towns and provinces that were broadly understood to have been violated under the reign of Philip II and Alva. The analogous reference to the restorative act of Josiah, as such, projected an ideal to the new governor in which his authority, especially when it came to the laws and customs of individual towns and provinces, was bound by a near-sacred tradition.

All three arches, therefore, placed much emphasis on the role of Elizabeth I as a defender of the Faith and, as an extension of this cause, as protectress of the United Provinces. At the same time, the themes and iconography deployed in the decoration program eschewed an all too overt appeal to the Queen as potential sovereign ruler of the Netherlands, and included instead references to the autonomy of its confederal units, their rights and customs. The choice for militant imagery, most explicitly shown in the painted decorations of the third arch was, furthermore, not surprising in light of the strong desire for Elizabeth to resume, and augment, financial support for Leicester's troops, including the Dutch armed forces.⁹⁸ This position is documented for instance in a *vroedschap* resolution of March 3, 1586, which was reached when preparations for the governor's entry were well underway.⁹⁹

Discussing a request made by the governor to the province of Holland for four hundred thousand guilders towards the costs of the army for the period March through June, the city instructed its delegates to the States to limit the province's payment in this regard

⁹⁷ *Holinshed Chronicles*, ed. Ellis vol. IV 1808, 652.

⁹⁸ Payments would, in fact, resume in April 1586. Oosterhoff 1988, 69, 86-87.

⁹⁹ SAA 5025, inv. no. 5, fols. 222-223.

only to the sum of one hundred thousand guilders to which they had previously agreed. The council further decided to try to move the Earl to request the other three hundred thousand from the Queen, under the condition “that Her Majesty will be given sufficient security [...] that this three hundred thousand guilders and applicable interest, will be reimbursed to Her Majesty within three years [...] after the country will have been brought to a good peace.”¹⁰⁰

The representations of the Queen in acts of support, as well as her portrait surrounded by armor and munition that decorated the third arch, thus can be seen to function as arguments for her financial and material support of the war which, following the reasoning of the program, should be understood first and foremost as a pious cause rather than a political intervention. Both the roles of Leicester and the Queen, therefore, were shaped in these images and their accompanying texts by conditions that argued for limits on the authority enjoyed by either one. Leicester, as the main recipient of these messages, in this sense, was not only addressed in his newly-achieved position as Governor-General, but also as intermediate in the Tudor court and an influential agent in the *Raad van State*, who could yield leverage in matters that touched Holland’s interests.

Again, the ideals proposed in these decorations did not prove to live up to the realities they were designed to mitigate. Tensions between Leicester and Holland would continue to build, most importantly due to the governor’s allegiance to Southern and Eastern

¹⁰⁰ SAA 5025, inv. no. 5, fol. 223: “[...] *Syn Ex.ie oetmoedelick zall versoucken by haer Ma' zou vele te impetrenen dat haer Ma' (boven de hondert duysent gulden Zyne Ex.ie by voorgaen[de] Resolutie geaccordeert extraordinarye tgeens ses ten hondert tot laste ende op verseeckertheyt vande geunieerde Provincien te mogen oplichten[?]), belyeve de resterende drye hondert duysent gulden tot oprechtinghe en[de] onderhout van tlegher mede tegens ses ten hondert int jaer te furneren en[de] dese Landen daer mede te assisteren, mits dat haer Ma' souffisante verseeckertht vande voorsz respective provincien zall werden gegheven tot haere Ma' en[de] zynde Ex.ie Contentement, Dat de zelve iii.cm gulden metter interest van dyen, haere Ma' zullen werden gerembourseert binnen drye Jaeren alle Jaeren een derde paert, naer dat den Landen in een goede vrede zullen zyn gestelt [...].*” Similar conditions had also been stipulated in the Treaty of Nonsuch, see Oosterhoff 1988, 45. Holland would agree to the extra subsidy over the course of March, idem, 87.

provinces over Holland, his reorganization of the general treasury, and his implementation in April 1586 of a general trade embargo on all enemy territories.¹⁰¹ During Leicester's brief absence in the winter of 1586-1587, the States of Holland, by now under the leadership of its advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, usurped a significant part of the governor's authority by adopting new regulations that required army officers in the province to accept their commission only from the Stadtholder, and to swear an oath of allegiance to the States. Troop movements, also, had to be authorized by the Stadtholder in both Holland and Zeeland.¹⁰²

Upon his return, Leicester attempted, unsuccessfully, to stage insurgencies in several cities that opposed his rule but where he enjoyed popular support among the militias. This included Amsterdam, where his forces temporarily occupied the nearby castle at Muiden.¹⁰³ A second visit to Amsterdam, on October 2, 1587, this time without any elaborate decorations, did not resolve the escalating conflict.¹⁰⁴ The Earl left the Netherlands definitively and resigned from his position by the beginning of 1588. Maurice of Nassau as Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland, and *landsadvocaat* Van Oldenbarnevelt, who represented the States, would for the next two decades function as two divergent figureheads of an increasingly independent republic.

An incipient republicanism, which envisioned the Dutch Republic as a confederation of autonomous provinces, gained ground in Holland in the mid-1580s, and became increasingly apparent in the political maneuvers of the province's government. The evolving role of the Stadtholderate, amid contrary visions of the state that was emerging at this time,

¹⁰¹ Oosterhoff 1988, 89-93; Israel 1995, 223-226.

¹⁰² Israel 1995, 228-229.

¹⁰³ Scheltema 1851, 32.

forms the background to two visits of Maurice to Amsterdam that can be understood to represent two different moments in a career increasingly marked by political and religious strife.

Maurice of Nassau, Stadtholder, August 19, 1594

While Maurice of Nassau, in his role as Stadtholder of Holland and Zeeland, had entered Amsterdam alongside Leicester in 1586, he would not be honored with a ceremonial reception of his own for another eight years. This reception, which took place in August of 1594, formed part of a series of visits to other cities in Friesland and Holland following the successful siege of Groningen by the States' army in July. Maurice had been named General and Admiral-General of the Union in 1587, and was additionally appointed Stadtholder of the Provinces of Utrecht, Overijssel and Gelderland in 1589. After a string of military successes in 1591, including the capture of the eastern towns of Zutphen, Deventer, Delfzijl and Nijmegen, the young Stadtholder had established an international reputation as general.¹⁰⁵

The groundwork for his siege of Groningen had been laid by several years of strategic conquests, which had effectively cut the city off from its main supply and trade routes. After the city's capitulation, Groningen and its *Ommelanden* became the Republic's seventh province, and as such gain voting membership in the States General. This development, part of an ever-increasing consolidation of the Republic, and securing its northeastern border in particular, was a crucial victory for the States' army.¹⁰⁶ Maurice's

¹⁰⁴ Scheltema 1851; Israel 1995, 230.

¹⁰⁵ Van Deursen 2000, 117-140, esp. 124.

¹⁰⁶ Israel 1995, 242-248.

subsequent entries into the Frisian towns of Dokkum, Leeuwarden, Franeker, Harlingen, and later Amsterdam, Alkmaar, Haarlem, Leiden and The Hague then, not surprisingly, took the form of triumphal entries that hailed the Union's general as a victor.¹⁰⁷

In this sense, his visits to these cities, including Amsterdam, stand apart from previous entries organized by the city both before and during the Revolt years. Rather than being based on the constitutional model of the joyous entry, which dealt more explicitly with the distribution of power and privilege, Maurice's receptions in 1594 embodied the ideal of the classical triumph.¹⁰⁸ The decoration programs accompanying Maurice visits to the Hollandic cities, including the one presented to the Stadtholder in Amsterdam, furthermore connect this triumphant rhetoric with a notable shift towards a Dutch Republican proto-nationalism. The reasons for this, as I will argue here, can be found in the growing perception in this period of Maurice and his revolutionary military campaigns as synonymous with the liberation as well as the increased consolidation of the Dutch Republic.

Sources that inform us about Maurice's visit to Amsterdam in 1594 are again fairly fragmentary. While chorographer Johannes Isacius Pontanus has recorded that the Stadtholder was escorted into the city by a fleet of ships, no detailed information regarding Maurice's precise arrival route from Harlingen, or whether this took place via the by now familiar IJ and Damrak route, has been preserved.¹⁰⁹ Given the location of the first stage with *tableaux vivants*, performed by the Brabantine chamber of rhetoric, however, this was likely the case (fig. 3). This first stage was placed at Dam Square, adjacent to the horses' stables ("*Peerdestal*"), the same location as the first structure erected for Leicester in

¹⁰⁷ J. te Winkel, "De inneming van Groningen rhetorijkelijk verheerlijkt", P. J. Blok et al., *Gedenkboek der reductie van Groningen in 1594* (Groningen, 1894) 239-264.

¹⁰⁸ See introduction, p. 8 note 15.

¹⁰⁹ See chapter 1, p. 24 note 39.

1586.¹¹⁰ The building, again through the recollections of Samuel Coster, is described as no less than sixty feet wide, which seemingly corresponds to the “widest” stage recorded by him in this location eight years earlier. It is therefore very plausible that the same, or at least a very similar, structure was used for this occasion.¹¹¹ Pontanus further informs us that the top of the edifice was dedicated to a dynastic theme, as it was decorated with the arms of Nassau, an orange tree, and the devise *tandem fit suculus arbor*, or “in time, a tree grows from the sprig.”¹¹² This credo referred to the aspirations for Maurice to continue, as well as live up to, the legacy of his murdered father William of Orange.

The scene that was performed is also most comprehensibly described by Pontanus, who makes clear that it alluded to Maurice’s recent victory by presenting David holding the head of Goliath, accompanied by the “daughters of Sion” playing instruments, and finally the army of the Israelites. Snoep has correctly suggested that the *tableau vivant* probably represented the triumph of David.¹¹³ The narrative presented seems in fact to have been an amalgamation of two separate events in David’s life, his triumphal entry into Jerusalem following the slaying of Goliath, and the women of Israel singing his praises upon his victorious return following battles with the Philistines after his appointment as general (Samuel 17:53-54 and 18:6).¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ The location is again provided by Samuel Coster: Coster 1642, 7: “*Men boude dien onvergetelijke Held aen de Peerdestal, op den Dam een toneel, van tsestich voeten breed [...]*.”

¹¹¹ Compare notes 87 and 110.

¹¹² Pontanus 1614, 148-149: “*Boven op het tanneel waeren geschildert de wapenen van die van Nassauw/ ende onder de wapenen eenen boom met Orangie-appelen geladen/ met dese devijse: tandem fit suculus arbor dat is/ ten lesten wort een struycksken een boom.*”

¹¹³ Snoep 1975, 32.

¹¹⁴ <https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/234746> (visited by the author 7-18-2018). The combination of these two scenes into one was not uncommon.

This dual reference allowed an identification of Maurice with the heroic but disadvantaged David, who achieved victory against a more powerful enemy, while also honoring his position as Captain-General. The Israelite army, by extension, represented the States' forces. The appearance of the women of Israel, furthermore, provided the opportunity to include a musical element that befitted the celebratory setting of the entry, while remaining on par with its overall triumphant character. That this proved a particularly suitable analogy is evidenced by the use of the same theme by the Alkmaar rhetoricians who welcomed the Stadtholder four days later. In their poems they proclaimed that the young general had given them abundant reason to be honored with triumph, as well as the "sweet singing of music upon your entry/ as the daughters of Juda did in David's time/ when he had victoriously slain Goliath."¹¹⁵

Coster further informs us that the role of David was played by the artist Jacques de Gheyn II (1565-1629), who just in the previous year had been entrusted by city's admiralty with a commission to engrave *The Siege of Geertruidenberg*, an undertaking that similarly served to celebrate a military victory of Maurice and the States' army.¹¹⁶ Alderman and secretary Frans Volkertsz Coornhert, older brother of the well-known scholar Dirck Volkertsz Coornhert (1522-1590), again according to Coster, played the role of Saul. The appearance of Saul, not further commented on by the available sources, could have been

¹¹⁵ *Een Refereyn ende Liedt, ghemaect op den blijde Incomste van zijner Excellencie binnen Alckmaer, den drie ende twintichten Augusti 1594*, Alkmaar (Jacob de Meester) 1594; cited in Te Winkel 1894, 245: "[...] U met triumph vereeren met billijcke reden/ En met der Musijck soet singhen in u inrijden/ Soo als die Dochtren Juda deden by Davids tijden/ Als hy den Goliath hadt verslaghen victorieus [...]."

¹¹⁶ The siege of Geertruidenberg was of great importance to Holland, and Amsterdam in particular, who had successfully advocated for the prioritization this conquest in relation to their trade interests. A copy of this print was presented to the Stadtholder by the admiralty: C. M. Klinkert, *Nassau in het nieuws: nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590-1600* (Zutphen, 2005), 141-148, 262.

utilized to create a juxtaposition of the successful young general David (and thus Maurice), with his less successful predecessor – possibly meant here as a reference to Leicester.

A second triumphal arch, as mentioned by Olfert Dapper (1636-1689) in his 1663 chorography, was placed across from the processional route's final destination, the *Prinsenhof* at *Oudezijds Voorburgwal*.¹¹⁷ This arch, also dedicated to the Nassau dynasty, was topped by Neptune and tritons. It formed the stage for the first scene derived from classical history to be performed as part of a decoration program accompanying an entry into the city: the Batavian leader Claudius (Julius) Civilis, trampling and triumphing over the Romans.¹¹⁸ The history of the Batavian revolt against the Romans would come to function as an influential myth of origins, deployed in Dutch political thought both by factions supporting positions closely aligned with the Stadtholder and those in favor of a more strict republicanism.¹¹⁹

The explicatory poems, inscribed on the building in Latin, are reproduced by Pontanus in their original as well as two alternative Dutch translations.¹²⁰ Their contents

¹¹⁷ O. Dapper, *Historische beschryving der stad Amsterdam* [...] (Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1663) 237. According to Dapper the first “broad” stage, showing battles scenes (“*gelijkenissen* [...] *ten aenzien van den Velt-heer zelfs*”) designed by *d’Eglantier*, was placed at Dam Square, and a second, “high” stage, which purportedly showed the David *tableau vivant* designed by ‘*t Wit Lavendel*, across from the *Prinsenhof* “*op d’oude Groen-markt*”), thus in the same vicinity as the third triumphal arch. The discrepancy may be based on a misreading of Pontanus.

¹¹⁸ Pontanus 1614, 149: “*De Prince daer nae voortgetreden zijnde/ ende allenskens naerder het Hof comende/ soo heeft hy eenen triumph-boge gevonden ter eeren en tot den name van Nassau toegheeyghent: in welckers t’sop Neptunus met de Tritones domineerde; Onder werdt verthoont Claudius Civilis/ ettelicke Romeynen onder zijne voeten douwende; onder de welcke eenen op deneenen knien liggende scheen te willen ontgaen ende hem te wreken; maer van zijne crachten verlaeten heeft niet geconnen.*”

¹¹⁹ For more on this, see chapter 4, pp. 187-189. See also: I. Schöffner, “The Batavian myth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries,” E. H. Kossmann and J. S. Bromley, *Britain and the Netherlands. Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch historical conference. Some political mythologies*, vol. 5 (The Hague, 1975) 78-101; W. A. M. Hessing, “Foreign oppressor versus civiliser: the Batavian myth as the source for contrasting associations of Rome in Dutch historiography,” R. Hingley (ed.), *Images of Rome. Perceptions of ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the modern age* (Portsmouth, 2001) 126-143; H. van de Waal, *Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschied-uitbeelding*, 2 vols (The Hague, 1952). Derk Snoep has also noted the scene as an early example of the implementation of the “Batavian myth”: Snoep 1975, 32-34.

¹²⁰ Pontanus 1614, 149.

make explicit the comparison between Maurice and Civilis, who, according to the narrative of the Batavian revolt provided by Tacit's *Historiae*, was the insurgence's main leader and spokesperson. Similarly, the victories of "Principe MAVRITIO", as the inscription predicts, would soon allow freedom to flourish in all of the Netherlands.¹²¹ Another poem, attributed to *Eglantier* frontman Hendrick Laurenszoon Spiegel (1549-1612), is given by Coster, and covers the same themes.¹²²

In the *Historiae*, Civilis successfully led the Batavian troops into battle against the Romans, and defeated them both at present-day Arnhem and Nijmegen. Not only did the episode lend itself well to evoke the effective struggle of a weaker force against a powerful enemy, much like the story of David and Goliath, but it also provided important geographical parallels. Just as the Batavian territory was described as located in the Rhine-Meuse delta, with Nijmegen as an important center, Maurice's recent conquests had been focused in this same area, along the eastern border of the republic's territory.¹²³ Spiegel's poem even specifically refers to the expulsion of the Romans from the Rhineland, along the width of the Betuwe region ("*Uyt Rhijn-land, wijt des Betous aengrensde palen*"). The military campaign of 1591, then, formed an important facilitating condition for the activation of the Batavian myth, which simultaneously associated Maurice's accomplishments with the ancient fulfillment of a republican destiny.

¹²¹ Pontanus 1614, 149: "*CIVILIS veluti Batavorum sinibus olim/ CLAUDIUS ejecit Romam populumque superbum: Principe MAVRITIO sic nunc Hispana tyrannis/ Pellitur:ô utinam libertas Principe eodem/ Integra mox totis Belgarum floreat oris.*"

¹²² Coster describes the poem as having accompanied the David and Goliath scene, while omitting the Civilis *tableau* from his account all together. It is likely that he conflated the two performances; Coster 1642, 8: "*Uyt Rhijn-land, wijt des Betous aengrensde palen/ Dreef Claudius Civilis der Romeren streng geweld/ Och mocht Nêerland nu de vryheyd weder-halen/ Door den Nassausen Held.*"

¹²³ There would be, however, much debate regarding the precise location of the ancient Batavian tribal society. While the territory that would be Holland likely never formed part of the Batavian lands, it was quickly claimed as such during the sixteenth and seventeenth century: R. Esser, *The politics of memory. The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-Century Low Countries* (Leiden and Boston, 2012) 49-55; Hessing 2001, 132.

This association was not only apparent in the ephemeral decorations with which the Stadtholder was honored. As we learn from Pontanus' description of the *Prinsenhof*, the building where princely guests were lodged, it was enlarged with a ground floor gallery for the occasion of Maurice's visit. An inscription was added to its walls to dedicate it to Christ, with the hope of instilling courage and strength in "Orange Mars, and father of the Batavian community."¹²⁴ This inscription is particularly significant when considering the function of the repurposed cloister not only as a dedicated place of lodging, but also as a temporary court for the Stadtholder when present in the city.

The comparison of the Dutch to the Israelites, as seen both in the 1586 representation of the battle of Refidim, and the triumph of David shown in 1594, was based on the premise of redemption for those adhering to true religion over an oppressive, and spiritually misguided, enemy. The analogy between the Dutch and the Batavians, however, was in no small part established through an emphasis on the physical space shared by the Dutch and their proposed ancient predecessors. The consolidation of the republic, made possible by the military advances of the previous years, therefore brought with it an incipient proto-nationalism that could be fortified by both a common identity and historical precedence that was explicitly localized, and simultaneously celebrated the idea of the Dutch as an indigenous Germanic people. In the context of the growing supremacy of Holland and the increasingly autonomous governmental apparatus of provincial States, and States General, the role of the Stadtholder was no longer presented in these theatrical performances as the

¹²⁴ Pontanus 1614, 148: "*Quod Patribus, Marti Auraico, Batavisque catervi[?]: Mentem, animum, robur praestas, quod & hoste fugato/ Aut caeso donas urbes arcesque potiri/ Haec tibi Christe, dicat votiva trophaea Senatus.*" Pontanus also provides two Dutch translations, where Maurice is addressed as "vader des Vaderlants" and "Orangische en Hollandsche Heer."

necessary “eminent head” of the body politic, but rather as a military leader and *pater patriae* working towards the liberation of his own people.

Maurice of Nassau, Prince of Orange, May 23, 1618

One can only wonder how Stadtholder Maurice would have reflected on the words inscribed on the *Prinsenhof*'s walls when he returned as a guest, almost a quarter of a century later, in 1618. When the Stadtholder was received by Amsterdam that spring, the young state, as well as his role in it, had profoundly changed. Following the establishment of a truce with Spain in 1609, Maurice's power and reputation based on his military leadership were transformed, and to a certain degree reinvented. As I propose below, rising tensions between Remonstrant and Contra-Remonstrant factions caused the Stadtholder to be approached differently during this second entry. No longer viewed merely as a heroic defender of the union against external foes, he was presented and addressed in the various *vertoningen* as a just leader with the responsibility, and capability, to restore peace and concord within the Republic.

Over the course of the year, Nassau had entered several Dutch cities in an effort to resolve an escalating conflict that had placed himself and advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, and thus the powerful States of Holland, on opposing sides of a constitutional debate. While the core of the problem originated in a theological dispute regarding predestination that had fractured the reformed church, the solutions proposed by both men in this matter, and the domestic distribution of authority between church, States, and Stadtholder they implied, had set up a confrontation that in reality centered more on questions of sovereignty than religion.

As a result of the tensions, the mostly Remonstrant States of Holland had adopted a resolution on August 4, 1617 that allowed its city governments to raise private militias

(*waardgelders*) to leverage their power over a restless populace – divided along confessional, class, and immigrant-autochthonous lines – as well as the Stadtholder.¹²⁵ Both militias and garrisoned troops, furthermore, were obliged by this “Sharp Resolution” to swear primary allegiance to the city magistrates instead of the Captain-General. The move was necessarily opposed by Stadtholder Maurice, who, giving explicit support to the popular Contra-Remonstrant party, visited Gelderland, Overijssel, and Friesland during the spring of 1618 in an effort to persuade their provincial delegates to support his call for a national synod to settle the religious dispute, and for the *waardgelders*’ dismissal.¹²⁶ Maurice arrived in Amsterdam on the heels of this lobbying tour, and only days after the States of Overijssel had come to support his call for a national synod, which meant he had now reached a convincing majority for his position in the States-General.¹²⁷

In his view, both matters of religion and military fell under the purview of central authorities rather than the otherwise sovereign provinces. While asserting its position based on financial primacy, the States of Holland did not present a unified front on this matter. The Remonstrant cities insisted on the right to maintain *waardgelders* militias and to convene their own provincial synod. Amsterdam, by contrast, remained firmly committed to the Stadtholder and his politics. Discussion of the city’s efforts to persuade other cities’ delegates in the States of Holland appear repeatedly in the *vroedschap* resolutions during the first months of 1618. Just how connected these discussions were to all levels of the Dutch state, can be gleaned from a resolution dated a week before the Stadtholder’s visit, on May 16. Here, the council urged its delegates to communicate to the States of Holland, the city

¹²⁵ Israel 1995, 436-441; Van Deursen 2000, 260.

¹²⁶ Israel 1995, 445-446.

¹²⁷ J. den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt*, Vol. II 1606-1619 (Cambridge, 1973) 623.

council's "good will and inclination [...] to maintain the public authority of the gentlemen States [of Holland], His Princely Excellence, and the respective city magistrates, as well as to conserve the lawful government, liberties, justices and privileges of the provinces and the cities" in regards to "various difficulties, highly concerning the state of the country."¹²⁸

In the face of Holland's ever-growing opposition, and even threats to withdraw the province's crucial financial funds, the public display of support to Maurice that its wealthiest city organized, formed an explicit vote of confidence for the Stadtholder and his party.¹²⁹ The visit was also the first that took place following his inheritance of the title of Prince of Orange, which he had acquired upon the death of his older brother Philip William (1554-1618) in February 1618. This change in his personal status was acknowledged in the decoration program, and one can wonder if it played a role in the city's decision to receive Maurice with elaborate ceremonial for a second time.

While Amsterdam's churches and regents, notably burgomaster Reinier Pauw (1564-1636), had been mostly aligned with the Contra-Remonstrants and Maurice, they governed a city divided. Crowds of upset youngsters had attacked Remonstrant conventicles and residences in the spring of 1617, and pamphlets published on both sides of the debate added

¹²⁸ SAA 5025, inv. no. 11, fol. 58r-v: "*is verstaen ende geresolveert, dat de Gedeputeerden deser Stede gaende ter aenstaende dagvaert vanden heeren Staten van Holland ende Westvrieslandt, tot wechneminge van alle misvertrouwen ende verseeckeringe, van alle onderlinge confidentie, oprechte verclaringe sullen doen, van den goeden wille, ende genegentheyt die desen Raed hare principalen is hebbende, tot maintainement vande publicque auctoriteyt vande heeren Staten voornt, Syne Prin.e Ex.tie, ende de respectie Magistraten vande Steden, Mitsgaders tot conservatie vande wettel.e regeringe, vryheyden, gerechticheyden ende privilegien vande lande ende steden.*" The resolution was written in the margins in response to a "consent" presented for deliberation on May 7, which had demanded testimony regarding these "difficulties", undoubtedly referring to the conflict: fol. 58v: "[...] *verscheyden swaricheyden den staet van het landt ten hoochsten concernerende [...]*".

¹²⁹ Following the passing of the Sharp Resolution, the leading pensionaries of Holland's Remonstrant cities composed a declaration which declared recent developments illegal, and furthermore threatened to withhold Holland's contribution to the Generality budget: Israel 1995, 444.

to the mutual tension between the warring factions.¹³⁰ The various theatrical contributions to the entry made by the chambers of rhetoric, likewise, seem to have communicated different positions that existed in the city's community.

As institutions functioning at a supra-local level, chambers of rhetoric had long helped to shape public opinion in the Netherlands.¹³¹ Arjan van Dixhoorn has argued that through their involvement in public spectacle, rhetoricians also played a crucial role in transforming the Burgundian-Habsburg "theater state" into one that centered on the House of Orange.¹³² While their popular and communicative appeal certainly cannot be underestimated, the contributions of the chambers of rhetoric were not merely propagandistic. In their role as traditional mediators between citizens and rulers they helped, in this case, to articulate the problematics surrounding the evolving role of the Stadtholder as well.

Protestant exiles and refugees had (re)turned to Amsterdam from the late sixteenth century, enlivening both the commercial and cultural life of the city. Amsterdam's oldest, pre-Revolt chamber, called *D'Eglantier*, was joined in 1598 by *'t Wit Lavendel*, a chamber formed around the growing Brabantine community. In the year preceding Maurice's second entry, notable poet and physician Samuel Coster (1579-1665), along with the prominent literary figures Pieter Cornelisz Hooft (1581-1647) and Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero (1585-1618), left *D'Eglantier* to form the *Nederduytsche Academie* (1617). While all three institutions were involved in the production and staging of theatrical performances in 1618,

¹³⁰ Israel 1995, 438; Vroomen 2012, 35-117.

¹³¹ J. Bloemendal and A. Van Dixhoorn 2011, 1-35, esp. p. 3.

¹³² Dixhoorn 2009, 193-207, esp. 199-200. The term "theater state" is derived from Geertz 1980, and refers to a state in which power and kingship are constructed primarily through the symbolisms of ritual and spectacle.

the *Academie*, as an experimental space for theater, cultural discourse and public education, seized the opportunity to demand a leading role in the day's festivities.

Basic details regarding the visit and decoration program can be derived from a pamphlet published as “Triumph in Amsterdam” (*Triumphe tot Amsterdam*), describing “the entry of the highborn *Vorst* Maurice, Prince of Orange, with a true explanation of the displays of all the chambers [...]” published in Leiden the same year (fig. 7). Traveling to the city with a fleet dispatched by the city to greet the Stadtholder in Muiden, the entry took place via the established format of an IJ and *Damrak* arrival, while civic militia and garrisoned soldiers in the city were stationed on the *Nieuwe Brug*, *Oude Brug*, and *Papenbrug*, Dam Square, and from there along the processional route to the *Varkenssluis* (fig. 4). The presence of these soldiers, according to the author of the *Triumphe* consisting of no less than twenty civic militia companies and three troops of garrisoned soldiers, “many of which decorated with Orange plumes and veils,” provided strong visual testimony of the continued adherence of the city's military forces to Maurice in his role as Captain General.¹³³

Upon his arrival, Maurice was first greeted at the IJ by Colonel Jonas Witsen, along with four boats “each containing about twenty musketeers,” in which he was transferred, at the sight of various armed ships including “Guyanese and West India vessels,” and while trumpeters played *Wilhelmus van Nassouwen*.¹³⁴ Even before disembarking at Dam Square,

¹³³ *Triumphe* 1618, unpag.: “[...] veele haer versiende met Orangien pluymen ende slueyers/ ter liefde van fijn Prinselijcke Excellentie. Het was een lust om sien 20 vaendelen Schutterije soo heerlijk in orden in haer wapenen/ met noch drie kloecke vaendelen soldaten.”

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*: “Den Colonel Jonas Wisz. vergheselschapt met vier Sloepen, in elcken Sloep ontrent twintich uytghelesen Musquettiers [...] Hier wast een lust om sien/ want daer waren menichte van Jachten met Gheschut versien/ als mede insonderheyt eenighe Guinees ende West-vaeders/ die op stroom laghen die lustich los schoten/ nae dat het teecken ghegeven was. Hier bliesen de Trompetten Wilhelmus van Nassouwen/ etc.”

the new Prince of Orange then encountered a simple stage erected by the old chamber *d'Eglantier*, described by Coster as having been “thrown together” (*opgesmeten*) in front of the customs house (*Waag*), and in the *Triumphe* pamphlet as a “scaffolding [...] covered in blue cloth” which the anonymous author, however, still designated an “*Arcus Triumphalis*.”¹³⁵ The latter source also mentions that burgomasters and city council welcomed their guest at this location, and that the arch was inscribed with the text “*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*” (Blessed is he who comes in the name of the Lord).

D'Eglantier apparently had prepared several *tableaux vivants* in connection to this theme, but the contents of only two are described in the *Triumphe*. The first showed Maurice receiving the principality of Orange from Jupiter, seated on an eagle.¹³⁶ The second, similarly, formed an act of presentation. Yet this time it was the city, possibly in the guise of a *Stedemaagd*, handing the Prince an orange, along with wishes of luck in regards to the government of his lands.¹³⁷ In the presence of the city’s foremost representatives, Maurice was thus acknowledged here for his newfound sovereign rule and status in Orange, Amsterdam functioning in this regard almost as a substitute *locus* for his own territory. Mostly steering away from a too explicit reference to the controversies, the city presented

¹³⁵ Coster 1642, p. 10; *Triumphe* 1618, unpag.: “*Aenden Dam comende/ was een Steygher ghemaect/ met blau Laecken overdeekt [...] voor aen de Arcus Triumphalis stondt met latijnsche Letteren/ dese naervolghende woorden: Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini. Dat is te segghen: Gheseghent is hy die daer comt inden name des Heeren.*”

¹³⁶ *Triumphe* 1618, unpag.: “*Aldaer wierden diversche verthooninghen ghedaen/ onder andere was dit den inhoudt/ dat Jupiter sittende op den Arent/ zijn Prinselicke Excellentie gegunt heeft ende toeghelaten het Prinschap van Orangien.*”

¹³⁷ It is unclear whether the orange was presented to Maurice himself or an actor portraying him on stage: Ibidem, “*Die Stadt presenteerde zijn Excel. den Oragien Appel/ wenschten de selve veel ghelucks vande voorsz. Landschappen ende Regieringhe.*”

itself however as a loyal subservient to a Maurice, now officially recognized as a Christian prince.

The procession on land then followed a somewhat scenic route, encircling the *Damrak*, moving from Dam Square back towards, and across, the *Oude Brug*, and then via *Niesel* and *Oudezijds Voorburgwal* to *Varkenssluis* (fig. 4).¹³⁸ Here the second arch had been erected, again making reference to Roman history, this time through *vertoningen* performed by the Brabantine chamber *'t Wit Lavendel*. The scenes showed Menenius Agrippa's restoration of peace following a popular uprising in the Roman Republic, through an act of mediation between the people and the senate. The *tableaux vivants* therefore communicated an ideal of concord for the body politic, which formed a particularly topical parallel in the context of the mounting crisis.

As has been demonstrated by Mieke Smits-Veldt, the theme was derived from the 1614 Dutch translation of Livius. Instead of the institution of a plebeian tribune, which had resolved the matter according to the original source, the resolution had been the tribune's maintenance according to old privileges and liberties in the Dutch edition.¹³⁹ As Smits-Veldt indicated, the topic had similarly been used in 1616 by the Brabantine chamber of Schiedam during a rhetorician competition in Vlaardingen, which sought to answer a question that asked for means to improve the common good and country. In their iteration of the story, a personified Roma had forced the institution of a unified church by law, which caused unrest and resistance among those whose "ancestors" built the state. Following the Dutch Livius translation, they presented the conflict as the result of an infringement upon the "old" laws –

¹³⁸ Whether this route had been used previously cannot be determined. No earlier mention of it exists before its description in the *Triumphe*.

¹³⁹ Smits-Veldt 1989.

considered in the new narrative to have been violated and rewritten. The issue was finally resolved with a promise to restore the old law.

The *tableaux vivants* of 't *Wit Lavendel* followed the same plot and argument, but made the analogy with the Republic's situation even more concrete, as they cast Maurice as Menenius Agrippa and thus as the savior of both the religious and national cause. The arch's inscription, which read "Menenius Agrippa, who appeased restless Rome! Promised that he would faithfully reinstate the old Law. Since Nassau's Hero strives to do the Lord's work, he now fights as loyally for the Church as he did for the Country."¹⁴⁰ In this way, the Brabantine chamber communicated effectively the Contra-Remonstrant position that was prevalent among the Southern immigrant community, which explicitly identified the Stadtholder not only as a defender of the true faith, but as one upholding the rights and privileges of its faithful adherents.¹⁴¹

From the *Varkenssluis*, Maurice traversed the short final distance to his place of lodging, the *Prinsenhof*. In all likelihood, the final part of the day's program, which was organized by Samuel Coster's *Nederduytsche Academie*, had not been commissioned, or even anticipated. The Academy's performances during the entry, in fact, did not only appear to be unsolicited, but had no precedent either in terms of their innovative content and unusual format. Using what anachronistically could be described as a "guerrilla-tactic," the Academy was keenly aware of the discursive space the occasion provided. Out of the city's cultural institutions, it was able to demand the largest presence, not only by deploying a festive parade of boats on the day of the entry, but also by providing entertainment on the

¹⁴⁰ *Triumphe* 1618, unpag.: "Menenius Agrip' 'toproerich Roma stilde! Beloofd' hy d'oude Wet/ ghetrou invaeren wilde. Alsoo nu Nassau-Helt be-yvert 'sHeeren werck/ Strijdt soo hy trouwlijck plach voor 't Landt/ nu voor de kerck."

two days that followed. The Stadtholder visited the Academy on May 24 to see further performances and, in addition to this, Coster and his crew arranged another allegorical parade of boats to accompany Maurice during his leave-taking on May 25.¹⁴²

In his 1642 recollection of the events, Coster recounts that he and several members of his organization had been watching the performances at Dam Square, when other spectators – indignantly described by the poet as “brainless airheads” – ridiculed and affronted the group for their lack of involvement in the day’s program.¹⁴³ The show that the *Academie* claimed to then have promptly arranged for Maurice, consisted of a parade of ten boats that traversed the city before appearing in the water along the *Oudezijds Voorburgwal*, where the Stadtholder was able to view their floating show from the *Prinsenhof* windows.¹⁴⁴ While the supposed impromptu nature of the floating displays should be doubted – the necessary attributes and costumes would have taken more than an instant of preparation, as would the chartering of boats and the hiring of musicians – Coster’s claim that the organization acted independently in the matter is, however, credible.

Traveling from their building at *Keizersgracht*, the *Academie*’s boats did not pass any areas listed in the decrees the city had issued for the day of entry (fig. 5), which, amongst other things, restricted citizens’ access to the *Damrak* bridges and prohibited them from

¹⁴¹ M. B. Smits-Veldt, “Het Brabantse gezicht van de Amsterdamse rederijderskamer ‘Het Wit Lavendel,’” *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992): 160-166.

¹⁴² S. Coster, *Vertoninghen tot Amsterdam ghedaan door de Nederduytsche Academie, op de Inkomste van zijn Excellentie, Maurits, Prince van Orangien, &c* [...] (Amsterdam: Nicolaes Biestkens 1618); *Samuel Coster’s Werken*, ed. R. A. Kollewijn, vol. 1 (Haarlem, 1883) 585-594.

¹⁴³ Coster 1642, 10: “Wy, (die wel wat hadden behooren en konden doen) nevens andere Kijkers op den Dam staende, wierde van een hoope herselooze, uytgelatene, en ’t bekkeneel vol winds hebbende gasten bespot, gelasterd, en boos-aerdigh uyt-gelacht, om dat wy, die geen last en hadden, nevens andere niet woelende waren [...]”

¹⁴⁴ Coster 1618. See also: *Werken*, Kollewijn 1883, 581-584.

stepping off the sidewalk along the processional route.¹⁴⁵ Perhaps building on the tradition of waterborne pageants staged in the *Damrak* during entries in the past, the Academy's parade reveals a strategy of popular attraction, announcing itself with music and colorful attributes and, as Coster explains, "did not stand still, but proceeded along in a swaying manner, and through its mobility and movements acquired much grace, even more so as it appeared so unexpected."¹⁴⁶

While Coster indicated that the Academy paid for their parades out of pocket, records show that he, as well as Jan Sybrandtsz Bont of *d'Eglantier*, were rewarded for their efforts by the burgomasters two years later.¹⁴⁷ A payment of 200 guilders on March 26, 1620, and another sum of 356 guilders that followed soon thereafter, formed part of the same request for reimbursement which, according to the archival record, had already been submitted by Coster in November of 1618.¹⁴⁸ The two payments are described as pertaining to costs the Academy had made both on the day of entry and departure "by order of the burgomasters," a

¹⁴⁵ SAA 5020, inv. no. 12, fols. 197r-v (published May 23, 1618): "*Dat oock nijemant int incomen van sijne voorsz Pr. Ex.tie hen sal vervorderen te commen opde nieuwe, oude, ofte papen brugge, dan alleen die geene die aldaer sullen sijn bescheijden/ Sal oock niemand geduijrende tvoorschreven incomen, hem mogen begeven opde straten buijten de stoupen, ter plaetse daer sijne voorsz Pr. Ex.tie met sijne bij hebben heeren, ende Suijte, mitsgadert de schutterie zal comen te passerem.*" Any areas the boats needed to traverse from the *Keizersgracht* to *Prinsenhof* are, notably, not included in the decree.

¹⁴⁶ Coster 1642: "*Dit werk stond niet stil, maar voer al zwierende voort, en kreegh door de beweeghlykheyd, en 't verplaatsen zeer groote gratie, te meerder om dat het zo onverwacht op quam.*"

¹⁴⁷ Coster 1642, 10: "*Men huurde op eygen koste negen steygerschuyten [...].*"

¹⁴⁸ SAA 5039 inv. no. 113, fol. 176r: "*Samuel Coster betaelt de somme van tweehondert gulden over onkosten byde Nederduytsche Academie gedaen int incomen ende uijtwaren van Zyn Excelentie binnen deser Steede luyt ordtie ende quitc daervan zyn in date de viiie Novembs 1618 & byde voorgae tresorieren 1618 de tegenswoordigen tresorieren ophaere overleveringe overgelevert Act& den xxvie Maert @ 1620 -- f. 200 : -- : -- .*" Idem, fol. 179r: "*Samuel Coster betaelt de somme van driehondert sesenvijftich gul tweten 308 gl als rest van een declaratie van 508 @ 1618 overgelevert (&doenmaels daerop ontfangen 200 gl) byde nederduijtsche academie (soo sij zeyde) uytgeschoten te hebben over de onkosten by hem doorlast van Burgermeesteren gedaen, in het inhaelen / ende weder uytgeleydene van zyne Prinselyck Ex.ie de Prinsse van Orange Midtsgaeders noch 48 gl by hen betaelt aende speluyden twelc inde voorverhaelde declaratie niet en was inrekening gebrocht, naer luyde selve declaratie midtsgadens de condemnate met de schadtbrieff aen ex vande vorsz 48 [stricken out: gl] blycke bij ordie & quite daervan zynde -- f. 356 : -- : -- .*"

statement that was accompanied, however, by the somewhat suspicious “so they say” (“*soo sij zeyde*”). Sybrandtsz received the significantly smaller sum of 160 guilders.¹⁴⁹

A pamphlet authored by Coster that appeared soon after the festivities describes the *Academie*'s contributions, and as such became the first festival publication describing a ceremonial entry in Amsterdam to be published within city walls. In its dedication to “*liefhebbers*” of the academy, Coster claims that the publication was necessary since the *vertoningen*, done “out of free will” (“*onverzocht ende uyt onze vrye wil*”), were being falsely misinterpreted by unnamed critics seeking to discredit their inventors in the eyes of “men of state and council” (“*luyden van staat en raat*”), who are thus revealed as the intended audience for the displays.¹⁵⁰ The hostilities described by the author both in this pamphlet and his 1642 publication were likely exaggerated, if not mostly invented. They may however indicate the real tensions brought to the surface by the Stadtholder's visit, as the opposition to the orthodox Contra-Remonstrant church to which Coster and many of his consorts were inclined, could well have been known in this period.¹⁵¹

The parade's program, as has been argued by Mieke Smits-Veldt, should in this context be interpreted as an appeal to the Stadtholder to remain above the parties in order to achieve national unity.¹⁵² The notable emphasis on themes of supraregional peace and prosperity, as I argue here, were furthermore designed to visualize in an impactful manner the Remonstrants' assertion that they, too, were patriots – a claim leveled frequently in this

¹⁴⁹SAA 5039 inv. no. 113, fol. 176r: “*Mr. Jan Sybrandtsoon beth de somme van hondertt zestich over de oncosten vande caemer in liefde bloeyende uyt saecke des als boven gedaen luijt ordie & quite daervan zijnd Actum den 26. Maert @ 1620 -- f. 160 : -- : -- .*”

¹⁵⁰ Coster 1618, dedication to “*Liefhebbers van de Nederduytsche Academi*” and “*verklaringhe*”, unpag.; also *Werken*, Kollewijn ed. 1883, 581.

¹⁵¹ Coster's play *Iphigenia* (1617) was a thinly-veiled condemnation of the involvement of the (orthodox) church in matters of state, which would not be publicly performed until 1621: Smits-Veldt 1984, 62-63.

¹⁵² Smits-Veldt 1984, 62.

period, and one that had accrued significance as proto-nationalist themes gained currency in both state's affairs and political propaganda on a popular level.¹⁵³ In order to effectively make such claims, the Academy did not use analogies from the Old Testament or Roman history but, rather, mined themes and tropes that were prevalent in newspapers and pamphlets that had initially reported on the early Revolt years, and historiographies that by now reflected on this period.¹⁵⁴ These included celebratory references to military victories that took place in the late sixteenth century, as well as canonical episodes from this history, such as the murder of William of Orange. Their use in the performative program orchestrated by Coster, I argue, formed part of a process of cultural memory formation that exemplified the legacies of William and Maurice in the service of a moderate vision of republican peace and unity, which was characterized by a separation of church and state and a Stadtholder who, as Captain-General of a unified nation, refrained from interfering with domestic disputes.

The first boat carried musicians, including drummers, who announced the boats arrival as they appeared before the *Prinsenhof*.¹⁵⁵ The following boat showed Maurice in the guise of the Greek God Mars, dressed in armor and tabard, standing in triumph over several evil characters. The prince was accompanied by the “good council” (“*goeden Raadt*”) of “true religion” (“*ware Godsdienst*”), dressed in white, to his right, and “sacred secular law” (“*Heylighe Wereltlijcke Recht*”), dressed in red, to his left. With their wisdom, he prevailed

¹⁵³ On the usage of patriotic language by Remonstrants, including Caspar Barlaeus' (1584-1648) *Clachte ende Bede Der Remonstranten hier te lande* (Knuttel 2733), see: Vroomen 2012, 100-116.

¹⁵⁴ Horst 2003; Klinkert 2005; Historiographies of the revolt years that foregrounded the accomplishments of the Orange-Nassau Stadtholders: C. Ens, *Mauriciados* [...] ([s.l.: s.n., 1595); E. van Meteren, *Commentarien Ofte Memorien Van-den Nederlandtschen Staet, Handel, Oorloghen ende Gheschiedenissen van onsen tyden* [...], (London: Hermes van Loven, 1609); H. L. Van Haestens and J. J. Orlers, *Den Nassauschen Laurencrans. Beschryvinghe ende af-beeldinge van alle de victorien* [...] (Leiden: Jan Jansz Orlers, Henrick Lodewijcxsoon van Haestens, 1610); W. Baudart, *De Nassausche Oorloghen* [...] (Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1616).

¹⁵⁵ Unless specified otherwise, descriptions of the Academy's *vertoningen* are based on Coster 1618.

over enemies such as idolatry (“*Afgoderye*”), injustice (“*Ongerechtigheyd*”), hate (“*Haat*”), jealousy (“*Na-yveringhe*”), and conceit (“*Opgeblasentheyd*”). Pure religion (“*zuyvere Godsdienst*”) and genuine justice (“*onghevalschte Gherechtigheyd*”), meanwhile, were shown in the act of attaching an orange ribbon (“*Orangen bandt*”) to the Stadtholder’s coat of arms, which was supported by both figures. The ribbon further extended to and connected the next seven boats carrying personifications of the seven united provinces (“*de seven vereenichde Nederlanden*”). Giving precedence to the host province (which in fact ranked second in the States General), the order in which these *tableaux vivants* appeared was Holland, Gelderland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Friesland, Overijssel and Groningen. Each boat contained both a richly dressed male and female figure, who held the orange chord in their hands.

Coster stated that audiences were able to quickly identify the provinces by their escutcheons, “of which the painting was so accurate, that everyone could judge well what was meant with them.”¹⁵⁶ But for many spectators, the display would also have brought to mind the numerous political prints that featured personified representations of the provinces, identified by their coats of arms, sometimes joined together in peaceful unison, but more often tied in cruel subjugation (fig. 8-10).¹⁵⁷ The binding device here, however, were not the chains of oppression, but the benign *Orangen bandt*. The Stadtholder, building on the legacy of constituting the nation by military means, was now explicitly presented as a uniting agent for its body politic. Given his “council”, his ideal role was placed under the condition, however, that his policies were informed equally by the concerns of both church and state.

¹⁵⁶ Coster 1642, 11: “[...] *daer van de verwen, zo waren na den eysch, dat alle de wereld koste oordelen, wat men hiermede zeggen wilde [...]*.”

¹⁵⁷ For examples, see: Tanis and Horst 1993, cat. nos. 7, 8, 10, 12, 16, and 17; Horst 2003, 85-94.

In this manner, the display was in dialogue with propagandistic imagery such as a contemporaneous print that shows Maurice, along with his cousin William Louis, Stadtholder of Friesland (1560-1620), triumphing over a seven-headed monster representing the Remonstrant party (fig. 11). They prevent the malicious creature from attacking the Republic, symbolized by a cow, while its attempts to saw through a bundle of arrows representing national concord are only narrowly prevented by their swift and restrictive action. Significantly, the composition makes clear that the Stadtholders were mostly guided in this matter by the advice of Contra-Remonstrant preachers placed to their sides. The peaceful vision portrayed by the Academy stands in stark contrast to this message, and communicated rather the Remonstrant position that the country's internal unity could only be preserved if religious particularism was not allowed to trump provincial sovereignty, civic liberty, and states' rights.

The final boat was reserved for a female personification of the Academy, holding an escutcheon with its emblem, a beehive, along with the word "diligence" ("*Yver*"). She stood amid a chorus line of maidens ("*Rey van Maechden*") and musicians, who addressed the Stadtholder in song. The text, set against a popular melody, portrayed Maurice as a triumphant and just prince, whose arrival was joyously expected by a group of Amsterdam maidens not unlike the "daughters of Sion" who had welcomed him in 1594. Response to the initiative was positive enough that the burgomasters, according to Coster's recollection, asked the Academy to provide further entertainments the next day, for which purpose they hastily decorated and transformed the theater to accommodate, among other necessities, an elevated seating platform for the Stadtholder and burgomasters.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁸ Coster 1642, 13.

Emphasis, once more, was on the history of the early Revolt years. Over the course of fourteen *tableaux vivants*, which here can only be summarily described, Maurice was presented with a dramatized narrative of key events and accomplishments that could be connected to himself and his family. The topics of these performances again engaged with propagandistic prints and historiographic sources of the period. Aside from such commonplace themes as the tyranny of Alva (fig. 9-10), and allegorical lamentations of loss of liberty and innocence, the important role of both Maurice and William of Orange in the country's struggle was emphasized. A particularly striking moment in the performances, in the Stadtholder's eyes, must have been the combined fourth and fifth *tableaux*. Following the fourth performance, which showed the murder of William I at the hands of the Spanish enemy, the curtains were reopened to dramatically reveal "the young hero" Maurice in the exact place that had been occupied by his dead father in the previous *tableau*.

Following this affective display, a powerful plea urging the Stadtholder to follow in his father's moderate footsteps, the sixth through eleventh scenes focused on Maurice's military accomplishments, including specific references to the often depicted victories of Zutphen (1591) and Turnhout (1597) (fig. 12-13).¹⁵⁹ Looking back on these events across the generational divide of more than two decades, the Stadtholder was reminded of his role in the republic's constitution and consolidation, achieved through military interventions against a foreign enemy. Not only functioning as an obvious source of praise and honor, the performances were comments on the ideal role of the Stadtholder in the republic's governmental framework, which was portrayed in these scenes as revolving primarily around the protection of its citizens and consolidation of its territory.

The seventh performance, which focused on the “conquered lands and cities, extracted from Spanish slavery by Prince Maurice,” further attributes his success in Zutphen, and other acts of bravery, to his descentance from the Nassau dynasty. The lands and cities, likely personified by actors, spoke of the Stadtholder’s company of “earthly gods, and heroes of his blood,” including Maurice’s younger brother Frederick Henry (1584-1647), acting as “cavalry captain,” his cousin William Louis, as well as his late brother Philip William of Orange and late uncle Louis of Nassau (1538-1574), and finally Ernest Casimir I of Nassau-Siegen (1573-1631) and John Ernst I of Nassau-Siegen (1582-1617). In this way, the text prefigured the “Nassau cavalcade” images, which only a few years later would be popularized in print (fig. 14). This distinctly dynastic theme helped fortify the position of the Stadtholder as a pseudo-monarch; a role that was more culturally appealing than a political reality, yet could potentially help pacify and unify the internally fragmented state.

The twelfth and thirteenth *tableaux vivants* represented the truce of 1609, and the internal concord of the United Provinces, which were both fully credited to the Stadtholder’s policies and actions. Reiterating in particular the previous day’s message, the thirteenth *vertoning* depicted Maurice uniting the seven provinces with an “*Oranjenbant*”, while “holy justice” (“*heylige Gerechtigheys*”) provided the Stadtholder on stage, as well as the one in the audience, with the following council:

*Hold the halter of the people free yet steady in hand:
But most of all be careful that the rein, with knowledge
Of strength, pulls the bridle, more sturdy or gently.
Too loose trips up, and too tight lags behind
Letting your subjects tread orderly in freedom*

¹⁵⁹ Klinkert 2005, 47, 86-92, 184-195. A luxury copy of Jacques de Gheyn’s large-scale depiction of the battle of Turnhout was acquired by the States-General to decorate the publicly accessible Great Hall (*Grote Zaal*).

*Right in between service and lawlessness
So expands, so blooms, so grows, o right hand of the States,
In capability, joy, and number of subjects.*¹⁶⁰

The figure of Justice here urges Maurice to act as a prudent and temperate governor, who wields his power carefully, as a rider would over his horse. The final scene, as in the previous day's parade, represented the *Academie*, accompanied now by Apollo and his muses. The female personification of the Academy directly addressed Maurice with a speech of her own, which, among other things, showed gratitude to him as a "pillar of the fatherland" and liberator. Focusing specifically on his victories over *foreign* foes, the Captain-General was praised for his ability to control his armies, so harm may only be inflicted on "enemies" – which were thus implicitly differentiated from the Dutch themselves.¹⁶¹ Both these final *tableaux vivants*, were surely understood in the summer of 1618 as references to the Stadtholder's increased use of force to settle disputes with the country's Remonstrant cities and provinces, and as an admonishment to not turn his armies against domestic targets.

The next day, on May 25, the Academy again organized a parade of twenty boats to accompany the Stadtholder as he took his leave from the city. Forming a summary of the themes that had been foregrounded in the previous two days, the procession included a dramatic *tableau vivant* of William of Orange, laying murdered in the arms of his grieving

¹⁶⁰ Coster 1618, unpag.: "*Houdt vry der volcken toom wel stadich inder handt/ Maar voor het uysterst' schroom den teughel met verstandt/ Van wicht, den breydel rept, wat styver of wat zachter/ Te ruym dat struyckelt vaack, en al te kort leydt achter/ In vryheyt ordenlijck uw onderdaan laat treen/ Recht tusschen dienstbaarheydt en wetteloosheydt heen/ So groeyt, zo bloeyt, zo wast, o rechterhandt der Staten/ In moghentheydt, gheluck, en tal van onderzaten.*"

¹⁶¹ Coster 1618, unpag.: "[...] *krijchs beleydt, een konst on brave hoopen/ Houden in heerschappy, alleen tot vyandts quaadt: dat doet ghy brave Prins, gaat Mars daar in te boven [...] V daghelijcks werck is hun slaverny als eyghen/ Te leyden Princen trots, en treetse mette voet/ Pylaar des Vaderlandts, die 't wreet vermetel dreyghen/ Der vreemder volcken stilt, en kneust haar hooghe moet [...].*" This speech is also

wife Louise de Coligny (1555-1620), as well as a reappearance of the boats carrying Mars and the seven United Provinces. Additional displays were reserved for figures representing armed enemies, directly juxtaposed with “the faithful Dutch”, dressed “in the ancient fashion of the country.”¹⁶² These were subsequently followed by those representing foreign and neighboring nations with whom the Dutch traded peacefully, as well as those who had been conquered by Maurice. Musicians, along with boats carrying the Academy’s emblem and leadership, once more closed the parade. The Stadtholder and his retinue then left for The Hague, transported by boats and ships paid for by the city. These expenses were later reimbursed by the States.¹⁶³

The Academy’s strategy to enter the public space of the festivities with music and mobile performances, in order to communicate a viewpoint that otherwise may have been excluded from the public transcript, was both daring and effective. The invitation to host Maurice at their *Keizersgracht* theater for additional entertainments, furthermore, established an important precedent in the city’s festival tradition. Multi-day festival programs that combined public performances with more private and exclusive shows would become the standard for ceremonial receptions in Amsterdam over the next decades: a development that should be attributed to the Academy’s innovative approach to the 1618 festivities.¹⁶⁴ The content of the *vertoningen*, which engaged with the (popular) visual culture of

reproduced in Coster 1642 as having been spoken by the Academy figure during the day of the entry. I have chosen here to follow Coster 1618.

¹⁶² Perhaps these were meant to represent the Batavians. Coster 1618, unpag: “*Inde 14. Schuyt zaten eenighe perzonen ghekleet nae de oude wyze van de Lande, bediedende de getrouwe Nederlanders.*”

¹⁶³ SAA 5044 inv. no. 26, fol. 15v: “*1618. Rekeninge van die schuijten & wagen vrachten den 24 maij gevallen toen de prince van ora[n]ge van hier naden hage vertrock ende bij ons Tresorieren Extraordinaris betaelt [...] Compt tesamen – f 1078 : 0 : 0. Den 14. Januarij. 1619. Dese som[m]e van de f 1078 gh. geliquideert inden hage door ordonantie vande Gecom[m]itteerde Raden [...]*” In both 1638 and 1642, the city tried unsuccessfully to be reimbursed for costs related to the visits of Marie de’ Medici and Henrietta Maria Stuart, see chapter 2, pp. 92-93 and chapter 3, p. 143.

propagandistic prints commenting on the history of the Dutch Revolt, and the role of the Stadtholders in particular, was also revisited by later festival organizers, most notably the future *Schouwburg* director Jan Vos (1612-1667).¹⁶⁵

The entries in 1594 and 1618 were intricately connected to Maurice as a figure of military authority, whose physical presence in Amsterdam allowed the city and its citizens to revel in, and alternatively contribute to, his victories. This in itself is remarkable, and could be compared, for instance, to the triumphant entries made by the last Valois rulers, and later Louis XIII, into alternatively loyal and rebellious cities. Those served to bolster the state in the context of the persistent conflicts brought on by the Wars of Religion and civil war in France.¹⁶⁶ Following a resolution of the States-General that called for the militia troops to be disbanded in July of 1618, Maurice would, in fact, similarly embark on a tour through Utrecht and Holland to force the dismissal of both *waardgelders* and city governments.¹⁶⁷ In those instances, too, the Stadtholder made entries that revolved around a display of military power.

While the receptions in 1594 had had been distinctly celebratory in character, the “triumphs” of the Stadtholder in 1618 were marked by grim undertones. The line between joyous entry and forceful occupation, which both required the Captain-General’s entrance and presence within the physical space of towns and cities was revealed to be thin. Due to the military connotations all his visits implicitly carried, the interwoven character of

¹⁶⁴ See chapters 3, pp. 152-153 and chapter 4, pp. 168-169.

¹⁶⁵ See chapter 4, pp. 194-202.

¹⁶⁶ R. Cooper, “The theme of war in French Renaissance entries,” *Mulryne* 2015, 15-37; M. M. McGowan, “Henri IV as architect and restorer of the state: his entry into Rouen, 16 October 1596,” *idem*, 53-76; M.-C. Canova-Green, “Warrior King of King of War? Louis XIII’s entries into his Bonnes Villes (1620-1629),” *idem*, 77-99; McGowan 2002; Jouhaud 1987.

¹⁶⁷ Israel 1995, 447.

ceremonial format and the conventions of siege warfare in this period warrants further investigation. Given the abundance, also, of newsprints that documented Maurice's victories in this regard since the 1590s, the rhetoric and visualization of military triumph in the decoration programs discussed here is not surprising. The ideal of restraint the *Academie* portrayed ultimately did not materialize in the way Remonstrant factions perhaps would have hoped. Yet the Stadtholder did not use his control over the union's armies to claim sovereign rule over the Republic, as some had feared. One can wonder if affective displays such as the ones presented to him at the *Academie* factored into the policies and decisions of the republic's Captain-General during the heights of crisis.

II. The Queen and the *Koopstad*: merchant magnificence and the makings of sovereignty (1638)

Marie de' Medici (1575-1642), widow of Henry IV of France (1553-1610) and mother of then French King Louis XIII (1601-1643), visited Amsterdam in September 1638 after spending seven years in exile as the result of a dispute with her son. As Queen Mother and former Queen Regent of France (1610-1614), she was the first royal figure who had ruled over one of Europe's Kingdoms to personally visit, and thereby explicitly acknowledge, the Republic as a sovereign state. The circumstances and conditions of this first state visit were nonetheless controversial, and the States General of the republic warned its cities not to support the former queen at the state's expense. Given these instructions and the precarious position of the guest, the splendor with which she was welcomed in Amsterdam was astonishing. Ephemeral triumphal arches with tableaux vivants decorated Marie's processional entry into the city, and she was escorted by civic militia companies, both mounted and on foot. A floating theater erected in the Rokin staged additional tableaux on the third day of her visit, and she was treated to an elaborate banquet of products from the East Indies as well as to tours of the city.

In addition to the organization of festivities on a level unprecedented for the Dutch Republic, the reception was commemorated in the form of a lushly illustrated festival book of the sort that had long become the standard in the Southern Netherlands and France, but that had not been produced in the Republic before this time. This account of Marie's entry was written by *Atheneum Illustre* Professor Caspar van Baerle, also known as Barlaeus (1584-1648). It appeared with the publishing house of Johan (1596-1673) and Cornelis

Blaeu (c. 1610-1644) in 1638, alongside a French edition (1638) and Dutch translation the following year (1639).¹⁶⁸

While many aspects of the ceremonial entry format were appropriated for the festivities in 1638, its function and political realities can be described as progressively detached from the *blijde inkomste* or triumphal entry tradition as discussed in the previous chapter. Rather than revolving explicitly around the relationship between the city and domestic political leadership, the reception of Marie de' Medici represented a venture into the arena of international diplomacy, as well as a vehicle by which to articulate Amsterdam's position both at home and abroad. With peace negotiations on the horizon, a sense of urgency informed the clarification of both internally and externally recognized hierarchies of rank, dignity, and sovereignty within the Dutch body politic.

In this context, as I argue below, Amsterdam and its merchant-regents claimed their hegemonic position by serving as the country's most magnificent hosts. The splendid festival program, and perhaps more importantly its textual and visual description in print, served to articulate the basis for the city's newfound power – economic supremacy – in direct comparison to understandings of sovereignty as constructed in existing frameworks of royalty and monarchy. Not only were the burgomasters able to utilize the entry to promote their increased political standing internationally, through the French and Latin translations of Barlaeus' festival book in particular, but also domestically, as evidenced by luxury editions and presentation copies of the Dutch editions that are still preserved today.

¹⁶⁸ C. Barlaeus, *Medicea hospes, sive Descriptio pvblica gratvlationis qua Serenissimam, Augustissimamque reginam, Mariam de Medicis, excepit Senatvs popvlvsqve Amstelodamensis* [...] (Amsterdam: J. & C. Blaeu, 1638); C. Barlaeus, *Marie de Medicis entrant dans Amsterdam, ou, Histoire de la reception faicte à la reyne mere du roy tres-chrestien, par les bovrghmaistres & bourgeoisie de la ville d'Amsterdam traduite du Latin* (Amsterdam: J. & C. Blaeu, 1638); C. Barlaeus, *Blyde inkomst der allerdoorluchtighste koninginne, Maria de Medicis, t' Amsterdam vertaelt uit het Latijn des hooghgeleerden heeren Kasper van Baerle* (Amsterdam: J. & C. Blaeu, 1639).

The circumstances and conditions of this first state visit were, however, contentious for various reasons. The first, and probably most pressing one, was the controversial position of the guest received. Increased conflict with her son and his favorite Cardinal Richelieu (1585-1642) following Marie's regency had resulted in a self-imposed exile in the Southern Netherlands, where she had resided since 1631. Her itinerant court had left for Spa in the early summer of 1638, but abruptly changed course towards the Northern Netherlands. This unexpected move, which concerned the States General both in regards to the potential financial burden of her stay, as well as the implications for the Republic's relation with France, was most likely a result of secret correspondences with Prince of Orange and Dutch Stadtholder Frederick Henry (1584-1647), who had succeeded Maurice upon his death in 1625.¹⁶⁹ Frederick Henry, along with his wife Amalia of Solms (1602-1675), would continue to mediate on behalf of the exiled Queen in her efforts to achieve a reconciliation with her son and a return to France. Amalia would also accompany the French Queen during the entirety of her journey in the Republic.

From exile, Marie de' Medici had developed an iconography that presented her as a grieving widow and mother, which was designed to underscore her status primarily based on her marriage to Henry IV, but also emphasized her wide-ranging influence among the courts of Europe. As the mother not only of Louis XIII, but also Elisabeth, Queen Consort of Spain (1602-1644), Henrietta Maria, Queen Consort of England (1609-1669), and Christine, Duchess of Savoy (1606-1663), she claimed her position as matriarch of an influential

¹⁶⁹ His motive was to secure her support for a marriage between his son, William II of Orange (1626-1650), and Marie's granddaughter, Princess of England Mary Stuart (1631-1660). No correspondences between the Stadtholder and Marie de' Medici have been preserved, but their existence can be deduced from other sources, such as the correspondences of Constantijn Huygens. Snoep has argued that these negotiations could have been the motivating factor for the Queen-Mother's journey to the Netherlands: Snoep 1975, 40. William and Mary were, in fact, married in 1641, see chapter 3. For the expressed concerns regarding the cost, see note 181.

European courtly dynasty.¹⁷⁰ Part of her traveling court, the historiographer Jean Puget de la Serre (1594-1665) had detailed Marie's earlier receptions in the Southern Netherlands, most notably the warm welcome she received in Brussels from Infanta Isabella (1566-1633) in 1631.¹⁷¹ Her entries in these cities, the financial support she received from her hosts, as well as the sending and receiving of ambassadors from other European nations during her exile carried clear royal connotations – a point Marie and her historiographer De La Serre made sure to publicize. As recent scholarship has pointed out, it was through the vocabulary of precisely these forms of diplomatic contact and exchange that Marie de' Medici proclaimed her continued importance and sovereign status.¹⁷²

The host nation and city, likewise, took up uncertain positions within the diplomatic fabrics of early modern Europe's tapestry of monarchy and empire.¹⁷³ Taking place roughly a decade before the conclusion of the Peace of Münster, the event can be situated in a period characterized by an increasingly prominent role of the Dutch Republic in international trade, warfare and politics, which was accompanied by a growing assertion of Dutch sovereign powers. Negotiations for peace with Spain, which had commenced in 1632 and would

¹⁷⁰ E. McCartney, "A widow's tears, a Queen's ambition: the variable history of Marie de Médici's Bereavement," Allison Levy (ed.), *Widowhood and visual culture in early modern Europe* (Burlington, 2003), 93-107. See also: S. Galletti, "Female Agency and Early Modern Urbanism: The Paris of Maria de' Medici," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71 (2012): 186-203. On the well-known Medici cycle designed for the Palais Luxembourg, see: R. F. Millen and R. E. Wolf, *Heroic deeds and mystic figures. A new reading of Rubens' Life of Maria de Medici* (Princeton, 1989); and more recently: S. Galletti, "Rubens's Life of Maria de' Medici: Dissimulation and the politics of art in early seventeenth-century France", *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014): 878-917.

¹⁷¹ M. (Jean-Puget) de la Serre, *Histoire cvrievse de tovt ce qui c'est passé a l'entree de la reyne mere dv roy treschrestien dans les villes des Pays Bas [...]* (Antwerp: Balthasar Moretus, 1632). Isabella was Marie de' Medici's first cousin once removed. Marie's mother, Joanna of Austria, was a first cousin of Isabella's father, King of Spain Philip II.

¹⁷² T. Osborne, "A Queen Mother in Exile: Marie De Médicis in the Spanish Netherlands and England, 1631-41," Ph. Mansel and T. Riotte (eds.), *Monarchy and Exile. The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II* (New York, 2011) 17-43, esp. 21.

¹⁷³ J. Heringa, *De eer en hoogheid van staat. Over de plaats der Verenigde Nederlanden in het diplomatieke leven van de zeventiende eeuw* (Groningen, 1961). See also the introduction to this dissertation.

continue on and off until their conclusion in 1648, signaled the recognition of Dutch autonomy in a wider European context. In diplomatic matters, the Republic during this period endeavored to be recognized and treated in the same manner as Venice: a free republic that ranked directly below the European Kingdoms, based on the inclusion of the Kingdom Cyprus within its territories. The Dutch Republic, following this reasoning, argued for a similar rank due to its own possessions in the East and West Indies.¹⁷⁴

Yet the protocols by which government representatives interacted with their European counterparts during this time were complicated by a political structure that, particularly to foreign eyes, was decentralized, and often confusing. In various diplomatic affairs the state could be represented by representatives of the States General, provincial states or city officials, the Stadtholder, dignitaries of the two India Companies, and yet other parties such as ambassadors and other envoys.¹⁷⁵ As a result of the surprise visit, the States General and the cities on Marie's anticipated trajectory thus found themselves confronted with a sudden set of diplomatic questions: What relationship, if any, existed between this confederacy of independent provinces and their first "royal" visitor? And following from this question, what ceremonial process would be appropriate to receive her? Finally, which branch of the Republic's decentralized government was ultimately responsible, or allowed,

¹⁷⁴ Heringa 1961, 263-264.

¹⁷⁵ See Heringa 1961. For the increased standing of the House of Orange in the European courtly context in this period, see: O. Mörke, *'Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'?: die Funktion des Hauses Oranien und seines Hofes in der politischen Kultur der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 17. Jahrhundert* (Münster, 1997); K. Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure", in: K. Zandvliet (ed.), *Maurits. Prins van Oranje* (Amsterdam and Zwolle, 2000) 37-63, esp. 60-62 and J. Israel, "The United Provinces of the Netherlands. The courts of the House of Orange, c. 1580-1795," J. Adamson (ed.), *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750* (London, 1999) 119-139, esp. 122-130. For the role of East India Company ambassadors as representatives of the Republic, see: J. Gommans, "Merchants among kings: Dutch diplomatic encounters in Asia", in: Corrigan et al. (eds.), *Asia in Amsterdam: the culture of luxury in the Golden Age* (New Haven and Amsterdam, 2015) 32-38.

to speak on behalf of the state, and how should established ceremonial conventions be adjusted to this unique situation?

The protocolary questions arising from the event, therefore, not only stemmed from the contested status of the exiled Queen-Mother who was received, but also from the unorthodox political position of the Republic in which she had sought refuge. The recurring issue regarding the internal distribution of political power, which had been the underlying cause of the crisis of 1618 (chapter 1), furthermore continued to shape the Republic's factional divides. After Frederick Henry succeeded Maurice as Stadholder, Remonstrants had returned to prominence in the majority of towns in Holland, including Amsterdam, which by now was indisputably the wealthiest and most powerful city in the Republic. While initially seeking the support of the Stadholder, these pro-peace "Arminian" towns came into increasing conflict with him in advance of the breakdown of peace negotiations in 1633, and an alliance against Spain that was formed with France in 1635.¹⁷⁶

In the context of these domestic tensions, the event has been viewed as an effort by the city to demonstrate its autonomy, or even a deliberate attempt to create tensions between the Republic and France.¹⁷⁷ Scholars have similarly interpreted the notable efforts made by the city to commemorate the event. Attention in this regard has been focused predominantly on the *Medicea Hospes* book project.¹⁷⁸ Some have connected the decoration program designed for the renovated Great Hall of the city's Arquebusiers militia building

¹⁷⁶ Israel 1995, 516-527.

¹⁷⁷ F. Deen, "Amsterdam in de Gouden Eeuw: het bezoek van Maria de' Medici. Een hoogst omstreden bezoek," *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 23 (2014).

¹⁷⁸ Snoep 1975, 42-43, who also notes a portrait of the Queen painted by Gerard Honthorst that was likely displayed in the town hall after its completion; M. Blocksom, "Procession, pride and politics in the Medicea Hospes (1638): a Dutch festival book for a French Queen," *Dutch Crossing* 42 (2018): 3-27.

(*Kloveniersdoelen*), which included Rembrandt's famed *Nightwatch* of 1642.¹⁷⁹ Pieter Vlaardingerbroek, finally, has put forward the compelling idea that the entry formed the impetus for the conceptualization, and eventual realization, of the new Amsterdam town hall, which was inaugurated in 1655.¹⁸⁰

This chapter, however, focuses attention primarily on the event's relevance as a signifier on the public stage of international diplomacy – not one intended to sabotage French-Dutch relations, but rather to create a precedent in protocol that would elevate both the city and republic in standing. Following a format that had long been established for ceremonial entries into the city, the burgomasters, and its core circle of associated intellectuals, devised a program for the five-day visit that aimed to both entertain the French Queen-Mother and would allow the city to display its power both within the Republic and as the center of a maritime empire. While explicitly aiming for a connection with the history of the city's ceremonial past, longstanding aspects of such events were impacted by new developments around the city, including a new arrival route via the new *Haarlemmervaart* towpath.

The circumstances of this entry were, of course, radically different from those that had been organized in the past. As analysis shows, the familiarity of the entry format was, in fact, utilized to bring attention to new realities. The ascension to power of the city and its India Companies was discernable in both the iconography and architectural framing of the *tableaux vivants* and pageants, noticeable in the tastes and smells of the products offered at

¹⁷⁹ See S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, "The Night Watch and the Entry of Marie de' Medici: a new interpretation of the original place and significance of the painting," *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 57 (2009): 4-41, with further references.

¹⁸⁰ P. Vlaardingerbroek, *Het Paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam* (Zwolle, 2011), 21-22. On the importance of the new town hall during ceremonial entries in 1659 and 1660, see below, chapter 4, pp. 181, 187-189.

the East India House, and visible in the numbers and varieties of ships collected in the IJ. By way of the internationally accepted language of ceremony, Amsterdam and its ruling class proclaimed themselves King, and held court at its harbors and warehouses. The relatively weak position of the Queen was recognized by the city as an opportunity to display, and by way of publication legitimize, the forms of power emerging through the capitalist world-economic system in which it had achieved a hegemonic position. In this role, the event served not only to broadcast the Republic's relative status among Europe's leadership of Kings and Princes, but also to affirm Amsterdam's political and economic supremacy at home. This was achieved in no small part due to the deliberate strategies employed in its commemoration.

Deliberations and expenses: How to treat a Queen?

Weary of the high costs that a prolonged stay would cause, the States General warned the provinces in the summer of 1638 that Marie de' Medici could not be fully provided for (*gedefroyeert*) with general funds, but should only be modestly received and accommodated.¹⁸¹ The States General appointed Count of Culemborg Floris II of Pallandt (1577-1639) and Lord Johan Wolfert of Brederode (1599-1655) to guide and assist the Queen Mother in her travels towards Zeeland or The Hague (from where it was assumed she would promptly take her leave towards England), with the specific instruction “not to engage

¹⁸¹ L. Aitzema, *Saken van Staet in Oorlogh in ende omtrent de Vereenigte Nederlanden*, vol. 2 (The Hague: J. Veely, J. Tongerlo and J. Doll, 1669) 540: “[...] *dat sy in eenighe van dien komende / tot kosten van't Landt niet en soude moghen gedefroyeert / maer alleenlijck ontfangen / gesalueert / ende voorts met complimenten onderhouden*” (“that she, arriving in several days, should not be hosted at the expense of the Country, but only received, saluted, and subsequently accommodated with [our] compliments”). See also Snoep 1975, 40. The term “defroyeren” refers to the custom of providing a guest (and if applicable, their entourage) with accommodation, food, drink and all necessary services at the cost of the host state or city, typically reserved only for the highest figures such as royals and their primary representatives, such as ambassadors: Heringa 1961, 164-165.

the country in any *defroyement*.”¹⁸² This decision was revisited on August 17, following the intervention of Stadtholder Frederick Henry, who through two friendly delegates suggested that Marie and the most esteemed members of her entourage would be provided with a daily meal at the costs of the Generality, given that the country had received “much favor, benefit and courtesy” from the Queen.¹⁸³ In addition it was resolved that a ranked list of her entourage would be created and sent to Pallandt and Brederode, who could then offer it to other cities visited by the Queen and as such function as a guide indicating the appropriate level of accommodations for various parties.¹⁸⁴

The considerations that arise from these resolutions – what type of financial support should be set aside for this unexpected guest, and perhaps more importantly, who would foot the bill – make it quite apparent that at this time no clear protocol existed for a state-sponsored reception of foreign royalty. But the support Henry IV had shown to the Republic during his reign, not only in the form of financial support, but also by accepting an ambassador from the young state even before the truce of 1609, had clearly not been forgotten.¹⁸⁵ The guidance offered by the States General outlined above, however, was neither awaited nor followed by the burgomasters of Amsterdam.

On August 18, 1638, Amsterdam burgomasters Abraham van der Boom (1575-1642), Pieter Hasselaer Pietersz (1582-1651), Anthony Oetgens van Waveren (d.1658) and Albert Coenraatsz. Burgh (1592/93-1647) convened to discuss the possibility of a formal reception of Marie de’ Medici, after news of her imminent travels through the Republic had

¹⁸² Ibidem, “[...] *sonder nochtans desen Staet t’ engageren in eenich defroyement.*”

¹⁸³ Aitzema 1669, 541: “*De Coninginne / daer van ’t Landt soo veel faveur, voordeel, en courtoisie genoten hadde*”. The delegates in question were Johan van der Camer (?-1669) of Holland, and Johan de Knuyt (1587-1654) of Zeeland.

¹⁸⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁸⁵ Heringa 1961, pp. 231-262, esp. 249-250.

reached the city via former burgomaster Dirck de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn (1573-1643). While acknowledging that further instructions from the States General regarding the reception of the French Queen would be forthcoming, they nevertheless decided to receive Marie de' Medici with "all the militia in arms, spectacles, and otherwise the highest of honors."¹⁸⁶

This grand gesture, as their documented resolution on the matter states, was desired firstly because of "Her Majesty's high pedigree, alliances and merit," and secondly, "because the city is particularly keen, that a person who is a mother to those Kingdoms and countries receiving much commerce from here, of which the merchants and other inhabitants of this city often receive much favor, will be treated properly and honorably."¹⁸⁷ In stressing the perceived value of the Queen's visit to their trade relations with neighboring nations, Marie de' Medici's propaganda strategy to emphasize her influential status as mother to royal offspring appears to have found a receptive audience in the burgomasters of Amsterdam, who demonstrated a notable eagerness to act independently from the States General in such diplomatic matters.

Though not explicitly stated, the occasion provided an opportunity for the city to engage in the kind of public diplomacy that could lend credibility to its own claims for internationally recognized status – an agenda not unlike the strategy employed by the exiled Queen-Mother herself – although seemingly in direct conflict with the wishes of the States.

¹⁸⁶ SAA 5024 *Burgomasters Resolutions*, inv. no. 1, fol. 188r: "[...] *met de gansche schutterie in wapenen, vertooningen en anders de hoogste eer.*"

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem*. "[...] *soo ten insichte van hare Mts hooge afkomste alliantien en merite, als om dat dese stadt int' particulier daer aen gelegen is, dat een personagie de welcks moeder is in die Coninckrijcken ende landen, daer groots commercis van hier op valt, ende alwaer de cooplyuden ende ander ingesetenen van dese Stadt wickwils groot faveur vandoen hebben, betamelyck en eerbiedich wert bejegt.*" The strategy to honor (foreign) queens with a ceremonial entry in order to persuade them to use their intercessory power and political influence in the interests of the city had precedents for instance in France, where in 1548 Anna d'Este, duchess of Ferrara, was received in this way: Murphy 2016, 173-174.

Both through the decorative program designed for the event and by lending itself as the main stage for the encounter, the city revealed tacit claims as one of the emerging state's chief representatives during the Queen's stay in the sovereign Republic; a role that the city, as discussed in the previous chapter, had not historically played.

Correspondences between Barlaeus and Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581-1647) provide more insight into the concerns of the burgomasters, as well as the poets they commissioned with the task of devising appropriate entertainments for Marie de' Medici's visit. Their letters make clear that this process spanned only a matter of days. Hooft wrote Barlaeus about the planned "spectacles" on August 22, four days after they had been ordered by the burgomasters on August 18, and a mere ten days before the Queen's arrival. In this letter, Hooft expressed regret at what he deemed relatively limited preparations for the visit, fearing they might disappoint the Queen given her experiences in Italy, France and Brabant.¹⁸⁸ He is more confident in the city's ability to impress their visitor with musical performances by Dirk Janszoon Sweelinck (1591-1652), "whose equal I believe she has never heard" as well as Maria Tesselschade Visscher (1594-1649) and musicians from Rotterdam and elsewhere.¹⁸⁹ But he believed she would be most thoroughly impressed by the multitude of ships she could see in the city's harbor, "a spectacle her eyes have not experienced anywhere else, nor will they ever" followed by a dramatic display of canon fire,

¹⁸⁸ *De briefwisseling van P.C. Hooft*, ed. H.W. van Tricht, vol. 3 (Culemborg, 1979) 75: "T verdriet mij, uit zucht tot de eere der stadt, dat zij alle toerustinghen zal moeten gering achten, ten opmerke van 't geen zij in Italië en Vrankrijk, jaa in Brabandt, aanschouwt heeft."

¹⁸⁹ *Idem*, pp. 75-76 "Eene der onthaalingen, die, mijns bedunkens, meest bij haar zouden geacht worden, zoude een' treflijke muziek zijn. Overzulks ('t zij de Heeren zich der kosten ontzien) waar het wel raadzaam, eenige vermaarde konstenaars uit andre steden t'ontbieden, ende daar in te volgen den raadt van den Orgelist meester Dirk Sweeling, wiens gelijk ik meine dat zij nooit gehoort heeft; zulks hij tot een fraai sieraadt der stadt zal dienen."

the sounds of which would “cleanse” her ears in case of any distaste experienced from the music.¹⁹⁰

The same letter also makes clear that the coordination of the decoration program had been placed in the hands of city secretary Daniel Mostart (1590-1646), who was in conversation with both Hooft and Barlaeus, as well as Samuel Coster, while Maria Tesselschade further assisted with the translation of verses. The burgomasters had apparently given preference to a design of Coster over one proposed by Hooft and Barlaeus, prompting Hooft to ask Barlaeus to inquire with Mostart and Coster if it were not possible to have two *tableaux vivants*: one designed by Coster and one by him and Hooft. The precise topic of the rejected design is not discussed, but in a letter from Barlaeus to Hooft dating August 28, he laments that the cause for the rejection was the city’s preference to “trumpet her impecuniosity” rather than her “luster and wealth.”¹⁹¹ It appears Barlaeus envisioned a personification of the city, who would recite a poem proclaiming the city’s status and prosperity, as can be deduced from his inclusion of a reference to the example of Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), “who in his laudations of cities similarly lets them enter speaking [...] his verses lauding Antwerp are well-known.”¹⁹² He references here Scaliger’s “*Urbes*” (1574) a series of poems in which cities and towns address the reader in the first person to divulge the reasons for their fortune and fame. Barlaeus recalls in particular the

¹⁹⁰ Idem, p. 76: “*Een schouwsel is 'er dat haaren oogen nergens gebeurt is, oft zal mogen gebeuren: de meenighte van scheepen, die men haar behoort te vertoonen, ende 't spel te eindigen met geklap van 't baldrende geschut. Welk geluut, uit haare ooren zouw kunnen spoelen de weërsmaak, die zij, zoo ik duchte, in onze muzijk zouw gevonden hebben.*”

¹⁹¹ *Briefwisseling*, ed. Van Tricht 1979, 81: “*Ze zouden liever willen, dat Amsterdam van zijn eigen onbemiddeldheid trompetter was dan van luister en vermogen.*”

¹⁹² Ibidem, “*Maar ik kan mij verdedigen met het voorbeeld van Julius Caesar Scaliger, die in zijn Huldezangen op Steden deze een voor een op dezelfde wijze sprekende invoert. Bekend zijn zijn verzen tot lof van Antwerpen.*”

poem featuring Antwerp, in which the city proudly speaks of “all kinds of merchandise [and] the ancient and the modern arts” that can only be found collectively in that city.¹⁹³

His particular interest in this example indicates the similar approach he envisioned for Amsterdam: one that touted the city’s position as a cosmopolitan marketplace and warehouse to the world. On August 29 Hooft wrote back that “our people” (of Amsterdam) were “determined to appear poor” so as to be more successful in their requests for foreign financial support and not attract such requests from within the Republic.¹⁹⁴ Did Hooft here signal the city’s desire to proceed with caution in celebrating its wealth and commercial successes while hosting the financially dependent Queen-Mother? His reference to perceptions within the Republic at least indicates that the city was well-aware that the Stadtholder and other cities were paying attention to the public spectacle that was about to unfold in its streets. While this explicit approach to self-praise was thus seemingly not championed by city leadership, the theme of Amsterdam’s prosperity through commerce, as will be detailed below, would figure implicitly throughout the decoration program but would be articulated in particularly strong terms in Barlaeus’ published account of the event.

The letters between Barlaeus and Hooft also address ideas that did find approval from the burgomasters. In his letter to Hooft on August 28, four days before the entry, Barlaeus complained that the burgomasters had encouraged him to write about a theme that

¹⁹³ J. C. Scaliger, *Poemata in duas partes divisa* [...] (Heidelberg: 1574) 596: “*Monimodae Merces: artes priscae[que?] novae[que?] Quorum insunt aliis singulae, cuncta mihi.*” (“All kinds of merchandise: the ancient and the modern arts. Single instances of which can be found in others, can be found collectively in me.” My translation)

¹⁹⁴ *Briefwisseling*, ed. Van Tricht 1979, 83: “*Maar onze volk wil met geweldt berooit schijnen, om met beter glimp uitheemsche hulp te bedelen; ende op dat men binnen 's lands niet te veel aan hen, als aan 't groote hooij, plukke.*” He also recalls an anecdote from 1565, in which the city’s customs house (*waag*) was built with loaned money despite a surplus in the city’s coffers, with the sole purpose of deceiving King Philip II (1527-1598), who the city magistrate feared would request the city for a loan if he knew of the surplus, *ibidem*: “*In den jaare 1565 hadden zij de kas t'over gespekt, ende hieven nochtans de penningen op fret, daar de waag af gebouwt wert, om den Koning te blinddoeken met ge-veinsde behoefte, op dat hij hen om geen' leening van geldt quelde.*”

he himself deemed far-fetched: the right granted by Marie's ancestor Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian I (1459-1509) in 1489 to use his imperial crown in the city's coat of arms.¹⁹⁵ In the same letter, he further voiced his opinion that the theme of Berecynthia, a figure from classical mythology who was represented as a mother of Gods, would be most appropriate given the status of Marie as the mother of reigning Kings and Queens. He however worried that she would encounter this theme in other cities that would receive the Queen before Amsterdam.¹⁹⁶

Hooft reassured Barlaeus a day later that the theme of Maximilian would in fact be suitable, and he suggests in his letter of August 29 to let the emperor appear in the act of crowning the city, accompanied by the words "*instar avi*" ("like her grandparents").¹⁹⁷ While this theme, as we shall see, did make its appearance in the decoration program, this explicit articulation of its meaning did not occur. Hooft's suggestion, however, shows a significant motivation behind the selection of the historical episode. By equating Marie with her ancestor, the scene reveals an intended parallel between Maximilian's act in 1489 and the visit of his great-great-granddaughter to Amsterdam 149 years later, which, in both instances, were interpreted as acknowledgments of the city's rights, liberties and status, and connected to the ceremonial traditions of the city.¹⁹⁸ The analogy therefore was not only

¹⁹⁵ *Briefwisseling*, ed. Van Tricht 1979, 81: "*De Heren Burgemeesteren zouden hebben gewild, dat ik iets schreef over de kroon van Maximiliaan, waarmede hij deze stad heeft begiftigd. Maar vergezocht schijnt dit thema [...].*"

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*: "[...] *naar mijn mening kan men niets passender bij het tegenwoordige gebeuren uitdenken dan dat ten aanzien van de Berecynthische. Ik vrees echter, dat op hetzelfde thema ook anderen vervallen zijn, die de telg der Medici eerst zal bezoeken.*"

¹⁹⁷ *Briefwisseling*, ed. Van Tricht 1979, 83: "*Dat zij UE. geirne iets van de Kaizarlijke kroon op 't Amsterdammer waapen hoorden zingen, dunkt mij zoo vreemdt en verre uit den wege niet; gemerkt de Koningin gesprooten is uit Maximiliaan, den geever van dat sieraadt, die haar derde groot-vaader geweest is. Men zouw hem kunnen ten toon stellen, in bedrijf van 't kroonen der stadt; en de Koningin daar bij, in 't voeghlijkste waadt, met deze woorden, Instar avi: oft andersins [...].*"

¹⁹⁸ Maximilian had made his entry into Amsterdam as Count of Holland on April 3, 1478. The city's right to include the crown was later confirmed by his son Philip the Fair (1478-1506) during his first visit to the city

meant to celebrate the Queen's illustrious ancestry, but also emphasized Amsterdam's longstanding recognition as a sovereign polity.¹⁹⁹ Hooft was furthermore confident that if Leiden (to which Barlaeus had apparently referred in his previous letter) would also choose to show a Berecynthia-themed spectacle, that the performance shown in Amsterdam would make it pale in comparison.²⁰⁰

The correspondence between these two contributors to the decoration program demonstrates an awareness of both domestic and international audiences, which shows that the city believed itself to be in direct competition with other cities both within and outside of the Republic. Barlaeus' invocation of the example of Antwerp is not the only connection to this rival city. While Barlaeus and Hooft showed concern over its repetition in other cities in the Northern Netherlands, the Berecynthia theme had appeared in the annual *Onze Lieve Vrouwe Ommegang* in Antwerp, which took place only a few days after Marie de' Medici arrived in the city in August of 1631. The parade included a chariot with a representation of Marie as Berecynthia, accompanied by other allegorical figures that communicated themes of fecundity, hope and peace.²⁰¹

Perhaps not surprisingly, the manner in which the city was both represented and lauded in the iconography surrounding Marie de' Medici's entry formed a significant consideration in these exchanges. Hooft's recommendation that the Queen be impressed not only with *tableaux vivants*, but be given a multi-sensorial experience of the city, including

on July 19, 1497. Following Philip's death, Maximilian entered once more as guardian of Philip's son Charles V, on August 20, 1508: Smit 1995, 231, 244, 247.

¹⁹⁹ For the significance of the imperial crown to the city's claim to a longstanding tradition of independence and autonomy, see also K. Ottenheim, "Het middeleeuws prestige van de Hollandse steden", K. Enenkel and K. Ottenheim, *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden, 1400-1700* (Nijmegen, 2017) 265-291, esp. 287-291.

²⁰⁰ *Briefwisseling*, ed. Van Tricht 1979, 83: "[...] ende zo de Leyenaars Berecynthia voor den dagh brengen, de haare zal verwelkt wezen, en nauw toonbaar t' Amsterdam."

sights and sounds of its busy harbor and of its strong militia, reveals a strategy that connected the visit to a longstanding tradition of ceremonial entries into the city by way of IJ and Damrak.²⁰² As further analysis makes clear, his advice to position the city as a spectacle in and of itself appears to have been followed.

While Marie had been greeted by civic militia and welcome speeches (*harangues*) by city officials elsewhere in the Republic, the spectacles offered by Amsterdam were unmatched by any other city. No detailed expense report from the five-day visit has been preserved, but from various posts in the city ledgers it becomes clear that the city dedicated substantial sums to entertaining the visiting guests. The ledgers for the Extraordinary Treasury (*Thesaurieren Extraordinaris*) list an amount of 29,622 guilders, 1 stuiver and 8 penningen for “diverse expenses” related to the Queen Mother’s visit, for which the city unsuccessfully sought to be reimbursed by the States of Holland.²⁰³ Added to this expense were a further 2480 guilders and 8 stuivers for supplies and services connected to the visit

²⁰¹ De la Serre 1632, 54-55.

²⁰² While ceremonial entries into Amsterdam by way of IJ and Damrak knew a long tradition (see chapter 1), it is worth noting that Marie de’ Medici’s entry into Antwerp was described in similar terms in De La Serre’s published account: De la Serre 1632, 37-47.

²⁰³ SAA 5044 inv. no. 54, fol. 6: “*De Heeren Staten zyn schuldich [...] ditto [31 December] aen cassa idem [door ordre van heren burgermeesteren] doncosten van Coninginne Moeder [...] 29622: 1: 8; Ibidem fol. 11: “Moet hebben ditto [van] de zelfffde [de heren Staten] voor d’oncosten van Coninginne Moeder [...] 29622: 1: 8; SAA 5044 inv. no. 127, unpag.: Negentwintich duysent seshondert tweentwintich gulden, een stuver acht penningen, by hare Ed. inden jare deser reeckeninge betaelt, over verscheyde ongelden, gevallen ten tyde van hare majt de Coninginne Moeder van Vranckryck daervan de documenten naer den hage versonden zijn, ende [...] ordonnantien op versocht worden f. 29622: 1: 8.* The annual (unspecified) costs for wine and meals presented by the city were significantly higher in 1638 as well at 17,165 guilders, 16 stuivers and 10 penningen, making it likely that also in this regard funds were spent on the Queen’s entourage during her five-day visit: SAA 5039 inv. no. 130, fol. 193v: “*Betaelt aen verscheyde persoonen de somma van zeventienduijsent en hondert vyff&tsstigh guldens sestien stuivers tien penningen over presentatie van Wynen, onkosten van maeltijden, & ander diversche kleynde partijen geduurende den jare deser rekeninge*”. This was up from fl. 10,1053:10:15 in 1636 and fl. 11,894:8 in 1637, as well as fl. 11,105:2:8 in 1639 and fl. 12,561:11:6 in 1640: SAA 5039 inv. no. 128, fol. 192v; SAA 5039 inv. no. 129, fol. 189v; SAA 5039 inv. no. 131, fol. 188v; SAA 5039 inv. no. 132, fol. 183v. According to Scheltema, *Aemstel’s Oudheid* vol. 1 (1855), p. 90, 12,000 guilders were also paid to Willem Boreel for expenses related to MdM visit. I have not been able to locate this information in the *Thesaurieren Ordinaris* and *Extraordinaris* ledgers and account books (*Stadsrekeningen* and *Rapiamus*).

which had been charged in 1639.²⁰⁴ The ordinance regarding the matter followed on the 29th of March of 1640, and appears to have struck down the burgomasters' request, as the costs related to the 1638 visit move from the credit to the debit side on the States' page in that year's account book.²⁰⁵

Marie also received several expensive gifts, including a gold basin made by Johannes Lutma (1584-1669) with a value of 8,600 guilders.²⁰⁶ Amalia of Solms, for her part, was provided with at least 5,520 guilders worth of wine, meals and gifts.²⁰⁷ The *Schouwburg* ledgers list only a fraction of the amount likely expended to put on the *tableaux vivants*, including costs for rope, thread, needles, and charcoal (*swartsel*), as well as beer to be consumed on the day of performance.²⁰⁸ The *tableaux vivants* were repeated on September 7

²⁰⁴ SAA 5044, inv. no. 55, fol. 7 (left): *De Heeren Staten van Holland zijn schuldich [...] ditto [31 decemb] aen Anna Pieters betaelt voor hoenderen bij haer geleverd ten tijde van Coninginne Moeder [...] 2400 : 0 : 0 [...] ditto aen Andries Mareus ter selver tijden [...] 38 : 8 : 0 [...] ditto aen Willem Claes, Corn Pos[?] en Claes IJrael [...] 42 : 0 : 0.*

²⁰⁵ SAA 5044, inv no. 56, fol. 6 (right): [De Heeren Staten van Holland] *Moeten hebben 19 junij p. haer selver over de navolgende ordonnantien heden aenden comies van velsen behandicht in minderinge vanden iie pen vanden jare 1638 [...] 1 ord. Van Coninginne Moeder dato xxix meert 1640 [...] 29622 : 1 : 0.* Payment of the remaining costs followed the next year: SAA 5044, inv. no. 57, fol. 6 (right): [De Heeren Staten van Holland] *moeten hebben [...] 1 ord. tot restant van onkosten op d'income van de Coningin [...] 2480 : 8 : 0.*

²⁰⁶ SAA 5039, inv. 130, fol. 191v: “Betaelt aen Jan Lutma goudsmits de somme van achtduisende seshonderd vyftien gls ses sts. [...] over 't goude becker by hem gemaect & geleverd neffens de custodie, voldens syne reke. Ordin & quitantie in date den 29 Septems. 1638.” She also received expensive gifts from the East India Company, for which ledgers were not found, see below p. 38.

²⁰⁷ Amalia of Solms was presented with fl. 120 in wines, fl. 1400 in meals and other expenses, and a marble statue of Cleopatra at fl. 4,000: SAA 5039, inv. no. 130, fol. 153r: “Gerrit Tor betaelt hondert & twintich gulden voor vracht van vier wagens die 't geselschap van Mevrouw de Princesse van Orangien van deser stede tot wijnen hebben gevoert blijckens bij ordhtie & quitantie den 20.e augs 1638”; idem, fol. 153v: “f 1400 Betaelt aen Isacq L'Amoureux herbergier de somma van veertienhondert guldens, over verteerde kosten t'zijn huijse, ten tyde mevrouwe de Princesse van Orangien aldaer getracteert [en] gedefroyeert werde [...] 12 Novemb 1638”; idem, fol. 193r: “Betaelt aen Mr Gerard Reynst de somme van vier duijsendt guldens, over de [ver]kopinghe & leverantie, by hem, ten behoeve deser stad gedaen van een marmeren beeldt van Cleopatra, byde selve stadt vereert aen Mevrouwen de Princesse van Oranje, & den 3.e Septems lastleden, door ordre van heeren Burgermrs bij hem opde Hage gesonden. Luijt declar. ordtie & quitantie, in date den 9^e Januarij 1639.”

²⁰⁸ SAA 367A, inv. no. 425, fol. 37: “Bij d'amsterdamse schouburg uijtgegeven [...] 1e septemb aen tou, garen, spelden, schuijtvracht swartsel, en anders, bij de vertooningen f. 4 : 14 : -- / ditto. een halff vat bier, bij de [ver]tooningen op 't rockin f. 2 : 3 : --” . Not explicitly mentioned in connection to the *tableaux vivants*, but listed on the same date (September 1) is f. 2 : 10 : -- for a sheet of gilded leather wallpaper (“een vel goude leer”), while Pieter de Braij, an actor known by his contemporaries for playing female roles, including those of

and 8, two and three days after the Queen Mother's departure from the city, for the city government and admiralty respectively, for which income was received.²⁰⁹

For his description of the visit, Barlaeus would further be presented with 1,000 guilders, while "several others" who had worked on the book in other capacities – this likely includes the artists responsible for its illustrations – were paid a combined amount of 8,068 guilders and 2 stuivers.²¹⁰ This large expense dedicated to the publication of the Queen's visit indicates the importance of the event's commemoration to its patrons, the city burgomasters. Supplemented for us by other primary and archival sources, Barlaeus' book forms a primary document on which a reconstruction of the events surrounding Marie de' Medici's visit to Amsterdam can be based. Before describing the festivities in more detail, therefore, it is necessary to briefly introduce its function as an idealized representation of the visit, with strategies that extend beyond those simply reconstructing the events.

Presenting the *Koopstad*: the *Medicea Hospes* as a source

We know from contemporary sources that Barlaeus' account did not aim to accurately commemorate the details of the various festivities. Hooft wrote to Barlaeus on October 19, 1638, that his brother-in-law, burgomaster Pieter Hasselaer, had conveyed to him that the burgomasters were of the opinion that Barlaeus should only include that which he deemed

"Queens and Empresses" was paid f. 6 : 13 : -- on September 8. For De Braij, see: P. J. Blok and P. C. Molhuysen, *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1921) 51.

²⁰⁹ SAA 367A, inv. no. 425, fol. 42: "Bij d'Amsterdamse Schouburg ontfangen [...] 7 septem van de vertooningen des conincken moeders gedaan voor de E. magistraat, in alles f 127 : 17 : -- / 8 dito van de selve vertoningen gedaan voor d'Admir f 120 : 17 : --"

²¹⁰ SAA 5039 inv. no. 131, fol. 184v: "Betaelt aen D. Caspar Barleus Professor Philosophiae de somme van duijsendt gls over zoo veel hem toegevoegt is bij den heeren Burgermrs tot een vereeringhe voor 't boek geintituleert *Medicea Hospes*. Luydt d'ord[onanj]tie & zijne quitantue, indate den 12^e Maij 1639"; SAA 5039 inv. no. 131, fol. 188r: "Betaelt aen verscheyde persoon die hun Arbeydt, leverantie & verschot gedaen hebben aen & tot het boek, by d: Barleus gemaekt, geintituleert *Medicea Hospes*, de somme van acht duijsendt

most appropriate, “designating all else to the realm of oblivion.”²¹¹ Beyond merely embellishing the reality of the event, however, the book in its different language editions endeavored to define the position of the city as a political entity for both domestic and international audiences, and functioned to elevate the regent class which orchestrated the reception in relation to other traditional elites, particularly royalty.

This function first becomes clear in Barlaeus’ dedication to the city’s burgomasters and in his introduction, in which he sets up a direct comparison between the greatness and status of the monarch and the city. In the dedication, Barlaeus breaks down the relationship between God, monarch, and his subjects. He posits that a monarch’s power, majesty and popular appeal are derived directly from God.²¹² A virtuous monarch, he argues, searches for peace both within the fatherland and through its allies, and is foremost dedicated to the well-being of the people (“*de burgerye*”), who, as a result, “treat honorably the rulers of the world, *of which they are members*” (emphasis mine).²¹³ The text’s alternating perspective from monarch to *burgerye* becomes conflated in this sentence, which, perhaps not coincidentally, is utilized by Barlaeus as a segue into the concluding part of the dedication, in which he praises the burgomasters for their honorable treatment of Marie de’ Medici. In doing so, he transitions from philosophical argument to concrete example.

acht&tsestich gls & twee sts. Wegends de quitantie & ordnie daer van zynde, wezende by ieder van zyn eyge somme quitantie gespt., in date den 25^e January 1640”.

²¹¹ *Briefwisseling*, ed. Tricht 1979, 93: “Hij zeidt mij, de meening van *Burghermeesteren te wezen, dat U.E. met keure toegae, 't gerijmst' 'er uit leeze, het overschot aen de vergeetenis beveele.*” Snoep 1975, 41.

²¹² Barlaeus 1639, “*Toe-Eigeninge*”, unpag: “*De Vorst is Gods beeld, om dat hy van hem voortgekomen is [...] Hier uit ontstaet in den menschen een weerschijn van liefde, eerbiedigheid, en trouwe tot God en den Prince, hoewel met een ongelijcke genegtheit en yver: ick zegge tot God, als bron, en oirsprong van al het goed en geluck des menschen; tot den Vorst, als bezorger, en bedienaer van zoo groote goederen [...].*”

²¹³ *Ibidem*, “*Hun voormaemste deughd is het beste van Vaderland en Bondtgenooten te zoeken, en de wereld in rust en vrede te stellen. De kennis van deze dingen zit diep in der menschen gemoeden [...] Zy geven zich geheel over aen henlieden, dien de burgerye, niet tot slaaverny, maer om te bezorgen, bevolen is; [...] Zy bejegenen eerbiedigh den Regeerderen der weereld, daerze leden van zijn [...].*”

The precise relation between Marie de' Medici and the city, as well as the bases for their respective fame and greatness, is further elaborated by Barlaeus in his introduction. Given the argument presented in his foreword, it is significant that he states that Amsterdam's "excellence," too, has been willed by God.²¹⁴ He then sets up a comparison between the city and the queen by speaking about their status on equal terms: "Certainly a woman this great was indeed worthy to be received in such a great city, and such a great city not unworthy to receive such a great woman."²¹⁵

The comparison does not end there, however. Through a series of juxtapositions, Barlaeus makes the case that both the queen and the city's power has a far geographical reach, and that both enjoy a strong popular appeal. He argues that while Marie exerts international influence through the realms of her children, which span both the old and the new world, Amsterdam can boast a similar status through its mercantile activities on international scale.²¹⁶ This theme in particular had, as we shall see, formed an emphasis throughout the visit and its description.

Barlaeus further argues that while Marie's appeal is one of lineage and intrinsic majesty, Amsterdam attracts scores of people both at home and abroad in their pursuit of profit.²¹⁷ It is here – at the start of the book that will go on to describe and depict the meeting of the two parties just introduced – that Barlaeus asks the reader to envision the comparison: "If we look at the Queen, we see standing in front of us someone who had rule and authority

²¹⁴ Barlaeus 1639, 2: "[...] *de Stadt, die door Gods genade groot en uitsteekende is [...]*."

²¹⁵ Barlaeus 1639, 2: "*Voorwaer zoo groot een Vrouw was wel waerdigh in zoo groot een Stadt onthaelt te worden, en zoo groot een Stadt niet onwaerdigh om zoo groot een Vrouw t'onthaelen.*"

²¹⁶ Ibidem, "*De Koningin, een Moeder der maghtighste Koningen in Europe, heeft Vorsten en Vorstinnen, over uitsteekende Rijcken, ter wereld gebroght. De Stadt brengt die zelve Rijcken door koopen en verkoopen van haere koopmanschappen winst aen, en treckt 'er weder winst af.*"

over all of France. If we look at the city, we see a marketplace of the entire world” (“*Koopstadt van de gansche weereld*”).²¹⁸ The term *koopstad* is used frequently throughout Barlaeus’ text.²¹⁹ As will be detailed below, this characterization of the city as a famous marketplace, while no uncommon laudatory strategy in general or during ceremonial entries in particular, was innovatively used in this royal encounter to provide political leverage and promote the legitimacy of Amsterdam as an autonomous polity.

The highly visual character of Barlaeus’ descriptive strategy is further stressed when he writes that “Her Majesty was only eager to see this city, of which she had already heard many terrific and great things.”²²⁰ The imagined desire of the foreign queen to come view the city (“*om deze Stadt te bezien*”) presented her visit as motivated by curiosity, and positioned the city in turn as the attractive object prompting her travel. While the historical facts obviously contradict this reading, the premise of the city as spectacle did seem to inform much of the entertainment during the visit. Spread out over four days in the city, a significant amount of time was dedicated to tours of some of its most notable municipal buildings and other sites of significance, such as the harbor and the headquarters of the Dutch East India Company, the *Oost-Indisch Huis*. But, as the details surrounding the

²¹⁷ Ibidem, “*De Koningin munt uit door de ry van haer naemhaftigh en vermaert geslacht: De Stadt door den toeloop van allerhande volcken. De Koningin is by den volcke ontzagghlyck door haere Majesteit: De Stadt treckt yeder een binnen en buitens lands tot zich, door hoop van winst.*”

²¹⁸ Ibidem, “*Slaen wy onze oogen op de Koningin, zoo zien wy eene die gebod en gezagh over heel Vranckrijck hadde, voor ons staen. Slaen wy onze oogen op de Stadt, zoo zien wy een Koopstadt van de gansche weereld.*”

²¹⁹ *Emporium* in the Latin edition. The great majority of Amsterdam regents were either merchants themselves or closely associated with wholesale trade. See: C. Lesger, “Merchants in charge: the self-perception of Amsterdam Merchants, ca. 1550-1700,” M. C. Jacob and C. Secretan (eds.), *The self-perception of early modern capitalists* (New York, 2008) 75-98, esp. 81. The term, significantly, was used also in the title of the city’s first well-known chorography, published a quarter century earlier, J. I. Pontanus’ *Historische beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coop-stadt Amsterdam*, Amsterdam (J. Hondius) 1614. The thematic connection between the *Medicea Hospes* and chorographies (historical descriptions) of the city, has been noted by Snoep 1975, 64, as well as by Megan Blocksom in a recent article: Blocksom 2018.

Queen's arrival and stay in the city make clear, it was not merely its beauty that the festival organizers wished to impress upon the Queen.

A new approach: the entry on September 1

Marie de' Medici arrived in Amsterdam on September 1st, only two weeks after the resolution for her reception was passed on August 18, and following visits to Gornichem, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Delft, The Hague and Haarlem.²²¹ City pensionary Willem Boreel (1591-1668) traveled to Haarlem one day before the entry, on August 31, to inquire whether the Marie de' Medici wished to arrive in the city via land or by sea. Though Boreel emphasized the convenience and beautiful sights provided by an arrival in the city's vessel-filled harbor "of which strangers are very curious" as "most fitting for such a *Koopstad*", Marie decided to take the advice of the Stadtholder instead and travel by land.²²²

The trip to Amsterdam followed the towpath along the newly dug barge-canal called *Nieuwevaert*, which had been in operation since 1632 (fig. 15). At the mid-point between Haarlem and Amsterdam along the IJ River, called *Halfweg*, Marie was met by a multitude of yachts, including a large West India Company ship decorated with tapestries, which had

²²⁰ Barlaeus 1639, 6: "*Haere Majesteit was enkel belust om deze Stadt te bezien, van welcke haer eertijds veele treffelijcke en groote dingen ter ooren gekomen waren.*"

²²¹ For the visits leading up to Marie's arrival in Amsterdam, see J. Puget de la Serre, *Histoire de l'entree de la reyne mere du roy tres-chrestien dans la Grande-Bretagne : enrichie de planches / par le Sr. de la Serre, historiographe de France* (London: Jean Raworth, pour George Thomason & Octavian Pullen, 1639).

²²² Barlaeus cites Boreel, Barlaeus 1639, 7: "*Te water zou de haere Koninglijcke Majesteit aengenaemer zijn, en best zoo eene Koopstadt passen, en wel zoo cierlijck staen, om de gelegenheid van speeljaghten, en roeischuiten, en het gezicht van zoo veele groote schepen, die elck om het heerlijkste voor de Stadt op een lange ry aen ancker lagen, waer na de vreemdelingen zeer nieuwsgierigh zijn.*" According to De la Serre "The queen submitted herself to the judgment of His *Altesse*, who considered it opportune to make use of the carriage, to avoid the nuisance of the wind which one could encounter in the boat" ("*La Reyne se remit au jugement de son Altesse, qui trouvant a propos de se server du carrosse, pour éviter l'incommo dité du vent qu'on pourroit rencontrer dans la chaloupe*"). M. (Jean-Puget) de la Serre, *Histoire De L'Entree De La Reyne Mere Dv Roy Tres-Chrestien, Dans Les Provinces Vnies Des Pays-Bas. : Enrichie de Planches / Par le Sr. de la Serre, Historiographe de France* (London: Jean Raworth for George Thomason, & Octavian Pullen, 1639) unpag.

been reserved to transport the Queen if she opted to travel by water for the remainder of her trip. Decorated with silk flags, painted and metal ornaments, and under full sail, the ships provided a precursory introduction to the city. This impressive view, according to Barlaeus orchestrated by the city's burgomasters, would remain a spectacle to behold only, as Marie chose to continue her travel by carriage – as such being the first prominent guest since at least 1549 to not arrive in the city by ship.²²³

At *Halfweg*, Marie was also greeted by a cavalcade of “the most distinguished” Amsterdam burgher youth. The men accompanied her into the city, traveling along the *Nieuwe Haarlemmervaart* towpath towards the *Haarlemmerpoort* city gate.²²⁴ Barlaeus places much emphasis on their lush attire and riding equipment made of expensive materials including gold and silver, but also makes sure to note that although these men were not professional, paid soldiers, they were no less willing and able to use their weapons to defend the city, its religion and liberties.²²⁵ A view of this procession is included as the first plate in Barlaeus' *Blyde Inkomst* (fig. 16). Following Barlaeus' text, the cavalcade is shown both preceding and following Marie de' Medici's carriage. The procession on the towpath is seen from across the *Nieuwe Haarlemmervaart*, where the older *Spaarndammerdijk* can be seen on the right side of the picture plane.²²⁶ This “*krommen Dijk*”, which Barlaeus specifically mentions was not traveled that day, provides a stark contrast to the linear perspective afforded by the straight road on the opposite side, which shows the entirety of the procession

²²³ Barlaeus 1639, 8.

²²⁴ Idem, 9.

²²⁵ Idem, 9-11. Such vivid descriptions of the dress and appearance of those participating in the entry procession were not uncommon. Compare similar passages in C. Grapheus, *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst, van den hooghmogenden Prince Philips, Prince van Spaignen, Caroli des vijfden, Keysers sone: inde stadt van Antwerpen [...]* (Antwerp: Gillis van Diest, 1550), unpag. fol. 6-12, and in Houwaert 1579, 10-13.

stretching back to the horizon.²²⁷ An etching consisting of seven continuous prints by Pieter Nolpe after Jan Martszen de Jonge (c. 1609-?) depicting the same procession was published separately by Cornelis Danckerts (1603-1656) in 1639, but has also been found in at least one copy of the large format Dutch edition of Barlaeus' book (fig. 17A-I).²²⁸ It contains detailed representations of the various riders, including portraits, and a view towards the *Haarlemmerpoort* where entry into the city would take place.

Cornelis Davelaar (1582-1640), Lord of Petten, who headed the cavalcade, gave a welcome speech in name of the city's cavalry, in which he conveyed the city's joy and gratitude at the arrival of such a majestic figure.²²⁹ His words, through Barlaeus' transcription, simultaneously stress continuity as well as reveal a break with the older entry tradition, when he asks the Queen to allow him and his cavalcade to escort her within city walls "in the place which traditionally was reserved for the Princes and important figures who visit this city."²³⁰ Marie de' Medici was thus explicitly asked to occupy this place within a *royal* tradition that had carried great political significance for the city in the past. Yet in specifying that this concerned an older tradition (*van ouds*), Davelaar seemingly

²²⁶ Idem, p. 8: "*niet langs den krommen Dijck, daer de zee tegens aenslaet, maer die, neffens de Nieuwe vaert, recht uit na Stadt toe loopt, en korter valt.*"

²²⁷ A different approach is found in De La Serre 1639A, where the *Nieuwe Haarlemmervaert* is depicted as a windy road. To accommodate the vertical orientation, the image provides a bird-eye view towards the city. Particular emphasis on such a newly constructed straight canal and towpath to approach the city is found in the description of William of Orange's entry into Brussels along the "Nieuwe Schepvaert" in 1577, which is compared on that occasion to the antique example of Nero's canal between Lake Avernus and Hostia: Houwaert 1579, 14-15.

²²⁸ F. Muller, *De nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen : beredeneerde beschrijving van nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten: verzameld, gerangschikt, beschreven* (Amsterdam, 1863), 246, no. 1790. A presentation copy of Barlaeus 1639 preserved at the New York Public Library Spencer Collection includes the full set mounted as a large foldout plate, inserted between Barlaeus' "Toeegeninge" and the main text. See also below, p. 128.

²²⁹ Barlaeus 1639, 12.

²³⁰ Barlaeus 1639, 12: "[...] *dat haer gelieve zich door dezen troep te laten geleiden binnen onze wallen, ter plaetse, die men van ouds plagh in te ruimen voor den Princen, en groote Personagien, die deze Stad bezoeken [...]*".

acknowledged the different nature of this royal visit, and in particular the relation of the visiting figure to the city.

Per existing custom, the entry was announced with the firing of heavy artillery and the sounding of bells throughout the city.²³¹ Barlaeus writes that waterborne spectacles were planned at the *Damrak*, where in anticipation of the arrival all ships had been cleared while theatrical structures were stored underneath the bridges.²³² The planned performances had to be canceled due to the Queen's arrival by land, and Barlaeus adds that the apparati "rested that day, as well as the following".²³³ The spectacles can therefore almost certainly be identified as the Neptune, Mercury and Maid of Amsterdam pageants, which were instead performed on the third day of the visit, and which, if performed at the *Damrak*, would have served a similar function to the water pageants that were performed in that location during ceremonial entries since 1580.²³⁴

The envisioned welcome would thus have included a personification of the city similar to the one Barlaeus had already proposed in his correspondences with Hooft, and one that formed a common element of joyous entry programs in the Netherlands and across Europe.²³⁵ By declining the maritime entry, Marie de' Medici forewent the ideal approach

²³¹ Barlaeus 1639, 15. See also chapter 1 p. 25.

²³² Idem, 13: "*Door last van Burgemeesteren waren toen alle schepen verleit, en het water geruimt voor de Koninginne, die te water zoo men meende, zoude aenkomen. Hier bewaerdemen, onder de bruggen, 't geen men op dat water zoude vertoonen.*" Though no decree of this nature has been preserved in the *Keurboek* for this period, it thus appears that the logistics of the arrival were similar to those in the past: see chapter 1 pp. 24-25.

²³³ Idem, 14: "*Maer al dit toestel ruste dien dagh, en den dagh daer aen, om dat de Koningin voorgenomen hadde langs eenen anderen wegh in Stad te komen.*"

²³⁴ See chapter 1, pp. 25-27 and see below, p. 116.

²³⁵ The "Amsterdamsche Maeghd" made no verbal mention of her riches according to the description of her appearance two days later. But she was accompanied by Mercury, the god of trade, as they were both seated in a cog ship (*Koggeschip*) that referenced the city's oldest coat of arms, which was decorated with representations of the four continents. For the role of *Antverpia* as party to a mystic marriage between city and sovereign in the Antwerp festival tradition, see M. Thøfner, "Marrying the city, mothering the country: gender

that had been planned for her, and which would have immediately introduced her to the city's identity as *Koopstad*, presided over by merchants who had achieved their wealth and status within the realms of foreign trade and naval warfare.

While the arrival and entry at the *Haarlemmerpoort* thus apparently had been a second choice from the perspective of the organizers, the gate formed a suitable symbol for the city's strength.²³⁶ Constructed circa twenty years earlier (1615-1618), its decorative blue limestone exterior included columns in the Doric order, and the city's coat of arms flanked by lions at the center of a broken pediment. Two more sculpted lions topped the gate on either side of the pediment's central crest. The building was furthermore decorated by a prominent spire, which had been enlarged and adorned with a new clock around 1630.²³⁷ On the interior side, the gate donned the city's old coat of arms featuring the cog ship (*Koggeschip*). The building was designed by Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621) as part of the third expansion of the city, which had taken place between 1613 and 1625.

Upon entering the Queen was welcomed in the newest addition to the city, which included straight streets and newly built houses, while yet other buildings were still under construction, as evidenced by contemporary maps showing the gradual development of the blocks adjacent to the *Haarlemmerdijk* (fig. 18-20). The small square encountered directly following entry through the gate, called *Haarlemmerplein*, would have been crowded on regular days. Only a few months earlier, on June 24th of that year, the burgomasters had instated a penalty of three guilders for those parking their carriages and horses in close

and visual conventions in Johannes Bochius's account of the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella into Antwerp," *Oxford Art Journal* 22 (1999): 3-27, esp. 16-18.

²³⁶ *Architectura moderna, ofte, Bouwinge van onsen tyt [...]*, (Amsterdam: Cornelis Danckerts, 1631), 16. See also: K. Ottenheim, P. Rosenberg and N. Smit, *Hendrick de Keyser: Architectura Moderna. Moderne bouwkunst in Amsterdam 1600-1625* (Amsterdam, 2008) 72-75.

proximity to the adjacent houses and trees, “which, planted to adorn the city, are being damaged and ruined & [between which] passage is prevented.”²³⁸ With militia soldiers lining the entire procession route on the day of the entry, according to both the accounts of Barlaeus and De la Serre, city leadership likely meant to prevent chaotic scenes such as described in this decree. At first sight, Amsterdam therefore would have shown itself much like Barlaeus later insisted it should be perceived: a bustling mercantile center and harbor on the cusp of further growth and prosperity, as represented by countless ships, the city’s elite youth dressed in expensive materials, and gleaming new streets and buildings.

From the *Haarlemmerpoort* Marie de’ Medici was escorted by Andries Bicker (1586-1652) in his capacity as colonel of the civic militia, as well as by captains Pieter Reael (1569-1643), Gerbrand Nicolaesz. Pancras (1591-1649) and Jacob Bicker (1588-1647). She traveled via the *Haarlemmerdijk* and *Nieuwendijk* towards the Dam Square, where, contrary to past tradition, the formal greeting by the burgomasters at the town hall did not take place. Instead, she was directly brought to the first triumphal arch, according to Barlaeus located at the *Middeldam*, which was the familiar *Damsluis*, and subsequently encountered the second one at the traditional location of *Varkenssluis* (fig. 21).²³⁹

Both structures are reproduced in Barlaeus’ book (fig. 22, 24) and specifically situated due to the inclusion of familiar visual markers, such as the portion of the *Huis onder ‘t Zeil* directly to the left of the depicted *Damsluis* arch. The scale of the arches relative to the urban fabric represented is monumental, and likely exaggerated. However, these images

²³⁷ M. Hell and R. van Reijn, *De ommuurde stad. Langs de 17de-eeuwse bolwerken en stadspoorten van Amsterdam* (Amsterdam, 2014), 45-47.

²³⁸ SAA 5020, inv. 14, fol. 74r: “[...] waer door de voorsz boomen, die ten cierade deser stede geplant zijn, geschonden & bedorven, & de passagie belet worden [...]”

and the arches' descriptions show that the upper stories of the *Damsluis* and *Varkenssluis* arches evoked the iconography of the inner and outer part of the *Haarlemmerpoort* complex in their use of the city's current coat of arms and the antiquated cog ship respectively. In particular the *Varkenssluis* arch showed notable similarities to the city gate in this regard, similarly featuring the large city crest at the center of the arch's broken pediment flanked by reclining lions (compare fig. 26 and 24 detail). The architectural language of both ephemeral triumphal arches, at least as they are reproduced in the *Medicea Hospes*, was representative of the more formal classicistic style advocated by a newer generation of architects, which is evidenced for example by the strictly continuous friezes and cornices. If Marie de' Medici had arrived by water as planned, these structures erected in the direct vicinity of Dam Square therefore would have immediately guided the formal entry of Queen on land after disembarking her ship by providing a similar visual and symbolic function of a marked entrance.

The first arch at *Damsluis* contained a *tableau vivant*, likely designed by Hooft, that allegorically represented the marriage ceremony of Marie de' Medici and Henry IV (fig. 23). While the subject was meant to celebrate the source of Marie's foremost claim to royal status, their iconography brought attention to a topic of civic pride for the city. Of the cog ship topping the ephemeral architecture of the arch, Barlaeus muses: "They are mere planks boarded together, with which the merchant visits both of the Indies, and sends his supplies throughout the entire world. Through them, we enjoy the profit and delight of distant

²³⁹ Barlaeus 1639, 16; De la Serre 1639A, unpag.: "*Sa Majesté passant dans la Ville le long de la digue qu'on appelle de Haerlem, & en suite par la nouvelle digue, jusque au Dam, qui est vne grande place de marché.*" See also chapter 1, pp. 27-28.

lands.”²⁴⁰ The juxtaposition between *tableau vivant* and its architectural frame was thus thematically on par with the comparison between the Queen and the city drawn up by Barlaeus in his introduction.

A more direct iteration of this can be found in the second *tableau vivant*, invented by Barlaeus (perhaps in collaboration with Hooft), that was performed in the arch at *Varkenssluis* (fig. 24). Here Marie de’ Medici saw herself represented as Berecynthia seated on a triumphal chariot drawn by lions.²⁴¹ The theme, already discussed by Barlaeus in his aforementioned letter to Hooft, was meant to bring attention to Marie’s continued relevance and political influence through her children, theatrical personifications of which were also provided with a place in her chariot. Allegorical figures representing the four continents were placed at its sides, to allude to the rule of her children “either by title, or by way of marriage” throughout all parts of the world.²⁴² But the description provided by Barlaeus also makes clear that the *tableau vivant* was meant to represent a symbolic meeting between the queen and the city.

As a mirror-image to the Berecynthia scene, a cog ship carrying a personification of Amsterdam was placed on the opposite end of the stage, “as if to come greet her”.²⁴³ The poem that accompanied the scene is written in the first person, from the perspective of the city. It was thus likely read aloud by the maid of Amsterdam, and was addressed

²⁴⁰ Barlaeus 1639, 17: “*Het zijn maer t’zaemengevoeghde plancken, waer mede de koopman beide de Indien bezoect, en zijn waren over de heele wereld zend. Door deze genieten wy de winst en ’t genot van veergelege landen.*”

²⁴¹ Idem, 29-30. While Berecynthia, or Cybele, was often depicted with lions, the scene also recalls Peter Paul Rubens’ painting in the Medici cycle depicting the Meeting at Lyon in the Louvre, Paris.

²⁴² Idem, 30: “*Neffens den wagen gingen vier Maeghden, uitbeeldende Europe, Asien, Africa, en America, en men kon elck gedeelte der wereld aen de vruchten kennen. Het welck ick houde met voordacht alles zoo toegestelt te wezen, om te doen blijcken, dat de Koning en Koninginnen, die op haer moeders wagen zaten, over alle deze gedeelten der wereld, of door eigendom, of recht van huwelijck, heerschappye voeren.*”

simultaneously to the Berecynthia figure on stage and the queen she was meant to represent, who was beholding the scene. This element recalls Barlaeus' suggestion for such a figure based on the example of Scaliger's *Antverpia* and is also similar to the planned welcome by the Amsterdam figure in the *Damrak*.

In the poem, Amsterdam welcomed Marie at her city gate, and professed gratitude to the queen-mother for the favors the city had received from both her husband and son, as well as the imperial crown that had been presented to her by Marie's ancestor Emperor Maximilian I. The city, however, also encourages Marie to recognize the city's claim to a far geographical reach in its own right:

“O great Queen, let your eye wonder everywhere.
My churches, my buildings, and towers standing proud.
My harbors densely occupied, testify to my capacity.
I wander the globe, by water and by land.
Both worlds send me their gifts,
And both the old and the new are sold [*op haer prijs gestelt*] here.”²⁴⁴

The emphasis on the city's identity as a global mercantile power is further underlined in the illustration of the scene by Pieter Nolpe, after designs by Claes Moeyaert (1591-1655) (fig. 25).²⁴⁵ Instead of surrounding Berecynthia's chariot, as they are described in the text, the four continents can be found to the side of the Amsterdam cog ship in Nolpe's print. The placement of both chariot and ship on the same level, certainly in the image, but likely also in the performed *tableau*, furthermore provides a visual equivalency to the two figures that would have prompted a direct comparison between the Queen and the city.

²⁴³ Barlaeus 1639, 31: “*Tegens over dezen triomfwagen zaghen, op het zelve tooneel, een schip de Koninginne als te gemoet vaeren.*”

²⁴⁴ Ibidem: “*O groote Koningin, sla overal uw oogen. Mijn kercken, mijn gebouw, en torens trots van stand, Mijn havens dicht bezet, getuigen mijn vermogen. Ick zwerf den aerboom om, te water en te land. De beide weerelden my haer schenckagien stieren, En d'oude, en nieuwe word hier op haer prijs gestelt.*”

²⁴⁵ As indicated on the prints. The preparatory drawings by Moeyaert's hand have been preserved, and are in the collection of the Hermitage, St Petersburg.

From the arch at *Varkenssluis* Marie made her way to the traditional lodging facility for princely guests, the nearby *Prinsenhof* (fig. 21).²⁴⁶ Barlaeus argues that while Marie would have deserved “a better and more royal palace,” the memories of princes who stayed there in times past made it the most appropriate place for the queen to hold her temporary court.²⁴⁷ Amalia was lodged in the residence of the late Elias Trip (c. 1570-1636), a wealthy hardware and arms merchant, whose widow Alijdt Adriaensdr (1589-1656) lived in a stately canal house on the *Herengracht*.²⁴⁸

Marie de’ Medici, Amalia, and a string of other nobles, including the Count of Culemborg, were treated to a festive meal in the recently renovated *Kloveniersdoelen* that evening. The large reception hall had been decorated with tapestries for the occasion and a chair of estate had been installed for Marie.²⁴⁹ It was only at this point that the burgomasters came to formally greet the French Queen-Mother, with a welcome speech that had been prepared in French by pensionary Boreel. A comparison between the versions of this speech as it was transcribed in the accounts of both Barlaeus and De La Serre – who most certainly was able to reference the first – makes clear that the recollections of such *harangues* could be adjusted by representatives of host and guest to fit the narrative of the event they wished

²⁴⁶ See chapter 1, p. 27.

²⁴⁷ Barlaeus 1639, 32: “*En hoewel haere Koningklijckce Majesteit een beter en koningklijcker paleis toequam, zoo hebben nochtans d’Amsterdammers, ter gedachtenisse hunner vorsten van ouds her, haer geen heerlijcker hof kunnen inruimen.*” The emphasis on the building’s history of lodging royal visitors is reiterated during Marie de’ Medici’s farewell also, *idem*, 71.

²⁴⁸ Alijdt was the likely owner of *Herengracht* 54, and possibly nos. 52, 56-58 as well. These four residences were constructed under a shared roof, and were all owned by Alijdt and Elias’ direct descendants during the late seventeenth century. In 1677 Margaretha Munter (1639-1711), daughter-in-law of Elias and Alijdt, lived at *Herengracht* 52. She could have inherited the house from her family: her grandfather Jan Munter (1570-1617) was the owner of the lot on which the building was constructed in 1615. No. 52 was later owned by burgomaster Jan Trip (1664-1732). *Herengracht* 54 was owned by Alijdt’s grandson Balthasar Coymans (1652-1686) in 1677. *Herengracht* 56 and 58 were owned by burgomaster Lucas Trip (1666-1734), another grandson of Alijdt, in 1721. E. van Houten, *Geschiedbouwkundige beschrijvingen behorende bij het Grachtenboek van Caspar Philips Jacobszoon* (Amsterdam, 1962) 100, 102.

²⁴⁹ Barlaeus 1639, 32-33.

to present. While both narrators include a segment in which Boreel expresses the burgomaster's joy over Marie's arrival in the city and extends offers of all services to her, there are notable discrepancies in both content and tone between the two versions. De La Serre's description of the speech places much emphasis on the people's excitement over the "triple-royal presence" of "the greatest Queen in the world", whose appearance elicits cries of joy throughout the entire city. Fitting with this image, he presents the burgomasters as humble and obedient servants:

"For us, MADAME, who represent in person [*en corps*] all those of the city together, after having paid homage to your Majesty of our respects & our submission by the offer we make her of our very humble services; We beg her to believe that she has never entered into a city where she has been more desired, nor where she was more absolute than in this one."²⁵⁰

Barlaeus, on the other hand, made sure to make note of the city's interests in receiving the queen, encouraging her to stay in Amsterdam "for a good while", so she could feel both more honored, and more obliged to the city and its government.²⁵¹ He furthermore predicted:

"Your Majesty will see there, if it pleases her, how this City, during these long and sad wars, has not only been preserved, but has grown larger and more decorous, under the good government of my Gentlemen the States, and the support of the Kings who are in alliance with us, in particular also by the good graces of your Majesty."²⁵²

The response of the Queen in the two accounts provides more similarities, but again deviates in notable ways. Both authors claim Marie expressed a long-held desire "to come see" the city, but Barlaeus embellishes this statement to claim that she was glad to finally have the

²⁵⁰ De la Serre 1639A, unpag: "*Pour nous, MADAME, qui representons en corps celluy de toute la Ville ensemble, apres avoir rendu a vostre Majesté l'hommage de nos respects, & de nos submissions par l'offre que nous luy faisons de nos tres-humbles services; Nous la supplions de croire qu'Elle n'est jamais entrée dans une Ville ou Elle ait esté plus souhaitee, n'y ou Elle soit plus absolue qu'en celle-cy.*"

²⁵¹ Barlaeus 1639, 33: "[...] *dat het haer gelieve zich te verwaerdigen hier een goede tijd te vertoeven, waer door dan zy zich te meer zullen houden vereert en verplicht.*"

²⁵² Barlaeus 1639, 33-34. "*Uwe Majesteit zal daer konnen zien, indien het haer belieft, hoe deze Stad, gedurende deze lange en verdrietige oorlogen, niet alleen in haeren ouden stand gebleven, maer oock zeer vergroot en verciert is, onder de goede regeering van mijnen Heeren den Staeten, en de bystand der Koningen, die met ons in verbond staen; byzonderlijck mede onder de goede gunst van uwe Majesteit.*"

time and opportunity to visit “this famous *Koopstad*” and to take notice there of “everything that is strange and worth seeing [*beziens waerdigh*].”²⁵³ The supposed desire of Marie to “come see” the city, noted before, is thus particularly foregrounded by Barlaeus in his account of the formal welcome given by the city fathers. In his version of Boreel’s speech, the burgomasters also explicitly encouraged the Queen to take joy and pride in the thriving marketplace, the prosperity of which was presented not just as the result of the steady ruling hand of States General and States of Holland, but also the support and alliance the city has received from foreign monarchs such as herself. The city’s recognition of her royal and sovereign status was finally further underlined in the permission given to Marie to provide a watchword to the civic militia, which signified her temporary rule over the city and its defenses.²⁵⁴ Happy to accentuate this honor, she selected the word “Maria” for the duration of her stay.

Tasting and touring the city: September 2

The view of Amsterdam as *Koopstad* became most explicit on the second day of Marie de’ Medici’s visit. This day, spent with guided tours, culminated in a visit to the headquarters of the East India Company, the East India House (*Oost-Indisch Huis*), where an elaborate display and banquet had been prepared. Given the strategy to present the city’s power and prosperity based on its trade – the far reaches of its overseas trade in particular – the sights, smells and tastes the French Queen was presented with on this second day can arguably be considered to have formed part of the decoration program that was devised for her over the

²⁵³ Idem, pp. 34-35: “[...] datze voor veele jaeren hartelijck gewenscht hadde, om deze vermaerde *Koopstad* met haere oogen te bezichtigen, en nu tijd en gelegentheid bekomen hadde, om de zelve te bezien, en te letten op alles wat ‘er vreemds en beziens waerdigh was.’”

²⁵⁴ Barlaeus 1639, 35.

course of her visit. As with his descriptions of the *tableaux vivants* and the triumphal arches a day prior, Barlaeus notably included poems on both the *Oost-Indisch Huis* itself and the banquet that was prepared within its walls.²⁵⁵

The *Oost-Indisch Huis* was well-equipped to form the scene of a lavish reception. The original building, erected in 1606, was built as an annex to the adjacent Arsenal (*Bushuis*), a former municipal arms storage that had been repurposed as a warehouse for spices and other trading goods by the VOC since 1603. Still standing today, *the Oost-Indisch Huis* features a decorative brick and sandstone façade in the Dutch Renaissance style associated with Hendrick de Keyser. An extension of the west wing, as well as a new northern wing were added to the building in 1633-1634, most likely after a design by Hendrick's son Pieter de Keyser (1595-1676). In 1638, the building thus consisted of three wings arranged around a courtyard, which was accessed through a monumental entrance that formed part of the new northern wing located at the *Hoogstraat* (fig. 27).

Barlaeus describes the building's interior as dense with exotic ornaments in the form of paintings from China and Japan, foreign weapons and turtle shells, as well as colonial references such as maps and images of Dutch possessions including Batavia, where the company headquarters in Asia were located, as well as the Moluccan Islands and other unnamed cities, harbors and plants.²⁵⁶ One of these works Maria de Medici will have seen in the Great Hall was the painting *View of Ambon* (c. 1617), now preserved in the Rijksmuseum (fig. 28).²⁵⁷ The representations of Batavia and Ambon, which had been the

²⁵⁵ Idem, 39-40, 42-43.

²⁵⁶ Barlaeus 1639, 37-38.

²⁵⁷ K. Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money. Maps, plans, and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Amsterdam, 1998) 270-271. For the important

place of residence for the VOC Governor-General from 1611 to 1619, as such visualized the company's history of conquest and possession in the East Indies.

From these decorative elements, Barlaeus makes an uninterrupted transition to a description of the spectacle provided by the spices, fabrics, porcelain and other goods stored within the building. He emphasizes the riches that these goods have brought the city, and significantly stressed the ability of the India Company to raise armies, and its great military capacities “to do and cause things, which do not differ much from the power of the greatest Monarchs and Kings.”²⁵⁸

The banquet was held in the building's great hall and was, according to Barlaeus, a feast of the senses.²⁵⁹ The company, as he again states by way of comparison, was able to treat the Queen just as well as any King or Prince. In addition to more traditional fare such as pheasant, partridge and boar meat, the banquet included a broad selection of spices and other products from a wide variety of geographical regions, including pepper, mace, nutmeg, cinnamon, but also non-edible items such as incense, silk and indigo. All these items were displayed in large porcelain serving dishes which appeared to form part of the banquet.

representational function of the View of Ambon in particular, see S. Glickman, “The Company One Keeps: View of Ambon (ca. 1617) in the Dutch East India Company's Sociopolitical Landscape,” *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 10 (2018) DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2018.10.1.4.

²⁵⁸ Barlaeus 1639, 38-39: “*De zelve Compagnie licht krijghsvolck op haer eige kosten, brengt legers te velde, slaetze neder, breeckt op, oorlooght in de andere weereld, veroverst steden, overweldight eilanden, reed vloten toe, ontweldight den Koning van Kastilien landen, reeden, en havens, verlicht niet weinigh het vaderland van den last des oorlooghs, met het Spaensch geweld elders te kneuzen, en doe ten brengt te wege dingen, die niet veel verscheelen van de maght der allergrootste Vorsten en Koningen.*”

²⁵⁹ Idem, 40-43. Barlaeus also wrote to Joachim Wicquefort on September 16, 1638 that “The directors of the East India Company treated her in a remarkable and extraordinary manner. As a dish, she was served all the kinds of spices that the Orient produces, some of which were pleasant for their taste, others for their smell, others for their color, and yet others for all these qualities together.” (*Excepere eam rariore convivio Praefecti Societatis Indiae, quae ad Orientem mercatur. Pro ferculis fuere omnis generis aromata, quae Aurora mittit, quorum alia sapore, alia odore, alia colore, alia omnibus simul placer poterant.*) C. Barlaeus, *Epistolarum liber* (Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1667) 240.

These goods were not, as Barlaeus admits, per se meant for consumption, but served primarily to entertain and entice the royal guest.

Elaborate presentations such as the one described can be placed in a long tradition of the preparation and display of festival foods with a primary purpose of providing visual spectacle, rather than to indulge the sense of taste.²⁶⁰ Yet there was an important political and commercial undertone to the East India Company's presentation. By creating a feast that rivaled those the Queen undoubtedly experienced in other, specifically courtly, settings, the company showed it could take on a role traditionally reserved by princely hosts. Barlaeus emphasized the ease with which they were able to do so, by remarking that none of the goods presented were especially created or obtained for the occasion, but rather "without excess and waste" formed part of the supplies that were already available in the company's warehouses on a permanent basis.²⁶¹

The capacity of such exotic goods to represent the far-reaching power of those able to get their hands on them was thus employed by the company to help define its status relative to other global powers in a European diplomatic and courtly context. The attention given to the display in Barlaeus' account further announced this status and, in the context of the festival book, tied it to the city that functioned as the center of its vast mercantile network.

Following the meal Marie was taken on a long tour of the city. Barlaeus' description of this part of the visit takes the form of a seven-page long chorography that, through the eyes of the Queen, praises the beauty and ingenuity of the city's urban fabric. In particular its new canals, the new *Westerkerk* (1631), its tower recently adorned by the imperial crown,

²⁶⁰ On this topic see: M. Reed (ed.), *The edible monument. The art of food for festivals* (Los Angeles, 2015). For the use of less than tasty, but spectacularly looking food items, such as peacocks, see esp. pp. 13-14.

²⁶¹ Barlaeus 1639, 42: "*Men stelde daer, zonder overdaed en verquisting, niet ten toon dan alleen de koopmanschap die men jaerlijcx gewoon is uit Indien herwaerts aen te voeren.*"

and infrastructure for the city's mercantile activities, including wharfs, markets, stock exchange, customs house, and the headquarters of the West India Company (the *West-Indisch Huis*), are all singled out for description and accolades.²⁶² The very materials and design of the newly-built parts of the city and its buildings are even described by Barlaeus as serving the commercial enterprises undertaken by the merchant-rulers who erected them:

*“She saw how the recently expanded new city did not yield, nor was in any way inferior to the old one. She saw the wide canals traversing the city like rivers, very well-equipped to transport commodities everywhere. Riding along the Koningsgracht or Singel, and then immediately to the Heeren-, and from there to the Keizersgracht, she saw all the houses there, remarkably well-built, very beautiful, all different, and suitable for commerce [...].”*²⁶³

Not only was their design thus functional, according to Barlaeus, it also adhered to the latest aesthetic architectural standards, including “facades and cornices artfully built in the Tuscan, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian orders, stone bridges, [...] trees planted in front of the houses.”²⁶⁴ The material production of these building projects were further emphasized through reports of the large amounts of wood, iron, copper and glass manufactured, traded and stored in the city's warehouses.

Barlaeus once more sets up a comparison between the queen and the city when he remarks that royal figures “after God the greatest on earth, take notice of such riches and blessings of emerging cities” because they “recognize God as the generous provider.”²⁶⁵ In

²⁶² Barlaeus 1639, 43-50.

²⁶³ Idem, 43: “Zy zagh ‘er, hoe d’onlangs uitgeleide nieuwe Stad de oude Stad in grootte niet en weeck nocht toegaf. Zy zagh de wijde graften, gelijkc stroomen, door de Stad loopen, zeer bequaem om over al koopmanschappen te vervoeren. Rijdende langs de Konings graft of Cingel, terstond daer na langs de Heere, en van daer langs de Keizers graft, zaghe overal de huizen, wonder wel gebouwt, zeer prachtigh, elck verscheiden, en dienstigh tot den koophandel.”

²⁶⁴ Idem, 44: “[...] gevels en toppen, op zijn Toscaensch, Dorisch, Ionisch, en Korintisch, na de kunst gewrocht [...] boomen voor de huizen geplant.”

²⁶⁵ Barlaeus 1639, 45: “[...] en ‘t is voorwaer wel de pijnne waert, dat koninglijke personagien, die naest God de grootste op aerde zijn, op zulcke rijckdommen en zegeningen van opkomende steden met aendacht letten, en daer door God, als den milden gever der zelver, erkennen.”

contrast to the lush surroundings apparently present everywhere else, the city's medieval town hall is described as one of the only old and somewhat dilapidated structures encountered that day. Barlaeus frames the building both as a symbol of longevity and a reminder of the city's humble origins as well as the city fathers' altruistic nature: "This town hall lacks itself the space and adornment, which it provides for the entire city [...] the council, by whose government one sails far and wide, lives restrained herself."²⁶⁶

Whether or not Marie de' Medici would have viewed the city in the way that Barlaeus describes can be debated. The fact that the strong emphasis on a formal presentation of the city was not entirely invented, however, can be learned from a passage in the 1639 account of the visit penned by De la Serre, who describes the second day of the visit in similar terms. While he makes no mention of the East India Company banquet, he recounts that the Queen, her entourage and city officials took to their carriages for a four-hour long ride to see

*"the equal beauty of the houses, all of stone & brick, the neatness of the streets as far as the eye can see, politely paved & shaded by trees planted in lines, having canals that separate them from one another; all those delightful ornaments, which seem incredible to those who can only learn of them by ear, truly delighted all those who, at the time, witnessed them with their eyes [...]. I have a hard time believing that the imagination, even if extremely ingenious, could represent a more beautiful, nor a more entertaining city than this one."*²⁶⁷

Together, the banquet and tours functioned to underline the city's position that its wealth and far-reaching powers could rival those of its royal guests, as well as those of other cities or courts whose generosity they may have enjoyed. Symbolized by expensive materials and

²⁶⁶ Idem, 47: "Dit Raedhuis ontbeert zelf het cieraed en de ruimte; die het de gansche Stadt mede deelt [...] de Raed, door wiens bestier men wijd en zijd zeilt, woont benaewwt."

²⁶⁷ De la Serre 1639A, unpag.: "Et quan on consideroit d'ailleurs, la beauté égalle des maisons, toutes de pierre & de brique, la nesteté des rues a perte de veue, pauees poliment, et ombragees d'arbres, plantez a la ligne, ayant un canal qui les separe l'une de l'autre; tous ces delicieux ornemens, qui semblent incroyables a ceux qui n'en peuvent estre témoins que par les oreilles, charmoient veritablement de plaisir, tous ceux qui

trading goods derived from all corners of the world, as well as the riches generated by their trade, the city thus foregrounded its identity as a marketplace, as *Koopstad*, to claim a privileged status in the context of European power-structures and its contingent diplomacy. The commercial interests that were at stake here are evident also: through the distribution of the *Medicea Hospes* the trading companies – and by extension the city and its merchant ruling class – were able to advertise its products, and capacity to supply them, to interested parties with purchasing power all over Europe.²⁶⁸

Spectacles on the water: September 3

Friday September 3, the third day of the visit, formed the occasion for more visual spectacle. The triumphal arches that had been used at the Dam Square and *Varkenssluis* two days earlier, were partially dismantled and erected again on a floating stage in the waters of the Rokin at the *Oude Turfmarkt*.²⁶⁹ The podia were joined at the back, with one stage facing north and one south. Here, respectively two and eight more *tableaux vivants* were performed for the Queen, who was transported by boat from one side to the other. Overviews of the festive scene on both sides of the stage are provided in the *Medicea Hospes* by etchings designed by Simon de Vlieger (1600-1653) and etched by Salomon Savery (1593/4-1683) (fig. 29-30). Barlaeus indicates that this part of the festivities marked a transition from

l'eïstoient a cétte heure-là des yeux. [...] Et certes jay de la peyne a croire que l'immagination, quoy qu'extremement ingenieuse, se puisse représenter vne Ville plus belle, ny plus diuerstissante que celle-là."

²⁶⁸ Commercial undertones to royal visits were not necessarily new. During the visit of Henry III of France (1551-1589) to Venice in 1574, the city's goods and services figured heavily in the entertainments devised for the King during his stay. They included an elaborate sugar banquet that successfully persuaded Henry to purchase several sugar sculptures from city artisans to bring back home. Reference to article Venice, J. Imorde, "Edible Prestige", in: Reed 2015, 101-123.

²⁶⁹ This can be deduced from a letter by J. van der Burgh, Wolfert van Brederode's secretary, to Huygens, dated September 8, 1638. *Briefwisseling*, ed. Van Tricht ed. 1979, 807-809. Van der Burgh writes that a small island was created with the help of a boat ("*au moien d'un bateau*"), which may form a discrepancy with

entertainments on land to those taking place in the city's waters, and from a focus on the city's most prominent buildings to an emphasis on subjects that revolved around Marie de' Medici's own sources of pride: her illustrious lineage and the State of France.²⁷⁰ This double accent on both the Queen's ancestry and the city's maritime identity can clearly be found in the spectacles and *tableaux vivants* performed.

Marie was first greeted by the aforementioned Neptune, Mercury and Amsterdam pageants. Mirroring the Berecynthia *tableau vivant* seen on the first day, the Queen was thus once more welcomed by a female representation of the city carried by a cog, who now came face to face with the real French Queen-Mother instead of her mythological counterpart previously seen at the *Varkenssluis*. In her address the city maiden praised the Queen and again stressed her rule over both the old and the new worlds: "With what offering shall I thank the heavens, that the greatest Queen is coming to visit me [...] who with her ranks casts a shadow over both worlds."²⁷¹ The city's own influence over these territories was emphasized not only by the presence of Mercury and Neptune, who together referred to the overseas trade in which the city engaged, but also by representations of the four continents emerging from the side of the cog ship holding cornucopias containing the fruits of their respective regions.²⁷² This detail in particular resonated with the banquet Marie had enjoyed the day before, and reinforced the city's proud self-identification as a celebrated market place of the world.

Barlaeus' account of an island made entirely of peat brought in from outside of the city, on which the triumphal arches were erected overnight. Barlaeus 1639, 50. See also Snoep 1975, 54, 59.

²⁷⁰ Barlaeus 1639, 50-51.

²⁷¹ Idem, 53: "*Met welck een offerhand zal ick den hemel dancken, Dat my bezoeken kooft de grootste Koningin? Die bey de Weerelden beschaduwet met haer rancken [...]*."

²⁷² Barlaeus 1639, 52-53. It is unclear from the text whether or not the figures were performed by actors or if they were sculpted representations that formed part of the cog. They are described as emerging "from wooden enclosures" from the torso up ("*uit houten kassen met het halve lijf*").

The first *tableau vivant* on the northern side of the Rokin stage represented the marriage in 1565 of Marie's parents, Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany (1541-1587) and Joanna of Austria (1547-1578) (fig. 31). The second tableau, on the same stage, allegorically depicted the coronation of Amsterdam by Maximilian I: the theme discussed by Barlaeus and Hooft in their letters of the previous week, which referred to the privilege bestowed on the city by the Holy Roman Emperor to add the imperial crown to its crest in 1489 (fig. 32). As argued, this scene called attention to the moment of acknowledgement Marie's visit signified for the city, analogous to the fictive act performed by her ancestor represented on stage. In its accompanying poem, which according to Barlaeus was recited by the figure of Maximilian, the emperor expressed mutual respect, and even admiration for the city: "On land my crown shines, and is feared all around: But on water the crown of your crest shines the brightest of all."²⁷³

On the southern stage eight more scenes were performed that together created a narrative surrounding the restoration of peace and prosperity in France under Marie's late husband, King of France Henry IV, allegorically represented by Hercules, following the state's decline under the reign of Henry III, personified by Atlas. Snoep has noted the discrepancies between Barlaeus' description of this *tableau vivant* series and the accompanying poems penned by its (co-)creator Johannes Victorinus (dates unknown), which were published only twenty-two years later.²⁷⁴ Barlaeus describes five scenes (figs. 33-37), whereas Victorinus' poems indicate that there were in fact eight tableaux.

²⁷³ Barlaeus 1639, 57: "Te lande blinckt mijn Kroon, en word alom gevrees: Maer uwe SCHILDKROON blinckt te water allermeest."

²⁷⁴ Snoep 1975, 62. Barlaeus 1639, 58-62. Victorinus' poems in *Hollantsche Parnas, oft Verscheide gedichten* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1660) 213-214. From Barlaeus' account it appears Coster was involved in devising these *tableaux vivants* as well.

While the content thus seems to have been significantly condensed by Barlaeus, both his and Victorinus' descriptions represent the same key components. Atlas, unable to carry the weight of the globe, representing France, causes it to slip, fall, and break into pieces. Hercules, at the behest of an array of allegorical figures, and with help from the Greek Gods including Mars and Minerva, restores the globe and takes it on his shoulders, bringing back peace and prosperity to the realm. Through allegory, these performances referred to the political stability brought on by the moderate rule of Henry IV following the French Wars of Religion. The comparison of the French King to a *Hercule Gaulois* was longstanding, and had even formed the guiding principle of the iconographic program designed for the entry of Marie de' Medici in Avignon in 1600.²⁷⁵

By praising her husband's legacy, the tableaux as such brought honor to Marie de' Medici while promoting themes of unity and allegiance both between factions in France and between European nations. The representation of Henry IV as a restorer of peace in particular would also have reverberated with Marie's own propagandistic efforts to position herself as the ideal mediator and proponent of peace among the various European courts, in relation to which she presented herself as a matriarchic figure.²⁷⁶

The dense subject matter of these *tableaux vivants* was followed by the lighter display of a water jousting tournament, again a familiar part of Amsterdam entries, in which participants, to the amusement of the crowd, attempted to push opponents off their small

²⁷⁵ In the Avignon entry seven triumphal arches were erected that through their painted decorations celebrated the "works" of Hercules, and compared to the qualities and achievements of Henry IV. See: A. Valladier, *Labyrinthe royal de l'Hercule gaulois triomphant: sur le sujet des fortunes, batailles, victoires, trophées, triomphes, mariage & autres faits heroïques & memorables de tres-auguste & tres-chrestien prince Henry IIII roy de France & de Navarre* [...] (Avignon: Iaqués Bramereau, [1601?]).

²⁷⁶ Osborne 2011, 29. For the iconography of peace-making and redemptive motherhood as particularly feminine qualities, see Thøfner 1999, 23-24.

boats with the use of long poles.²⁷⁷ The rest of the afternoon and evening provided other forms of waterborne spectacle, as the Queen and her company joined burgomasters to the IJ River north of the city. A panoramic view of the city designed by Simon de Vlieger, seen from IJ, is included in Barlaeus' book (fig. 38). A great variety of ships and yachts were assembled here to create a spectacular maritime display, addressing a desire on the part of Amsterdam's burgomasters that unexpectedly had been left unfulfilled on the day of Marie's ceremonial entry. One of the ships on display was a large vessel of the East India Company which, when asked to provide it with a name by the burgomasters, Marie named "Maria de Medicis".²⁷⁸ As such, the city's water-based spectacles, initially meant to honor and delight, finally invited the Queen to affiliate herself with the city's mercantile activities.

Immersion and participation: September 4

The transition from being presented with the *Koopstad* Amsterdam, and being immersed in it as an active participant, was completed on the Queen's last full day in the city. According to Barlaeus, Marie headed out in a very simple carriage that Saturday to visit markets and shops (including those selling porcelain), and when she was not recognized, even adopted the bargaining and browsing habits of regular customers.²⁷⁹ In her capacity as a high-end client, however, the directors of the East India Company later that day presented her with porcelains and Japanese lacquer chests ornamented with mother-of-pearl and gold inlay. Japanese lacquerware was notoriously difficult to obtain during this period, but highly

²⁷⁷ Barlaeus 1639, 62-63. For water jousting, see chapter 1, p. 27. See also Smit 1995, 317.

²⁷⁸ Barlaeus 1639, 65.

²⁷⁹ Barlaeus 1639, 69. On the presence of shops selling items such as porcelain in Amsterdam, see: J. Van der Veen, "East Indies shops in Amsterdam", in: Corrigan et al. 2015, 134-141.

sought after by collectors.²⁸⁰ The 1630s saw increased maritime prohibitions that had left the East India Company the only European party with trading privileges in Japan from 1639 onwards.²⁸¹ The gifts with which Marie was presented, in particular the lacquer chests, therefore once more signified the unique ability of the company to acquire, and gift, items that were in high demand across Europe.²⁸²

As a conclusion to the festivities that Saturday, Marie de' Medici was given the right to grant a pardon to a young man that had been accused of murder and could be sentenced to death.²⁸³ Such an act of pardon had formed a traditional part of joyous entries in order for a ruler to publicly perform the virtues of benevolence and mercy, as well as assume the role of supreme legal authority.²⁸⁴ In 1638 Amsterdam, however, even this aspect of the visit's ceremonial could be tied back to the city's mercantile identity. Archival records show that the man in question was Jan Jochemsz, an eighteen year old sailor who had recently returned from the East Indies. Jochemsz testified before the bailiff on August 29, 1638, that the man

²⁸⁰ Th. H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, "Aanbesteding en verspreiding van Japansch lakwerk door de Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw," *Jaarverslagen Oudheidkundig Genootschap* 82-83 (1939-1941): 54-74. See also: Corrigan et al. 2015, cat. nos. 37-42, 155-167.

²⁸¹ H. Paul, *Nederlanders in Japan 1600-1854. De VOC op Desjima*, Weesp 1984. M. Forrer and Y. Kobayashi-Sato, "The Dutch Presence in Japan. The VOC on Deshima and its impact on Japanese Culture," Th. Dacosta Kaufmann and M. North (eds.), *Mediating Netherlandish art and material culture in Asia* (Amsterdam, 2014) 239-244.

²⁸² For the gifts presented to Maria de' Medici in 1638, see: C. Viallé, "'Fit for Kings and Princes': A gift of Japanese lacquer," Y. Nagazumi (ed.), *Large and Broad: The Dutch impact on early modern Asia* (Tokyo, 2010) 188-222, esp. 188-189, 197. In this article Viallé focuses on the even more spectacular set of gifts, including a rare lacquer close-stool, presented to Henrietta Maria in November of 1642, as well as gifts to Mary Stuart and Amalia of Solms during the same occasion; Japanese lacquer was also presented by Dutch ambassadors to Gustav II Adolf, King of Sweden, in 1616; Corrigan et al. 2015, 155. For gifts presented by the VOC to Asian rulers, see: C. Viallé, "'To capture their favor': On gift-giving by the VOC," DaCosta Kaufmann and North 2014, 291-319.

²⁸³ Barlaeus 1639, 70.

²⁸⁴ Smit 1995, 280-282. For the French tradition, see: L. M. Bryant, *The King and the city in Parisian royal entry ceremony* (Geneva, 1986) 25-26. Jean Tronçon, in his description of Louis XIV entry into Paris in 1660 describes the act as a right that was reserved for royal figures, particularly during joyous public occasions such as entries, baptisms and marriages, but also to ask for divine graces or give thanks for graces received, and calls it the most essential mark of sovereign authority. J. Tronçon, "Suites et Conclusion," *L'entrée triomphante*

he killed had drunkenly accosted him outside of a tavern located at the *Ossenmarkt*, and had used insults that pertained directly to Jochemsz' profession, saying "you sickly East India sailor, if the money runs out, then back you go!".²⁸⁵

Jochemsz claimed he did not reciprocate the verbal abuse, and merely urged the man to go home, but soon found himself obligated to defend the innkeeper who intervened on his behalf. After the latter was struck down by the increasingly aggressive man, Jochemsz had hurled a rock in his direction, which thus had caused the fatal injury. In the margin of this confession, a postscript of September 8 states that the man was set free at the "high recommendation of her Majesty, the Queen Mother of France", and with the consideration that he had not meant to kill the man. The particular nature of the offense, both the identity of the defendant and the circumstances as they were described – an escalating dispute that centered on demeaning remarks regarding the professional occupation of a young sailor and his motives to enlist with the East India Company – seemed all too fitting with the themes and positions made clear throughout the festivities.

Marie de' Medici departed from Amsterdam the following morning, after another speech by Boreel at the *Prinsenhof*, and a formal farewell by the burgomasters at the town hall, which is represented in the final illustration to Barlaeus' account (fig. 39). Traditionally the place where a greeting would have taken place on the day of entry, the scene thus provides the only representation of the burgomasters and their guest together, yet at the moment of departure. Along with the previous image, showing the city seen from the IJ, the last two images of the book thus revoked the older tradition of ceremonial entries in

de leurs maiestez Louis XIV roy de France et de Nauarre, et Marie Therese d'Austriche son espouse: dans la ville de Paris (Paris: Pierre Le Petit, Thomas Ioly and Louis Bilaine, [1662]) 9.

connection to urban sites of cultural memory.²⁸⁶ Accompanied by the city cavalry, again headed by Cornelis Davelaar, Marie's route took her back through the *Nieuwendijk*, *Haarlemmerpoort* and from there once more along the new *Haarlemmervaart*. Davelaar's cavalcade and the Queen departed not far outside of the city, "at the final markers of the domain [*vrijdom*] of Amsterdam."²⁸⁷

Dispersing the *Blijde Inkomste*: memory and identity in word and image

While the propagandistic aspects and advertising function of the *Medicea Hospes* have been remarked upon in the previous analysis of the ceremonial entry and visit it describes, a closer examination of the book, and particularly its images, further clarifies the strategies employed in the event's commemoration. The *Medicea Hospes*, in deliberate connection to a broader European festival book tradition, functioned as the vehicle by which the arguments Barlaeus and others developed in the ceremonial and decoration program could be disseminated internationally. The Dutch edition of the book, of which customized copies can be traced back to Amsterdam regents and their families, demonstrates that local elites were also a primary audience for the event and its publication. By adapting the festival book genre to accommodate emphases on the city and its leadership, the text and images of the book helped sustain a process of self-fashioning that sought to employ traditional media of power and state-making to articulate the unprecedented positions of power held by the burgomasters.

²⁸⁵ SAA 5061, inv. no. 303, fol. 230v: "Seijt [...] dat de selve man, hem, die spreeckt begon te dreigen, en met injurieuse woorden te bejegenen, seggende ghij vaelen oostindisch vaerder, als nu t'gelt op sal wesen, dan moet men weer henen, en meer andre diergelijcke woorden."

²⁸⁶ Barlaeus 1639, 72-73.

²⁸⁷ *Idem*, 73.

It is, furthermore, significant that the textual description of the event was produced by one of the city's principal intellectuals.²⁸⁸ The political ideologies that form the background to some of the themes found in Barlaeus' text can be connected to contemporary developments in Dutch Republicanism and the simultaneous rise of a political economy based in mercantile practice that was at the center of the Dutch State, of which Amsterdam by now was the main representative power.²⁸⁹

Barlaeus himself can be considered as an early proponent of this school of thought. In his inaugural address for the Atheneum Illustre in 1632 entitled *Mercator Sapiens*, or *The Learned Merchant*, Barlaeus locates ancient – and perhaps even princely – virtues in the knowledge either held or applicable to his merchant patrons. In his oration Barlaeus shows himself a champion of what has been described as a particularly anti-monarchical strand of republicanism, which would become more explicit in the 1650s during the First Stadtholderless Era (discussed in more detail in chapter 4). In contemporary philosophical debates regarding governmental models, the ideal of a thriving culture of entrepreneurship was regularly associated with the individual and economic liberty of republican citizens, as opposed to the supposed oppressed subjects in a monarchy. While thus accommodating ideas regarding tolerance at home, this principle formed an ideological base for imperialist ventures abroad – one that necessarily encompassed the colonial exploitation and oppression of those living in the Wallersteinian periphery to Holland's center.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁸ For the purpose of this analysis I have used the Dutch translation: Barlaeus 1639.

²⁸⁹ M. van Gelderen and Q. Skinner, "Introduction" and W. R. E. Velema, "That a Republic is Better than a Monarchy: Anti-monarchism in Early Modern Dutch Political Thought", in: Martin van Gelderen and Quentin Skinner (eds.), *Republicanism: a shared European heritage*, vol. 1 (Cambridge, 2002) 1-6, 9-25; J. Soll, "Accounting for Government: Holland and the Rise of Political Economy in Seventeenth-Century Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40 (2009): 215-238.

²⁹⁰ Wallerstein 1980.

Copies of Barlaeus' book, in the Latin, but also the Dutch and French editions, were certainly meant for elite readers. Based on what is known about their distribution, these three different editions, however, seem to have served slightly different audiences. The Latin edition appears to have been printed in 1638, though it may have been antedated.²⁹¹ It is no surprise that this edition was aimed predominantly at scholarly audiences. Archival records show that many copies were acquired by the city and some gifted to the city's Latin school, where they were presented to students as awards.²⁹² Several extant copies of the Latin edition furthermore contain dedications from Barlaeus' hand, indicating that the author presented the *Medicea Hospes* to several members of his circle of learned friends and acquaintances, including the Amsterdam remonstrant theologian Simon Episcopius (1583-1643) and doctor Theodorus van Beuningen (dates unknown).²⁹³ Letters that he sent along with the books he gifted to figures such as Johan Isaaksz Pontanus (1571-1639), Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), and others, are among his published correspondence.²⁹⁴

Copies of what certainly would have included the French edition, also dated 1638, were sent to England, where Marie de' Medici had arrived in October of that year as evidenced by a payment to Abraham duFort on June 29, 1639 for "bringing the books of the

²⁹¹ Snoep 1975, 42.

²⁹² Johan Blaeu settled an outstanding sum of 6,946 guilders and 16 stuivers with the city in 1652, most of which was for supplied copies of the *Medicea Hospes* (listed without a delivery date), which included 63 large format copies bound in leather for 186 guilders (not dated), and two copies bound in velvet for 30 guilders (delivered 30 January 1651). The receipt, signed by "N. Nicolai", indicated that 1,678 copies of the book would remain with Blaeu, Latin copies of which would be supplied to the city over the course of the next five years to be given away as prizes in the city's schools SAA 5039, inv. no. 1, fol. 149v-150r. See also Snoep 1975, 167 note 36.

²⁹³ These dedications are found in two copies of the Latin edition preserved in the Rijksmuseum Research Library, with signatures 302 A 16 and 330 B 9. Both copies feature proofs of the plates.

²⁹⁴ Barlaeus 1667, 742-743. See also Snoep 1975, 42.

Queen-mother's reception to England & expenses".²⁹⁵ This edition, which includes both French and Latin verses, is fairly rare today and was probably printed in the lowest numbers. It will first and foremost have been produced for the Queen and her circles, and would have also been effective for other European courts and elites which used French as the primary international language.

The Dutch edition, finally, commemorated the event for domestic audiences, and was not in the least place meant for the merchant regents of Amsterdam themselves. It is among copies of the Dutch edition that we find some of the lushest examples, including ones that feature delicately hand-colored prints or that are printed on large format paper.²⁹⁶ The latter concern presentation copies gifted by the city's burgomasters to other members of the *vroedschap* or regent class.²⁹⁷

The prints that can be found inserted within the main body of the text were unmistakably created to accompany it. These sixteen plates were designed by several artists, whose expertise aligned with the demands of the genre within which the various images could more or less be located. Jan Martszen de Jonge, an experienced painter of battle and cavalry scenes, was responsible for the compositions that show the entry and departure procession of the Queen and its accompanying cavalcade both outside and within the city. Simon de Vlioger, who specialized in marine paintings and perspectives among other genres, created the two panorama overviews of the Rokin water spectacles and the view of the mock

²⁹⁵ SAA 5039, inv. no. 131, fol. 185r: "*Betaelt aen Abraham duFort de somme van honderd seven & tachtigh gls sestien sts voor 't brenghen van boeken der inhaelinghe van 's Koninge moeder naer Engelandt & voor ongelden. Luydt zijne declaratie, ordtie & quitantue indate de 29e Junij 1639.*"

²⁹⁶ New York Public Library Spencer Collection Neth. 1639 c.1 on large format with Muller no. 1790 inserted, and c. 2 ("Avery copy") with hand-colored etchings. Getty Research Institute, acc. no. 95-B963 copy 1 with hand-colored prints. See also below, pp. 128-129.

²⁹⁷ Frederik Muller mentions to have frequently seen such copies: Muller 1863, p. 247, no. 1793. The author has only personally studied the NYPL copy referenced in the previous note.

battle and city seen from the IJ. Claes Moeyaert, finally, reproduced the *tableaux vivants* that were performed at the *Vijgendam*, *Varkenssluis* and *Rokin*.²⁹⁸ The content of the performances – involving both mythological subject matter and historical figures – made their reproduction (and also their theatrical composition) a suitable task for a history painter.²⁹⁹ As also has been argued in a recent article by Megan Blocksom, the images in the *Medicea Hospes* thus deploy a distinctly native idiom of Dutch artistic genres, including those of landscape and cityscape painting, through which noticeable emphasis is given to the situation of the procession and decoration program within the city’s urban fabric.³⁰⁰

Given the short period that was allowed for preparations, the images of the triumphal arches invented by Jan Martszen de Jonge, and etched by Salomon Savery show idealized versions of the ephemeral structures (figs. 22, 24).³⁰¹ Martszen de Jonge has indicated their exact locations in the city’s topography and has animated the composition with countless figures. While the image as such was surely designed to correspond to commonplace passages in the text that described the size and enthusiasm of the crowd, a closer look shows that these depictions of the procession within the city, and the Amsterdam citizens in attendance, contain deliberate strategies of representation.

Both the *Vijgendam* and *Varkenssluis* scenes are divided between the procession and civic militia members in the foreground and an architectural backdrop consisting of private residences which provides the setting for the spectators that are represented. The triumphal

²⁹⁸ Moeyaert’s design drawings for these prints are preserved in the Hermitage, St. Petersburg.

²⁹⁹ Moeyaert was connected to the Amsterdam Schouwburg, and it is therefore very possible that he also was involved in the theatrical composition of the *tableaux vivants*. See S.A.C. Dudok van Heel, “De schilder Claes Moyaert en zijn familie”, *Amstelodamum Jaarboek* 68 (1976): 13-48, esp. 25-26, and Sluijter 2015, 159-165.

³⁰⁰ Blocksom 2018.

³⁰¹ Jan Martszen de Jonge’s preparatory drawing for the scene at *Varkenssluis* is preserved in the collection of the Rijkmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-00-335.

arches with their *tableaux vivants* occupy a space in between this fore- and background. The high level of detail contained within these images invite the viewer to examine each part of the scenes with much attention. From the procession in the foreground, where Marie de' Medici herself is represented underneath a brightly lit crescent formed by the roof of her carriage, the eye is drawn to the big triumphal arch on the left. The lances of the civic militia cordoning off the procession route furthermore bring attention upward to the vertical orientation of the architecture represented in the background, and thereby to the audiences for which these buildings serve as a frame. In separate stages, from anonymous crowds on the street level depicted without sufficient detail to make out much of their individual traits, the eye moves upward towards the temporarily erected scaffoldings on which more affluent men, women and children are seen. In the window openings of the houses, finally, the well-to-do *burgerye* is depicted.

Similar to the way in which the depicted *tableaux vivants* are situated with their temporary architectural frame, the occupants of the residences are neatly contained within each of the window's mullions. As such, they appear in a manner that is completely incongruent with the spatial reality of human bodies standing together on the same floor level on the other side of the glass. Instead, the figure-filled windows produce the effect of a series of bust-length portraits (fig. 22 details). The images, therefore, not only represent the entering Queen, but evoke a collective portrait of the Amsterdam bourgeoisie. The precise rendering of the buildings, moreover, undoubtedly appealed to their owners, who could observe their residences, as well as themselves, in these generalized but yet individually articulated presences as occupants, represented with apparent equal weight to the royal procession for which they formed the backdrop. That the detailed architecture with classicizing stone ornaments that frames the figures would have struck contemporary

audiences as both lush and modern, can be gleaned from a comparison to a similar scene contained in De La Serre's description of Marie de' Medici into London (fig. 40).³⁰²

The important function of the book for its domestic audience in particular is demonstrated by the existence of large-format presentation copies and otherwise customized versions of the Dutch edition (*Blijde Inkomste*) and its images. Such luxury editions indicate the special status of the festival book for elites in the Republic, and Amsterdam in particular. One presentation copy of the *Blijde Inkomste*, now preserved in the New York Public Library's Spencer Collection (fig. 41), includes the aforementioned series of prints by Nolpe depicting the procession along the *Nieuwe Haarlemmervaart* (fig. 17A-17I), which presumably were included in other large-format copies gifted by the city.³⁰³

Based on the book's inscription (fig. 42), it was presented to alderman Gerbrand Nicolaesz. Pancras by Willem Jorisz. Backer (1608-1686) in name of the burgomasters and councilors of the city. Pancras had, as mentioned, taken part in the event as one of the militia captains who escorted Maria de' Medici through the city on the day of her entry. The inclusion of these portrayals of urban elites on horseback, still rare in both painting and print at this time, therefore served to memorialize in particular the social distinction the event had generated for Pancras and other participants in the cavalcade – undoubtedly the primary audience for Nolpe's print. A bust-length portrait, likely posthumous, shows Pancras with another gift presented to him by the city (fig. 43). A medal commemorating the 1648 peace of Munster is prominently depicted, and referred to in an inscription on a painted piece of

³⁰² The high number of houses with classicizing, stone facades included in the images that show a strong emphasis on the urban fabric within which the triumphal arches and stages were erected, which are plates 2, 4, 6 and 14, is quite notable and raises the question if the artists here exaggerated the degree to which the residences in fact had been upgraded with such architectural designs.

³⁰³ New York Public Library Spencer Collection Neth. 1639 c.1. See also note 228.

paper to the left of it, which explains all members of the city council were presented with one on that occasion.³⁰⁴

Another, regular-size copy of the *Blijde Inkomste* that is preserved in the Spencer collection features prints that are meticulously colored by hand (fig. 44).³⁰⁵ Although this copy does not contain a contemporary dedication, an inscription dating to a later period indicates that this book previously belonged to “Sir Huydecoper van Maarseveen”. If this reference can be taken to indicate the book’s provenance with burgomaster Johan Huydecoper (1599-1661), who held this office six times between 1651 and 1660, this would indicate that the book was considered a prized possession even a generation later.³⁰⁶ At least one more copy of the *Blijde Inkomste*, now in the collection of the Getty Research Institute, also includes hand-colored images.³⁰⁷

It is in the Dutch edition copies, also, that a print by Jonas Suyderhoef (1613-1686) (fig. 45) which represents a group portrait of 1638’s sitting burgomasters after Thomas de Keyser (1596-1667), is most commonly found.³⁰⁸ The modest size of De Keyser’s panel (28.5 x 38 cm) (fig. 46), now in the collection of the Amsterdam museum, corresponds to Suyderhoef’s print, and it was in all likelihood created as a *modello* for the purpose of reproduction.³⁰⁹ The moment depicted represents the burgomasters seated at a boardroom

³⁰⁴ “*Naer 80 Jaren Strijt / Ende meenich Bataly / Heeft Godt t’Vaderlant bevryd / En Stat Raet vereert met dese medalij*” (“After 80 years of strife / And many battles / God has liberated the Fatherland / And honored the city council with this medal”). After the entry, Pancras would serve as burgomaster no less than eight times.

³⁰⁵ New York Public Library Spencer Collection Neth. 1639 c.2 (“Avery Copy”).

³⁰⁶ The payment to Johan Blaeu in 1652 for copies of the *Medicea Hospes* (note 292), including two editions bound in velvet that were ordered by the city as late as 1651, further support this.

³⁰⁷ Getty Research Institute, acc. no. 95-B963 copy 1. No early provenance for this copy is known.

³⁰⁸ Examples are: UBA OTM: OF 63-698; UBA OTM: Vondel 3 B 2; Getty Research Institute, acc. no. 95-B963, copy 2; New York Public Library Spencer Collection Neth. 1639 c.1. and c.2.

³⁰⁹ A. J. Adams, *The paintings of Thomas de Keyser (1596/7-1667): A study of portraiture in seventeenth-century Amsterdam*, diss., Harvard University, 1985 (Ann Arbor 1985) 379-380.

table in the town hall, when they are notified by Cornelis Davelaar of the Queen's imminent arrival. The print does not seem to have been intended for the book originally, and Ann Jensen Adams has convincingly proposed that it was likely commissioned by Davelaar, rather than the burgomasters.³¹⁰ Its inclusion in the NYPL Spencer copy presented to Pancras, however, suggests that once it became available, the city regents opted for the print to form part of the book.

The etching, when included, typically follows the reproduction of Marie de' Medici's portrait by Gerard Honthorst (fig. 47) and Barlaeus' dedication in the book's preliminary pages. As such the image provides equal gravity to the responsible hosts in relation to their honored guest. This can be compared to the inclusion of portraits of both Fredrick Henry and Amalia van Solms in De la Serre's book, which was dedicated to the Stadtholder and his spouse a year following Barlaeus' *Medicea Hospes* first appeared in 1638 (fig. 48 and 49). The desire to include a similar visual representation of the hosts in Barlaeus' book could even have been prompted by De la Serre's account, which likely would have been available to the burgomasters soon after its publication. The inclusion of the group portrait at the beginning of the book, paired with Barlaeus' dedication, served to remind the reader of the significant role of the reception's hosts and sponsors, before their introduction in the description's narrative. The formal greeting by the burgomasters and pensionaries Cornelis Boom (1601-1651) and Boreel, after all, would take place at the *Kloveniersdoelen* only after the triumphal procession had ended.

³¹⁰ Adams 1985, 379-383. Snoep does accept the print as intended for the publication: Snoep 1975, 44.

Conclusion

Through the established protocols of the joyous entry ceremonial format, Marie de' Medici and the city's governing body had performed a mutual recognition of each other's sovereignty. The royal status of the French Queen-Mother was celebrated and confirmed via the formal entry procession, the feasting and entertainments that were associated with the visit of royal guests, as well as the privileges she was granted during her stay, such as the ability to provide the civic militia with watchwords and the legal power to pardon criminal suspects. At every turn, however, the city capitalized on the exchange of diplomatic courtesies to articulate its own power and position in relation to the exiled queen, who therefore needed to be elevated in status in order for the exercise to be politically favorable.

While the *tableaux vivants* and *harangues* throughout the visit made sure to emphasize Marie de' Medici's lineage and royal connections, this praise took place amid verbal and visual rhetoric that kept a dominant focus on the hegemonic position of the city in overseas trade. This effect was achieved not in the least by the physical settings of the festivities, the city's buildings and urban fabric, which reminded the queen not only of the city's recent growth and newfound prosperity, but also embodied the mercantile power on which this spectacular *Koopstad* was built. In particular the prominent role that the city reserved for the East India Company during the reception, can be interpreted as a strategic decision to call attention to the contributions of both East and West India Companies to the sovereign recognition of the Republic as one that ruled over its own territories abroad.

The emphasis on trade and prosperity furthermore underscored the city's leverage within the governmental structures of the Republic, where the sheer weight of Amsterdam's revenues counted for much of its political influence both within the States of Holland, and by extension the States General. While ranking only as the fifth voting member in the States

of Holland according to their traditional system based on seniority, the city demonstrated publicly and spectacularly its real importance in the *de facto* hierarchy of domestic politics.³¹¹ The fact that requests were made to the States of Holland for reimbursement of expenses in connection to the visit, while not granted, similarly illustrates Amsterdam's desire to function as the representative and ceremonial center of the sovereign Province.

The self-representational strategies that worked to identify the city as *Koopstad*, both in the event and in Barlaeus' description of it, showed the city's awareness of its crucial support to the Republic's claims to international status and recognition. While the Stadtholder, represented throughout Marie's visit to the Republic by his wife Amalia, could, by the grace of his hereditary title, more comfortably rely on mutually recognized diplomatic conventions in their interactions with foreign courts, the merchant rulers of Amsterdam instead focused on presenting a form of power one could behold, touch, smell and taste – and that was based in economic power rather than pedigree. The latter theme, however, would serve prominently a mere four years later during the city's formal reception of Marie's daughter, Queen Henrietta Maria of England in 1642.

³¹¹ For the history of the ranking order of the Hollandic cities, see Smit 1995, 490-493.

III. “To demonstrate to the entire world that it does not have to yield to any other”:

Orange and Stuart in Amsterdam (1642)

On Wednesday May 14, 1642 the Bailiff of Amsterdam, along with then burgomaster Gerbrand Nicolaesz. Pancras, Albert Bas (1598-1650) and alderman Wouter Valckenier (1589-1650), ordered that all members of the civic militia be present, in arms, to welcome Queen of England Henrietta Maria Stuart (1609-1669) on the following Tuesday, May 20.³¹² Absence that day would be penalized with a fine of twenty-five guilders.³¹³ To prevent “any disorder and confusion, both within the militia as well as the cavalry”, it was also ordered that no member of those militias was allowed to fire their weapon on the day of the entry without explicit approval of commanding officers, at risk of a penalty of six guilders per shot fired.³¹⁴ Both members of the cavalry and the public could further be fined twenty-five guilders for riding their horses without clear permission from city leadership, and this same sum would be charged to those in charge of ships if they fired their canons without burgomasters’ consent.³¹⁵

³¹² SAA 5020, inv. no. 14, fols. 173v-174v.

³¹³ Idem, fols. 173v-174r: “Also de comste van Coninginne van Groot Brittainne, neffens Sijn Hoogheyt den Heere Prince van Orangien, en andere hooge Stants personagien, op Dingsdagh toecomende, volgen[de] den 20.e deser, binnen dese Stadt, met groote aengenaemheijd wordt verwacht, tegens welcken tijt veel van nooden is dat alle Burgers en Inwoonders desen Stede onder de Schutterije gehoordende, bijder hand zijn, omme hen ten [voor]sz dage behooren In’t geweer te mogen verthoonen. Soo is’t dat mijne Heeren vande Gerechte goed gevonden hebben daer van notificatie te doen, en daer beneffens allen Burgeren & Inwoonderen, inde Schutterije zijnde, te belasten ende te bevelen, hen tegens maendagavond toecomende alhier inde Stadt te laten vinden ende de geene die alreede daeruyt zouden mogen wesen, zulx dat se daer van bequame e[ndens] verwettigt connen worden, zullen schicken tegen den voorsz bestemde tijt weder thuyts te wesen, op de boete van vyffentwintigh gul[dens], byde absentie te [ver]beuren.”

³¹⁴ Idem, fol. 174r: “Ende op dat ten dage van incomste van hooggemelte hare Mast. alle desordre ende confusie, zoo onder de schutterije, als oock de Cavallerije, soude mogen werden geweert ende voorgecomen, So zal niemand vande Schutters ofte Cavalliers hem vervorderen ten zelve dage eenigh musquet, pistool oft diergel[yck] ander handroer los te schieten, voor & al eer sy daer toe van zyn Capiteijn oft ander Bevelhebber gelast zal zijn, Op een boete van ses gul[dens] by den tegendoenders voor elcken schoot te [ver]beuren.”

³¹⁵ Ibidem: “Dat oock niemand [...] te [voor]sz dage onder de gemelte Cavallerije ofte daer buiten te paerde sal mogen begeven tenzij sij al vooren by myne heeren de Burgermrn expresseer[lijcx] daertoe zal zyn geadmitteert en[de] toegelaten, opde [ver]beurte van vyffentwintigh gul[dens], [ende] evenwel gehouden zyn dat eerste retireren. Verbieden mede wel expresseer[lijcx] allen Schippers & de haer volck uyt eenige Schepen,

From this list of decrees, it appears obvious that the city wanted all hands on deck. Perhaps indicative of a less than orderly situation during the reception of Marie de' Medici four years earlier, the burgomasters wanted to ensure that those in charge of maintaining order would be present, and be clearly distinguished from the general public. Gun salutes were restricted only to those moments deemed appropriate according to ceremonial decorum, so that their desired effect could be achieved.

The ceremonial protocols in 1642 would indeed require more attention than any diplomatic event in the city's recent history. Aside from the English Queen, the company included her daughter, Royal Princess Mary Stuart (1631-1660) and Mary's newly wedded husband William II of Orange (1626-1650), while William's parents, Amalia of Solms and Dutch Stadtholder Frederick Henry, were also present. Despite the extensive efforts on behalf of the city magistrate documented in the above-listed public decrees, the Stadtholder recalled in his *Memoires* that the city's streets were "so filled with people, that [...] it was no small difficulty to be able to arrive at the *Logis* [...]."³¹⁶

The recent marriage between William and Mary, around which the celebrations would revolve, was a definite step up the royal ladder for the Orange-Nassau dynasty. The Stadtholder's recollection of the exuberant crowds, therefore, likely served to emphasize the fact that they had assembled not just to catch a glimpse of the English Queen, but also the young couple, and himself. Comparable to Maria de' Medici's visit in 1638, the entry also presented yet another important instance of recognition for Dutch sovereignty in an

voordese Stadt op stroom leggen, ten dage & n[achte] te schieten, zonder voorgaen Consent van myne voorn[oemde] Heeren Burgerm[n], op gelycke boete van xxv guld[ens] byden contraventeurs te [ver]beuren."

³¹⁶ C. Huygens, *Mémoires de Frédéric Henri, prince d'Orange, qui contiennent ses expéditions militaires depuis 1621 jusqu'à l'année 1646* [...] (Amsterdam: P. Humbert, 1733) 305: "l'on rencontra une telle confluence de peuple qu'il y 'eut bien de la peine à passer par les ruës, qui etoyent tellement remplies, que quelque bon ordre que le Magistrat y eust donné, & que les Bourgeois qui estoient en Armes y peuvent apporter, la difficulté ne fut pas petite de pouvoir avec les Carosses ses arriver au *Logis* [...]."

international context, though this time a more distinctly courtly one. The alliance with England that the union signified, further, was of great relevance to Amsterdam and its trade interests.

Like her mother, Henrietta Maria was received with elaborate ceremonial and decorations that included triumphal arches and planned waterborne stages providing additional spectacle and pageantry – thus marking the second such stately reception to take place in Amsterdam within the span of only a four-year period. Both ceremonial entries showed that the Republic and the city continued to engage with longstanding conventions that favored monarchy and empire, and were willing to utilize this language to advance claims on behalf of the state. Yet while the iconography deployed during the first reception had, as argued, primarily functioned to elevate Amsterdam's ruling merchants in an international context, the emphasis on the Orange-Stuart union during the entry in 1642, as this chapter demonstrates, required that the Orange-Nassau dynasty and the person and office of the Stadtholder formed the primary focus of the decorative and performative programs during that visit. The reception of the young couple and their royal parents therefore illuminates the important role of the Stadtholderly court in international diplomacy, and the significance of its alliances for the city.

Again a festival book was published that commemorated the ephemeral spectacles, this time authored by veteran poet Samuel Coster, who also served as the inventor of the program. It appeared in 1642 under the title *Beschrijvinge van de blijde inkoopste, rechten van zeege-bogen en ander toestel op de welkoomste van H. M. van Groot-Britanien, Vrankrijk en Ierland tot Amsterdam, 20 May 1642*. In both the decoration program and the descriptions provided by the *Beschrijvinge*, Coster allegorically evoked the military history of

the Revolt to portray the Orange-Nassau Stadtholders as heroic liberators, while deploying historical references to invent a tradition of Anglo-Dutch equivalence.

The Stadtholder himself, as I will argue, was an important audience for the entertainments produced. The visit occurred at a time when his domestic role was redefined by the increasingly certain promise of international peace. This was not unlike the historical circumstances under which the visit of Maurice took place in 1618, when Coster and his *Academie* had also played a crucial role. The reflection on the war years, in this case, served to publicly cement the position of Frederick Henry, as well as his son William II, as proponents of a new brand of Dutch Republican diplomacy.

The international diplomatic context in which the reception took place were again highly unusual: under the mounting threat of an English civil war, Henrietta Maria had come to the Republic for refuge and to secure a loan against the crown jewels in order to raise funds for her husband, King Charles I of England (1600-1649).³¹⁷ Yet the pretense of Henrietta Maria's trip was to accompany her and Charles' ten-year old daughter to the Republic, where the Royal Princess would be reunited with her new husband, fifteen-year old William II. Henrietta Maria and her daughter had fled to the Republic in February of 1642, and upon arrival were brought to the Stadtholder's palace *Honselaarsdijk*, where the Queen was formally greeted by the States General.³¹⁸ From there she traveled to The Hague, where accommodations for her stay had been prepared, and subsequently made visits to Rotterdam and Delft, before being invited by the governments of Haarlem and Amsterdam to make her entry in those cities in mid-May.³¹⁹

³¹⁷ Snoep 1975, 64.

³¹⁸ Huygens 1733, 301-303.

³¹⁹ *Idem*, 303-304.

Over the course of the 1630s and early 1640s, Frederick Henry and his wife Amalia had sought to enhance their profile and standing in a European courtly context through increased diplomatic contacts as well as investments in building projects and the arts. The Prince had been awarded the title “Son Altesse” (His Highness) by the French King in 1637, a practice that was adopted by the States General soon afterwards.³²⁰ The pseudo-monarchical role of the stadtholderate, in this sense, had become more pronounced under Frederick Henry than it had been under his predecessors. The marriage of his son with an English Royal Princess can be considered a capstone achievement in a quest for recognition and status among Europe’s leading royal families. The city, in orchestrating a decorative program featuring allegorical and historical *tableaux vivants* that deliberately focused more on the Orange-Nassau dynasty than the Queen of England, aligned itself with the Stadtholders ambitions – at least for the duration of the festival – and addressed and thereby confirmed the Prince in this evolving role.

The festival book for the event was published by Pieter Nolpe (1613-1653), who had also been responsible for etching multiple illustrations in the *Medicea Hospes* (1638). Like Barlaeus’ book, the *Beschrivinge* combines an account of the festivities with double-page etchings that provide impressions of the *tableaux vivants*, though, as I will detail below, the strategies by which commemoration of these ephemeral artworks takes place, are considerably different. In addition to reproducing in print several compositions after the monogrammist “I.W.”, likely to be identified as Jan Baptist Weenix (1621-1660), Nolpe functioned as the publisher of the *Beschrivinge* as well.³²¹ While the author of the main text

³²⁰ Israel 1995, 537.

³²¹ Although an extant painting of *Arion and the Dolphin* has been attributed by Otto Naumann to the unknown Jan Wilders, I have not been able to verify this attribution or learn on what grounds this attribution was made. No Jan Wilders who was active in Amsterdam in this period has been recorded through documents

is not listed in the publication, a payment of 250 guilders from the city to Samuel Coster on November 18, 1642, for his work “on a certain book about the reception of the Queen of England”, as well as “his efforts in devising (*toestellen*) the *tableaux vivants*” identifies the poet and dramatist as both the author of the *Beschrivinge* and the main architect of the decoration program described.³²²

The fairly modest sum awarded to Coster, especially when compared to the more generous 1,000 guilders that Barlaeus received in 1638, together with the rudimentary description of the project as stated in this archival reference, makes it likely that rather than having been specifically commissioned by the city government, the *Beschrivinge* appeared at the initiative of Nolpe and Coster.³²³ Unlike the *Medicea Hospes* it appeared only in Dutch, and was thus specifically targeted towards a domestic audience.³²⁴

The book, as I argue below, not only sought to preserve the carefully constructed argument that Coster’s festival’s program had aimed to present, but through its inclusion of an introductory chapter that summarizes all ceremonial entries in the city since Leicester’s (1586), also served as a historical record of the most important public spectacles that had taken place in the city since the Alteration. Coster, both as the author of the text and as a key

or paintings. S. A. C. Dudok van Heel has more convincingly proposed that I.W. may be identified as Weenix, who as a pupil of Nicolaes Moeyaert could have met Nolpe during Moeyaert’s involvement in the production of the *Medicea Hospes* (see chapter 2), and who in May 1642 was still present in Amsterdam. See: Dudok van Heel 1976, 13-48, esp. 27, note 5. This attribution has also been accepted and elaborated upon by Eric Jan Sluijter: Sluijter 2015, 159-165.

³²² SAA 5039, inv. no. 34, fol. 175r. “Aen Dr. Samuel Koster bet[ael]t tweehondert vijftigh gls, over zeker boek van Inhalen der Koninginne van Engelandt, & voorts voor zijnen moeijten van toestellen der vertooninghen ter eere van zelver Koninginne, hem toegeseyt, Luijdt ordtie & quitantie, Indate den 18^e Novem[ber] 1642 f 250: -- : --.” (“Paid to Dr. Samuel Coster two hundred and fifty guilders, for a certain book about the reception of the Queen of England, & further for his efforts in the design of *tableaux vivants* in the honor of said Queen, promised to him, According to ordinance and invoice dating November 18, 1642, f 250.”)

³²³ Derk Snoep arrived at a similar conclusion, though he considered the publication to be “semi-official” in nature because of the contribution of Coster. See Snoep 1975, 65.

³²⁴ In his dedication, Nolpe states that work was intended for “Lief-hebbers des Vaderlands.” Coster 1642, “Toe-eigeninge”, unpag.

contributor to several of the festival programs described in these preliminary pages, therefore sought to memorialize the involvement of the former chambers of rhetoric and his short-lived *Nederduytsche Academie* in such stately events during the post-Revolt era. In doing so, he positioned himself as an important custodian of institutional and cultural memory of these organizations, while emphasizing in particular the rhetoricians' important role and continuous involvement in a process of state-making as traced through ceremony. It is not insignificant, finally, that he chose to do so during a time when Amsterdam's literary circles had in fact shifted to center around the new *Schouwburg*,

Alliance and union: welcoming a royal couple in Amsterdam

The relocation of the newly-wedded William and Mary to the Republic in the early spring of 1642 was of great political significance both for the Republic in general and Amsterdam more specifically. While prompted primarily by the imminent outbreak of civil war in England, the Royal Princess' physical presence not only solidified the relation with the Stuart Monarchy but, at least for the moment, secured Dutch access to English territorial waters. A medal by Sebastian Dadler (1586–1657), showing *Frederick Henry in Triumph* (recto) and *Arrival of Princess Mary in the Netherlands* (verso), first struck in 1642, underlines the political significance of the union, and ties its importance in particular to the elevated status of its likely commissioner, the Dutch Stadtholder, and his family (fig. 50). The verso of the medal shows Mary greeting her new husband in front of an enclosed garden representing Holland, while a Latin inscription makes reference to the “fruits of liberty” that will be produced under their parentage.³²⁵

³²⁵ “Enter, divine creature, the bower where Mars and Love invite you; here, under your parentage, Liberty shall produce her fruit.” Translation from: E. Hawkins, *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain*

The political landscape of the European continent in the early 1640s was sharply divided. Both the Dutch Republic and France were still at war with Spain, while the Southern Netherlands, a Spanish territory, were lodged in between these two enemies of the Spanish crown. England, while having formed alliances with all three nations, had attempted to remain neutral in their conflicts: partly because this had created a comfortable and powerful position for the English, who did not want to increase the risk of their continental competition, specifically France, becoming more dominant.³²⁶

In this context, both Spanish and Dutch delegates had negotiated new treaties with England and explored the possibilities of cementing a political alliance through marital union, between Mary Stuart and Balthasar Charles (1629-1646), the eldest son of Philip IV of Spain (1605-1665), or between Mary and William II of Orange respectively.³²⁷ In the meanwhile, tensions between opposing Puritan and Royalist factions in the English parliament had risen sharply, which increased the need for the Stuart monarchy to secure a reliable ally. Considering primarily the financial advantages of an alliance with the Dutch over the Spanish, the marriage between William II and Mary Stuart finally took place in England on May 12, 1641.³²⁸

With city and Stadtholder increasingly at odds over the prospect of peace with Spain, and civil war in England dividing factions within the Republic in regards to the actual benefits of the controversial allegiance, the festivities in Amsterdam, too, focused on a celebration of the Orange-Stuart union. As such, the festival program derived its thematic

and Ireland to the Death of George II (London, 1885) 291. The medal was likely first struck in 1642, and again on the occasion of the Peace of Münster on January 30, 1648.

³²⁶ S. Groenveld, *Verlopend getij: de Nederlandse Republiek en de Engelse Burgeroorlog, 1640-1646* (Dieren, 1984) 91.

³²⁷ P. Geyl, *Oranje en Stuart 1641-1672* (Zeist, 1963) 16-20; Groenveld 1984, 92-95.

³²⁸ Groenveld 1984, 96-99.

premise from an established European tradition of bridal entries of royal spouses into the cities of their new home country, occasions which served to both domesticate foreign queen-consorts and publicize the powerful political alliances that such marriages often represented.³²⁹

The “measure and order” (“*voet ende ordre*”) of the Queen and Princess’ reception was repeatedly discussed in the meetings of the States General from the last week of February onwards.³³⁰ Although archival documents that could have provided insight into the exact circumstances leading up to the invitation by the city have not been preserved in the Amsterdam archives, a resolution of the *vroedschap* that is dated three days before the entry on May 17, 1642 states that the burgomasters “were taking all possible measures” to ensure that Henrietta Maria and her daughter would be “properly received, lodged & treated” during their imminent visit.³³¹ According to historiographer Lieuwe van Aitzema (1600-1669), the Queen, Royal Princess, and Prince of Orange traveled to Amsterdam “to go see the city”, echoing thus the rhetoric surrounding Marie de’ Medici’s visit, and stating that they had been explicitly invited to do so by the burgomasters.³³²

³²⁹ On the ceremonial tradition of bridal royal entries in Europe, see: Kipling 1998, 289-333. For specific examples, see for instance: Bryant 1986, 93-98; Murphy 2016, 163-177; L. H. S. Dean, “Enter the alien: Foreign Consorts and their royal entries into Scottish cities,” Mulryne et al. 2015, 267-295; P. Davidson, “The Theatrum for the Entry of Claudia de’ Medici and Federigo Ubaldo della Rovere into Urbino, 1621,” Goldring and Mulryne 2002, 311-334; For an example with reversed gender roles, see: A. Samson, “Images of co-monarchy in the London entry of Philip and Mary (1554),” Canova-Green et al 2013, 113-127.

³³⁰ NA 1.01.02, inv. no. 80, including resolution notes of February 24, 25, and March 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, 9, 10. A report of the arrival came in the in a letter from Frederick Henry to the States dated March 10, which was read the next day on March 11. On March 12 deliberations took place regarding the greeting and conveyance of congratulations to the Prince of Orange and his wife, and on March 13 the transport of Henrietta Maria and Mary was discussed with Admiral Maarten Tromp (1598-1653). These deliberations, most likely based on these sources, are also described in Aitzema 1669, 813-815.

³³¹ SAA 5025, inv. 17, fol. 117v: “*By den Raedt des 17.e Maij 1642. De heeren Burgemrs. hebben den Raedt voorgehouden, hoe dat zij alle mooghelijken zorghe zyn draeghende om [?] te stellen dat haere Ma.t van Engelandt met beijde haere hoogheyde wel ontfangen gelogeert & getracteert moghen worden.*”

³³² Aitzema, vol. II, 1669, p. 816: “*Maendagh den negentienden May toogh de Coninginne ende Princesse Royael sampt Princen van Orange om te sien Amsterdam, sijnde daer toe van wegghen de Stadt expresselijck ghenodicht.*”

The city fathers requested advice from the council, however, regarding the presentation of gifts (*vereeringh*) to the Queen and the Royal Princess. Following discussion it was decided that since Marie de' Medici and Amalia of Solms had both been presented with gifts during the 1638 entry, the city “could not honorably neglect” to do the same for Henrietta Maria and Princess Mary, for which a budget between 22,000 and 24,000 guilders, at the discretion of the burgomasters, was deemed sufficient.³³³ Precedence thus was an important factor in the circumstances under which the entry were to take place: the elaborate reception of the French Queen Mother in 1638 seems to have created obligations for the city to continue functioning as the Republic's most magnificent host city. Silver smith Johannes Lutma was again called upon to provide the city with costly items to present, this time delivering “two golden ewers and basins”, the value of which would significantly exceed the predetermined budget at a staggering cost of 27,418 guilders and 18 stuivers.³³⁴

No expenses were spared, either, to host and entertain the royal visitors and their entourage. A compilation of specified ledgers, comprising no less than 159 pages, is preserved in the archive of the *Thesaurieren Extraordinaris*. Consisting mostly of costs for food, drink, linens, and other necessities and services used by the royal entourage during their visit, the *defroyement* came to a total sum of 51,621 guilders, 6 stuivers and 12

³³³ SAA 5025, inv. 17, fol. 117v: “*Dan dewijle men, ten tijde van 't ontfanghen en onthaelen van d' Koning moeder van Vrankrijk, ook vanden Princesse van Oranje, aen de selve eenige vereeringhe ghedaen heeft, dat zij des Raedts advis verzochte, hoe men zich nu in dees gheleghentheijt van 's stadts wegen daer in [?] by te draeghen. Waer op midtsdien gedelibereert zijnde, is verstaen, dat men, om dier oorzaeken wil, met eeren niet zal kunnen naelaeten, ook aen deze koninghinne en haere dochter de prinsesse Marie eenighe vereeringh te doen, en dat men dienvolgh[end], aen dezelve koninginne & prinsesse vereeringh zal doen, waerdigh te zaemen ter somma van xxii.m xxiii.m oft xxiiii.m gld, ter discretie van Heeren Burgemrs voornt.*”

³³⁴ SAA 5039, inv. no. 134, fol. 142r: “*Aen Jan Lutma goudtsmits betaelen de somma van zevenentwintigh duyzent vierhondert gls achtien sts voor 't maeken, facon & leverantie ten behoeve dezer stad van twee goude bekkens & kannen, 't goudt daer bij ghereekent. Volgens resolutie van heeren 36 Raeden [ver]schonken aen Koninginne & Princesse van Engelandt. Luydt declara[ti]e, ordtie & quitantie in date de 26e Septem[ber] 1642.*”

penning.³³⁵ In the ledgers of the *Thesaurieren Ordinaris* an additional combined amount of 6,868 guilders, 19 stuivers and 14 cents is listed under the category of “expenses of presentations” (*uijtgeef van presentatien*) in connection to the ceremonial entry, stay and departure of the Queen.³³⁶

Based on the ledgers and account books of the *Thesaurieren Extraordinaris*, it further appears that in 1642, as in 1638, the city sought reimbursement from the States of Holland for the *defroyement* expenses.³³⁷ This shows that the city, despite its failure to obtain such financial compensation four years earlier, did not relent in its effort to be recognized as a representative platform for stately receptions on behalf of the province.

³³⁵ SAA 5044, inv. no. 507.

³³⁶ SAA 5039, inv. no. 134, fol. 142v: “Aen verscheijde persoonen over onkosten, ghevallen soo op de inhalinge der Kooninginne van Engelandt, als geduer[ende] haer verblijf & op haer vertrek in & uyt deze Stadt, bet[ael]t de somme van zes duijsendt achthondert acht&dsestigh gls negentien sts veertien cts. Luijdt de paeticuliere quitancies & d’ordtie Indate de 25.e Octob 1642. -- f 6868:19:14.” Separate items listed in this section include also a payment to Christoffel Pook, who received “*vereeringhe*” for his efforts as a participant in the city cavalry during the entry (250 guilders, fol. 141v), and Albert Schagen for the delivery and transport of two new beds and three couches to the Kloveniersdoelen (90 guilders and 12 stuivers, fol. 142v). Not specified as relating to the royal visit, but likely connected to it, are payments to Thomas Molegraef for no less than fifty barrels of Lübeck beer shortly before the entry on May 12 (1,009 guilders and 6 stuivers, fol. 141v) and Adriaentje Dirx, seamstress (“*gordijnmaekster*”), for several items connected to furnishing of new beds (436 guilders, fol. 142v).

³³⁷ The costs connected to the entry first appear in the account book (*Rapiamus*) of the extraordinary treasury for the year 1642, and then reappear in 1643 and 1644. The *Rapiamus* of 1645 has not been preserved, and in 1646 the charge is no longer present. Whether or not the issue was resolved, therefore cannot be determined with certainty: SAA 5044, inv. no. 58, fol. 9 (right): “[Cassa by *Thesaurieren Extra:ord*] Moet hebben [...] voor d’onkosten op d’Incomst vande Coninginne [...] 51612 : 16 : 12.” Idem, fol. xi (left): “De Heeren Staten van Holland zijn schuldich. 1^e september aen Cassa voor d’onkosten gevallen op d’incomste vande Coninginne van Groot Brittainen by ons door ordre vande Hr. burgemeesteren in dit Jaer betaelt [...] 51612 : 16 : 12.” SAA 5044 inv no 59, fol. vii (left): “De Heeren Staten van Holland zyn schuldich 1e Januari aen Balance, voor d’onkosten t vorige jaer door ordre vande Hr. Burgemeesters betaelt op d Incomste vande Coninginne van grootbritaignen [...] 51612 : 16 : 12. 31 december [1643] aen cassa Barent Courten stalmr. betaelt [...] 8 : 0 : 0.” Idem, fol. xvi (left): “Balance van desen Boeck is schuldich [...] De Hr. Staten van Holland [...] voor de deselfde d’onkosten van de Coninginne [...] 51620 : 16 : 12.”; SAA 5044 inv. no. 60, fol. v (left): “D’Heeren Staten van Holland zyn schuldich 1e January aen Balance voor d’onkosten inden jare 1642 op dIncomste vande Coninginne van grootbritaignen gedaen [...] 51620 : 16 : 12.” Idem, fol. xvii (left): “Balance van desen Boeck is schuldich [...] De selfde [Hr. Staten van Holland] over onkosten vande Coninginne 1642 [...] 51620 : 16 : 12.”

From image to argument: creating and presenting an equal union

The ceremonial format and route of Henrietta Maria's entry in the city on May 20 also showed many similarities with that of her mother four years earlier, and, in its design, followed the basic plan of the entries that had taken place in the city since 1549 (fig. 51).³³⁸ While the city had again prepared for an arrival by ship via IJ and Damrak, the Queen traveled to Amsterdam by land, and entry therefore took place at the *Haarlemmerpoort* instead. The royal company had been welcomed by a cavalcade headed by Captain Dirck Tholinx (1589-after 1654) at a mid-point between Haarlem and Amsterdam, just as Maria de' Medici had been first greeted in 1638.

The cavalcade was also memorialized again, this time in the form of a large print by Pieter Nolpe working after a design by Pieter Potter (1597-1652) that shows the city's cavalry at Sloterdijk and lists all participants in an extensive caption (fig. 52). In his *Beschrivinge* Coster remarks on the hasty process with which the relatively unpracticed riders had to be prepared for their honorable task.³³⁹ Nolpe's print, which combines the compositional format of the procession as shown in the first plate of the *Medicea Hospes* (fig. 16) with the commemorative function of Nolpe's large-scale depiction of the 1638 cavalcade published by Danckerts (fig. 17), was surely marketed to the cavalry men and their families as an attractive reminder of this moment.

Upon the Queen's arrival within city walls she was greeted by all the city's soldiers and civic militia, placed under the command of Colonel Andries Bicker, and pensionary Cornelis Boom instead of attorney Davelaar in 1638, who provided a welcome speech in

³³⁸ See chapter 1, pp. 24-25.

³³⁹ Coster 1642, 17: "*Hier meede is de Heer Tholinx ettelijke dagen bezigh geweest, en heeft door goede oefeninge, de onbedreve borsten, den toom alzo leren handelen, ende de sporen bewaren, dat de peerden konden voelen datze van afgerechte mannen en van gene leer-kinderen beschreden waren.*"

French.³⁴⁰ The visitors were supposed to encounter two floating *tableaux vivants* staged in the *Damrak* waters, yet the unexpected change in arrival route, again, prevented a performance. As a result, the first segment of the decorative program did not materialize as intended. These two spectacles, as will be made clear shortly, were intended to form part of a sequence of *tableaux vivants* that specifically served to foreground the role of former Stadtholder William of Orange (1533-1584) and current Stadtholder Frederick Henry in the history of the Revolt. The achievements and illustrious history of the Orange-Nassau dynasty relative to those of the English royal dynasties, however, would form the main theme of both the iconographic designs of the stages and arches, and the performances that were housed by these architectural frames.

The first *tableau* would have shown the narrative of *Arion saved by the dolphin*, and the second *Andromeda on the rock*, rescued by Perseus. The spectacles certainly would have evoked the water pageants of times past, as the Arion performance could very well have utilized the same, or a similarly modified ship as the “fish” or “whale” devices that already appeared in this location in 1580 and 1586.³⁴¹ According to Coster the pageants, having capsized (“*in de assche gewend*”) by the next morning, were not performed on subsequent days of the visit either.³⁴² Frederick Henry, in his *Memoires*, however, recounts having seen them during the company’s boat ride on the IJ, which took place the next day, on May 21.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ Coster 1642, 17-18.

³⁴¹ See chapter 1, pp. 25-26.

³⁴² Coster 1642, 18.

³⁴³ Frederick Henry reports that “The Queen, during this time [her stay in Amsterdam] went in well-accommodated barges to see the City and its ships, of which there are extreme quantities before this place, where she saw machines in the water representing battles & other subjects from poetry, such as Andromeda and other similar ones.” The allegorical connotation of the performance, apparently, remained lost on the Prince. Huygens 1733, p. 305: “*La Reine pendant ce temps alla en des barques bien accommodées voir la Ville et les Navires qui sont en une extreme quantité devant ceste place, l’on y vit des machines dans l’eau qui representoient des Combats & autres sujets de poesies comme d’Andromede et autres semblables.*” A

It is possible that Coster did not want to recount this deviation from the envisioned order of events, since, as demonstrated below, the different segments of the decoration program were rhetorically designed to have a cumulative effect.

From Coster's account the reader understood that the two displays had meant to respectively evoke the liberation of the Dutch provinces from Spain by William of Orange and the military victories of his son Stadtholder Frederick Henry against Spain.³⁴⁴ Each allegorical scene had precedents either in the ceremonial entries of the Prince's predecessors, or the broader visual print culture surrounding the Stadtholders. Both an Arion as well as an Andromeda pageant had been performed during William of Orange's entry into Brussels in 1577 (fig. 6; fig. 53), while Stadtholders in the guise of a triumphant savior Perseus had appeared in propagandistic prints since the early Revolt (fig. 54).³⁴⁵ The two *tableaux*, as well as the verses accompanying the spectacles listed in Latin and Dutch in the *Beschrivinge*, confirm both Frederick Henry and his father in the by now well-established roles of protectors and liberators of the provinces against a Spanish enemy.

Coster's elaborations on the two scenes further include references that catered to a local audience. Coster makes mention, for instance, of the involvement of former city alderman Pieter Dircksz. Hasselaer (1554-1616) in the defense of Haarlem during the siege of 1573, characterizing him as an example of the sort of Hollandic courage and ingenuity "to do [...] and achieve what is deemed impossible, [and] in which many foreign loudmouths

manuscript of the *Memoires* dating from before 1649, preserved in the Koninklijk Huis Archief, which includes annotations by Frederick Henry's hand, does not provide clarification on this issue. KHA 14 XI -D inv. no. 2.

³⁴⁴ Coster 1642,18-22.

³⁴⁵ The subject was utilized in festivals elsewhere in Europe as well, including a firework spectacle in Paris on December 23, 1618, which formed the conclusion of King Louis XIII's triumphal entry into Paris in celebration of his victory in the siege of La Rochelle: Jouhaud 1987, 316. The story was also adapted into the play *L'Andromeda* written by Jacopo Ciognini (1577-1633), which was performed for the first time on March 10, 1618 on the occasion of the visit of Leopold V of Austria to Florence. See: Mamone and Pagnini 2015.

would have failed”.³⁴⁶ This reference to Hasselaer, who only moved to Amsterdam after the Alteration of 1578, as such not only effectively connected the city to this early history of resistance and struggle, but would also have pleased Hasselaer’s son, then burgomaster Pieter Pietersz. Hasselaer (1582-1651).

The third *vertoning*, which would thus be the first one the company actually encountered that day, was staged in a wooden triumphal arch located at Dam Square, which faced the town hall (fig. 64). According to Coster, the edifice “flaunted the arts of sculptors more than that of painters”.³⁴⁷ The arch’s pediment was decorated with the city’s coat of arms topped by the imperial crown, flanked by festoons decorated with oranges representing the Orange dynasty, intertwined with red and white roses for England. In between double pilasters there were further plaques that referenced notable victories achieved by the States’ naval forces, as well as the coats of arms of conquered cities in Africa and the Indies “shown hanging from a silk orange ribbon.”³⁴⁸ This detail therefore attributed Dutch overseas expansion to the Orange-Nassau family’s efforts, which would have included the tenure of Brazilian Governor John Maurice of Nassau (1604-1679).

The subject of the *tableau vivant* shown here was *The wedding of Peleus and Thetis*: a mythological scene that, again, carried more topical connotations. In this case the characters allegorically represented the marriage of Mary Stuart and William II. Coster had

³⁴⁶ Idem, 19-20: “[...] gelijk de Spangiaerden hier [...] ook een held beweeghde als aen P. D. Hasselaer, die even moedigh als de getrouwe vrienden van Camillus [...] zich alzoo binnen de dicht en vast-belegerde stad Haarlem, met gevaar van lijf, leven [...] heeft durven begeven. Die daer van leeze het Graf-schrift [...] zal wel zien dat de Hollanders, trots eenige andere volkeren, wat ondoenlijks durven doen, en volbrangen, daer veele Uythiemsche snorkers in zoude blijve steken.”

³⁴⁷ Coster 1642, 23: “De darde Vertoning in de inkoopste de eerste, stond op den Dam, op de kant van ’t Dam-Rak, het open na ’t Raad-huys; dit was een getimmer van groote hoogte en wijte, meerder met kunst van beeld-houwers, als Schilders pronkende.”

³⁴⁸ Idem, 24: “[...] tusschens de verhevene zuylen in, menighte van wapenen der onder-gebrachter stede in Africa, Oost en West-Indien, en elders, aen een zijde Orangen snoer te tone hingen.”

likely drawn inspiration from the festivities held in Amsterdam for the visit of Elizabeth Stuart, Electress of the Palatinate (1596-1662) to Amsterdam in May of 1613, which had followed her wedding to Elector Frederick V (1596-1632) three months earlier. Elizabeth and Frederick were on that occasion similarly compared to Peleus and Thetis in an allegorical *tableau vivant* designed by Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581-1647).³⁴⁹ The 1642 version of the theme included the explicit desire that the union would produce another Achilles, as evidenced by the arch's inscription *Alius nascetur Achilles*.

From here the visitors would encounter three more arches containing *tableaux vivants*, that, in line with the Stuart-Orange union, depicted examples of marriages and treaties that had taken place between British royals and Orange-Nassau ancestors or predecessors in past centuries. In these examples the portrayed main characters and events were, unlike the first three spectacles, not channeled through mythological figures or scenes, but instead quite unambiguously re-enacted a series of specific historical episodes. A passage in Coster's *Beschrijvinge* that precedes his description of these last three *tableaux vivants* might illustrate the main objective for this choice of program:

[...] because this marriage seemed odd to a horde of illiterate, so-called wise, and entirely unknowing simple-minded people, above all the purest of puritans, these three [tableaux] have hence followed, in which the ancestry, unions, marriages with Kings, the greatness, illustrious virtues, and the brilliant Nobility of the House of Nassau is exhibited, to demonstrate to the entire world that it does not have to yield to any other (“geene andere behoeft te wijken”) [...].³⁵⁰

³⁴⁹ *Beschreibung der Reisz: Empfahung desz ritterlichen Ordens: Volbringung des Heyraths: vnd glücklicher Heimführung: wie auch der ansehnlichen Einführung: gehaltener Ritterspiel vnd Frewdenfests* [...] (Heidelberg: Gotthardt Vögelins, 1613) 91-92; Coster 1642, 9. See also Snoep 1975, 36.

³⁵⁰ Coster 1642, 24-25. “En om dat dit Houlijk een hoope onbelezene, neus-wijze, en nergens af wetende slecht-hoofden, voor al de uyt-gezuyverde zuiver-geesten, vreemd dochte, zijn hier voorts op-gevolght deeze drie waer inne men de afkoomste, verbintenissen, houwelijken met Koningen, de grootheyd, doorluchtige deughden, ende de luyster-gevende Adel van den Huyze van Nassauw ten toone steld, om alle de wereld te doen zien dat dat geene andere behoeft te wijken [...]” The term “wijken” should be seen in the context of diplomatic practice, and refers here to the act of allowing another to take precedence based on higher status and ranking. See Heringa 1961, 156-157.

Coster alludes here to the apparent opposition to the marriage based on a perceived unequal status between William and Mary. Whether his statement was directed at groups within the Republic or outside of it remains unclear, but its rhetoric would certainly have galvanized supporters of the Prince of Orange. The passage indicates, in any case, that Coster saw himself tasked with the elaboration of the importance and position of the Orange Nassau family, whose status was, as can be gathered from contemporary prints, indeed considered significantly below that of the royal Stuarts (fig 55).

The first of these last three *tableaux vivants* depicted the alliance that had been established in 1294 between King of Germany Adolf of Nassau (1255-1298) and King Edward I of England (1239-1307). It was performed in a two-story triumphal arch that stood in front of the *Beursstraat* (formerly the *Peerdenstal* location) (fig. 65). According to Coster, it was constructed and placed so that the carriage could pass through the arch, the vault of which, again, was decorated with white and red roses, this time interspersed with gilded lilies to signify Henrietta Maria's French origins.³⁵¹ The building further featured protruding faux-marble pilasters and a pediment decorated with the imperial eagle for William's emperor-ancestor, as well as the royal arms of England and Nassau to its left and right. The building's inscription, *Genus alto à sanguine Divum*, quite unambiguously revealed the intention of selecting this historical episode for display, by referring to the "Divine blood" from which the Orange-Nassau Stadtholders had descended.

Then the procession headed towards the *Damsluis*, where the next triumphal arch was erected (fig. 66). Here actors performed a theatrical re-enactment of the marriage in 1332 between daughter of King of England Edward II, Eleanor of England (1318-1355), and

Reinoud II of Guelders (1295-1343).³⁵² The building was topped by the crest of Great Britain and carried the inscription *Diis Genita & geniture Deos*, or “Born from the Gods they will bring forth Gods,” and included niches to the sides of the stage in which the male and female martial gods Mars and Pallas Athena were placed. The theme of military victory was also underlined by the inclusion of the coats of arms of towns and forts conquered by Frederick Henry, who, as William’s father, was singled out for particular praise here.

The final tableaux vivant was staged in a triumphal arch located in the *Doelenstraat* at *Varkenssluis* (fig. 67) where the 1449 marriage of James II of Scotland (1430-1460) with Mary of Guelders (1434-1463) was shown.³⁵³ This arch, similarly to the first Dam Square theater, was decorated “from top to bottom” with the arms of captured towns in Africa, the Indies, and Brazil, and topped by a statue of Hercules, according to Coster symbolizing the Stadtholder “who, on his unforgettable shoulders, has born the heavy burdens of our Fatherland, and in his wisdom has prevented it from downfall.”³⁵⁴ To his sides were the reclining figures of Iapetus and Atlas, who represented Frederick Henry’s deceased father and brother, the late William of Orange and Maurice. This choice echoed the theme of the *tableau vivant* series Coster had produced for Maria de’ Medici in 1638, where the Henry IV as *Hercule Gaulois* took over from his predecessor, the tired Atlas, Henry III.³⁵⁵

³⁵¹ Coster 1642, 26. “*Het vierde Toneel stond voor de Beurs-straet. Dit was een gebou van twee stadien hoogh, benede met poorte daar de karossen deur konden rijden, het welfsel was gesierd, met rode en witte rosen, vermengt hier en daar met een goude Lelie [...]*.”

³⁵² Coster 1642, 27.

³⁵³ Coster 1642, 29-30.

³⁵⁴ Idem, 30: “*Daar mede bediedende de onuyt-roemende dueghden, en nimmer verwonne krachten van zijne Hoogheyd Fredrik Hendrik Prinse van Orange, die op zijne onvergetelijke schouderen de zware lasten van deeze onze Vaderlanden geschortet heeft, en na zijne Wijsheyd voor het vallen bewaard.*”

³⁵⁵ Chapter 2, pp. 117-118. Given the correspondence between these themes, it is likely that the architectural designs, at least as far as their iconographic elements were concerned, were realized with the creative involvement of the poet.

The inscription on the arch, *Generos Thetus emit omnibus undis*, while in fact a reference to Thetis' rule over all waters and nymphs that was derived from Vergil's *Georgics*, was translated in the *Beschrivinge* to mean "all [made from] wood suitable for the arrows of state."³⁵⁶ In this translation the Orange-Nassau Stadtholders were presented, both in terms of their character and pedigree, to have been "cut from the right cloth," so to speak, to function as pillars of the country, or more literally, to serve as the tightly bound arrows of unity figuring in the Republic's motto and seal, *Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt*.

The emphasis that Coster placed on these historic examples of Anglo-Dutch diplomatic relations in the last three *tableaux vivants* in the 1642 entry is not very surprising given the suitability of their subjects in connection to the newly established allegiance. Both the use of *exempla* in which the celebrated bride and groom were compared to mythological counterparts, as well as analogies provided by historical precedents of alliance between the two royal houses joined by marriage, were common themes during bridal entries.³⁵⁷ The alliance of Adolf of Nassau and Edward I, for instance, had also formed the topic of a display that had been planned for Elizabeth Stuart's entry into Amsterdam in 1613, which was ultimately not performed.³⁵⁸

The two segments of the programs, allegorical and historical, also complemented each other rhetorically. The first two spectacles, which foregrounded the accomplishments of William I of Orange and Stadtholder Frederick Henry, were designed to create a basis for the presentation of both William and his son as virtuous men. The use of allegory has been identified by past scholars as a useful, if not slippery, tool to insert references to topical

³⁵⁶ Coster 1642, 31: "*Alle Hout bequaam tot Staten Pijlen.*" The origins of the Latin motto from Vergil provided in Ising 1853, esp. 119.

³⁵⁷ See note 329.

³⁵⁸ Snoep 1975, 36. See also *Beschreibung* 1613, 91-92.

political contexts, which could be made more explicit in the context of ephemeral artworks than permanent ones.³⁵⁹ And indeed, its use served a strategic purpose in this case. By presenting the stadtholders by way of allegorical *exempla*, their qualities as military leaders and rulers were specifically identified, while the detailed circumstances regarding the Orange family's relatively recent rise to prominence on the international stage were simultaneously occluded. As such, these first two tableaux argued for the illustrious lineage of William II and thus provided the necessary foundation to present the marriage between Mary Stuart and William II, again through the lens of mythological allegory, as one of equals. This equal status was from here on further emphasized by – this time very concrete – historical references.

The next day, Wednesday May 21, was reserved for tours of the city's churches and charitable institutions, followed by a boat ride to the IJ. This "viewing" of the city, as had been the case in 1638, formed the main opportunity for the city to engage in a process of self-representation. Restricted here to only one day, this aspect of the multi-day program of entry-related festivities would gain even more prominence in later ceremonial visits.³⁶⁰

On the following day, Thursday May 22, the *tableaux vivants* that had been performed two days earlier, were, as Coster indicates, repeated at the request of Frederick Henry.³⁶¹ To this end a theater covered in blue cloth was erected at Dam Square, which had

³⁵⁹ E. McGrath, "Tact and Topical Reference in Rubens's 'Medici Cycle'," *Oxford Art Journal* 3 (1980): 11–18.

³⁶⁰ See chapter 4, pp. 180-194.

³⁶¹ Coster 1642, 33. The "*Vertoningen van Nassausche Huwelijcken*" were, additionally, performed at the *Schouwburg* for the general public on May 26 and 27, respectively yielding f: 287: 15 : -- and f. 205 : -- : 8. SAA 367A, inv. no. 426, fol. 63.

to be cleared from traffic by three companies of soldiers.³⁶² The purpose of the program's repetition, following Coster's account, was to clarify the content of the *vertoningen*, which the Stadtholder had not fully grasped two days earlier. They were explained to him by his protégé Johan van den Kerckhoven Polyander, Lord of Heenvliet (1594-1660), a man who had also played a significant role in Mary and William's marriage negotiations.³⁶³ Coster did not fail to mention how pleased Frederick Henry had been with the show, emphasizing that the actors as well as "those who oversaw the performances", most likely thus referring to himself, had completed the task in "unrivaled" fashion.³⁶⁴

The royal visitors left the city via the *Regulierspoort* on the next day, Friday May 23. A final farewell took place at *Overtoom*, where the cavalry that had accompanied the Queen on the day of entry, still under the command of Captain Tholinx, had been stationed to perform this function in name of burgomasters. Over the previous four days the English Queen had been provided with the same honors shown to her mother in 1638. Yet the emphasis of the program had, as stated, been on the achievements and standing of the Orange-Nassau dynasty – and as such the Stadtholder, rather than the Queen, had been the foremost recipient of its messages. In the *Beschrivinge*, this emphasis is obvious not only in Coster's textual description of the entry, which repeatedly foregrounds the actions and responses of Frederick Henry during the event, but also in the book's innovative images.

³⁶² Ibidem: "*de Heeren Burgemeesteren meerder om het gemak als om de aenzienlijkheyd hebben een groote stellagie, op het midde van den Dam, by de ring, in der haast doen op-slaen, en die sierlijke met blaaw laken doen bekleeden [...].*"

³⁶³ Coster 1642, 33-34: "*Zijn Hoogheyd die meest alle de tijd stond, lette wel gaw op 't gene vertoond wierd, en men koste merken dat hy van jemand onderrechtighe gekregen hadde, 'k gelove van den Heer van Heenvliet, wat alle deeze dingen te zeggen waren, die van hem des dings-daghs zonder kennisse, overziens, in 't voorby rijden, zo hene gezien waren geweest.*" On Heenvliet's role in the marriage negotiations, see: S. Broomhall and J. van Gent, *Gender, power and identity in the early modern House of Orange-Nassau* (London and New York, 2016) 149-150.

³⁶⁴ Idem, p. 34: "*Die 't bewind op de Tonneelen hadden, en die zelve haar tot uyt-voer van de vertoningen lieten gebruycken, hebben haer onverbetelijke hier inne gequeten [...].*"

From argument to image: the illustrations in the *Beschrivinge*

Although the two first *tableaux vivants* in the 1642 entry did not materialize during the entry, Coster evidently deemed their inventions important enough to be included in his description of the decoration program that day. His insistence to include them despite their absence in real life, therefore tells us something about the function of the festival book. As is the case for many such publications, the *Beschrivinge* did not function to document the exact circumstances of the event itself as much as it was meant to communicate the message the entire decoration program was meant to construct.³⁶⁵ The illustrations accompanying the text, in correlation to the description, played an important role in this process.

The *tableaux vivants*, both those performed and not performed, were reproduced in the form of large double-page etchings (figs. 58-63). Two paintings on panel that depict the two failed *tableaux vivants* intended to be shown in the Damrak waters have also been preserved (figs. 56-57) and most likely served as the designs for their corresponding prints (figs. 58-59).³⁶⁶ All prints of the *tableaux*, etched by Pieter Nolpe, were according to their inscriptions done after compositions of monogrammist “I.W.”, who may be identified as Jan Baptist Weenix.³⁶⁷ That a painter was responsible for translating the *tableaux vivants* into the more permanent medium of print recalls the designs provided by Moeyaert in 1638 for Nolpe’s etchings in the *Medicea Hospes*. But while Moeyaert suggested the theatrical setting

³⁶⁵ Compare Cholcman 2014.

³⁶⁶ One of them is currently in the collection of the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam (inv. no. SK-A-3473), and attributed to Pieter Symonsz. Potter (1597-1652) and the other was most recently with the dealer Otto Naumann, New York, and attributed to the elusive Jan Wilders.

³⁶⁷ See note 321.

of a stage by including the columns and curtains on the sides of the depicted scene (fig. 23, 25, 31-37), this was not the approach taken in 1642.

Prominently in the foreground of the first scene is Neptune on his chariot pulled by sea horses. Although the figure of Neptune is not mentioned by Coster, he was a recurring element of similar festivities within the city, including the entries of William I of Orange in 1580 and of Leicester in 1586 (chapter 1) as well as the entry of Maria de Medici in 1638. The description that was given of Neptune by Caspar Barlaeus on the latter occasion resembles the 1642 depiction of Neptune so closely, that one might wonder if the artist turned to Barlaeus here for inspiration, or if indeed the same equipment was used.³⁶⁸

Behind Neptune, Arion is seen riding the dolphin in front of the pirate ship from which Arion, according to the story, was forced to jump before being saved by the dolphin. The scene depicted is thus the moment within the story as described by Coster. But the artist has also attempted to convey in his illustration of the scene, that the myth of Arion was referring here to the specific context invoked by the author.³⁶⁹ In the depiction, the ship has been decorated with the coats of arms of Navarre, Granada, Aragon and Castile, and a flag with the cross of Burgundy, which underscores that the dishonest pirates in this version of the tale were none other than the Spanish naval forces. Although both Coster and Pieter

³⁶⁸ Barlaeus 1639: “*De Koningin quam door de eene, de Grimmenesse sluis genaemt, in de Amstel, en ziet, uit de andere, de Ossesluis geheeten, quam, onder het vaeren, na het schutten, Neptuin al bruiزندe haere Majesteit tegen, dat het water voor hem wegh stooft. Zijn wagen was een zeeschulp, gelijk dien Zeegod voeght. Hier waren zeepaerden voor gespannen, kunstigh gemaect, het achterlijf visch, de voeten geschubt, en stekende hoofd en rugh te water uit. Men zagh ‘er den Zeegod met zijnen ruigen en grijzen kop, langen baerd vol zeeschuim, en vreesselijcken drietand, met een gerimpelt en bars aenzicht, die naeckt met lange toomen zijn paerden mende.*” This repeated use of the Neptune theme, as well as the recurrence during festivities in Amsterdam of a whale or fish (here identified as a dolphin for narrative purposes) make it very likely that designs or structures were re-used for different occasions.

³⁶⁹ Coster 1642, 19: “*Hier mede uyt-beeldende, de onwaerdeerlijke, en nimmer voldoenelijke getrouwe dienste, die mijne Heere de Prinse van Orange, Welhem, Hoog-loffelijker gedachtenisse, de onnosele Hollanderen, (van den Konink van Hispangien, op het alder-bitterste, ten viere, ende ten zweerde vervolght wordede) in zijne wijze bewaringe, gelijk als de Dolfijn Arion genomen heeft [...].*”

Nolpe compare William of Orange with the dolphin in this narrative, it is Arion who has been given his likeness (fig. 56, details).³⁷⁰ Undoubtedly, the artist must have found himself confronted here with an obstacle in translating a rhetorically constructed allegory into a visual one.

Aside from these elements alluding to the mythological and topical qualities of the scene, the intended location of the tableau has been indicated by the backdrop showing a view of the Old Bridge (*Oude Brug*) towards the IJ River (fig. 56, details). This is roughly the vista north from the site where the *tableau vivant* was supposed to be staged. Given the long history of the use of the Damrak waters as a space for ritual entry and spectacle, contemporary Amsterdam audiences of the print would likely have recognized the significance of this urban context, and would have carried for a historical meaning for those familiar with the city's ceremonial traditions. Water pageants had been performed in these exact places since at least 1580, and, in a twist of almost poetic irony, the 1642 spectacles memorialized here, if performed, would have been the last ephemeral spectacles to have fulfilled this introductory purpose in the Damrak. Since the IJ and Damrak arrival route would no longer be utilized in future entries, this representation would be the last iteration of this particular festival tradition – drawn in this case from the artist's imagination and civic memory rather than observation of an actual performance, and therefore documenting a final act that existed only in print.

The *Arion and the Dolphin* image thus combines within it three different modes of representation. Firstly, a depiction of the mythological narrative of the scene; secondly, aspects of its extended, allegorical level of meaning referring to William of Orange and

³⁷⁰ Nolpe, "Toe-Eigeninge" Coster 1642 (unpag.): "Alzo ook deeze Landen, zijn gereddet door wijlen Prins Willem, als een rechte Dolphyn [...]."

Spain; and thirdly, actual topographical information on where the scene would have been staged if it would have been performed as a *tableau vivant* during the 1642 entry. As such, a tension exists within the image that suspends it between representation and documentation.

A similar odd mixture of mythological, allegorical and topographical elements can be found in the scene depicting Andromeda on the rock. The mythological component more or less follows the depiction of the subject in Dutch history painting of the time, including the moment that is depicted: Andromeda is represented in the nude and chained to the rock, while the horrific sea monster approaches and Perseus, riding Pegasus, is arriving to the rescue.³⁷¹ The allegorical layer presents itself when Perseus is identified here as Stadtholder Frederick Henry by the coat of arms on his shield, while the topographic element consists of a view to the south from the location of the intended stage, with the fish market and tower of the stock exchange in the background (fig. 57 details). This again was a notable festival location, as both the *Damssluis*, behind the fish market, and the entrance to the *Beursstraat*, were traditional locations for the erection of ephemeral arches along the entry processional route.

Weenix has combined in these two paintings nearly all the information that Coster has provided on the subject of the intended *tableaux vivants* in his *Beschrivinge*. The artist thus seemingly attempted to convey as extensively as possible the allegorical concept which is communicated by Coster in text, while also attempting to offer an indication of the physical location for which the spectacle was intended. This creates a somewhat anomalous image, where the fanciful seems grounded in surroundings which, although not the primary

³⁷¹ E. J. Sluijter, “Andromeda chained to the rock”, *Rembrandt and the female nude* (Amsterdam, 2006) 75-97, esp. 85.

subject of the scene, would have provided a familiar backdrop for a contemporary Amsterdam audience.

The *tableaux vivants* were staged in richly decorated ephemeral triumphal arches. The two paintings depicting *Arion and the dolphin* and *Andromeda on the rock saved by Perseus*, while indicating a topographical background view, do not provide traces of such a staged setting. But although it is unknown what type of stage was planned for these two *tableaux vivants*, the triumphal arch that was erected on Dam Square, where the Peleus and Thetis *tableau vivant* was performed, is described and depicted in the *Beschrivinge* (fig. 64). The print depicting the *tableau vivant* itself, as the ones that follow, is printed independently and separately from the Dam Square triumphal arch (fig. 60). Like the compositions of *Arion and the Dolphin* and *Andromeda and Perseus*, the artist has approached the composition of the *Marriage of Peleus and Thetis* in close relation to how the subject was depicted in history paintings of the period, rather than as a truthful depiction of a *tableau vivant*.

In contrast to the arches represented in the *Medicea Hospes*, the ephemeral edifices in the *Beschrivinge* appear isolated, as the prints are void of any reference to their situation in the urban context or the performance that would have taken place on its incorporated stage. Instead, the Dam theater and triumphal arches images seemingly take the form of architectural designs, which therefore could have been a source for the publication (figs. 64-67).³⁷² The scenes performed and their architectural setting, as a result, are entirely disconnected, even incongruent, in these representations. The pictorial isolation of the

³⁷² The isolated depiction of arches in a frontal perspective with the urban surroundings absent from the image was, in fact, the standard for most of the festival books produced since the early sixteenth century. W. McClung, "A Place for a Time: The Architecture of Festivals and Theatres," E. Blau and E. Kaufman (eds.) *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation* (Cambridge, 1989), 87-108, esp. 88-92; Thøfner 1999, 1, 7; Blocksom 2018, 18.

tableaux vivants when reproduced in print, a strategy discernable already in Nolpe's prints after Moeyaert in 1638 (figs 23, 25, 31-37), becomes especially noticeable in the 1642 *Beschrivinge*.

This approach could be modeled on the reproductions of paintings used to decorate triumphal arches in the Southern Netherlands, which at this time were individually shown in festival books as well. Notable examples of such festival books are the ones published by Johannes Meursius (1579-1639) in Antwerp to commemorate the entries of Ferdinand of Austria (1609-1641) into Ghent and Antwerp in 1635 (figs. 68-69).³⁷³ The two grisaille paintings, which evidently served as designs for Nolpe's prints, performed a similar role as the designs painted by Rubens for the decoration programs erected in Antwerp and Ghent in 1635 – but while those *modelli* formed the base for the compositions executed on a larger scale, the designs in Amsterdam only had an afterlife as reproductions in print, where they would represent yet another medium (that of performance).

By detaching the images of the performances from their theatrical setting, the *Beschrivinge* thus evoked the medium of painting, allowing for commemoration of the event to take place in a distinctly idealized manner. Despite visual markers that “anchored” the *Arion and the Dolphin* and *Andromeda on the Rock* scenes more firmly in the contemporary urban landscape of Amsterdam, most compositions situate the represented narratives in both mythological and historical imaginaries, which, in the context of Coster's argument, serve as definitive equalizers.

³⁷³ G. van der Beke, *Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Hispaniarvm infantis S. R. E. cardinalis trivmphalis introitus in Flandriæ metropolim Gandavvm / Avctore Gvilielmo Becano [...]* (Antwerp: Johannes Meursius, 1636); J. G. Gevaerts, *Pompa introitus Honori Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Avstriaci Hispaniarvm infantis [...]* (Antwerp: Johannes Meursius, 1641).

Through the use of timeless examples and selectively chosen historical examples, Coster has attempted to establish a tradition of sovereignty and luster in regards to the history of the Nassau family. Smartly interweaving this tradition with that of diplomatic and matrimonial union between the House of Orange Nassau and British royalty, he provided the setting in which the marriage between William II and Mary Stuart could be perceived as fitting. The images that were produced as representing these concepts and examples were approached as subjects in the visual tradition of history painting would be, rather than how *tableaux vivants* had previously been depicted. In this manner, the effect that was created by their depictions was that of mythological allegory, which obfuscated historical realities, and instead perpetuated notions of timeless and universal truth.

The entry of Henrietta Maria and the young royal couple in 1642 had marked an important moment for the Republic, and more specifically for the Orange Nassau family, which, through marriage now had become affiliated with the highest ranks of European royalty. The decoration program for the entry should be considered as an attempt to provide a legitimate tradition and status to which the Stadtholder and his family could refer on this occasion. Both mythological allegory and historical reference were utilized to evoke themes of lineage and longevity, in which timeless concepts and mythological virtues were connected and attributed to the family's efforts in the establishment and recent successes of the Dutch Republic.

The ceremonial entries of 1638 and 1642, when compared, demonstrate the fluidity of the way that sovereignty was determined through ceremonial and diplomatic contact with foreign powers during the second quarter of the seventeenth century. This was a period in which Dutch sovereignty was arguably divided – between Provincial States, States General, and Stadtholder – while Amsterdam grew increasingly aware of its own share in this process.

This resulted in a flexible approach to diplomacy, which favored different actors in different political contexts. That the commemoration of such events, too, was subject to a certain amount of flexibility in regards to the protagonists created by such historical records, becomes evident when looking closely at Coster's *Beschrivinge* in more detail.

Coster's *Beschrivinge* and the legacy of the chambers of rhetoric

As mentioned, the *Beschrivinge* modeled itself closely after Caspar Barlaeus' *Medicea Hospes* of 1638 in terms of both its format and appearance. The publisher of the book, Pieter Nolpe, probably perceived a commercial opportunity in a market already primed for the appearance of another luxury festival publication. Nolpe most likely envisioned his buyers to consist of the same middle to upper-class collectors that had acquired copies of Barlaeus' Dutch edition, the *Blijde Inkomste*. This receptive audience was also addressed by Samuel Coster in his text. Aside from the more traditional explanation of the decoration program designed for the 1642 festivities, the poet appealed to city elites as patrons by documenting and highlighting the cultural work of the Amsterdam rhetoricians during ceremonial entries and public festivities in past decades, starting with the entry of Leicester in 1586.

Coster, whose main profession was that of a medical doctor in the city's hospital (*Gasthuis*), had been an instrumental figure in Amsterdam literary circles since the 1610s. Most notably, he had been the co-founder of the experimental *Eerste Nederduytsche Academie* (1617-1622; see chapter 1). Given this long involvement with Amsterdam's cultural institutions, it seems fitting that Coster entrusted himself the task of writing the semi-official history of the city's Post-Revolt ceremonial entry tradition, from the perspective of a literary figure whose social status was, in no small part, built around the honorable and public occupation of festival organizer.

Without rehearsing the contents of Coster's accounts of these earlier entries, which are analyzed in greater detail in chapter one of this dissertation, it suffices to say that the provided history not only functions to give a brief overview of the city's most memorable events in this regard, but is also skewed to favor certain protagonists. Individuals who are specifically identified by name, for instance, are Hendrick Laurensz. Spiegel (1549-1612) and Pieter Cornelisz Hooft, in addition to several contributing artists as well as the burgomasters who had commissioned the decorations in the years concerned. Most importantly, however, the account foregrounds the contributions of the *Academie* during the entry of Maurice in 1618, which takes up no less than four out of nine pages of this part of the description.³⁷⁴ Coster's text therefore shows that in addition to the glorification of individual figures, the festival book publication could also be utilized as a medium to preserve and sustain memory cultures surrounding such social and literary organizations.

The subject of Amsterdam's entry tradition is introduced through the lens of classical history. Evoking Rome, Coster describes the extant triumphal arches erected in that city, including those of Titus (82 AD) and Septimius Severus (203 AD).³⁷⁵ In regards to the latter, he explains the Romans were motivated to honor their "Prince" ("*Vorste*") because of his just inclination to punish "evil ways", in particular the corrupt distribution of political and other honorable offices, which instead were awarded, Coster explains, to "virtuous men [...]"

³⁷⁴ Coster 1642, 10-13. For the entire section discussing past entries, see 5-13.

³⁷⁵ Coster 1642, 2-4.

based on merit.”³⁷⁶ Bitterly he then proclaims in verse: “Septimius should not live in these times. Now he who can offer the most money receives honor and office.”³⁷⁷

This complaint could reveal a further motivation for the text’s creation, as Coster appears to find aspects of such virtuous leadership to be lacking in his own time. His commentary may also be more specifically understood in the context of the city’s environment for cultural network formation, which was subject to change following the opening of the *Schouwburg*. The regents of this new theater were appointed by the city government rather than elected from within a membership body, as had been the case for the heads and deacons of the chambers of rhetoric.³⁷⁸ This created a semi-official class of cultural leadership, and necessarily ended the organizational structures of the chambers of rhetoric that had remained active until the opening of the *Schouwburg* in 1637.³⁷⁹ The specific grievance regarding those “who can offer the most money” is not easily explained. Given the function of the continued function of the theater to produce revenue for the city orphanage (*Burgerweeshuis*) and home for the elderly (*Oudemannenhuys*), this could allude to the preferred ability of playwrights to create shows that attracted paying crowds rather

³⁷⁶ Idem, 4: “[...] zulk een hoogh-achinghe hebben de Romeynen, de alwaerdige deught gehad, dat zy [...] dien Vorste deeze eere aendede om zijner deughde wille, waer inne hy zoo uytmuntende was, dat hy alle quade gangen bestrafte, zonderlinge het drijven van koopmanschap met ampten van eere en staat, maar wilde dat men die tot beloninge der vromer mannen mildelijke na verdienste zoude begeven.”

³⁷⁷ Ibidem: “Septimius en diend in deez’ tijd’ niet te leven. Nu krijght hy eer en ampt die ’t meeste geld kan geven.”

³⁷⁸ T. van Domselaer, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, haar eerste oorspronk uyt den huyze der heeren van Aemstel en Aemstellant* [...] (Amsterdam: Marcus Willemsz. Doornick, 1665), book IV, 203-205. See also: J. A. Worp, *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen schouwburg 1496-1772*, ed. J. F. M. Sterck, (Amsterdam, 1920) 91-22.

³⁷⁹ The building of the *Schouwburg*, designed by Jacob van Campen (1596-1657), was erected in the same location as the *Academie*. When the old *Academie* building was sold to the city orphanage by Coster in 1622, it was used by the Brabantine chamber until 1632. Following the fusion of the two Amsterdam chambers that year, it was exploited by this new joint institution. See Smits-Veldt 1984; W. M. H. van Hummelen, “1637. Jacob van Campen bouwt de Amsterdamse Schouwburg. Inrichting en gebruik van het toneel bij de rederijkers en in de Schouwburg,” R. L. Erenstein (ed.), *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden* (Amsterdam, 1996) 192-203.

than ones that could be considered edifying. The latter had been the stated primary goal of the *Academie*.

Coster importantly describes the triumphal arch and entry tradition as stemming from a desire on behalf of the people of Rome to pay tribute to its most accomplished princes and generals. The connection that is established between the conduct and reputation of eminent leaders and entry festivities, as such, allows the history described in the pages that follow to be framed as a story of popular opinion, effectively mediated by the inventions of those who were in charge of devising, if not performing, the public programs that are described. Both the entries of Maurice (1594 and 1618) are introduced as celebrations of the Stadtholder's victories and policies, and the entry of Henrietta Maria in 1642 – the actual main topic of the *Beschrivinge* – is similarly presented as an opportunity to fête Frederick Henry.³⁸⁰

This triangular relationship between rhetoricians, the general public, and government was also reflected on by Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft, who had himself played an important role in the invention and organization of public celebrations. In an often-cited passage from the first installment of his *Neederlandsche Histoorien* (1642), published in the same year as the *Beschrivinge*, he characterizes the chambers' function as follows:

An old practice in most Dutch cities, and many towns, was that of poetry (rymkonst); to this end the most accomplished and liveliest minds convened meetings, in spaces made available to them by the magistrates, called Chambers of Rhetoric. These were not only accustomed to publish poems, which were passed hand to hand, but also to perform entire plays in public, in which they, either by way of farce, or in a serious manner, demonstrated what is one's duty. An edifying form of entertainment, and song, which, as long as the government beats the drum, does no small service to tame the passions of the crowds. Because, when the Rhetoricians are no longer present, only two ways are left to lead the people by the ears, which are [those] of the pulpit and the stage; therefore the Magistrate has no tool more

³⁸⁰ Coster 1642, 14: “Noyt heeft deeze oorlooghs-man zich zelve de tijd willen gunnen, om zich, over alle deeze groote menigte van Victorien, de stede van Holland eens te vertonen, voor en alear het gewenschte Houlijk van zijne zoone Prins Willem, met Maria de Dochter van Karel de eerste van die name, Konink van Groot Britangie [...]”

*powerful, than this, in order to inspire in the public a peaceful submissiveness, and to preserve its esteem from the authority of the clergy [...]. And no one imagines that by dispersing writings or printed booklets one can compete with the sharpness of a polished tongue, which can instruct in an hour just as great and varied a number of people, and is able to instill in them the passion of the orator.*³⁸¹

The role of the rhetoricians in public events, as evidenced by these two contemporary accounts, could thus be considered to be twofold. Firstly, they facilitated the exercise of a form of collective free speech, which was ideally utilized to honor and praise military and political leadership that enjoyed popular approval. Secondly, they functioned to uphold the authority of rulers in the service of government by reminding citizens of their responsibilities as members of the body politic.³⁸² Hooft situates his discussion of the rhetoricians particularly in the context of the Reformation and early Revolt years, and as an oppositional force to influential members of the clergy.³⁸³ Coster, however, focuses his discussion on the chambers' involvement in public ceremonies in the post-Revolt era, covering the period both before and after the establishment of the *Academie*. The role of the rhetoricians, especially in

³⁸¹ P. C. Hooft, *Neederlandsche hystoorien, sedert de ooverdraght der heerschappye van kaizar Karel den Vyfden, op kooning Philips zynen zoon* (Amsterdam: Louys Elzevier, 1642) 37-38: “Een ouwe oeffening in meest alle Nederlandsche steeden, en veele dorpen was die van de rymkonst; waar toe de aardighste en blygeestighste vernuften hunne vergaaderinge hielden, op plaatsen hun by de wethouders verschaft, die Rethorykkamers genoemt werden. Deeze waaren gewoon niet alleen verscheide gedichten uit te geeven, en van handt tot handt te laten loopen, maar zelfs in oopenbaare heele persoonaadje speelen te vertoonen, waar in zy, nu boertwys, dan met ernst yeder 't geen zynen plicht betref te gemoet voerden. Een stichtelyke vermaakelykheit, en soorte van zang, die, mits d'overigheyt de maat slaa, van geen en geringen dienst is, om de gemoeden der meenighe te mennen. Want, zijnde de Redenaars uit de weereldt, en t'onzen tyden maar twee manieren oover, om 't volk by de ooren te leiden, naamelyk van preekstoel en tonneel; zoo heeft de Majestraat geen maghtigher middel, dan dit, om 't graauw een rusthoudende onderdaanigheit in te scherpen, en haare achtbaarheid te handhaaven, teeghens 't gezagh der geestelyken [...]. Ende niemandt waane met strooyen van schriften oft gedrukte boexkens op te mooghen teeghens de scharpheit van een gladde tong, die een groot getal teffens van allerley menschen, op een' uure beleezen kan, en hun de hartstoghten des woordtvoerders wel anders weet in te boezemen.”

³⁸² See also M. A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, “Bestudering en waardering van de rederijkers in de zeventiende en het begin van de achttiende eeuw,” *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 65 (1972): 460-470.

³⁸³ See also Bloemendal and Dixhoorn 2011, 1-3; Snoep 1975, 38. The clergy of the Amsterdam church council were, in fact, frequent and vocal critics of the theater, both during the eras of the Academy and the *Schouwburg*, leading to the cancelation of Coster's *Iphigenia* (1621) and the first iteration of Joost van den Vondel's *Gysbrecht van Aemstel* (1637): Smits-Veldt 1984, 62-63; Worp 1920, 80-81.

regards to their appeals to the Stadtholder, as such are placed in a ceremonial but popular tradition of state-making that Coster traces back to classical antiquity.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, these contributions – and foremost those of the *Academie* – are commemorated here at the very moment that these organizations had disintegrated, but while Coster had still enough prominence in the city’s cultural networks to assume a leadership role in the 1642 reception of Henrietta Maria. That a new generation looked on with a certain amount of disdain, and certainly a more radical approach to such events’ political function, can be gleaned from a satirical poem penned by poet and future *Schouwburg* regent Jan Vos (1612-1667), seemingly in direct response to Coster’s inventions for the 1642 entry:

Change your stage/theater, the Queen is fed up:
Or show her mister Pym in chains on a wheel.
With such a play you will quench her thirst for revenge, upon sight,
The flesh of scoundrels is a suitable bait for crows and ravens.³⁸⁴

Referencing the political opponent of Charles I, John Pym (1584-1643), Vos, presumably in jest, suggests an alternative display that would be both horrific, and, simultaneously, terribly affective. Perhaps indicative of the widening divide in approaches – Coster’s humanistic ideals regarding the playful but edifying nature of rhetoricians on the one hand, and Vos’ understanding of the dramatic appeal of visual spectacle on the other – this *puntdicht* foreshadows the changing direction of Amsterdam’s public spectacles. As discussed in the next chapter, these innovations would in fact be headed by Jan Vos, whose penchant for shock and awe earned him both praise and critics.

³⁸⁴ The poem, entitled “When Henriette, Queen of England was honored with tableaux vivants in Amsterdam”, can be found in: J. Vos, *Alle de gedichten van den Poët Jan Vos* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaijle, 1662) 403: “*Toen Henriette, Koningin van Engelandt, Amsterdam met Vertooningen vereert wierdt. Verander uw tooneel, de Koningin is 't zat: Of oon haar meester Pijm gekeetent op een radt. Door zulk een spel zult gy haar wraak, door d'oogen, laave', Het vlees der schelmen past tot aas van krey en raave.*” I am grateful to Tatjana van Run for alerting me to this poem.

IV. Requiem or Resurrection? Orange and Stuart in Amsterdam (1659, 1660)

During the summers of 1659 and 1660, Amsterdam's streets and central spaces formed the scene of parades, fireworks and public ceremonies designed to splendidly receive members of the Orange-Nassau and Stuart families. In both years, *tableaux vivants* staged on horse-drawn chariots called *Staatcywagens* passed through the Dam Square in front of the newly inaugurated town hall (1655). Among the historical figures and allegorical themes the royal visitors and the public encountered in these parades, were personifications of the late Stadtholders William I (1533-1584), Maurice (1567-1625), Frederick Henry (1584-1647) and William II (1626-1650), as well as the young Prince William III of Orange (1650-1702) (fig. 1). Other *Staatcywagens* represented the Republic and its provinces, allegorical themes such as Concord and Gratitude, while in 1660 additional floats were devoted to the House of Stuart. Given the occasions, these Orangistic displays would not be surprising, had Amsterdam's burgomasters not been among the main proponents of indefinitely vacating the Stadtholder's office after the premature death of Stadtholder William II in 1650.

The First Stadtholderless Era (1650-1672) signified a period of unprecedented autonomy and prosperity for Holland's urban elites, and especially its most powerful city. An attempted siege of Amsterdam by William II in 1650, shortly before his death, had formed a significant turning point in the Republic's constitution.³⁸⁵ William's young son William III, as determined by the 1654 *Act of Seclusion*, would not be appointed Stadtholder or Captain-General in the foreseeable future. The public recognition awarded to the

³⁸⁵ William II's tenure as a Stadtholder had proven that the interests of Stadtholder and provinces could collide heavily. In 1650 William II besieged Amsterdam when a dispute about the size of ground troops erupted. This conflict in fact emerged out of a bigger disagreement about continuation of the war with Spain. For the genesis of the Stadtholderless period see Groenveld 1991, 39-43; Price 1994, 163-166; Israel 1995, 700-713; W. Troost, *Willem III, the Stadtholder-King: a political biography* (Aldershot and Burlington, 2005) 1-19.

Stadtholders during these two ceremonial receptions, and in particular the gratitude that was expressed for their role in the establishment and prosperity of the Republic, thus might have struck a strange chord at a time when this office had, in reality, remained vacant for nearly a decade. The first question that follows from these festive receptions, therefore, addresses their diplomatic motivations and functioning, and the manner in which political incentives were translated into ceremonial and visual language.

In 1659, the spectacles accompanied a formal four-day visit to Amsterdam by former Stadtholder Frederick Henry's widow Amalia of Solms (1602-1675), as well as her daughters the Electress of Brandenburg Luise Henriette (1627-1667), Princess of Nassau-Dietz Albertine Agnes (1634-1696), Princess of Anhalt Henriette Catherine (1637-1708) and their younger sister Maria (1642-1688). The family had been invited to the city during their stay in The Hague following the wedding of Henriette Catherine to John George II of Anhalt (1627-1693) that had taken place in Groningen shortly before in June.³⁸⁶ Between August 27 and 31, the company was treated to a formal reception into the city, various feasts, tours of several of the city's civic and church buildings, and a private show of *tableaux vivants* in the Municipal Theater (*Schouwburg*) on August 28.³⁸⁷ The festivities were continued the next

³⁸⁶ Amsterdam Burgomaster Johan Huydecoper van Maarsseveen (1599-1661) was sent to Rijswijk, The Hague to invite the family to visit Amsterdam. On the days leading up to the invitation see: *Hollantsche Mercurius*, vol. 10 (Haarlem: Pieter Casteleyn, 1660) 107-108; Aitzema 1669, 471; J. Wagenaar, *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, scholen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe [...]*, vol. 2, Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1760, p. 599. See also Snoep 1975, 83-86.

³⁸⁷ The *Schouwburg* account books for August show that the closed viewing of *tableaux vivants* in the theater took place on August 28 and that the parade took place on August 29. Public shows, now paired with humorous skits or *kluchten*, were performed for the general public a few days later on Sept 2, 3 and 4. SAA 367A, inv. no. 425, fol. 312; SAA 367A, inv. no. 428, fol. 32.

days, with the aforementioned public parade on August 29, as well as a spectacular firework display in the evening of August 30.³⁸⁸

Royal Princess Mary Stuart (1631-1660), widow of Amalia's son, the deceased Stadtholder William II, and their son, the young William III, had both been conspicuously absent during this visit of Amalia and her daughters in 1659, despite having been invited.³⁸⁹ Mary and her son, however, were welcomed at their own reception in Amsterdam on June 15th, 1660, shortly after Mary's brother Charles II had been restored and proclaimed King by the English Parliament. In addition to an extended version of the parade of the previous year, which took place on June 17, the Queen and Prince received tours of the city and viewed Schouwburg theater performances on June 18.³⁹⁰ William and Mary attended separate Sunday services in the New Church (*Nieuwe Kerk*) on June 20, before departing from the city on the 21st.³⁹¹ As I observe below, both entries and their accompanying ceremonial and festivities reveal a strong emphasis on newly built structures. This effort to present the city as politically and economically powerful, as well as unquestionably modern, constituted an

³⁸⁸ The chronology of the events is misrepresented by Dapper, who claims the entry took place on August 29, and the parade "a day or two later": Dapper 1663, 253. This information is repeated in Wagenaar 1760, II, 599. According to the *Hollantsche Mercurius* the fireworks took place on August 29, and the visitors' departure on August 30. We know from Johan Huydecoper's journal of 1659, however, that the fireworks took place on August 30 and the departure likely took place on September 1: Utrechts Archief (hereafter UA) 67: Inventaris van het archief van de familie Huydecoper 1459-1956, inv. no. 55. See also Snoep 1975, 83, 171, note 162.

³⁸⁹ According to Aitzema the issue had been a conflict of protocol regarding the respective ranks of Luise Henriette in her capacity as the Electress of Brandenburg and Mary as Royal Princess of England (though technically the visit took place before the restoration of the House of Stuart), which seems to have caused the two women to not want to attend the same events: Aitzema 1669, IV, 471.

³⁹⁰ J. Vos, *Beschryving der vertooningen, die voor, in, en na 't Spel van de belegering en 't ontzet van Leiden, t'Amsterdam, in de Schouwburg vertoont zijn*, (Amsterdam: J. Lescaille, 1660. See the *Schouwburg* account books for the parade on June 17 and theater performances on June 18: SAA 367A, inv. no. 425, fol. 324, 326.

³⁹¹ UBA Hs. 114 "Journaal van de Reijzen naar Amst& op het inhalen van haar Hoogheden aldaar," n.d. [1660]. More on this document below, pp. 179, 182-183.

approach to the festival format that deviated greatly from the existing models of ceremonial receptions that had been organized by the city until then.

The parades and theater *tableaux vivants*, as well as the poems accompanying them, were invented in both years by *Schouwburg* director Jan Vos (1612-1667), by then a well-established figure in Amsterdam's cultural and political networks.³⁹² Other poets such as Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) and Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687) penned verses about the festivities in 1659, while painters Govert Flinck (1615-1660) and possibly Ferdinand Bol (1616-1680) were involved in the execution of painted decorations.³⁹³ At the time of the festivities Vos was especially well-known for his spectacular theater plays and elaborate *tableaux vivants*.³⁹⁴ Yet the displays he had already devised for the city on several ceremonial occasions since 1648 had served evident political purposes in addition to

³⁹² N. Geerdink, *Dichters en verdiensten: de sociale verankering van het dichterschap van Jan Vos (1610-1667)* (Hilversum, 2012), esp. the chapters "Tussen dichters en regenten", 31-46 and "De stadsdichter", 47-77.

³⁹³ In 1659 several payments to artists and poets have been preserved in the resolutions of the Ordinary Treasury (*Thesaurieren Ordinaris*). Jan Vos received 150 guilders, "N. Bol" 200 guilders, Joost van de Vondel 100 guilders and anonymous assistants of Govert Flinck 75 guilders, "for their service during the displays and hosting of the Electress of Brandenburg". SAA 5039, inv. no. 2, *Thesaurieren Ordinaris Resoluties* 1657-1664, fol. 42v: "[in margin: *Vereeringhen aen eenighe personen ten tijde vant onthalen van Ceurf. van Brandenburgh*] *De heeren Burgermrs hebben toegeleght aen Jan Vos 150:-- / aen N. Bol 200:-- / Aen J. Van Vondelen 100:-- / Aende Kneghts van Flincq 75:-- / Van haer resp. dienst ten tijde van vertoninghe & defrojement de Ceurfurstinne van Brandenburgh aengedaen – den 3 december.*" Govert Flinck was also commissioned with the execution of twelve paintings in the town hall, four preliminary versions of which were completed for the 1659 reception, see below pp. 187-189. Constantijn Huygens wrote a "Royal Expression of Gratitude to the noble gentlemen burgomasters of the city Amsterdam", which applauded their decision to receive the Oranges with a ceremonial entry. C. Huygens, *Vorstelicke Dancksegging aende edele heeren burgemeesteren der stadt Amsterdam* (1659) in: C. Huygens, *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*, ed. J.A. Worp, vol. 6: 1656-1661 (Groningen, 1896) 265.

The costs incurred during the festivities in 1660 were not itemized. The total amount of 43,643 guilders and 17 stuivers can be found in the account books of the *Thesaurieren Ordinaris*: SAA 5039, inv. no. 152, *Thesaurieren Ordinaris Rapiamus* 1660, fol. 160r: "*Aen diversche personen drie enveertighduisent seshondert drieenveertigh gld seventien stuivers over onkosten van het defrojement bij dese stadt aen Mevrouw de Princesse Royale & zijn hoocht denheere Prince van Orange gedaen vanden 15e tot den 24 junij laetsleden liijdt declar. ord. den 2 novemb --- 43643-17.*"

³⁹⁴ Geerdink 2012. See also: W. Hogendoorn, "Sieraden van het toneel. Iets over vertoningen in de Amsterdamse schouwburgen van 1637 en 1665," *Scenarium* 2 (1978): 70-82; S. A. C. Dudok van Heel, "Jan Vos (1610-1667)," *Amstelodamum Jaarboek* 72 (1980): 23-43; M. B. Smits-Veldt, "Vertoningen in opvoeringen van Vondels tragedies, 1638-1720: van emblema tot 'sieraad'," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 11 (1995): 210-222.

entertainment value.³⁹⁵ His talents for mixing excitement and diplomacy were undoubtedly the reason for his involvement in the events of 1659 and 1660 as well.

In resurrecting the former Stadtholders, most of whom had been the subject of triumphal entries into the city in the past, the parades of *Staatcywagens* became entangled in a national debate centering on an ideological rupture between those who envisioned a future of autonomous provinces ruled by a Republican elite of merchants, and those who wished to reserve a prominent political and military role for the House of Orange.³⁹⁶ By 1659, support for young William III to be prepared for a future role as Captain-General and Stadtholder was on the rise amid the impending Stuart restoration in England, rendering the viability of a return to a mixed constitution a hotly debated topic. While thus most concerned with the Republic's political future, the debate was accompanied by a close scrutiny of its immediate national past, and who or what should be credited for the state's prosperity and growth in recent decades. This meant that any public acknowledgement of the Oranges' former military power during these crucial years could not function as an undisputed glorification of national history.

As elaborated below, the themes and rhetoric employed in the decoration programs of 1659 and 1660 marshaled tropes and symbols that had proliferated in Orangistic prints and pamphlets following the death of William II and the Act of Seclusion that had followed

³⁹⁵ G. Schwarz, "Apelles, Apollo and The Third Man. Schilderkunst, letterkunde en politiek rond 1650," *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 11 (1995): 122-129; M. B. Smits-Veldt, "De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam: de dichters Geeraardt Brandt en Jan Vos bevestigen hun maatschappelijke positie," *De Zeventiende eeuw* 13 (1997): 193-200.

³⁹⁶ Israel 1995, 748-766; Troost 2005, 8-10; J. Stern, *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650-75* (Manchester, 2010) 1-29. For a good summary of the scholarly debate regarding the structures of Orangist and States party and/or faction, see also: S. Groenveld, *Regeren in de Republiek. Bestuurspraktijken in de 17e-eeuwse Noordelijke Nederlands: terugblik en perspectief / Rede uitgesproken door Prof.dr. S. Groenveld [...] 19 mei 2006* (Leiden, 2006). For the political and popular sentiments during 1659/1660 in particular, see: I. Broekman and H. Helmers, "Het hart des offraers' – The Dutch Gift as an act of self-representation," *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* 31 (2007): 223-252; also H. Helmers, *The Royalist Republic. Literature, politics, and religion in the Anglo-Dutch public sphere* (Cambridge, 2015).

in 1654. As such, the spectacles espoused a visual language that recent scholarship has described as inherently ambiguous: eschewing the topic of hereditary succession, but stressing the need to reward the services of the House of Orange and emphasizing themes of resurrection and regeneration.³⁹⁷ While the city made no effort to commemorate either event in the form of a commissioned festival book, printed materials describing, depicting and commenting on them abounded in the broad free market and public sphere that characterized Amsterdam's print culture in the 1650s and 1660s. Aside from the aforementioned questions regarding motive, political purpose and functioning of the receptions, this furthermore raises the question of how the sensitive content of the events was represented in text and image, and what this may tell us about the domestic response to the event and its festival program.

In answering these questions, this chapter examines both the political positions communicated via the public ceremonies, commissioned decorations and performances, and the reverberation of their messages beyond the royal audiences for which they were designed. Finally, the role enacted by the Orange Princesses and Princesses Dowager in this form of public diplomacy is analyzed for its efficacy in supporting continuing claims and popular support for the Orangist cause during this critical period. While their political power within the Republic had been diminished, the children of Fredrick Henry and Amalia had, through their marriages, expanded the family's prominence and power in neighboring countries. The inevitable diplomatic significance of the Oranges, I argue, directly resulted in the burgomasters' efforts to maintain and strengthen political ties between the city and the family, testifying to the efficacy of this dynastic strategy.³⁹⁸ Decorum associated with ceremonial receptions required that the family and its important legacy for the Republic be

³⁹⁷ Stern 2010, 6.

celebrated during such occasions which, as I suggest below, assisted the Orange-Nassau Princesses and Princesses Dowagers in their claims for continued and renewed political relevance on the domestic stage.

1659 and 1660: invitations and motivations

Scholarship has offered various explanations for the seemingly contradictory political maneuvering of the city during the summers of 1659 and 1660. The two events have predominantly been interpreted as reconciliatory gestures towards the Orange-Nassau family in the context of the (impending) restoration of the Stuart monarchy in England in 1660 and the discussion regarding the education and political future of William III.³⁹⁹ As the child of Mary Stuart, and thus nephew to the English King Charles II, both issues were inextricably connected.⁴⁰⁰ In the years leading up to the two entries, the diplomatic ties between Amsterdam and the Oranges had been reaffirmed on several occasions.

One of these instances was the presence of powerful Amsterdam burgomaster Johan Huydecoper at the baptism of Charles, the second son of Luise Henriette of Orange-Nassau and Frederick William Elector of Brandenburg in 1655. Huydecoper attended the ceremony as the official representative of the city, which had been offered and had accepted guardianship over the young grandson of Frederick Henry and Amalia as godchild of

³⁹⁸ Broomhall and Van Gent 2016A; S. Broomhall and J. van Gent, *Dynastic Colonialism: Gender, materiality and the early modern house of Orange-Nassau* (London, 2016).

³⁹⁹ Snoep 1975, p. 86; H. Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse opstand. Studies over de relatie tussen politiek en toneel in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw* (Hilversum, 1990) 110-114; W. van de Velde, "Amsterdams opportunisme", A. de Wildt et al., *Amsterdam en de Oranjes*, exh. Cat (Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 2008).

⁴⁰⁰ For the Stuart Restoration and the discussion regarding William III's education and upbringing, see Geyl 1969, 135-141; Israel 1995, 751-752 and L. Panhuysen, *De Ware Vrijheid. De levens van Johan en Cornelis de Witt* (Amsterdam, 2005) 284-289. For the diplomatic role of the House of Orange in the Dutch Republic's international relations, see Israel 1999, esp. 122.

Amsterdam.⁴⁰¹ Another event of significance was a formal reception of Amalia van Solms by the city during the same year.⁴⁰² According to Aitzema this occasion included a “royal” dinner at the newly inaugurated town hall that was meant to dispel any “jealousies” that may have lingered following the clash with William II in 1650, as well as to further oblige her son-in-law the Elector of Brandenburg to secure his support for the Dutch-Danish coalition against Sweden.⁴⁰³ Both instances suggest that the diplomatic relations between Amsterdam and the Stadtholder’s family in this period had continued relevance for the city’s foreign affairs, despite the obvious complications of the recent past.

In fact, the resolutions of the *vroedschap* or city council, a source thus far neglected by scholarship on the events, form a further indication that the motivating factors behind the invitations of the Oranges in 1659 and Mary and William in 1660 cannot be explained equally, nor exclusively, by a consideration of the restoration of the Stuart monarchy in England. Both in 1659 and 1660 the city’s burgomasters decided to bring the matter of a formal reception of the Orange family up for discussion in their meeting with this advisory board. A resolution dated August 12th 1659 is particularly insightful in the city’s decision making process during that year.⁴⁰⁴ The resolution notes state that burgomaster Johan Huydecoper had been informed through credible sources in The Hague that Luise Henriette,

⁴⁰¹ J. E. Elias, *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (Amsterdam, 1963), 384.

⁴⁰² She entered the city on October 21, and was received at the town hall on October 23, 1655. See: Aitzema 1669, vol. 3, 2005-2006; See also Wagenaar 1760, vol. 2, 592-3; Albert ten Brinck, inn-keeper of Amsterdam’s *Oudezijds Herenlogement* was reimbursed to the amount of 9002 guilders, 15 stuivers and 12 cents for his expenses hosting Amalia (“*over het defroijeren van hare Hoocheyt d’Vrouwe Princesse Douagiere van Orangie*”): SAA 5039 *Thesaurieren Ordinaris*, inv. no. 147, Rapiamus 1655, fol. 159r.

⁴⁰³ Aitzema 1669, vol. 3, 1206: “[...] *ende ‘smiddaeghs Koninghlijck getracteert / aen hare Tafel vonden haer de Burgemeesteren Pol, als President/ Huydekoper, Spiegel ende Tulp, oock sijn Soon Schepen Tulp, ende Secretaris Backer. De Heeren van Amsterdam hebben daer mede willen toonen een continuatie van haer genegentheyt/ diese hadden begost door de besendinge van den Heer van Marseveen; oock om metter tijdt te verdrijven de nevel van jalousie ende argwaen ontstaenden door het gepasseerde van ’t jaer vyftigh, voort om Brandenborgh te meer t’obligeren tegen Sweden.*”

⁴⁰⁴ SAA 5025, inv. no. 22: *Vroedschapsresoluties* 1658 February 13 – 1660 February 13, fol. 138r-v.

her sister Henriette Catherine and her new husband the Prince of Anhalt were “not disinclined to [...] come see” Amsterdam, with the knowledge and approval of the city’s government.⁴⁰⁵ The phrasing “to come see” the city, as elaborated in chapter three, indicated this event, too, was conceived of as a ceremonial viewing of the city in addition, and as a compliment to, a formal reception.

The considerations for following through on the invitation were, according to this document, threefold. First and foremost the resolution names Luise Henriette’s husband, the Elector of Brandenburg, an important ally to the city, considering primarily his rule over lands bordering on Dutch territories, with prominent harbors in the Baltic that were frequented specifically by Dutch citizens.⁴⁰⁶ Secondly, the council recalls the invitation to the Elector’s son’s baptism in 1655, and the “equally honorable” reception of burgomaster Johan Huydecoper, among high-ranking ambassadors, during that occasion.⁴⁰⁷ As a final consideration, it is noted that the children of the Princes of Orange had in the past always been “properly acknowledged and received” during their visits to the city.⁴⁰⁸

The reasoning as it is presented in this resolution thus sheds a surprising new light on the diplomatic priorities of the city during this first reception in 1659. It confirms that the ability to forge strong foreign relations through a formal reception of the Orange Nassau

⁴⁰⁵ SAA 5025, inv. no. 22, fol. 138r. “[...] aenden Hr. Burgerm.r Joan Huijdecoper Heere van Maerseveen & Laestelijck op de dagvaert zijnde van goeder handt was bekent gemaect dat Mevrouw Louise van Orangie, Cheurfurstinne van Brandenburg, mitsgaders den Heere Prins van Anhalt, onlangs getrouwt met de Princesse Henriette van Orangie, alle tegenwoordig zijnde in Gravenhage, niet ongenegen waren om de Stadt Amsterdam, met kennisse & agreement vande regering van dien te becomen besien.”

⁴⁰⁶ Ibidem, “[...] geconsidereert zijnde dat den Heer Cheurfurst is een aanzienlijck Geallieerde van dezen stadt welcke met zijne Landen verscheijdene van onze frontieren deekt, & welckers notabele Zee Havens op d’Oost zich oock meest door d’Ingezetenen van dese staat worden bevaren.”

⁴⁰⁷ Ibidem, “Dat oock sijne Cheurfurste Doorl.t. deze stadt heeft gelieven te nodigen tot Peter over den Jongen Cheur-prins & op desselffs doop den H.re van Maarseveen daertoe van desen Raadt expresselijck zijnde gedeputeert met esgale ere nevens d’Aenzienlijckste Gezanten aldaer aenwezende, te onthalen.”

⁴⁰⁸ Idem, fol. 138r-v “Ende particuliere oock datmen de kinderen van de Princen van Orangie, zoo wanneer dezelve binnen dese stadt gecommen zijn, altoos behoorlijck heeft gekent & ingehaelt.”

family was very important to the city. In this regard it was the relationship with Brandenburg and the important trade routes in the Baltic (which were threatened by the conflict with Sweden) rather than the Stuarts' restoration in England that came first in the council's assessment. The fact that the council spoke interchangeably about the Elector as an ally to the city, and powerful neighbor to the entire state, furthermore shows that the city continued to function as a representative body for the Republic during such occasions. In this light, the value attributed to Huydecoper's "equally honorable" reception in 1655, is notable as well – showing the importance assigned to the city's recognition by a foreign power. With the absence of a princely Stadtholder to play such a role, the city apparently was arguably more likely to cultivate diplomatic relations on its own terms.

The sensitivity to precedents, also observed in the 1642 entry of Henriette Maria (chapter three), remains prominent as evidenced by the final consideration regarding past receptions of children of the Prince of Orange in the city. This point, likely referring to the ceremonial receptions of Maurice (1594 and 1618), Frederick Henry (1627; 1642) and William II (1642), shows that the burgomasters and council observed diplomatic continuity in their treatment of the Orange-Nassau family despite the inevitable changes that had taken place as a result of the discontinuation of the Stadtholderate after 1650.

The invitation of Mary Stuart in 1660, however, seems to have unfolded differently from events the year before. After a decade of exile in the Southern Netherlands and France, Charles II arrived in Breda on April 14 and was formally received in The Hague on May 25th.⁴⁰⁹ A resolution dating May 21, 1660, states that when the delegates of the States of

⁴⁰⁹ A. de Wicquefoort, *Verhael in forme van journael, van de reys ende 't vertoeven van den seer doorluchtige ende machtige prins Carel de II, koning van Groot Britannien, &c, welke hy in Hollandt gedaen heeft, zedert den 25 Mey, tot den 2 Junij 1660* (The Hague: Adrian Vlack, 1660). The decision to invite Charles was made by the States General on May 13, pp. 8-9.

Holland had been invited to attend this ceremonial reception, the Amsterdam delegates proposed an additional reception in their city of Charles II, his brother the Duke of York, his sister Mary Stuart and his nine-year old son William III. They stated they had become aware that such a visit was in agreement with the wishes of Charles.⁴¹⁰ In preparation for the King's visit, Jan Vos designed a program consisting of four *tableaux vivants*, which were to be staged on triumphal arches.⁴¹¹ An anonymous pamphlet reports these ephemeral structures ("*Triumphstellagien of vierkante bogen*") had even been erected, and that the King had had ample time to make the trip from nearby The Hague.⁴¹² The far-advanced plans on behalf of the city are also mentioned by Joan Huydecoper Jr. (1625-1704), writing in a letter dated May 27 of that year (1660) that "we are expecting him here, and to this end great preparations have been made, various triumphal arches, [and] he will be lodged in the town hall."⁴¹³

The English monarch, however, ended up leaving the Republic on June 2nd without paying the anticipated visit to Amsterdam; a course of events that he blamed afterwards on

⁴¹⁰ SAA 2025 inv. no. 23: *Vroedschapsresoluties* 1660 February 18-1663 April 6, fol. 25r. "[...] *in deliberatie geleijt zijnde, nademaal Zijne Hoogstgedachte Majesteijt (volgens het bericht, den Heeren Burgermeesteren van ter zijde toegecomen) genegentheijt betoont heeft om deze Stadt te besoecken: Off met dezelve Zijne Majesteijt daartoe behoord genodight en versocht te werden, als oock de Hertogh van Jorck, ende andere Vorstelijcke en voorname Personagien, bij Zijne Maj:t zijnde midsgaders de Princesse Roijaal, met de Jonge Prince van Orangie: Is goetgevonden & verstaan dat Zijne meerhoogstgedachte Majesteijt midsgaders Hare Hooghemelte Hoogheden, ende andere Vorstelijcke en voorname personagien genodight, ende solemnelijck binnen deze stadt gerecipieert ende gefestojert behoren te werden. Ende zijnde Heren Burgermrn versocht en geauthoriseert om, op de bequaamste weijse, de voors. nodiging van deser Stede wegen, te laten doen, ende alle te bezorgen wat totde voors receptie en festojering zal werden gerequisiteert.*"

⁴¹¹ J. Vos, *Alle de Gedichten*, 2nd edition (Amsterdam: Gerrit and Hendrik Bosch, 1726) 636-639.

⁴¹² J. Naeranus ("H. van V."), *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout* [...] (Haarlem, 1660) 5: "[...] *ende waren om zijn Majesteit te onthalen / eenige Triumphstellagien of vierkante bogen opgerecht / doch die en quam niet / hoewel hij lang genoeg in den Hage was om eens te Amsterdam te komen* [...]"

⁴¹³ UA 67: Inventaris van het archief van de familie Huydecoper 1459-1956, inv. no. 56 "[...] *verwachten hem [den Engelsgen kooning] hier, sijnde ten dieneijnde grote preparatien gemaect, diverse arcses triumphales, sal int stathuijs logeren* [...]"

the pressing affairs of his kingdom.⁴¹⁴ On June 4th, two days after Charles II had taken leave from the Republic, the Amsterdam *vroedschap* once more convened to discuss the matter of a formal reception, but this time of Mary Stuart and her son. The council agreed to *urgently* invite Mary and William to visit Amsterdam on their way to France, with the assurance that their welcome to the city would be “utmost pleasing”.⁴¹⁵

From these consecutive resolutions it thus appears that the 1659 visit had been initiated, at least in part, by the Princesses of Orange through their connection to burgomaster Johan Huydecoper. While the political gravity of the Elector and Electress of Brandenburg was emphasized in 1659, the 1660 visit of Mary and William was explicitly requested by Amsterdam in the context of the diplomatic relations with England. The reception seems furthermore to have been necessitated by the hasty return of Charles II, causing the initial plan for a joyous entry that included the English monarch in the city to fall through.

⁴¹⁴ SAA 2026 Archive of the Burgomasters: Missives, inv. no. 26: England. Letter dated August 16, 1660: “*Messieurs les Bourgmre et Eschevins de la ville d’Amsterdam, Nos bons amys. Les temoignages de vostre affection envers Nostre personne et famille ne Nous surprennent pas, estans si cordialement et si souvent reïterez: Et quoyque les affaires de Nos Royaumes, quand Nous estions dernièrement dans les Provinces Unis, ne Nous ayent pas permis de prendre le divertissement de vostre ville, auquel vous Nous conviâste si affecteusement; neantmoins Nous ne le sçaurions oublier, ni avec combien d’honneur vous l’avez démontré à Nostre Treschere Soeur; ce que Nous interpretons comme fait à Nous mesmes. [...]*” The author of the *Buurenkout* suggests that perhaps Charles just had not been in the mood for “comedies”: Naeranus 1660, 5. Huydecoper Jr. provides more details when he writes (based on unknown sources) that General George Monck (1608-1670) had urged the King to return to England in order to decide the fate of political prisoners there: UA 67, inv. no. 56: “*Alsoo door den Generael Monck geadviseert wiert diverse koning moorders in hechtenisse te sijn, ende verloren gaen soo hier langer tardeert, een goede occasie om sijne bermhartigheijt te bethoonen.*”

⁴¹⁵ SAA 2025 inv. no. 23: *Vroedschapsresoluties* 1660 February 18-1663 April 6), fol. 26v. “[June 4, 1660] *Door de heeren Burgermeesteren den Raadt zijnde bekend gemaect dat Hare Achtb. verstaen hadden dat Hare Coninglijcke Hoogheijt de Princesse van Orangie voorgenomen hadde een reijs na Vranckrijck te doen. Is eenparighe goetgevonden & verstaen dat de heeren Burgermrm Hare Hoogt gedachte Coninglijcke Hoogheijt, midtsgaders Zijn Hoogheijt den Here Prince van Orangie gediensel. & ernstel. zullen doen versoecken om bij dese gelegentheijt Hare passage door dese Stadt te willen nemen, & dezelve voor eenige dagen met Hare presentie te vereeren; met versekeringe dat Hare aencomste alsdaer tenhoogsten aengenaem zal wesen.*”

A detailed description of the various activities of William and Mary between June 15 and 21 is preserved in the manuscript collection of the University of Amsterdam.⁴¹⁶ Details provided about the movements of the Prince and his court suggests a person in William's entourage recorded the events. William's council and secretary Laurens Buijsero (1613-1674) had already traveled to Amsterdam on June 4th, the same day the aforementioned resolution was recorded. According to the *Journal*, he arrived in Amsterdam at 6:30 that evening and was hosted by his brother-in-law, Amsterdam burgomaster Cornelis de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn (1613-1688).⁴¹⁷ This could indicate that he functioned as an intermediate between the court of Mary and William and the city, and likely helped to facilitate their visit and reception. Based on a comparison with known letters of his hand, Buijsero appears indeed to have been the author of the *Journal*.⁴¹⁸

Lack of time must have contributed to the repetition of parts of the previous year's procession: Mary and William arrived on June 15th, a mere 11 days after the decision to invite them had been made by the *vroedschap*. While William's education and future responsibilities must have been a topic of interest for both the Princess and the burgomasters, she and her son, however, were first and foremost received as representatives of the newly restored English court. At least initially, the kind gesture did seem to have had its intended effect, as evidenced by Charles' benevolent correspondence to the city later that

⁴¹⁶ "Journal" [1660].

⁴¹⁷ "Journal" [1660] fol. 2r [p.1].

⁴¹⁸ KHA inv. no. A16-V-18, Correspondence of Laurens Buijsero 1650-1667, contains many letters in the same handwriting, letters nos. 34, 42, 67, 70, 75, 78, 84, 88, 98, 107-109, 115, 121-123, 149, 173, 180, 188, 189 addressed to various magistrates of Ter Vere (several to "Heer van Stavenisse, Bailliu van Ter Vere [...] *Mijn Heere en Neeff*") and Middelburg, dated between December 1664, and January 1667, all in The Hague. No. 192 is a copy in Buijsero's hand after a reply from Tuijl de Serooskercke dated March 12 1667. Another letter with the same handwriting dated January 1665, no. 63, is combined with a copy of the same letter in a different but comparable, neater handwriting (no. 62), of which several examples are also found in this inventory number. This possibly indicates the variable use by Buijsero of a slightly more casual hand for his own copies and a neat handwriting for letters that were sent or otherwise used in an official capacity.

summer, stating that he appreciated the honors shown to his sister “as if bestowed upon himself”.⁴¹⁹

The emphasis on precedents in diplomatic decorum during this period, evidenced by the 1659 *vroedschap* resolution, formed the base for the continued employment of the ceremonial entry format as a means to sustain and improve international relations between the city and neighboring countries. As the other side of the same coin, this principle of continuity supported the augmented claims to status and legitimacy of both the Orange Princesses in 1659 and Mary Stuart in 1660. The presence of the young William III during the latter event, however, brought attention to the city’s relationship with the Oranges and related discussions of national importance – attention that, as we shall see, complicated both the thematic choices of the public parade and its critical reception.

Modern monumentality: urban space in 1659 and 1660

Before examining the parades in more detail, however, a broader view of the festivities and their spatial manifestation is needed to understand the larger physical and ceremonial context within which Vos’ inventions were to be staged. Analysis in this regard includes the arrival routes and formal entry into the city, the banquets, visits to prominent sites and buildings, firework displays, as well as the aforementioned *Staatcywagens* and *tableaux vivants* – all taking place throughout different parts of the city. Not only had the political landscape shifted significantly since the last formal receptions in 1638 and 1642. The built environment in which the festivities took place had, again, undergone major changes as well. The wealth that the city and its merchant class had accumulated in recent years had resulted

⁴¹⁹ See note 414.

in numerous additions to the urban fabric that could convey an image of splendor. Most conspicuously in this sense was the reconfiguration and enlargement of the Dam Square area and the new classicizing town hall designed by Jacob van Campen (1596-1657), which provided the political and economic center of the city with a radically improved monumentality as well as new possibilities for ceremonial formats.⁴²⁰ Plans for another significant expansion of the city were far advanced during these years, and conceptual changes to the city's parameters were starting to take shape.⁴²¹

In both years the ceremonial focus of the entries was located in and around the town hall at Dam Square. Compared to the royal entries described in previous chapters, the ephemeral decoration programs took on a decidedly different form during these occasions. Most notable was the absence of triumphal arches and stages with *tableaux vivants* erected in the streets, now replaced by mobile *Staatcywagens*. This meant that one of the most public and significant elements of the festivities had changed from a format in which the entering guest viewed the decoration program while processing through the city, to one that required the visitors to watch from a fixed viewpoint – the town hall balcony – as the procession of floats passed by. Necessarily creating a distance between the visitors and the crowds outside, the design of the decoration program as such ensured that the audiences engaged with *representations* of the triumphing Stadtholders – including an actor representing Frederick Henry seen by Amalia in 1659, while Mary Stuart and William III were confronted with figurative representations of themselves in 1660. A detail from the frontispiece of *Hollantsche Mercurius* of 1659, tellingly, makes no clear visual reference to the visiting Oranges, as the crowds cheer on the fictional Stadtholder figures (fig. 71).

⁴²⁰ Vlaardingerbroek 2011, 15-37.

⁴²¹ Abrahamse 2010, 119-125.

According to the *Hollantsche Mercurius*, reporting on the events of August that year, Amalia and her daughters were greeted at the gate (“*aen het Heck*”) by the city’s cavalry before being escorted to the *Prinsenhof*, where they would be lodged for the next several days.⁴²² Though the author does not specify the precise dates on which various events took place, the description appears chronological, mentioning visits to the *Schouwburg*, the new *Zeemagazijn* built by Daniel Stalpaert (1615-1676) in 1655-1656, and *Glashuis*. The author further makes note of an elaborate banquet in the new town hall from where the procession of *Staatcywagens* on the Dam Square (“a display of artworks by poets and painters”) was viewed.

A spectacular fireworks show was held early that evening at the Amstel in front of the *Kloveniersdoelen*. The display, according to the *Hollantsche Mercurius*, was created by the lighting of fireworks which were attached to the masts of a large cargo ship (*Lichter*) that could not be seen in the dark. Against the night sky a fiery golden crown took shape, beneath which the name AEMILIA DE SOLMS was spelled out.⁴²³ Before the guests’ departure, they were also brought to the city’s churches, synagogue, *Oostindisch Huis*, and *Orienteelse Visite*. Johan Huydecoper Jr. wrote in a letter to his mother dated September 1 that it would please her to know “with what magnificence Her Highness, and all other Royal personages were received”, adding that the visitors were set to depart at the moment of writing.⁴²⁴

Although some details regarding the spatial configuration of the reception in 1659 are thus known, we are particularly well-informed about the visit of Mary Stuart and

⁴²² *Hollantsche Mercurius* 1660, 108. For a reconstruction of the chronology of the visit based on various primary sources, see notes 387-388.

⁴²³ *Hollantsche Mercurius* 1660, 108.

⁴²⁴ UA 67, inv. no. 55: “*Ue. sal lustelijck verstaen hebben met wat voor magnificentie hare hoogheijt, ende alle andere vorstelijcke personagien sijn onthaelt geweest : de welcke tegenwoordig wederom meent te vertrecken [...].*”

William III in 1660 due to Buijsero's aforementioned journal (*Journaal*) manuscript.⁴²⁵ Aside from providing a complete timeline of the festivities, he describes in great detail the journey to Amsterdam and arrival route into the city, as well as Mary and William's movements through the city in the following days.

The royal suite left Leiden at eleven in the morning of June 15th, and traveled through the towns of Leiderdorp, Koudekerk, Rijnsaterwoude, Leimuïden, Calslagen and Kudelstaart, before arriving in Amstelveen, a fiefdom of Amsterdam (fig. 72). Here, at a location described as '*t Looffvelt* (which likely can be identified as *Loopvelt*), the guests were welcomed by the cavalry of Amsterdam's civic militia.⁴²⁶ We know from a print ensemble published by Pieter Nolpe after the occasion (fig. 89), discussed in more detail below, that the escort took place under the guidance of Joan van Waveren (1613-1670) as captain, Dirck Tulp (1623-1682) as lieutenant, and Jacob de Graeff (1642-1690) as standard bearer, each heading a company of thirty-five men. Accompanied by one drummer and four trumpeters they made their way to the city, along the *Overtoom* – most likely taking the *Amstelveenseweg* and *Heiligeweg* – before arriving at the *Heiligewegspoort*; instead of entering the city there, however, they continued on to the *Regulierspoort* (fig. 78). Here the group was welcomed by a committee consisting of former burgomasters Cornelis Jan Witsen (1605-1669), Gerard (?) Schaep, and pensionary Pieter de Groot (1615-1678), before entering into the city. The traditional entry by ship via the IJ River and Damrak, which had formed the core concept for all ceremonial entries going back at least until 1549, seems to have been decisively abandoned during these years.

⁴²⁵ "Journaal" [1660].

⁴²⁶ Idem, fol. 2v [p. 2]. For the *Loopvelt*, see Wagenaar 1760, 596.

The choice to have Mary, and in particular the young Prince, enter through the *Regulierspoort*, in fact, had both practical and symbolic reasons. Entry through this gate allowed for a straight course heading towards the town hall at Dam Square, where the company was formally welcomed by the city's Burgomasters Cornelis van Vlooswyck (1601-1678), Johan Huydecoper (1599-1661), Andriess de Graeff (1611-1678) and the aforementioned Cornelis de Vlaming van Oudtshoorn. The monumental new city gate, designed by Hendrik Ruse (1624-1679), had replaced a previous gate constructed of wood in 1655.⁴²⁷ It was composed of brick and natural stone and featured Doric columns surmounted by an imposing pediment, decorated with the city's coat of arms topped by an imperial crown, as well as a lion rampant on each side (fig. 74).

Designed and built shortly after the attack on the city by William II, the gate represented the renewed fortifying efforts of the city that would culminate in the Fourth Expansion. In the 1665 historical description of the city by Tobias Domselaer (1611-1685), the link between the new city gate and the 1650 siege by William II was made explicit: "This gate is bigger and sturdier than the others, boldly aims for strength, and is kept and equipped for surprises. It has been said that the attack of His Highness the Prince of Orange, in the year of 1650, was aimed at this gate (at the time still made of wood)."⁴²⁸ The author also emphasized that the newly constructed gate building was separated from the adjacent earthen wall and *faussebrayes*, so that the gate itself was "freestanding, and untouchable".⁴²⁹

⁴²⁷ J. Gawronski and R. Jayasena, *De 17de-eeuwse stadswal bij de Regulierspoort. Archeologische begeleiding Rembrandtplein, Amsterdam (2009)*. Amsterdamse Archeologische Rapporten, no. 63 (Amsterdam, 2011).

⁴²⁸ Domselaer 1665, 264.

⁴²⁹ *Idem*, 265.

Upon entering the city, the young Prince of Orange thus was immediately reminded of this recent contentious episode in the relations between the city and his family. The decision to have William and Mary enter through this particular gate, as such, immediately juxtaposed the last unfortunate visit of William II with the present one, and elicited comparison between the William III and his father. The construction of new city walls and fortifications in the planned expansion commenced in 1663 (fig. 75). As a result, the *Regulierspoort* would be situated within the new city walls over the course of just one decade, and as such lose its original function soon after it took on this important role as main point of entry during the ceremonial reception in 1660.⁴³⁰

Still accompanied by the welcoming committee of Witsen, Schaep and De Groot, as well as the cavalry escorting them, the royal guests proceeded through the *Kalverstraat* to the town hall (fig. 78). Buijsero describes the formal welcome that took place there as a display of both urban splendor and military prowess: from each of the fifty-four civic militia companies, sixteen men were appointed to a total of six companies of musketeers (making 864 men in total, presumably counting 144 each) that, in addition to all remaining militia infantry, were stationed in the Dam square to observe the young prince and his mother emerge from their carriage.⁴³¹

⁴³⁰ It was repurposed as a customs house in 1668, and demolished in 1874. Gawronski and Jayasena 2011, 8. Whether the *Regulierspoort* was utilized in this manner during the visits of Amalia of Solms in 1659 is unclear. A painting (inv. no. A.5726) and a drawing (inv. no. A.5087(01)) in the collection of the Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam depict the entry of Amalia of Solms in October 1655 (for this visit, see note 402). Both compositions depict Amalia's arrival, amid a multitude of ships, via the Amstel River just outside of the *Regulierspoort*. The anonymous painting, dated c. 1660, more specifically shows the ships in consecutive formation called "*Admiraalzeilen*", which an eye-witness account states was used by the city's fleet commissioned by Gerard Hasselaer (1620-1673) with transporting Amalia to the city from Utrecht. See: *Vereeniging Nederlandsch Scheepvaart Museum Jaarverslag 1978/1979* (Amsterdam, 1979) 16-17.

⁴³¹ "[...] *hebbende opden Dam in wapenen staen ses Compagnien burger Musquettiers uijt ijder Compagnie vande 54. Sesthien man, [struck out: verscheijden Compagnien Soldaten] [inserted: ende de geheele militie aldaer], "Journaal" [1660], fol. 3r [p.3].*

This moment in the reception appears to have been referenced in at least one contemporary image. The frontispiece of the 1660 booklet *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtriomfe* (fig. 77) shows the four burgomasters in front of a diminished version of the town hall, which is shown in its entirety through an endearing yet awkward discrepancy of scale.⁴³² One of the four figures steps forward and extends a hand to William as he exits the coach, surrounded by musketeers, cavalry, trumpeters as well as crowds of people. Buijsero made the dubious claim that the audience that day reached into the “hundreds of thousands, both in the streets alongside houses, in windows and on rooftops, and crowding the waters.”⁴³³ While those numbers are most likely exaggerated, both this surviving eyewitness account, as well as the depiction in the *Vreugdtriomfe* seem to indicate there certainly was enthusiasm for the visitors’ ceremonial arrival into the city, and for the person of William III in particular.

The carriages, now including those of Mary and William, the welcoming committee and the burgomasters, then headed towards the *Oudezijds Heerenlogement*, where Mary was hosted (fig. 78). The *Oudezijds Heerenlogement* was a relatively new addition to the city’s infrastructure for hosting and entertaining. After an extensive renovation in 1647, the building designed by Philip Vingboons (1607-1678) had taken over the role of the *Prinsenhof* as the city’s most prestigious place for lodging (fig. 80).⁴³⁴ Another formal welcome took place there while gun salutes announced the arrival.⁴³⁵ William proceeded

⁴³² The booklet and its contents are discussed below, p. 204-205.

⁴³³ “[...] sijnde dit alles gepasseert int aensien en gejuich van hondert duijssenden van menschen soo inde straeten langs de wech {inde} huijsen, vensters en op de daeken, mitsgaders de wateren vol daer haere Hoocheden inde Stadt voor bij gepasseert waeren.” Idem, fol. 3v [p.4].

⁴³⁴ M. Hell and J. van Gent, “De doelens als herbergen en ontvangstcentra (1530-1700),” *Amstelodamum Jaarboek* 105 (2013): 277-326, esp. p. 294-296.

⁴³⁵ “Journaal”, fol. 3r [p.3].

towards his own place of lodging, the *Kloveniersdoelen*; the same location where his father, William II, had stayed in 1642 (fig. 79).⁴³⁶ The musketeers, according to Buijsero, paraded in front of this building and through various surrounding streets until 9:30 at night, while William and Mary ate their dinners separately in their respective rooms.⁴³⁷

The following days were marked by visits to Amsterdam's main buildings and sites of significance, which highlighted different aspects of the city to the visitors. On June 16 they were acquainted with the city's social institutions via visits to Amsterdam's municipal orphanage and correctional institutions (*Tuchthuis*, *Rasphuis* and *Spinhuis*).⁴³⁸ The next day, June 17, had a much busier schedule with morning visits to the *Oostindisch Huis*, the Synagogue, and newly-built *Diaken* orphanage (1657), which housed children who had been born of non-citizen, but Protestant, parents. The morning thus represented the city's international orientation and its overseas trade.

The second half of the day was spent at the new town hall, starting with a tour of the building.⁴³⁹ This was followed by a banquet in the central hall, accompanied by various musical performances. Mary and William, just as the Oranges visiting the year before, would have viewed here a series of four paintings by Govert Flinck depicting scenes from the history of the so-called Batavian revolt against the Romans: a by then well-established myth of origin for the Dutch nation which provided a compelling analogy to the Dutch Revolt against Spain.⁴⁴⁰ According to Von Zesen, at least two of the water color paintings were

⁴³⁶ See chapter 3. See also Hell and Van Gent 2013, p. 300.

⁴³⁷ "Journaal", fol. 3r [p.3]-3v [p.4].

⁴³⁸ "Journaal", fol. 3v [p. 4].

⁴³⁹ *Idem*, 4r [p. 5].

⁴⁴⁰ E. H. Kossmann, "The Batavian myth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries," E. H. Kossmann and J. S. Bromley (eds.), *Britain and the Netherlands. Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch historical conference*, vol. 5, some political mythologies, The Hague, 1975, pp. 78-101. For Flinck's paintings, see: E. Kolfin, "Past Imperfect. Political ideals in the unfinished Batavian series for the town hall of Amsterdam," R.

accompanied by poems authored by Joost van den Vondel, which equated the heroes from the Batavian tale with the former Stadtholders, and presented them in a distinctly anti-monarchical context.⁴⁴¹ The text below the painting of the Batavian oath read: “Here one sees in *Burgerhart* [Civilis] the greatness of Orange: he opposes Rome / and takes an oath of allegiance. William also opposed Spain in armor. Liberty / long oppressed / is finally allowed to speak.”⁴⁴² The second work, depicting the election of the Batavian Brinius as the leader in battle by raising him on his shield, was accompanied by verses that compared the democratic nature of Brinius’ rise to power to that of the Stadtholders in the Republic, adding that this was the base on which the edifice of a free State was built.⁴⁴³ Two more scenes depicted a *Roman camp under siege* and a *Peace between the Romans and Batavians*.⁴⁴⁴

As has been noted by previous scholars, the narrative of the Batavian revolt could be used fruitfully by both advocates and opponents of the Stadtholderate, and will have been invoked in the context of the town hall to emphasize the position of the (former) Stadtholders as elected military servants to the States.⁴⁴⁵ The poems by Vondel, however,

Cohen-Tervaert (ed.), *Opstand als opdracht = The Batavian commissions: Flinck, Ovens, Lievens, Jordaens, De Groot, Bol, Rembrandt* (Amsterdam, 2011) 10-19.

⁴⁴¹ Ph. von Zesen, *Beschreibung der Stadt Amsterdam [...]* (Amsterdam: Marcus Willemsz. Doornik, 1664) 262-263. On the significance of concepts of freedom civic virtue in connection to anti-monarchical republicanism, see: Wyger R. E. Velema, “That a Republic is Better than a Monarchy: Anti-monarchism in Early Modern Dutch Political Thought,” *Gelderens and Skinner* 2002, 9-25.

⁴⁴² “*Hier zietge in 't Burgerhart de grootsheit van Oranje: Hy kant zich tegens Room/en treet in eed-verbont. So kante Willem zich in 't harnas tegens Spanje. De vryheit/lang verdrukt/spreekt eindlik uit de mont.*” Von Zesen 1664, 263. See also: J. van den Vondel, *De werken van Vondel Deel 8. 1656-1660*, ed. J. F. M. Sterck et al. (Amsterdam, 1935) 758.

⁴⁴³ “*De dappre Brunio, een eer der Kermerlanders/ verheftmen op een schild/en sweeren hem hun trouw. So wiert Nassau het hoofd ten trots der Spaansche standers: uit welke duingront rees het vrije Staats-gebouw.*” *Ibidem*.

⁴⁴⁴ “Op de Historischilderyen Ter eere van de Keurvorstinne, den Vorst van Anhalt, en alle Nassausche Heeren en Vrouwen op het stadthuis geschildert. Door G. Flinck” (1659), Vondel, ed. Sterck et al. 1935, 723-724.

⁴⁴⁵ Kolfin 2011.

made this historical analogy both more explicit, and more explicitly honorable, for the occasion. The poems were likely included as inscriptions on the frames, or displayed separately, to elucidate the works for the specific audiences of 1659 and 1660.⁴⁴⁶ The analogy was activated more fully, finally, by the parade of *Staatcywagens*, taking place right outside on the Dam Square.⁴⁴⁷ The parades, as will be discussed in more detail below, also communicated clearly the city's gratitude for the Stadtholders' service, while simultaneously reinforcing the sovereignty of the States.

The festive display was followed by yet another meal in the central hall, after which the company retreated to the burgomasters' chamber for the remainder of the evening.⁴⁴⁸ Significantly, this room was decorated by Ferdinand Bol's monumental painting *Fabritius and Pyrrhus* of 1656 (fig. 82), a political allegory that meant to emphasize the Amsterdam burgomasters as valiant and steadfast rulers who could not be bribed or frightened into submission: a sentiment that recalled the 1650 siege by William II, and would have been deemed a suitable background while hosting William III a decade later.

The next day was focused on the city's military power, as Mary and William's suite again moved through the city, touring either the *Prinsenhof*, now primarily designed as the Admiralty building, or the *Zeemagazijn*, before inspecting the city's fortifications "from top

⁴⁴⁶ The short verses can be compared to Vondel's more elaborate poem "Op de Historischilderyen" (1659) in: Vondel 1935, ed. Sterck et al. 723-724, where the references to the Stadtholders have been eliminated.

⁴⁴⁷ It was viewed between 5:30 and 6:30 – according to the "Journaal" again in front of "hundreds of thousands of people" ("*Ontrent halff sessen naer middachs Haere Con: Hooch: en Sijne Hooch:t van de tafel opgestaen en in verscheijde Camers geretireert sijnde, quamen voor het Stadthuijs op den Dam aldaer verthoonen de twintich Staetij Wagens en den gevolge int aensien van Haere Con: Hooch:t, Sijne Hooch:t ende 'tsamentlicke Heeren en Mevrouwen alsmeede geheele Suiten, en andere voornamen Heeren en Juffrouwen, mitsgaders {van} hondert duijssenden van menschen opden Dam, op de huijssen & daken daer omtrent, en ontrent halff sevenen de voor Staetij wagens wederom van den Dam gereden sijnde door alle de straten.*") "Journaal", 4v [p. 6].

⁴⁴⁸ "Journaal", fol. 4v [p. 6] – 5r [p. 7].

to bottom”.⁴⁴⁹ Since the Admiralty had, until 1650, fallen under the authority of the Prince of Orange in his capacity of Captain-General, the *Prinsenhof* had consistently served as the princely place of lodging within the city, a function it had continued to carry out up until the visit of Henrietta Maria Stuart in 1642.⁴⁵⁰ After 1650, following a brief stint as temporary town hall (1652-1656), it had been reclaimed by the Admiralty in 1656 and was set to be fully renovated in 1661-1662. Both buildings as such served as reminders not only of the status and authority previously enjoyed by the Stadtholders, but also the more recent loss of this position of military command within city limits. Continuing the day’s emphasis on the Revolt in a distinctly historical context, the company traveled to the Schouwburg in the afternoon to see Reynerius Bontius’ well-known play *Siege and Liberation of the City of Leiden* (*Belegering ende het ontset der stad Leyden*, 1645), now complemented by *tableaux vivants* invented by Vos that reinforced the dramatic narrative of revolt and liberation.⁴⁵¹

On the morning of Saturday June 19th, the young William III toured the city on horseback. His trajectory, which covered a much larger area of the city than that of his fictional counterpart on the *Staatcywagen* two days earlier, is described in much detail in Buijsero’s *Journal*. Accompanied by civic cavalry, he traversed the *Zeedijk*, *Warmoesstraat*, *Dam Square*, *Nieuwendijk*, *Keizersgracht*, *Herengracht*, *Singel*, past the *Regulierstoren*, *Turfmarkt* and *Heerenlogement*, and through the *Voorburgwal*, *Agnietenstraat*, ‘*t Ruslant* and *Kloveniersburgwal* circled back to the *Kloveniersdoelen* (fig. 83).⁴⁵² There, burgomasters and aldermen joined William for a meal, while Mary retreated to

⁴⁴⁹ Idem, fol. 5r [p. 7]. The building is confusedly described as “admirts off gemeenlantshuijs”. A visit was to the *Zeemagazijn* would have been in line with the program in 1659: see p. 182.

⁴⁵⁰ See previous chapters.

⁴⁵¹ See note 390. According to Buijsero, this visit lasted no less than five hours, until nine in the evening. “*Journal*”, fol. 5v [p. 8]. For the *tableaux vivants*, see Vos 1660.

⁴⁵² “*Journal*”, fol. 6r [p. 9].

her room for the afternoon. Afterwards, the company traveled by boat on the IJ to view various boats and ships, including a yacht that the city had presented to Charles II, and battle ships demonstrating their firepower.⁴⁵³ After spending three hours beholding this lively scene, the burgomasters escorted William back to his place of lodging. Later that night, he visited his mother at the *Heerenlogement* and the both of them dined at the *Herengracht* residence of William Davidson of Curriehill (1615/16-1689), a wealthy Scottish cloth merchant living in Amsterdam who throughout the years had been a loyal supporter of the exiled Charles II.

Sunday June 20, the last full day of the visit, was dedicated to the city's religious institutions. William went to the *Nieuwe Kerk* on the Dam Square to attend service in the morning, accompanied by burgomasters Van Vlooswijck and De Graeff. William's presence in the church was notable. Buijsero describes the Prince's chair as located directly across from the preacher, and decorated with foliage interwoven with oranges, while above his head a small crown was suspended also containing an orange inside. Behind him hung a tapestry and a velvet cloth was laid in front of him.⁴⁵⁴ The service was led by Dr. Jacobus de Clercq (dates unknown), who according to Buijsero's *Journal* could hardly be heard due to the many of thousands in attendance.⁴⁵⁵ Mary, accompanied by burgomaster De Vlamingh van Oudtshoorn attended another service in the afternoon, and was seated in the same location.

⁴⁵³ Idem, fol. 6r-6v [p. 9-10]. The yacht formed part of a larger gift, presented to the newly restored King by the States General, but financed almost entirely by the States of Holland and Amsterdam. It included Italian and classical sculptures from the famous Reynst collection, several paintings by Gerard Dou, and the bed that had been gifted to Mary Stuart by William II, for which she was compensated to the amount of 100,000 guilders. For more on "The Dutch Gift", see Broekman and Helmers 2007. Also: E. Griffey, "More on the 'Dutch Gift' to Charles II," *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011): 521-522, with further references in regards to the paintings in particular.

⁴⁵⁴ " [...] *het gestoelte van Sijne Hooch:t was cierlijck toegemaect met allerlei Loffwerck van groente deurvlochten met Orangie appelen, en boven Sijne Hooch:t Hooft hinge een cierlijck Croontje van binnen een Orangie appel [van] achter Sijne Hooch:t hinge een tapijt en voor Sijne Hooch:t lage een fluwele cleet.*" Idem, fol. 6v-7r [pp. 10-11].

During their final evening in the city, mother and son ate dinner separately; William in the main hall of the *Kloveniersdoelen* in the company of “countless people”, while Mary remained in her chambers, and gave the order for the royal entourage to get ready for departure the next morning.⁴⁵⁶

The leave-taking took the form of a reversal of the arrival into the city; after a short final visit of the burgomasters to the *Heerenlogement*, they sent the cavalry to escort the carriages to the town hall, where a formal farewell between Mary, William and the burgomasters took place. The procession then went through the *Kalverstraat* back to the *Regulierspoort*, where four companies of the militia stood in arms, and at this point the cavalcade exited the city. The visitors were escorted by the cavalry until they once more reached the *Loopvelt*, where the initial greeting had taken place, and where the two groups now parted ways.⁴⁵⁷

Antiquity and mythical origins formed prominent and longstanding tropes in the discourses surrounding fame and status of cities throughout early modern Europe, and in this capacity were regularly deployed in the iconographic programs devised for joyous entries.⁴⁵⁸ It is thus noteworthy that Amsterdam elected instead to foreground the most recent additions to its urban fabric: a strategy that recalls, and elaborated, similar aspects of the visit of Marie

⁴⁵⁵ Idem, fol. 7r [p. 11].

⁴⁵⁶ Idem, fol. 7r-7v [pp. 11-12].

⁴⁵⁷ “Journaal”, fol. 7v-8r [pp. 12-13].

⁴⁵⁸ In Antwerp, the city’s antiquity was emphasized during joyous entries both through the appearance of the mythical hero Brabo, and by the choice for an entry route that traced the former locations of the city’s oldest city walls. See M. Meadow, “Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II’s 1549 Antwerp Blijde Incompst,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 49 (1998): 37-67 and K. Overlaet, “The ‘joyous entry’ of Archduke Maximilian into Antwerp (13 January 1478): an analysis of a ‘most elegant and dignified’ dialogue,” *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018): 231-249. For the significance of the antiquity topos in the Northern Netherlands during the early modern period, see K. Enenkel and K. Ottenheim, *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden, 1400-1700* (Nijmegen, 2017) esp. 167-203, 265-291. For Europe more broadly, see: K. Christian and B. De Divitiis (eds.), *Local antiquities, local identities. Art, literature and antiquarianism in*

de' Medici as discussed in the chapter two.⁴⁵⁹ The progressive expansion of Amsterdam was impressed on the visitors by way of a new ceremonial format that encompassed both a processional entry route through the newly erected *Regulierspoort* and a focus of much of the pageantry and entertainment in the area within and around the new town hall at Dam Square. While historical references abounded in the *Staatcywagens* and *Schouwburg* performances devised for both the 1659 and 1660 entries, the urban setting within which much of the program took place brought attention mostly to the city's present position. In this approach, Amsterdam not only deviated from established rhetorical tropes, but also diverted one of the longstanding principles by which political hierarchies in Holland were still determined.⁴⁶⁰ In their role as host city, such use of the urban setting to highlight the city's growth and prosperity since the Revolt years – the latter recalled by contrast in the ephemeral *tableaux vivants* – served as an implicit reminder of its de facto position as the wealthiest and most powerful city within the States of Holland. This was further underlined by the inclusion of many newly erected or renovated municipal buildings in tours of the city and an investment in a new princely place for lodging, the *Oudezijds Heerenlogement*.⁴⁶¹

Europe, c. 1400–1700 (Manchester, 2018), particularly the essays by E. Wouk on Antwerp and K. Ottenheim on the Northern Netherlands.

⁴⁵⁹ For a similar strategic emphasis on recent urban development, see S. Smart, “The return of the Elector as King: Johann von Besser’s record of the Berlin Entry in May 1701 of Elector Friedrich III as Friedrich I, King of Prussia,” Canova Green et al. 2015, 201-223, esp. 216-218.

⁴⁶⁰ Based on seniority, Amsterdam was ranked the fifth city to speak and vote within the States Holland. Enenkel and Ottenheim 2017, 265-266.

⁴⁶¹ Competition between cities could, in fact, take the form of vying building projects, especially in town halls: this is evidenced for example by the additions of a new wing and belfry to the town hall complex in Brussels (1449-1455) and a second story in Leuven (built after 1448) amid fierce cultural and political rivalry between the two Brabantine capitals. See A. Maesschalck and J. Viaene, *Mensen en bouwkunst in Boergondisch Brabant. Het Stadhuis van Brussel* (Kessel-Lo, 1960) esp. 171-175, and *Mensen en bouwkunst in Boergondisch Brabant. Het Stadhuis van Leuven*, Leuven 1977. I would like to thank Professor Krista de Jonge (KU Leuven) for pointing this out to me, in addition to providing references to the publications cited here, as well as the most recent volumes listed in note 458.

This observation acquires additional meaning in the context of the political developments of the Stadtholderless Era. In 1660, on his first visit to Amsterdam, William III entered the very space where the dispute between his father and the powerful city had reached its zenith a decade earlier. The foiled coup of 1650 had both revealed strengths and weaknesses in the city's defense mechanisms. The military threat that William II had posed to the city just a decade earlier necessitated an emphasis on its new and improved fortifications and military prowess, accounting for the prominence of such locations as the *Regulierspoort*, which functioned as a precursor to the imminent fourth expansion, as well as the visits to the Admiralty building and harbor. In their strategic utilization of the city's rapidly expanding spaces and urban fabric, the ceremonial visits of 1659 and 1660 thus presented Amsterdam as well-guarded and robust, while the political convictions of the reigning True Freedom faction also demanded that the city be perceived as both autonomous and thriving.

The physical spaces and fabric of the city however, as we already saw, derived their significance in large part from the temporary decorations and performances that were designed to activate them. This includes the overwhelming presence of civic militia in the form of both cavalymen and foot soldiers throughout the streets of Amsterdam, the fireworks, smells and tastes of spices during visits and banquets, and last but not least the public parades of the *Staatcywagens*.

Strategic Praise

Devising a suitable program not only for the festive parades on the Dam Square, but also for spectacular shows in the *Schouwburg*, placed much responsibility on Jan Vos as the main figure responsible for the parade programs' conception and design. Vos in particular had to

navigate the issue of articulating a laudatory message necessitated by the decorum of a ceremonial reception in a way that would not exacerbate an already contested topic. For that reason, it is instructive to examine how the various floats collectively communicated these concepts of honor and gratitude.

A vivid picture of the 1659 and 1660 processions emerges from the short descriptions and explicatory poems written for the parades by their inventor.⁴⁶² These *Beschrijvingen*, which were published in both years by the Municipal Theater's regular publisher, Jacob Lescailje (1611-1679), ostensibly functioned as guides designed for a relatively educated audience, and were quite possibly available for reference on the day of the parade itself. A similar guide was published for the three *tableaux vivants* that were performed at the *Schouwburg* in 1659, which consisted of spectacular performances revolving around the Orange Nassau dynasty. Moving from the family's illustrious forefathers to its prominence in the present, the displays honored the visitors' ancestor Roman German king Adolf of Nassau (1250-1298), William I, and finally the recent marriage of Henriette Catherine and John Georg II.⁴⁶³

From Vos' poems we learn that the processional programs in 1659 and 1660 showed many similarities, though the latter was a longer and amended version of the former. The parade in 1659 was comprised of sixteen floats or *Staatcywagens*. The first eight of these were dedicated to symbolic representations of Concord and the Republic's seven provinces,

⁴⁶² Vos 1659; Vos 1660; See also Vos 1662, 615-622, 637-650.

⁴⁶³ J. Vos, *Beschryving der vertooningen, die in de schouwburg voor [...] de keur-vorstin van Brandenburg en [...] haar moeder de prinses douarière van Oranje, [...] vertoont zijn, volgens d'ordre der [...] burgemeesteren der stadt Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: J. Lescaille, 1659). Not everyone was pleased with the performance. According to an entry dated August 28, 1659 in the journal of burgomaster's son Johan Huydecoper Jr. Vos had earned a "*disobligatie*" because Vos offended Huydecoper Jr. that night at the theater ("Disobligatie. Den 28. augustus van jan vos opt schouburg gedisgusteert." UA, 67: Inventaris van het archief van de familie Huydecoper 1459-1956, inv. no. 55. See also Geerdink 2012, 83.

which were then followed by a group of six carts devoted to the Orange Nassau family (see fig. 70 details).⁴⁶⁴ The latter section was designed in particular to honor the Orange Nassau Stadtholders William I, Maurice, Frederick Henry and William II, but also contained references to both the family's royal past and future through the inclusion of floats carrying personifications of Adolf of Nassau and Prince William III. The parade was finally concluded by two floats representing an allegory of Gratitude and the city of Amsterdam.

In 1660 the parade opened with a *Staatcywagen* representing the Dutch Republic, as well as ten floats that highlighted the recent events surrounding the House of Stuart, including a float dedicated to Mary herself. The remainder of the parade consisted of carts also used in the previous year: Concord, the six carts focusing on the Orange Nassau family, Gratitude, and Amsterdam, making for a total number of twenty floats.⁴⁶⁵ The prose and poems describing the floats, including those that were repeated in both years, have been more elaborated by Vos in 1660, occasionally providing more details regarding the figures and their attributes, but most noticeably prolonging the verses from two to six lines to further elucidate their meaning.⁴⁶⁶

The first float of the 1659 procession, devoted to the concept of concord, was utilized by Vos as a representation of the State's source of strength and victory.⁴⁶⁷ Emphasized in the Republic's national motto, concord here was easily interpreted by a seventeenth century

⁴⁶⁴ J. Vos, *Beschrijving der vertooningen op de staatcywagens, die voor [...] de kevr-vorstin van Brandenburg, en mevrouw haar moeder de prinses douariere van Oranje [...] op de markt vertoont zijn, en door de stadt reden [...]* (Amsterdam: J. Lescaille, 1659).

⁴⁶⁵ J. Vos, *Beschrijving der vertooningen op de staatcywagens, die voor [...] de prinses van Oranje, &c. en haar zoon [...] op de markt vertoont zijn [...]* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1660).

⁴⁶⁶ The 1659 verses dedicated to these floats – representing thus Gratitude, Concord, Amsterdam, and the Orange-Nassau figures – have also been substituted for the more detailed descriptions of the 1660 publication in *Alle de Gedichten* (1662).

⁴⁶⁷ Vos 1659B: “Hier ziet men d'Eendracht door de Staat in top gesteegeen / Waar d'Eendracht zich vertoont verkrijgt men Kracht en Zeege.”

audience – and therefore by the prominent guests that were attending – as concord of State.⁴⁶⁸ This concept was further symbolized by the seven floats representing the seven provinces of the Republic. In both his verses and descriptions of the floats, Vos made sure to highlight the military and economic contributions the provinces made to the Republic. For example, the float representing Holland was decorated with imagery relating to trade and shipping (“*met scheepsgereetschap en koopmanschap versiert*”) while that of Friesland made reference to its livestock, and production of milk and cheese (“*koppen van paarden, ossen, koeien, schaapen, bokken, kaazen en bootervaaten*”).⁴⁶⁹ Through an equal emphasis in the parade, the accomplishments of the Stadtholders were presented in unison, and on equal footing, with those of the Provinces and its major cities.

In 1660 the state was not represented by its individual provinces, but rather by an introductory float showing *Neederlandt* accompanied by Providence, Vigilance and Courage.⁴⁷⁰ The verses presented the Republic as England’s natural ally due to their shared experiences with “ungodly and perjurious rascals”, and emphasized the city’s joy in welcoming the Stuarts, the absent Charles II in particular: “The House of Stuart arrives to show itself on the IJ [...]. The free Netherlands cheer now that it can welcome Charles.”⁴⁷¹ Floats dedicated to James I, Charles I, Oliver Cromwell, George Monck, Justice, England, Scotland, Ireland, Charles II and Mary Stuart were utilized by Vos to narrate the recent history of recent English political history, including the bloody episode of the murder of

⁴⁶⁸ The motto was *Eendracht maakt Macht* [Strength through Concord] or in Latin: “*Concordia Res Parvae Crescunt*”. It is discussed by Jacob Cats in the chapter “Matters of State” (*Saecken van State*): J. Cats, *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd* (Dordrecht: H. van Esch, 1635), 114.

⁴⁶⁹ Vos 1659B. See also Vos 1662, 616-617.

⁴⁷⁰ Vos 1660B; Vos 1662, p. 639.

⁴⁷¹ Vos 1660B; Vos 1662, 639: “*Neederlandt, dat niet van Engelandt, maar met Engelandt het geweldt der godvergeete en meinēdige schelmen heeft moeten lyden*” [...] “*Het Huis van Stuart komt zich aan het Y vertoogen [...] Het vrye Neērlant juicht nu ‘t Karel in mach haalen.*”

Charles I. The restoration of Charles II in the present concluded the Stuart-focused section of the parade, before catching up to the sequence of last year's parade with a float dedicated to Concord.⁴⁷²

In his 1660 poem about the "Concord" *Staatcywagen*, (the twelfth of the series in that year) Vos amended his verses of the previous year to stress the interdependency of the House of Orange and the union of provinces in achieving the successes of the Republic: "Through Concord Nassau has received her military fame / Where concord is seen, power and victory are obtained."⁴⁷³ After this initial introduction to the family, the segment with the Orange Stadtholders followed.⁴⁷⁴

Further analysis shows that Vos preferred to employ a distinctive set of arguments and subject matter for this part of the parade, the first of which is an emphasis on ancestry and dynasty. By devising a series of consecutive floats dedicated to ancestors Adolf van Nassau through William III, family dynasty provided Vos with a practical guideline. Pedigree was, in addition, a well-established argument within the rhetorical topic of praise.⁴⁷⁵ His decision to include the Roman Emperor (1292-1298) Adolf van Nassau, both in the parade and in two of the three 1659 *tableaux vivants* in the Amsterdam *Schouwburg*, was strategic as well as spectacular: "The Heavens open up; One sees Adolf van Nassau

⁴⁷² Vos 1660B; Vos 1662, 639-645.

⁴⁷³ "Door Eendracht heeft Nassouw haar oorlogsroem verkreege'. Waar d'Eendracht zich vertoont verkrijgt men Kracht en Zeege." Vos 1660B; Vos 1662, 615.

⁴⁷⁴ For my analysis of the themes included in this segment of the parade, which as mentioned appeared in both 1659 and 1660, I have used Vos' descriptions and poems of 1660, with reference to their pages in Vos 1662. Part of the following analysis has previously been published: S. van de Meerendonk, "Amsterdamsche vreugdtriomfe: het bezoek van Amalia van Solms en haar dochters in 1659," *Amstelodamum maandblad* 96 (2009): 99-111.

⁴⁷⁵ S. Bussels, "Van macht en mensenwerk. Retorica als performatieve strategie in de Antwerpse intocht van 1549," diss., Universiteit Gent, 2005, 53-54.

here, surrounded by heroes of the Nassau family.”⁴⁷⁶ His presence in both instances underlined the longevity of the House of Orange, and his status as Holy Roman Emperor even lent credibility to the royal ambitions of the family.

The dynastic theme was also prominent in the presentation of the Stadtholders on their respective floats. In the verses written for William II’s carriage in particular, attention is drawn to his lineage: “In William’s eyes, the fire of Frederick shines/ His braveness is not known in any other man/ A lion produces lions, to achieve fame.”⁴⁷⁷ The float dedicated to William III had, according to Vos, Orangistic attributes, like an orange tree and oranges, and this aspect was also stressed by the inclusion of a young Phoenix rising from the ashes.⁴⁷⁸ That a Phoenix burning in his nest was present on the float devoted to Frederick Henry is thus no coincidence: Vos explicitly presented William III as a resurrection of Frederick Henry. The depiction of William as a rising Phoenix was a well-known trope in Orangistic literature and print culture of the 1650s, but in this capacity the youngest Prince of Orange was typically identified as a resurrection of his father, who had died just before his birth.⁴⁷⁹ William II, in this case, was subtly passed over.

The weight that Vos placed on pedigree in the cases of William II and William III is furthermore significant because illustrious lineage was a common argument in the contemporary discussion surrounding the future and political role of William III. While used in Orangistic literature as an argument for the demonstrated fitness of the family to serve the

⁴⁷⁶ Vos 1662, 624.

⁴⁷⁷ Vos 1662, 621.

⁴⁷⁸ See Vos 1662, 620 (description of the float dedicated to Frederick Henry): “[The twelfth chariot] Is constructed on the lower part of all sorts of weaponry; in the back Hercules’ club, from which a hat is hanging; in the front a phoenix, that is burning on its nest” (“[*De twaalfde wagen*] *Is het onderste deel van allerlei wapentuig; achter vertoont zich Herkules knots, daar een hoedt op hangt; voor een fenix, die op zijn nest verbrandt*”).

⁴⁷⁹ Stern 2010, 75.

country, Vos used the theme here instead as an aid to avoid specific controversies associated with individual Stadtholders or their tenure. This was especially true of William II; by attributing his merit predominantly to his ancestry, Vos was able to avoid any reference to the specifics of his turbulent tenure.

In accordance with both previous entries and the rhetorical practice of lauding exemplary men, the military deeds of the Stadtholders were given attention as well. William I of Orange was confirmed in his role as “Father of the Fatherland”.⁴⁸⁰ His significance within the early history of the Dutch Republic was reinforced by the aforementioned second *tableau vivant* in the Schouwburg. In this spectacular scene, William I figures as the central protagonist liberating the seven provinces from their shackles after receiving the necessary arms and armor from Liberty, Pallas Athena and Mars.⁴⁸¹

The emphasis on military success was even more evident for Maurice and Frederick Henry. Of Maurice Vos proclaimed: “With little means he did great harm / His reputation of war served the Country and its subjects / A brave war hero fights no less than his soldiers” and of Frederick Henry “The brave Frederick rivals Mars in deeds of war”.⁴⁸² By contrast – and to surprising effect – William II was portrayed as a proponent of peace. This portrayal was rationalized by the fact that the signing of the Treaty of Munster (1648) took place

⁴⁸⁰ For contemporary views of William of Orange as *pater patriae* and his role in Dutch histories of the Revolt, see: A. E. M. Janssen, “Prins Willem van Oranje in het oordeel van tijdgenoten” and “Willem van Oranje in de historiografie van de zeventiende eeuw,” E. O. G. Haitsma Mulier and A. E. M. Janssen (eds.), *Willem van Oranje in de historie (1584-1984). Vier eeuwen beeldvorming en geschiedschrijving* (Utrecht, 1984) 9-62.

⁴⁸¹ Vos 1662, 624.

⁴⁸² Vos 1662, 620. Frederick Henry’s successful sieges were praised and commemorated widely, both in textual sources and images. See: E. Kolfin, “Voor eenheid, victorie, vrede en welvaart. Beeldvorming van Frederik Hendrik in contemporaine grafiek ca. 1600-1650,” S. Craft-Giepmans (ed.), *Stadhouders in beeld. Beeldvorming van de stadhouders van Oranje-Nassau in contemporaine grafiek 1570-1700*, Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau Museum (Rotterdam and Gronsveld, 2007) 69-107, esp. 75-95.

during the tenure of his stadtholderate. But William's fierce opposition to the treaty's ratification was as such effectively subverted.⁴⁸³

The two final floats, in both years showing "gratitude" and "the ancient crest of Amsterdam" as its subjects, symbolized the gratitude that was offered to the visitors on behalf of the city. By reserving a prominent place – the very last float – for a representation of Amsterdam, Vos deliberately assigned special emphasis on its role as host, which, presented in the form of a ship, also made reference to the city's mercantile identity. In its accompanying verses the relationship with the Oranges is stressed once more: "Anxious Amsterdam is proud of Nassau / Those who honor brave Heroes can build the State and Cities."⁴⁸⁴

From this analysis, it becomes clear that the programs were not only meant to convey a laudatory message to the Orange and, in 1660, also Stuart families, but that they in particular served to express appreciation for the former Stadtholders' service to the Republic. A perceived debt of gratitude owed to the family, and even accusations of sheer ingratitude leveled at supporters of the States' Party, were recurring themes in Orangistic pamphlets in this period.⁴⁸⁵ Vos, on behalf of the Burgomasters, thus appears to address these criticisms by making explicit the city's praise for the role of Stadtholders past, while deliberately leaving open the question of future military and political positions.

⁴⁸³ Vos 1662, 620.

⁴⁸⁴ "'t Benijde Amsterdam is moedigh op Nassouwen. Wie dappre Helden eert kan Staat en Steeden bouwen". Vos 1659B; In 1660, the verses have changed to make reference to the town hall, which "raises its head" at the arrival of the Orange Nassau family: "Het Raadthuis beurt haar kruin op d'aankomst van Nassouwe. Wie dappre helden eert kan Staat en Steeden bouwe." Vos 1660B. See also Vos 1662, 622.

⁴⁸⁵ Stern 2010, 68-74.

The gratitude shown through Vos' allegorical inventions was also subtly contextualized and circumscribed by conditions. The emphasis on Concord as the underlying principle of the union of provinces showed that the fame and prestige of the Oranges relied as much on the contributions of a strong coalition of unified provinces as vice versa. And the program reframed the Stadtholders' legacies in a way that appeared most favorable to the city's interests; as achieving peace and prosperity through humble (military) service to a sovereign Republic – as such reinforcing the message communicated by Flinck's watercolor paintings and its accompanying verses by Vondel. To summarize, Vos elegantly recast recurring Orangistic themes and rhetoric to serve the city's diplomatic needs - though not without a response in Amsterdam's polemical printing press.

Princes in Print

While I have argued that the framing of the ceremonial took place through a complex interdependency of representational space and visual spectacle, the “afterlife” of the event was orchestrated less effectively by the city. A warning prefacing the 1660 edition of Vos' explicatory verses states that the Amsterdam burgomasters had given Jacob Lescaille a special consent which prohibited others from printing the description, or even woodcuts or engravings of the *Vertooningen*, at risk of prosecution.⁴⁸⁶ The note is dated June 9, 1660; a full eight days before the parade was set to take place. This timely admonition was obviously intended to discourage Lescaille's competitors to attempt to profit off of Vos' poems by publishing unauthorized editions. Yet the inclusion of the warning in this 1660

⁴⁸⁶ “*De Wel-Eed. Eed. Gr. Achtb. Heeren BURGEMEESTEREN der stad Amsterdam, hebben aan Jacob Lescaille special consent gegeven, dat niemant dese Beschrijving der Vertooningen op de Staatcywagens sal mogen drukken, noch de selve Vertooningen in hout of koper snijden, op pene van arbitrale correctie. Actum 9 Junii, 1660.*” Vos 1660, unp. page following frontispiece. The registers of temporary ordinances, or *Keurboeken*, have not been preserved for this period.

publication is probably also indicative of such competition having erupted the previous year, and may even reveal a discomfort on the part of the burgomasters at the idea of such a market developing again.

It is important to note then, that in addition to Lescaille's editions, here considered as the more or less authorized accounts of the festivities, various printed materials describing and picturing the parades started circulating shortly after each of the two receptions had taken place. These materials, described in the paragraphs below, ranged from cheap prints and (polemical) pamphlets that were marketed towards broad segments of the population, to songbooks most likely destined for the middle class. The great majority of these materials, however, seem to have been targeted toward, and likely circulated among, local audiences with strong Orangistic sympathies. Vos' dramatic program which, as argued, engaged directly with themes and topics derived from such circles, thus seemed to have elicited a definitive response from these groups – though one could argue he received mixed reviews.

A woodblock print, published in Amsterdam by bookseller Michiel de Groot (1656-1680) following the visit of Amalia van Solms and her daughters in 1659, provides a schematic overview of the various floats and their iconographic contents (fig. 70).⁴⁸⁷ The floats, represented in crude outlines only, are depicted separately in four rows of four framed illustrations. Titles cut within the images, as well as captions based on Vos' published poems printed in moveable type below them, communicate the subject matter in a comparatively direct and intuitive manner, making it very suitable to be marketed towards a broad audience. In its characteristics it is comparable to the genre of catchpenny prints,

⁴⁸⁷ Van der Stolk no. 2266, Muller no. 2144; For a comparative discussion of this print in relation to Vos' text, see Van de Meerendonk 2009.

which would become an important stock category for the De Groot publishing house later on.⁴⁸⁸

The images, as well as Vos' descriptions and verses, also appear in a pocket-sized booklet with the title *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtrionfje*, published by De Groot in 1660 (fig. 77). In addition to Vos' poems, the *Vreugdtrionfje* contains the work of various other poets, either pertaining to the 1659 festivities in Amsterdam or to the victory and capture by Admiral Michiel de Ruyter of Funen Island located in the Baltic Sea.⁴⁸⁹ Like Vos poems, most texts published in the booklet had appeared elsewhere in previous years, which raises the suspicion that De Groot had created it as a profitable compilation of popular and topical poetry already circulating in the Amsterdam market.⁴⁹⁰ The booklet, both in title and format, shows notable similarities with small songbooks with the title *Amsterdamsche vreughdestroom* published between 1654 and 1656 by Jacob Vinckel, Cornelis Jansz Stichter and

⁴⁸⁸ S. A. Jongema, "Honderd jaar uitgeven op de Nieuwendijk. Michiel de Groot (1656-1680) en zijn opvolgers," MA thesis (University of Amsterdam, 1997) 33-38; N. Boerma et al., *Kinderprenten, volksprenten, centsprenten, schoolprenten. Populaire grafiek in de Nederlanden 1650-1950* (Nijmegen, 2014) 187-188.

⁴⁸⁹ *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtrionfje bestaende in alle de Triomfdichten, ter eeren van de Doorluchtige Huizen van Nassouw, Oranje en Anhalt. Benevens de Victorie, zoo voor als in Koopenhaven. Als ook de bevochte victorie van Funen, door [...] Michiel de Ruyter [...]* (Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1660). 16° obl, copy UB Amsterdam: Vondel 1 F 46. Aside from Vos, other poems included are by Joost van den Vondel, Jan Zoet, Jan Six van Chandelier, Jacob Westerbaen and Constantijn Huygens, among others.

⁴⁹⁰ Other examples are Jan Zoet's *Morgen-Wekker* (c. 1658) and Vondel's response *Staetwecker* (1658), see: R. Cordes, *Jan Zoet, Amsterdammer 1609-1674. Leven en werk van een kleurrijk schrijver* (Hilversum, 2008) 408-413.

Abraham de Wees.⁴⁹¹ A number of the verses included in the *Vreugdtrionfje* contain titles of well-known melodies against which they were meant to be set.⁴⁹²

The application of new lyrical content to existing melody repertoires, known as *contrafactum*, was a very common practice in the Netherlands at this time.⁴⁹³ It is therefore likely that the *Vreugdtrionfje* was also intended to be used as a small portable songbook that could be brought along to friendly gatherings in which the civic pride associated with the 1659 ceremony and the Funen victory during the same year could be commemorated and celebrated in a social context. Both occasions also centered on figures which had much popular appeal: the naval hero De Ruyter on the one hand, and the Orange Nassau Princesses and former Stadtholders on the other. That these categories were combined by De Groot in a compilation songbook is rather insightful to the seemingly blurred boundaries between recent military events and national history in the construction of Dutch Republican patriotism.

De Groot dedicates the booklet to Lucas Watering whom he describes as a young man and connoisseur (*liefhebber*) of both poetry and the art of drawing, and whom he identifies as the person through which he obtained the drawings that formed the base for the

⁴⁹¹ *Amsterdamsche vreughde-stroom, bestaende in zoete, vrolijkje ende aengename nieuwe deuntjes* [...]. Amsterdam, Jacob Vinckel, 1654, 2 vol., 12° obl.; *Amsterdamsche vreughde-stroom, bestaende in zoete, vrolijkje ende aengename nieuwe deuntjes ende aerdighe toontjes, gevloeyt uyt het breyn van verscheydene minlievende gheesten* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Jansz Stichter, 1655), 12° obl; *Amsterdamsche vreughde-stroom, bestaende in zoete, vrolijkje ende aengename nieuwe deuntjes ende seer aerdighe toontjes, ghevloeyt uyt het breyn van verscheydene min-lievende gheesten. Noyt voor desen meer in 't licht ghesien* (Amsterdam: Abraham de Wees, 1656), 16° obl. See D. F. Scheurleer, *Nederlandsche Liedboeken. Lijst der in Nederland tot het jaar 1800 uitgegeven liedboeken* (Utrecht, 1977) 168.

⁴⁹² For example “Bruiloftsliedt,” *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtrionfje*, 34-38 contains a reference to the melody of “*Prins Robbert is een Ientelman, &c*” and “*De Noortsche Nachtegael*”, 139-146, to that of “*Arent Pieter Gijzen, &c*”.

⁴⁹³ N. Veldhorst, *Zingend door het leven: Het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 2009) 51.

woodcut images of the *Staatcywagens*.⁴⁹⁴ While not much is known about Watering, he may be identified as the author of a diary written during the year 1672 that reveals an Orangistic inclination, and records show he was born in December 1638, making him twenty years of age at the time of the joyous entry.⁴⁹⁵ In 1676 he became a member of the *Nil Volentibus Arduum* society, which supports De Groot's statement, that he was a "friend of poetry".⁴⁹⁶

In the same dedication, De Groot takes a jab at publishers who, in his opinion, show great insincerity by dedicating their works to long lists of prominent figures that they have not elected for this purpose on the basis of friendship, but that they rather aim to flatter for financial gain.⁴⁹⁷ One cannot help but make the comparison with Jacob Lescaille's editions of Jan Vos' poems, which both in 1659 and 1660 were dedicated not only to the four sitting Burgomasters, but also to the two treasuries.⁴⁹⁸

While it has to remain undetermined if De Groot meant to take aim at anyone in particular, it becomes clear from a preface in one of the later publications by Lescaille's heirs that the two publishing houses did develop an increasingly competitive relationship. In

⁴⁹⁴ "Verhope U.E. dit in danck zult aannemen, alzoo ghy niet alleen een liefhebber zijt der poëzye; maer oock een beminner der Tekenkonst, waer door my de getekende Vertoningen van U. E. ter handt zijn gekomen [...]" *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtrionf* (1660), "Toeigening", unpag. The text does not clarify whether or not Watering was also the artist responsible for making the drawings that formed the base for the woodcut images.

⁴⁹⁵ J. F. Gebhart "Een dagboek uit het 'Rampjaar' 1672," *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historisch genootschap* 8 (1885): 45-116, esp. 48. In his marriage contract to Jannetje Timmers on December 16, 1661, Lucas Watering is mentioned as a hardware merchant (*ijzerkramer*). He lists the same profession when he became a legal resident, or *poorter*, of Amsterdam on July 16, 1664 SAA 5001 *Huwelijksintekening Kerk*, inv. no. 482, fol. 388; SAA 5033, no. 5, *Generael Poorterboek* no. 2 (1659-1666), fol. 322.

⁴⁹⁶ A. Pels, *Q. Horatius Flaccus' Dichtkunst op onze tijden en zeden gepast* [1677], ed. M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen (Assen, 1973) 9.

⁴⁹⁷ "Deze mijne toeigeninge en geschiet niet tot zulcken intentie ofte meeninge, als wel onze hedendaeghsche schrijvers doen, die 't meer om winning en profijt, als uit liefde tot de perzonen doen; ja zoo onbeschaemt zijn, dat 'et menighmael gebeurt, dat ze de perzonen niet eens kennen of ooit gezien hebben [...] dickwils een geheel dozijn op een ry, denckende dat veel meer geven konnen, als een alleen." *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtrionf* (1660), "Toeigening", unpag.

⁴⁹⁸ In 1659 these were burgomasters Cornelis de Graeff, Johan Huydecoper, Hendrik Spieghel, Simon van Hoorn, and treasuries Cornelis Witsen and Nicolaes Tulp; in 1660 burgomasters Johan Huydecoper, Cornelis van Vlooswijck, Cornelis de Vlamingh van Outshoorn and Andries de Graeff, and treasuries Gerard Schaepe and Cornelis Witsen.

the introductory pages to the play *De Geschaakte Bruid* (1690) Michiel de Groot is mentioned by name as one of the publishers who “since several years” had shoddily and negligently reprinted plays by poets including Vos, resulting not only in misspellings and incomplete content, but also damage to the charitable institutions who would otherwise receive income through their exploitation of the *Schouwburg*.⁴⁹⁹ According to the preface, the careful consumer should thus not unwittingly confuse “all those reprints by Michiel and Gysbert de Groot [...] as they are announced and sold during performance days, along the streets of the City Theater, for a stuiver or two” for the real product.

Whether the quality of De Groot’s publications was actually as lamentable as Lescaille suggests seems doubtful.⁵⁰⁰ His editions more likely presented a relatively affordable option to broad middle class audiences interested in the latest plays and popular literature, hurting the pockets of Lescaille and other publishers in the process. It is therefore quite possible that the warning that Lescaille printed in his 1660 edition of Vos’ *Staatcywagens* poems may have been directly inspired by De Groot’s activities in both 1659 and 1660. The popularity of the images in particular could very well have been responsible for the added clause that the *vertooningen* should not be reproduced as either engravings or woodcuts.

Some of De Groot’s woodcut blocks of the 1659 *Staatcywagens* were still in use a century later, at which point they had transferred into the possession of the Amsterdam publisher Johannes Kannevet (d. 1780). A print after De Groot dating to the mid-eighteenth century was published under the title *Een yder pronkt alhier op zijne Staten Wagen, de helden van Nassau worde hier ten toon gedragen* (“Each one is flaunted here on his

⁴⁹⁹ J. van Rijndorp, *De geschaakte bruid, óf De verliefde reizigers; blyspél* (Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1690), unpaginated page following frontispiece.

Staatcywagen, the heroes of Nassau are carried on display here”) (fig. 84).⁵⁰¹ This version of the series no longer includes the image of Adolf of Nassau and is therefore configured in a 3 x 5 format rather than the initial 4 x 4 one. A comparison between the 1659 print (fig. 70) and this one published by Kannevet shows that the latter are mostly close copies, presumably made directly after the blocks by De Groot.⁵⁰² Comparison furthermore shows that over the span of roughly a century the blocks had been worn down substantially. Especially the image of William I of Orange, which may still be one of the original 1659 blocks, has been damaged almost beyond recognition due to the apparent excessive use of the block; revealing thus the popularity of this figure in particular (fig. 70 detail and fig. 84 detail).⁵⁰³ Given that prints from these blocks are very rare today, this observation serves as a reminder that materials that once must have circulated in the highest numbers are often the ones that have been least well preserved in the present.⁵⁰⁴

Another indication of the images’ popularity is a 1660 anonymous publication with the title *Vreugde Sangh, Ofte verhael vande Stacy-Wagens, Vertoont op den Dam, voor Mevrouw de Princesse van Orangje, en haer Soon zijn Hoogheyt de Prince van Orangjen: Op den 17 Iuny, 1660* (“Song of Joy, or the story of the *Staatcywagens*, shown on the Dam

⁵⁰⁰ Jongema 1997, 31-33.

⁵⁰¹ While the Kannevet print is not dated, this can be inferred from the period in which Kannevet was active, from 1723 to 1780. See Boerma et al 2014, 203-205, 767-772, esp. 769 cat. no. *K42.

⁵⁰² On the processes for copying woodblock designs with preservation of orientation, see D. Landau and P. Parshall, *The Renaissance print 1470-1550* (New Haven, 1994) 22-23.

⁵⁰³ That both prints can be traced back to the same block can be established by a close visual comparison, showing similarities in the shadows and clouds of the prints despite difference in appearance that could be explained by damages and repairs to the block. It is further supported by the observation by Boerma that Kannevet seems to have come into the possession of much of the De Groot stock. For this see Boerma et al. 2014, 188. The Kannevet print shows clear differences compared with the images in the 1660 *Vreugde Sangh* pamphlet, discussed below.

⁵⁰⁴ J. van der Stock, “Epilogue,” *Printing images in Antwerp: the introduction of printmaking in a city: fifteenth century to 1585* (Rotterdam, 1998) 173-188; and J. van der Waals, “Introduction”, *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw van kunst tot kastpapier*, exh. cat. (Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2006) 10-21.

Square, before Madame the Princess of Orange, and her Son his Highness the Prince of Orange: On the 17th of June, 1660”).⁵⁰⁵ The images of the sixteen *Staatcywagens* in this pamphlet (fig. 85A, details) are also copies after the ones published the year before by De Groot. While fairly similar in size, the figures are more closely cropped within their frames and subtly but decisively deviate from the original compositions, most notably in elements such as the horses’ legs and foreground shading (fig. 70 detail and fig. 85B detail, comparison). This duplicate set of woodcuts also lacks the level of detail seen in the images of De Groot’s publications.⁵⁰⁶

The occurrence of at least two sets of copies after the *Staatcywagens* woodcuts means that the prints circulated by De Groot were popular enough not only to worry Lescaille, but also to catch the attention of yet other publishers who were willing to invest in the production of counterfeited images. The *Vreugde Sangh* title page lists a “lover of the fatherland” as the author and “various lovers [of the fatherland]” as the printers.⁵⁰⁷ By remaining anonymous, the entrepreneurs behind the publication likely wished to avoid the repercussions of violating the city government’s aforementioned “special consent” of publication and reproduction of the *Staatcywagens* awarded to Lescaille the same year. Yet their decision to adopt an explicitly patriotic pseudonym suggests that they specifically catered to an Orangist market that equated the political legacies of the Stadtholders with the history of the Republic.

⁵⁰⁵ SAA 15030, Library, inv. no. 152205.

⁵⁰⁶ The difference in quality can be partially explained by a cruder rendering of the figures and less sophisticated technique, and in part by what appears to be a less careful printing process, evident throughout the printed images as well as the printed text.

⁵⁰⁷ “*Door een Liefhebber des Vader-lands*” [...] “*Gedruckt / door verscheyde Lief-hebbers / Anno 1660*”

The *Vreugde Sangh*, not unlike the *Vreugdtriomfe*, seems to have been intended as a songbook. Ahead of the text a line makes reference to a melody by the name of “Antwerpse Ommeganck”. Before introducing the *Staatcywagens*, the anonymous author sets the scene in terms that are not unlike those of the *Journal* manuscript. The author asks his fellow *liefhebbers* to envision the city on the day of June 15, 1660; the procession into the city is then described as passing the town hall on the way to the *Kloveniersdoelen*, accompanied by cavalry and militia and met by a “swarming crowd”, who are then all witness to the *Staatcywagens*’ appearance before the town hall.⁵⁰⁸ The day of the entry and the parade of floats are as such conflated into one event, which the reader is encouraged to experience through the text and images that follow on the next twelve pages.

The verses are loosely based on Vos’ poems of 1660, and paired with the copies after De Groot’s 1659 images. The *Staatcywagens* representing the seven provinces appear in seemingly random order throughout the descriptions of the first eleven floats, which in 1660, of course, had been dedicated to the Republic and the recent (mis)fortunes of the House of Stuart. Text and image align more accurately in the remainder of the text. The poems close with a description of the young William’s response to the cheering crowd, according to the author “lifting his little hat” and “waving it cheerfully over his head”, after having “publicly viewed all of these remarkable floats”.⁵⁰⁹

In addition to images representing the *Staatcywagens*, there were also several representations of the figure of William III in response to his visit to Amsterdam. The reverse of the *Vreugde Sangh* title page contains a small woodcut portrait of the child

⁵⁰⁸ *Vreugde Sangh* [...] 1660, unpag. “[...] *Daer was een groot crioel / Vreught en lustigheyt maect groot gedruys* [...]”

⁵⁰⁹ *Vreugde Sangh* [...] 1660, “[...] *hy nam sijn hoetje alle sins / En hy swierden ’t lustigh over ’t hooft / Na dat hy openbaer / Beschout had allegaer / Met sijn Moeder dese Wagens raer.*”

William III on horseback (fig. 85C, detail), which is based on prints of c. 1655 such as the one by Pieter Jansz. (1602-1672) after Henrick Rochusz van Dagen (1633 – after 1664) (fig. 86). Beneath the image, a short poem voices excitement on behalf of the city in regard to William's reception in the city:

“The little sprig of Orange, now lift him in the saddle,
To the joy and happiness of all, who behold him today,
In the city of Amsterdam, one shouts in cheerful language,
Welcome young Prince, little sprig of Nassau.”⁵¹⁰

The imagery and rhetoric of the young William III on horseback was connected to the anticipation of him assuming the responsibilities and offices of his father, grandfather and great-grandfather. The topic is treated as such for instance in the joyous entry-themed *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*, featuring poems by the Amsterdam poet Jan Zoet (1609-1674) and an engraving by Adriaen van de Venne (1589-1662), published in January of 1660 (fig. 87). Amsterdam and Leiden, represented by Hercules and Pallas in both the text and image of the *Zinnebeeld*, are encouraged to lift William in the saddle of the “Horse of State” (fig. 87 detail).⁵¹¹ The inclusion of this image could very well indicate the impact of William's tour of the city on horseback on June 19, especially considering the conflation in the publication's text of several events over the course of the multi-day visit.

An undated etching printed on four separate sheets, presumably depicting William III touring Amsterdam in a carriage, was published by Clement de Jonghe (c.1624-1677) at some point after the visit of William and Mary to the city (fig. 88). It shows a procession of

⁵¹⁰Idem, unpag. (verso frontispiece). “*d’Orangjen Spruyt, verheft hem heden in den Sael / Tot vreught en blijtschap groot, van al die hem aenschouwen / Tot Amsterdam de Stadt, roeptmen met blijde tael / Welckom ghy Jonge Vorst, ghy spruytje van Nassouwen.*”

⁵¹¹ Cordes 2008, 419-423.

both halberdiers and what look like citizen – men, women and children – ahead of a horse-drawn carriage from which the figure of the young prince emerges. The number of children in the composition is notable, as is the seemingly casual atmosphere in which bystanders behold the scene (contrasting the chaotic “hundreds of thousands of people” vying for a glimpse as described by Buijsero in his *Journal*, referenced earlier). William himself is depicted interacting with a modestly dressed man and a child standing near his carriage (fig. 88 detail).

The scene does not provide enough context to determine which, if any, specific moment of the visit is represented. What the print seemingly emphasizes, however, is the physical presence of the Prince and his proximity to Amsterdam’s citizens during his many movements through the city. This emphasis is particularly striking given the distance that the configuration of the *Staatcywagens* ceremonial created between the royal visitors and the citizenry. It is tempting to think that this print could have been marketed towards those broad sections of *Amsterdammers* who would have experienced the event from the perspective presented in the print, and for whom the processions of the Prince and his entourage through the streets would have been a spectacle in and of itself. Its genesis does not impede this view: De Jonghe was an eclectic publisher and bookseller, whose extensive stock – recorded by preserved stock and shop inventories – ranged across a wide spectrum of genres and prices.⁵¹²

Pieter Nolpe, finally, also published a print ensemble (fig. 89) to commemorate the visit of William III and Mary, based on his 1638 series of etchings depicting the entry of Maria de’ Medici into Amsterdam (chapter 3). In order to transform the older plates, notable changes have occurred in several of the plates. The fourth plate located at the center of the

series when assembled, which serves as the title page, describes the print as depicting “how Her Highness Maria Stuart, Royal Princess, and her Son His Highness William of Nassau III Prince of Orange, &c., at the behest of the [...] burgomasters of the city of Amsterdam, were welcomed into this city by the Amsterdam Cavalry on the 15th of June 1660”, under the guidance of the aforementioned Captain, Lieutenant, and Standard Bearer, Joan van Waveren, Dirck Tulp and Jacob de Graeff. Portraits of the latter have been included, and are indicated by the letters A, B and C. Below the title appears a list of the 105 participating cavaliers, thirty-five for each of the three companies. As an elaborate and lush publication, aimed directly at those participating in the ceremonial entry, the prints thus specifically functioned as a commemorative object for Amsterdam’s ruling elite – a product in the vein of Nolpe’s past endeavors of 1638 and 1642, which he would have expected to be profitable.⁵¹³

The first plate has further been adjusted to accurately depict the *Regulierspoort* rather than the *Haarlemmerpoort* (compare fig. 17C). In order to do that, the building continues onto the second plate, where a figure of the original composition had to be eliminated to make room. A similar figure on horseback has instead been included as an addition to the first plate. Throughout the series gaps between figures have been used to add additional figures, creating a slightly more lively procession. Another notable change is seen in the sixth plate, which depicts the carriage (compare fig. 17H). The portrait of Marie de’ Medici has, remarkably, remained unchanged, and is used to represent her grand-daughter Mary Stuart. The figure of Amalia of Solms, seen from the back in the original composition, has

⁵¹² F. Laurentius, *Clement de Jonghe (ca. 1624-1677): kunstverkoper in de Gouden Eeuw* (Houten, 2010).

⁵¹³ See chapter 2, p. 100 and chapter 3, p. 144.

been partially obscured in order to include here the portrait of William III, who turns around and engages the viewer directly.

But not all responses in the city's print market were celebratory. On the very last page of the *Vreughde Sangh*, an adaptation of Vos' final verses appear as a post script below an image of the crest of Amsterdam, including the imperial crown and lions, that is placed over a representation of the new town hall (fig. 85D). The verse, now including a more ominous undertone, reads "the prosperous [city of] Amsterdam today flaunts with Nassau / Those who honor brave heroes will preserve their prosperity."⁵¹⁴ Functioning as a warning against insincerity and ingratitude, the author alludes to the possibility that the gratitude shown to the Orange-Nassau family and stadtholders for the occasion may not last longer than "today". In order to preserve its power, Amsterdam should continue to honor "brave heroes" – an obvious reference to William III – or the prosperous city may lose its wealth in the future.

Accusations of insincerity would, in fact, not be limited to subliminal messages such as these. In particular Jan Vos, who in previous work had been critical of the Stadtholders, and had even alluded to the city's relief over the death of William II, was heavily criticized by his more Orangistic colleagues, including Jan Zoet. As already pointed out by Kossmann and Worp in the early twentieth century, Vos was ridiculed in several anonymous pamphlets for his apparently wavering attitude towards the Princes of Orange, as well as for his inclusion in the 1660 parade of a float that re-enacted the beheading of Charles I.⁵¹⁵

⁵¹⁴ *Vreugde Sangh* [...] 1660, unpag. "'t Wel vaerent Amsterdam, Pronckt hede met Nassouwe / Wie dappre Helden eert, sal 't welvaren behouwen."

⁵¹⁵ For an overview of the various critical pamphlets following the 1660 *Staatcywagens*, see: E. F. Kossmann, "De polemiek over de vertooningen van Jan Vos in 1660 en De t'Zamenspraeck van Jan Tamboer en Jan Vos," *Oud Holland* 30 (1912): 38-49; J. A. Worp, "Nog iets angaande de polemiek over de vertooningen van Jan Vos in 1660, enz." in: idem, 38-49; M. B. Smits-Veldt, "17 juni 1660: De zuster van de Engelse koning Karel II houdt een intocht in Amsterdam. Daarbij wekt eem 'tableau vivant' van Jan Vos haar

According to the author the *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout*, the sight of this third *tableaux vivant* “not only shocked” the Royal Princess but “nearly made her faint.”⁵¹⁶ A supposed citizen of Delft “regretful of viewing” the *Staatcywagens* meanwhile claimed that Mary Stuart turned her back on all of the displays, after she could “barely contain her tears” upon seeing the scene of her father’s ill fate.⁵¹⁷

The latter poem was published in a pamphlet sarcastically entitled “On the Amsterdam *tableaux vivants* by the Great Poet Jan Vos” (“*Op de Amsterdamse vertooningen van den Grooten Poet Jan Vos*”), published by Jan van Duisburg. Aside from the offenses previously pointed out, the author(s) of the three poems included in Van Duisburg’s pamphlet accuse him of plagiarism. There is also a notable emphasis on the extravagant nature of Vos’ work in these criticisms, lamenting in one poem that he decorated all of Amsterdam with “feeble Poetry [...] a flashy fair of verses”, while the *Staatcywagens* are characterized in another poem as “crammed full of meaningless nonsense and mute puppets”.⁵¹⁸ The concerns over the “flashiness” of Vos’ creations were furthermore

afschuw. Dichters als maatschappelijke en politieke commentatoren”, in: R. Schenkveld-van der Dussen (ed.), *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis* (Groningen, 1993) 265-270; Cordes 2008, 438-441; Geerdink 2012, 64-65, 202-203.

⁵¹⁶ *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout* [...] 1660, 5.

⁵¹⁷ *Delvenaars berouw, Over 't bezichtigen van de achttien Staatcijwagens t' Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Jan van Duisburg, 1660) 4: “[...] *Want 't is niet waardig om 't aenschouwen; Dat bleek aan Wilhelms bedgenoot / Die al zijn werk de rugge boot / Ia kon haar naauw van tranen houwen / Toen zij haar Vader quam t' aanschouwen / Op 't Moortschavot, die, door de Moort / Op 't blok ellendig is versmoort* [...].”

⁵¹⁸ *Op de Amsterdamse vertooningen* 1660, “Den herdoopten Ian Vos”, p. 3: “[...] *Jan Iansen, Jan, een bloed die uit den Ezels ploeg / Van lamme Poëzij, door kermis pronk van vaarzen / Heel Amsterdam stoffeert met wijens voor'er naarzen* [...].” Idem, “Delvenaars berouw”, p. 4 “[...] *Wat's loon (dus vraagt een Delvenaar) / Van d' Amsterdamse huichelaar? Die achttien wagen vol kon proppen / Met ijde zin en stomme poppen* [...].” Idem, “Den vermaarden Poëet Jan Vos, Rydende te Paart Voor de Amsterdamse Staaciwagens”, p. “[...] *al dat woelend' en verwarrende gebroet* [...].”

perceived to be exacerbated by Vos' participation in the procession, according to the pamphlets, riding on horseback in front of the floats.⁵¹⁹

Jan Zoet's condemnation of Vos will have been motivated both by personal convictions and professional rivalry. Zoet, a long-time supporter of the Oranges, had devised similarly themed verses, such as those accompanying the aforementioned *Prinsselik Zinnebeeld*, but also poems celebrating the entry of William III into Leiden in November 1659 and *tableaux vivants* performed in honor of the joyous entry of Charles II, which were published in May of 1660.⁵²⁰ Both in his "Restoration of Britain and Orange" (*Herstellinge van Britanje en Oranje*), published soon after the visit of Mary and William, and another anonymous polemical poem (*Mot in 't Vossevel*), persuasively attributed to him, Zoet chastises Vos in terms very similar to the poems published by Van Duisburg, focusing on his insincerity, opportunism, and tactless portrayal of Charles II.⁵²¹

The scholarly interpretation of these critical responses so far has focused primarily on issues of attribution, while the motivations behind the attacks have been placed in the context of a largely self-evident dispute based in political and professional opposition. Considering the analysis of the themes deployed in the *Staatcywagens* above, however, I would add that Vos' decision to utilize and subvert symbols and imagery derived directly from contemporary Orangistic publications could in fact have created an unexpected liability for the critical reception of his work. His appropriation of Orangist iconography and

⁵¹⁹ *Op de Amsterdamse vertooningen* 1660, "Den vermaarden Poët Jan Vos, Rydende te Paart", pp. 6: "Het scheen geen hooverdij doen Jan te paart quam rijden, Voor d'eerste Stacikar, daar Nederlant op zat [...] Reet hij voor uit, om dat hem ijder aan zou kijken, En zeggen: dat's die Man en puikpoet Jan Vos [...]."

⁵²⁰ J. Zoet, *Het triomferende Leiden* [...] (The Hague: Johannes Rammazeyn, 1659); J. Zoet, *Vertoningen gepast op de Blyde en Staatcyrijkke Inkoopste van d'Alderdoor-luchtigste Majesteit Karlos de Tweede* [...], The Hague (Johannes Rammazeyn) 1660. It is not clear if these *tableaux vivants* were ever performed. See also Cordes 2008, 414-415, 433-436.

⁵²¹ J. Zoet, *D'uitsteekenste digt-kunstige werkken* [...] (Amsterdam: Ian Claesz ten Hoorn, 1675) 134-136. Cordes 2008, 436-438. *De Mot in 't Vossevel* [...] (The Hague: Ian Pietersz, 1660). See also note 518.

language invited scorning responses from authors such as Zoet, who had fostered this form of rhetoric in support of the Prince for years. The accusations of theft and plagiarism leveled at Vos, prevalent alongside the more conspicuous claims of hubris and incompetence, could perhaps similarly be understood in this context.

As pointed out by Geerdink, Vos' response to the criticisms was minimal, and underlines the fact that he prioritized the Amsterdam burgomasters as his most esteemed critics.⁵²² But the reverberation of the event in popular print – especially in 1660 – reveals implications for the effectiveness of the political message devised by Vos in name of the burgomasters. The only semi-official publications that resulted from the 1659 and 1660 receptions were the publications of Vos' poems by Lescaille. The resulting vacuum was, arguably, quickly filled by voices both in celebration and condemnation of the events.

The “unofficial” circuit of popular prints and pamphlets resulted in a reflection on various parts of the multi-day visits. The parades, commemorated through several competing series of reproductions, and the presence of the young William III in the city in 1660, repeatedly evoked in both word and image, however, received by far the most attention. An explanation for this can be sought, I believe, in the close proximity of these aspects of the ceremonial receptions with existing propagandistic discourses that had developed during the 1650s. The Orangistic segments of the parades, both in 1659 and 1660, engaged directly with publicly leveled questions surrounding the legacy of the Stadtholders, and the perceived lack of gratitude shown by supporters of the True Freedom faction for the constitutional role of the Orange-Nassau dynasty in the Republic's history. Seeing the young William III touring Amsterdam, on the other hand, would have galvanized his supporters, familiar as

⁵²² Geerdink 2012, pp. 202-203.

they were with the iconography of the Prince on horseback as a symbol of the hoped-for return to prominence of his family in the Republic's government. As this analysis shows, the public sphere of print culture not only informed the main themes and concepts of the ephemeral performances but, as part of an ongoing process of intermedial exchange, also affected their later reception.

Conclusion

As is true for most, if not all, ceremonial receptions, the Oranges and Stuarts in 1659 and 1660 can be understood as diplomatically complex balancing acts that yielded both favorable and unfavorable responses. Urban space was used to represent history and power, including the many visits to civic buildings which highlighted the function of these institutions not just on the social and local level, but also contributed to the city's strategy to construct and communicate power on the (inter)national stage. Compared to the strategy observed in the entry of Marie de' Medici in particular, the reliance on urban fabric over ephemeral structures appears even more prominent during these two later events, as in particular new and imposing buildings were foregrounded. These permanent structures, as such, served as a physical frame and counterpart to the Orangistic iconography of the ephemeral floats and performances designed by Vos. The latter two were furthermore mediated by the careful wording of Vos' explicatory poems – though it is evident that these subtle arguments will have gotten lost in the visual spectacle for the great majority of audiences present, and will have been virtually impossible to reconstruct for those learning about the event second-hand from sources such as the *Vreughde Sangh*.

The significant number of publications describing, depicting, or commenting on the two visits, in particular in 1660, indicate the cultural significance of the visit for

contemporary audiences – and many commenters, both positive and negative, were moved to do so in support, or defense, of William III and the former Stadtholders. The public ceremonies, as such, were thus not only a vehicle by which the Amsterdam burgomasters could attempt to strengthen the relationship between the city and the Prince and Princesses of Orange in the context of international diplomacy. The receptions also opened up discussion in regards to the city’s position in domestic debates relating to the Republic’s political hierarchy. In this regard, the events functioned as a continued platform for the remaining members of the Orange-Nassau dynasty to sustain support for the Orangist cause; a platform which arguably resulted directly from a successful dynastic strategy initiated by Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms.

On May 12, 1666, the Amsterdam burgomasters approved to sell or forfeit “the triumphal arches and triumphal chariots” which had remained in the city’s possession.⁵²³ It is more than likely that these were the same materials used during the 1659 and 1660 celebrations, and likely receptions in earlier years. Unbeknownst to the city, the role of Amsterdam as host to elaborate spectacles, and as primary representative body of the Republic in international diplomacy was, in fact, coming to an end. Only 6 years later, the disastrous year of 1672 and the political upheavals that followed brought an end to the First Stadtholderless Era. William III was reinstated as Stadtholder and Captain General that year, which was elaborately celebrated in his birth city of The Hague, where other public spectacles had already occurred several years earlier, in 1668.⁵²⁴ As a result of the flourishing court that William III established in The Hague, international diplomacy found a

⁵²³ E. van Biema, “Nalezing van de stadsrekeningen van Amsterdam van af het jaar 1531. V,” *Oud Holland* 24 (1906): 171-192, esp. 187.

⁵²⁴ A. Dencher, “The Politics of Spectacle: Imaging the Prince of Orange during the First Stadtholderless Era,” *The Court Historian* 19 (2014): 163-168.

new stage there. As such, the princely tradition of the ceremonial entry continued nearly seamlessly for the Orange-Nassau dynasty, not in the least part due to the continuation of the tradition in Amsterdam during the critical years of the Stadtholderless Era.

Conclusion

The triumphal arches, *tableaux vivants* and firework spectacles described in this dissertation were intended as distinct shows of honor, awarded by the city of Amsterdam only to its most significant visitors. One of the major aims of this dissertation has been to interrogate the city's motivations for staging such elaborate spectacles amid the politically challenging circumstances of the Revolt and its direct aftermath. I have asked if, and how, ephemeral festival programs and their reproductions in print contributed to both the conceptions and realities of the Dutch Republic's emerging governmental apparatus and political hierarchies during this formative period. Why was such an essentially monarchical ceremonial tradition appropriated, and adapted, to negotiate the terms, needs, and ambitions of a nascent republican state and its most powerful city?

As argued in the preceding chapters, the political purpose of ceremonial entries into Amsterdam varied greatly in accordance with the identities of those who entered and the relationship they had to the city. Initially, entry ceremonial continued to legitimize those who were projected leaders of the emerging republic, such as William of Orange (1580) and Robert Dudley, the Earl of Leicester (1586). During the early stages of the Revolt, this was not surprising. Although republican ideals were present in this period, the necessity of an "eminent head" to form part of an effective body politic was still broadly accepted. This meant that the appointments of governors and stadtholders took place in the context of discussions about their (limited) sovereignty and authority, both as figures representing the state and in more locally defined roles of government. This included proposals to elevate Orange and Leicester to the position of Count of Holland, a title that sovereign rulers had held in the past. Amid these possibilities, the city therefore mediated its encounters with

these governors through the conventions of established ritual, even if these were adapted for unconventional, even revolutionary, circumstances.

The two entries of Stadtholder Maurice in 1594 and 1618 could be considered to mark a transitional period in the city's ceremonial tradition. Due to the increased autonomy of the republic and eventual truce with Spain, the nature of the Stadtholderate underwent changes. In the programs designed to welcome Maurice to Amsterdam in these years, this produced a shift in emphasis from one that emphasized military aspects of the office to one concerned with domestic political responsibilities. Maurice's entry of 1594 followed a triumphant model, which allowed for a celebration of his successes as a general who, in the service of the country, both consolidated and protected the nation from external enemies. Amid the religious and political disputes of 1618, the exact role and authority of the Stadtholder came under scrutiny again. In this context, the reception of Maurice in Amsterdam that year could be interpreted as a public show of support by the city which, nevertheless, allowed for plural views on the limits and scope of the Stadtholder's authority to be seen and heard. In this sense, the event may represent the last clear instance of the ceremonial entry's traditional function to negotiate the city's relationship with domestic leadership.

As the seventeenth century progressed, entry festivities were increasingly reserved for the magnificent reception and entertainment of foreign royalty. It is telling, for instance, that a visit by Stadtholder Frederick Henry in 1628 was no longer accompanied by arches, performances or other significant spectacles.⁵²⁵ The archival evidence preserved in relation to the visits of Marie de' Medici (1638), Henrietta Maria Stuart (1642), Luise Henriette of

⁵²⁵ Dudok van Heel 2009, 26.

Brandenburg (1659), and Mary Stuart (1660) instead reveal increased considerations of the benefit that such events had for the city's international relations. These receptions, therefore, should be understood rather as localized iterations of a transnational lexicon of decorum and power, by which the Dutch Republic and Amsterdam articulated its positions and alliances as part of a pan-European diplomatic network.

As chapters two and three point out, the celebrations of 1638 and 1642 show how the contemporary format of the ceremonial entry, comprising both the event and its subsequent publication, was employed to bolster the growing status of the Republic in the European context. Yet, as this comparison makes clear, the ceremonial reception formed a vehicle for different actors to serve as its primary representatives: while the decorations, entertainments and texts produced in 1638 were designed to foreground the political capital of the wealthy merchant class of Amsterdam, the emphasis on the Orange-Stuart union in 1642 required that the Orange-Nassau dynasty and the person and office of the Stadtholder formed the primary focus. As such, the entries illuminate how by the second quarter of the seventeenth century the ceremonial entry tradition in the Northern Netherlands was adapted to serve Dutch Republican diplomacy and state-making, while negotiating in particular the competing roles of the economically powerful city on the one hand and the Prince of Orange on the other.

As demonstrated in chapter four, the international relations with Brandenburg and the newly restored Stuart monarchy in England formed the main motivations behind the respective receptions of Amalia of Solms and her daughters, including Electress Luise Henriette of Brandenburg in 1659, and Mary Stuart and her son William III in 1660. Taking place during the Stadtholderless Era, these two entries allow an appreciation of the continued importance of the Orange-Nassau widows and Princesses for the processes of public

diplomacy by which the city maintained political relations with neighboring countries and international courts. The marriages of Frederick Henry and Amalia of Solms' children, often analyzed in terms of dynastic strategy, can therefore be understood to have secured the family's continued political relevance in a republic that was nevertheless dependent on the predominantly courtly context of international diplomacy.

Speaking broadly, the development sketched above signified a shift from an entry tradition that in the late sixteenth century was still rooted in the constitutional model of the Burgundy-Habsburg entries, to one that was predominantly concerned with international diplomacy as the city and state grew more autonomous in the seventeenth century. Yet throughout the period under discussion, concepts of reciprocity and transaction formed a constant factor in the motivations and functioning of such events; a quality of entry ceremonial that has been stressed most notably by Damen.⁵²⁶ This was made explicit, also in the case of Amsterdam, by the exchange of luxury gifts and the city's obligation to pay for all costs related to hosting a princely guest, including consumable gifts such as food and drink. Following the Dutch Revolt, gift-giving practices continued, as evidenced by expensive presents of silverware to the Princes of Orange, which in some cases were retained in Dutch town halls for the exclusive use by the Stadtholders when in residence.⁵²⁷ Perhaps not surprisingly, the city also continued to pay for the *defroyement* of their princely and royal guests and their retinues, and among the costs found in the Amsterdam city ledgers related to ceremonial receptions are, as we have seen, extravagant sums dedicated specifically to this purpose.

⁵²⁶ Damen 2007.

⁵²⁷ K. Zandvliet, "Het hof van een dienaar met vorstelijke allure", Zandvliet 2000, 37-63, esp. 55-57.

Such acts of generosity, as Damen argues, cultivated an expectation of reciprocity in the relationships between cities and their guests. While the entries of William of Orange, Leicester, and Maurice continued to leverage this principle as part of a public negotiation of domestic power relations and political hierarchies, later entries – most notably those of Marie de' Medici, Henrietta Maria Stuart, Luise Henriette, and Mary Stuart – primarily directed its efforts outward as the city attempted to broadcast and improve its standing in an international context. That this shift was seemingly inaugurated by the lavish reception of Marie de' Medici raises the question to what degree the city may in fact have been inspired by the Queen Mother's deliberate use of ceremonial language in diplomacy and self-representation. And if this was indeed the case, one can wonder how the strategies of Amsterdam's *nouveau-riche* ruling class in this regard may, in turn, be compared to the rich festival tradition of the Medici court in Florence.

Stately receptions of non-sovereign governors or foreign royalty, such as discussed in this dissertation, undoubtedly formed part of the ceremonial life of other cities in Europe, but this topic has yet to receive the same level of scholarly attention as the joyous entries of sovereign rulers. The absence of the latter in the Dutch Republic, however, brings to the fore the wider scope and subtle functioning of the early modern ceremonial entry tradition. Moving beyond constructions of kingship in a century of increased absolutism, Amsterdam ceremonial demonstrated the importance of such events for the negotiations of power and hierarchy that preceded the realization of an autonomous Dutch state, as well as its eventual recognition on the international stage.

Without a constitutional and ritual function that demanded adherence to protocol, the entries in Amsterdam were characterized by a relatively flexible approach to both the conception and implementation of the festivities and their commemoration. This allowed

deviations from established formats and the adaptation of spatial aspects such as processional routes, but also facilitated the introduction of innovative subject matter and topical iconographies. In the case of Amsterdam, adherence to tradition appeared secondary to the direct challenges and motivations of individual events – perhaps more so than elsewhere. The changes that occurred as a result were not only based on the shifting political functions or practicalities of the ceremonies, but were also tied to the city’s evolving physical and cultural topography.

The use and activation of Amsterdam’s urban space in entry ceremonial, initially unvarying in nature, was responsive to changes both within and outside of the city. While the arrival route into the city had been planned by way of IJ and Damrak until at least the receptions of 1638 and 1642, the construction of new roads and buildings prompted revisions of this longstanding tradition. In 1638 and 1642 the decision to do so was at least in part based on the preferences of the visiting guests, but the approach taken in 1660 reveals a deliberate decision on behalf of the city to highlight a monumental new city gate. These later entries also marked an increased use of the city’s (newest) urban fabric and a shift from focus on the decoration program with arches and *tableaux vivants* designed for the day of entry to a more elaborate ceremonial “viewing” of the city over the course of multiple days. During the tours and additional entertainments that took place, the city itself was presented as a spectacle.

Scholars have noted the continued use of *tableaux vivants* in the Northern Netherlands as opposed to the increased use of painting in the Southern Netherlands.⁵²⁸ The choice for performance over painting as the predominant medium employed in the

decoration programs, however, was likely based as much on prevailing tradition as time constraints. Unlike the situation before the Revolt, the planning of ceremonies was no longer tied to occasions typically announced well in advance, such as successions, coronations, or marriages. Instead they took place in response to more unexpected events, including military victories, domestic and international turmoil, or the unexpected arrival of foreign royalty seeking refuge in the Republic. For the receptions included in this dissertation, the time allotted for the preparation of decorative programs in most cases ranged from a matter of days or perhaps weeks to a period of just under two months in the case of the reception of Leicester in 1586. Not coincidentally, the latter was the only event that featured an arch decorated primarily with paintings. In addition to performances, and a strategic use of the city's permanent splendor, a celebratory banquet could also be arranged even with little notice. Banquets were customarily offered to a visiting guest, and their potential as a powerful sensorial medium could be put to strategic use, as it was in 1638, to demonstrate magnificence through exoticism.

The invention of the decoration programs discussed in chapter one seemed to have been the result of a collaboration between the city government officials and the *Eglantier* chamber of rhetoric. In 1618, public festivities involved the participation of both the old and new chambers of rhetoric and Samuel Coster's *Nederduytsche Academie*. Coster was still involved in the festivities of 1638 and 1642, although the invention of the *tableaux vivants* seems gradually to have been entrusted more fully to poets connected to the *Atheneum Illustre* (1638) and *Schouwburg* (1659-1660). Painters connected to the latter institution, such as Claes Moeyaert, were well-positioned to become involved in the visual composition

⁵²⁸ Snoep 1975, 88-89. See also S. Bussels, "Making the most of theatre and painting: the power of tableaux vivants in joyous entries from the Southern Netherlands (1458–1635)," S. Bussels and C. van Eck

of the theatrical scenes, both as they appeared on stage and the impressions that were later provided of them in print publications.

The relationship between the city government and these different institutions, along with their contingent networks varied. While Coster's academy, for instance, seems to have worked relatively independently from city leadership, the efforts of Caspar Barlaeus and Jan Vos were coordinated much more closely with Amsterdam's burgomasters. The period under study demonstrates an increasingly institutional approach to the organization of public ceremonial which, given the dissolution of the chambers of rhetoric and subsequent establishment of the *Schouwburg*, mirrored cultural and literary life in the city in general. This meant that the ability of the entry ceremony itself to function as a platform for public participation and popular opinion necessarily decreased. Yet the city's expanding public sphere allowed new commemorative practices surrounding these politically significant events to take shape in print.

Based on the preserved materials, it appears that printed records of the festivities were initially scarce. Occasionally pamphlets with only basic descriptions were published outside (1580), and eventually inside the city (1618). With the exception of the *Medicea Hospes* (1638), no elaborate festival publications were commissioned by the city. A true festival book tradition therefore did not develop in Amsterdam to the same extent as it did in other large cities in Europe, such as Antwerp and Paris. This may be attributed to the fact that the important constitutive function of joyous entries, which such publications were meant to document, reinforce and legitimize, was absent in the Northern Netherlands.

(eds.), *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture* (Malden, 2011) 37-47.

Commemoration of the events therefore took place for different purposes, and would involve different agents in Amsterdam.

An important role in this regard was reserved for artists and publishers who recognized the commercial potential of printed depictions of the parades and processions in a market that was eager to revisit such aspects of the ceremonial entries. The most prolific among them may have been Pieter Nolpe, who was first involved in the *Medicea Hospes* project as an etcher. In partnership with Samuel Coster, he would subsequently take the initiative to publish an illustrated description of the visit of Henrietta Maria in 1642, which in size and format was intended to serve as its companion piece. In addition, Nolpe was responsible for the creation and publication of several monumental prints depicting the cavalcades that escorted the 1638, 1642 and 1660 entry processions. In 1638 he had etched the cavalcade procession published by Cornelis Danckerts after the designs of Jan Martsen de Jonge (fig. 17) and in 1642 he etched another cavalcade after designs by Pieter Potter (fig. 52). The 1638 plates likely resided in Nolpe's possession, since he altered and reissued the prints in 1660 to represent the cavalry accompanying the procession of Mary Stuart (fig. 89). In all his endeavors, Nolpe targeted those among Amsterdam's upper echelon who were directly involved in the ceremonies. These projects therefore pioneered a representational strategy that, in light of the established connotations of the equestrian visual tradition, particularly elevated the city's youthful elites.

A very different approach is exemplified by publisher Michiel de Groot. Aiming his efforts by contrast at a broad popular market, De Groot produced a catchpenny style print that featured woodcut images of the processional floats devised by Jan Vos in 1659, which were accompanied by their explicatory verses (fig. 70). The same images and verses were also included in a small songbook, destined to catch the eye of middle to upper class

audiences (fig. 77). These two products, when compared, invited a different interaction with the festival program and its memory. The immediacy of the catchpenny style format provided an orderly overview that encouraged contemplation of the floats and their meaning. Their depictions in the *Vreugdtriomfe* on the other hand required the user to consider the *Staatcywagens* – and represented Stadtholders – one by one, while the parade was further contextualized by topical references to recent events in politics and naval warfare. De Groot thus marketed these processional images by implementing two alternative commercial strategies that took advantage of a growing market for cheap prints and songbooks, as well as a demand for Orangistic imagery that developed during the Stadtholderless Era. The various copies that were made after his woodcuts, as argued in chapter four, are likely indicative of his success.

The decorative programs themselves, however, were also affected and arguably transformed by Amsterdam's lively print market. The iconographic programs of *tableaux vivants* were increasingly developed in dialogue with print culture, such as the use of themes and tropes present in political propaganda and newsprints. This meant that consumers of the arches and performative displays, such as the waterborne parade organized by the Academy in 1618, interacted with the subject matter in a way that was relatively intuitive and that connected the program to topical discussions in which large sections of the audience partook.

Among such topics were recurring debates regarding the position of the Stadtholder, political and military events associated with the Revolt, and incipient discourses regarding a shared Dutch Republican identity. This took the form of allusions to a perceived shared struggle or ancient past, as evident for instance in *tableaux vivants* and paintings referencing the Batavian revolt (1594, 1659, 1660) or allegorical representations of the war against

Spain (1594, 1642). The increasingly consolidated territory of the Republic was furthermore evoked by references to successful sieges and battles waged by the Dutch army (1594, 1618) and visualized by the personified provinces present on Coster's boats (1618) and Vos' *Staatcywagens* (1659, 1660). While such subjects initially functioned to address topical concerns, their inclusion in the entries of 1642, 1659 and 1660 reflected on the early years of the Revolt from a certain historical distance. The memory of the war, in those events, served to publicly assess the legacy and future of the Orange-Nassau dynasty amid changing political circumstances.

The decorative programs, their representation in print, and related texts and images circulating in Dutch print culture, therefore reinforced each other to create narratives about the ideal state and body politic. The hierarchies and power structures that these public displays can be argued to have helped negotiate, consequently were derived from materials quite different than the established themes and iconographies that had surrounded the construction of kingship in the context of monarchy. Throughout the period under discussion, however, the programs invented for Amsterdam entries show that the cultural appeal of kingship, as manifested in a transnational language of royal courtly custom, magnificence and splendor, remained strong in the Dutch Republic. The fashioning of identities, both for the political bodies of government such as the city of Amsterdam and the Province of Holland, as well as the officials that represented them, took place, at least in part, in the context of such internationally recognized conventions, which were adapted and transformed to serve Dutch Republican interests.

These forms of self-representation furthermore existed alongside, and in dialogue with, other representative strategies found in the innovative artistic traditions cultivated within the seventeenth-century Netherlands such as portraiture, cityscape paintings, and

map-making. The precise relation between the ephemeral programs under discussion here, and the permanent artworks and decoration programs that were commissioned for Amsterdam's monumental new buildings, provides a particularly compelling avenue for further research.

As I have stated in the introduction to this dissertation, this study is aware of its many limitations, and does not claim to have exhausted analysis of its subject. Due to its interdisciplinary nature, the implications of some of the conclusions I have presented here could be further developed not only in the context of art history, but cultural history, literature, theater, urban studies, music, political science, and yet other lines of scholarship that intersect with what is an exceedingly rich topic. As a final display of my personal affection for this project, I will therefore state my sincerest hope that this dissertation may be the impetus for such research, and prove useful to those who will decide to undertake it.

Bibliography

Sources:

Aitzema, L. *Saken van Staet in Oorlogh in ende omtrent de Vereenigte Nederlanden*. 6 vols. The Hague: J. Veely, J. Tongerloo and J. Doll, 1669-1672.

Amsterdamsche Vreugdtriomfe bestaende in alle de Triomfdichten, ter eeren van de Doorluchtige Huizen van Nassouw, Oranje en Anhalt. Benevens de Victorie, zoo voor als in Koopenhaven. Als ook de bevochte victorie van Funen, door [...] Michiel de Ruiter [...]. Amsterdam: Michiel de Groot, 1660.

Amsterdamsche vreughde-stroom, bestaende in zoete, vrolijcke ende aengename nieuwe deuntjes ende seer aerdige toontjes, gevloeyt uyt het breyn van verscheydene min-lievende gheesten[...]. Amsterdam: Jacob Vinckel, 1654.

Amsterdamsche vreughde-stroom, bestaende in zoete, vrolijcke ende aengename nieuwe deuntjes ende aerdighe toontjes, gevloeyt uyt het breyn van verscheydene minlievende gheesten. Amsterdam: Cornelis Jansz Stichter, 1655.

Amsterdamsche vreughde-stroom, bestaende in zoete, vrolijcke ende aengename nieuwe deuntjes ende seer aerdighe toontjes, ghevloeyt uyt het breyn van verscheydene min-lievende gheesten. Noyt voor desen meer in 't licht ghesien. Amsterdam: Abraham de Wees, 1656.

Architectura moderna, ofte, Bouwinge van onsen tyt [...]. Amsterdam: Cornelis Danckerts, 1631.

Aurelius, C. *Die cronycke van Hollandt, Zeelandt ende Vrieslant, met die cronike der biscoppen van Utrecht (Divisiiekroniek)*. Ed. Aarnoud de Hamer. n.p., 2011.

Barlaeus, C. *Medicea hospes, sive Descriptio pvblicæ gratvlationis qua Serenissimam, Augustissimamque reginam, Mariam de Medicis, exceptit Senatvs popvlvsqve Amstelodamensis [...]*. Amsterdam: J. & C. Blaeu, 1638.

---. *Marie de Medicis entrant dans Amsterdam, ou, Histoire de la reception faicte à la reyne mere du roy tres-chrestien, par les bovrigmaistres & bourgeoisie de la ville d'Amsterdam traduicte du Latin*. Amsterdam: J. & C. Blaeu, 1638.

---. *Blyde inkomst der allerdoorluchtigste koninginne, Maria de Medicis, t' Amsterdam vertaelt uit het Latijn des hooghgeleerden heeren Kasper van Baerle*. Amsterdam: J. & C. Blaeu, 1639.

---. *Epistolarum liber*. Amsterdam: Joan Blaeu, 1667.

Baudart, W. *De Nassausche Oorloghen [...]*. Amsterdam: Michiel Colijn, 1616.

Beke, G. van der. *Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Hispaniarvm infantis S. R. E. cardinalis triumphalis introitus in Flandriæ metropolim Gandavvm / Avctore Gvilielmo Becano [...]*. Antwerp: Johannes Meursius, 1636.

Beschreibung der Reisz: Empfangung desz ritterlichen Ordens: Volbringung des Heyraths: vnd glücklicher Heimführung: wie auch der ansehnlichen Einführung: gehaltener Ritterspiel vnd Frewdenfests [...]. Heidelberg: Gotthardt Vögelins, 1613.

Cats, J. *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijd*. Dordrecht: H. van Esch, 1635.

Correspondence of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leycester, during his government of the Low Countries, in the years 1585 and 1586. Ed. John Bruce. London, 1844.

Coster, S. *Vertoninghen tot Amsterdam ghedaan door de Nederduytsche Academie, op de Inkomste van zijn Excellentie, Maurits, Prince van Orangien, &c [...].* Amsterdam: Nicolaes Biestkens, 1618.

Coster, S. *Beschryvinge vande Blijde Inkoopste [...] tot Amsterdam, den 20 May, 1642.* Amsterdam: Pieter Nolpe, 1642.

Dapper, O. *Historische beschryving der stad Amsterdam [...].* Amsterdam: Jacob van Meurs, 1663.

De briefwisseling van P.C. Hooft. Ed. H.W. van Tricht. Vol. 3. Culemborg, 1979.

Delvenaars berouw, Over 't bezichtigen van de achtien Staatcijwagens t' Amsterdam. Amsterdam: Jan van Duisburg, 1660.

De Mot in 't Vossevel [...]. The Hague: Ian Pietersz, 1660.

Domselaer, T. van. *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam, haar eerste oorspronk uyt den huyze der heeren van Aemstel en Aemstellant [...].* Amsterdam: Marcus Willemsz. Doornick, 1665.

Een Refereyn ende Liedt, ghemaect op den blijde Incomste van zijner Excellencie binnen Alckmaer, den drie ende twintichten Augusti 1594. Alkmaar: Jacob de Meester, 1594.

Ens, C. *Mauriciados [...].* [s.l.: s.n.], 1595.

Gevaerts, J. G. *Pompa introitus Honori Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Avstriaci Hispaniarvm infantis [...].* Antwerp: Johannes Meursius, 1641.

Grapheus, C. *De seer wonderlijcke, schoone, triumphelijcke incompst, van den hooghmogenden Prince Philips, Prince van Spaignen, Caroli des vijfden, Keyzers sone: inde stad van Antwerpen [...].* Antwerp: Gillis van Diest, 1550.

Haestens, H. L. van and J. J. Orlers, *Den Nassauschen Lauren-crans. Beschryvinghe ende af-beeldinge van alle de victorien [...].* Leiden: Jan Jansz Orlers, Henrick Lodewijcxsoon van Haestens, 1610.

Hollantsche Mercurius. Vol. 10. Haarlem: Pieter Casteleyn, 1660.

Hollantsche Parnas, oft Verscheide gedichten. Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1660.

Holinshed Chronicles. Ed. Sir Henry Ellis. Vol. IV. London, 1808.

Houwaert, J. B. *Declaratie van die triumphante Incompst vanden [...] Prince van Oraignien binnen die princelijcke stad van Brusselse [...].* Antwerp: Christoffel Plantijn, 1579.

Huygens, C. *Mémoires de Frédéric Henri, prince d'Orange, qui contiennent ses expéditions militaires depuis 1621 jusqu'à l'année 1646* [...]. Amsterdam: P. Humbert, 1733.

---. *De gedichten van Constantijn Huygens*. Ed. J.A. Worp. Vol. 6: 1656-1661. Groningen: Wolters 1896.

Incomste vanden doorluchtighen Vorst [...] den Prince van Orangien, binnen der vermaerde coopstadt Amsterdam den xvijen Martij 1580. Antwerp: Gillis vanden Rade, 1580.

“Journaal van de Reijzen naar Amst& op het inhalen van haar Hoogheden aldaar.” Ms. UBA, n.d. [1660].

Meteren, E. van. *Commentarien Ofte Memorien Van-den Nederlandtschen Staet, Handel, Oorloghen ende Gheschiedenissen van onsen tyden* [...]. London: Hermes van Loven, 1609.

Naeranus, J. (“H. van V.”). *Amsterdamsche Buuren-kout* [...]. Haarlem, 1660.

Op de Amsterdamse vertooningen van den Grooten Poeet Jan Vos. Amsterdam: Jan van Duisburg, 1660.

Pels, A. Q. *Horatius Flaccus' Dichtkunst op onze tijden en zeden gepast* [1677]. Ed. M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen. Assen, 1973.

Pontanus, J. I. *Historische beschrijvinghe der seer wijt beroemde coop-stadt Amsterdam* [...]. Amsterdam: Iudocum Hondium, 1614.

Rijndorp, J. van. *De geschaakte bruid, óf De verliefde reizigers; blyspél*. Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1690.

Samuel Coster's Werken. Ed. R. A. Kollewijn. Vol. 1. Haarlem, 1883.

Scaliger, J. C. *Poemata in duas partes divisa* [...]. Heidelberg, 1574.

Serre, M. (Jean-Puget) de la. *Histoire curieuse de tout ce qui c'est passé a l'entree de la reyne mere du roy treschrestien dans les villes des Pays Bas* [...]. Antwerp: Balthasar Moretus, 1632.

---. *Histoire De L'Entree De La Reyne Mere Dv Roy Tres-Chrestien, Dans Les Provinces Vnies Des Pays-Bas* [...]. London: Jean Raworth for George Thomason and Octavian Pullen, 1639 [A].

---. *Histoire de l'entree de la reyne mere du roy tres-chrestien dans la Grande-Bretaigne: enrichie de planches / par le Sr. de la Serre, historigraphe de France*. London: Jean Raworth, pour George Thomason & Octavian Pullen, 1639 [B].

Triumphe tot Amsterdam/ Over het Incomen van den Hooch-gebornen Vorst Mauritius Prince van Orangien [...] den 23. 24. 25. May/ Anno 1618. Leiden: Uldrick Cornelissz. Honthorst, 1618.

Tronçon, J. *L'entrée triomphante de leurs maiestez Louis XIV roy de France et de Nauarre, et Marie Therese d'Austriche son espouse: dans la ville de Paris*. Paris: Pierre Le Petit, Thomas Ioly and Louis Bilaine, [1662].

Valladier, A. *Labyrinthe royal de l'Hercule gaulois triomphant: sur le sujet des fortunes, batailles, victoires, trophées, triomphes, mariage & autres faicts heroiques & memorables de tres-auguste & tres-chrestien prince Henry IIII roy de France & de Navarre [...]*. Avignon: Jaques Bramereau, [1601?].

Vondel, J. van den, *De werken van Vondel Deel 8. 1656-1660*. Ed. J. F. M. Sterck et al. Amsterdam, 1935.

Vos, J. *Beschryving der vertooningen, die in de schouwburg voor [...] de keur-vorstin van Brandenburg en [...] haar moeder de prinses douarière van Oranje, [...] vertoont zijn, volgens d'ordre der [...] burgemeesteren der stadt Amsterdam*. Amsterdam: J. Lescaille, 1659A.

---. *Beschrijving der vertooningen op de staacywagens, die voor [...] de kevr-vorstin van Brandenburg, en mevrouw haar moeder de prinses douariere van Oranje [...] op de markt vertoont zijn, en door de stadt reden [...]*. Amsterdam: J. Lescaille, 1659B.

---. *Beschryving der vertooningen, die voor, in, en na 't Spel van de belegering en 't ontzet van Leiden, t'Amsterdam, in de Schouwburg vertoont zijn*. Amsterdam: J. Lescaille, 1660A.

---. *Beschrijving der vertooningen op de staacywagens, die voor [...] de prinses van Oranje, &c. en haar zoon [...] op de markt vertoont zijn [...]*. Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1660B.

---. *Alle de gedichten van den Poëet Jan Vos*. Amsterdam: Jacob Lescaille, 1662.

---. *Alle de gedichten*. 2nd ed. Amsterdam: Gerrit and Hendrik Bosch, 1726.

Wagenaar, J. *Amsterdam, in zyne opkomst, aanwas, geschiedenissen, voorregten, koophandel, gebouwen, kerkenstaat, scholen, schutterye, gilden en regeeringe [...]*. Vol. 2. Amsterdam: Isaak Tirion, 1760.

Wicquefoort, A. de. *Verhael in forme van journael, van de reys ende 't vertoeven van den seer doorluchtige ende machtige prins Carel de II, koning van Groot Britannien, &c, welcke hy in Hollandt gedaen heeft, zedert den 25 Mey, tot den 2 Junij 1660*. The Hague: Adrian Vlack, 1660.

Zoet, J. *Het triomferende Leiden [...]*. The Hague: Johannes Rammazeyn, 1659.

---. *Vertoningen gepast op de Blyde en Staacyrykke Inkoomste van d'Alderdoor-luchtigste Majesteit Karlos de Tweede [...]*. The Hague: Johannes Rammazeyn, 1660.

---. *D'uitsteekenste digt-kunstige werkken [...]*. Amsterdam: Ian Claesz ten Hoorn, 1675.

Literature:

Abrahamse, J. E. *De grote uitleg van Amsterdam: stadsontwikkeling in de zeventiende eeuw*. Bussum, 2010.

Adams, A. J. *The paintings of Thomas de Keyser (1596/7-1667): A study of portraiture in seventeenth-century Amsterdam*. Diss. Harvard University, 1985. Ann Arbor, 1985.

Anderson, B. *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. London and New York, 1991.

Arnade, P. *Realms of ritual: Burgundian ceremony and civic life in late medieval Ghent*. Ithaca and London, 1996.

Assmann, A. "Re-framing memory. Between individual and collective forms of constructing the past." K. Tilmans et al. (eds.). *Performing the past. Memory, history and identity in modern Europe*. Amsterdam, 2010, 35-50.

Becker, J. "Entries, fireworks and religious festivities in the Netherlands." Béhar and Watanabe-O'Kelly, 1999, 705-720.

Béhar, P. and H. Watanabe-O'Kelly (eds.). *Spectaculum Europaeum. Theatre and spectacle in Europe (1580-1750)*. Wiesbaden, 1999.

Biema, E. "Nalezing van de stadsrekeningen van Amsterdam van af het jaar 1531. V." *Oud Holland* 24 (1906): 171-192.

Blocksom, M. "Procession, pride and politics in the Medicea Hospes (1638): a Dutch festival book for a French Queen." *Dutch Crossing* 42 (2018): 3-27.

Bloemendal, J., A. van Dixhoorn and E. Strietman (eds.). *Literary cultures and public opinion in the Low Countries, 1450-1650*. Leiden and Boston, 2011.

Blok, P. J. and P. C. Molhuysen. *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*. Vol. 5. Leiden, 1921.

Boerma, N. et al. *Kinderprenten, volksprenten, centsprenten, schoolprenten. Populaire grafiek in de Nederlanden 1650-1950*. Nijmegen, 2014.

Braudel, F. *Civilization and Capitalism, 15th-18th Century, Vol. III: The Perspective of the World*. Los Angeles and Berkeley, 1984.

Breen, J. C. "Het eerste bezoek van Prins Willem I aan Amsterdam na de Alteratie van 1578." *Amstelodamum Jaarboek* 21 (1924): 63-81.

Broekman, I. and H. Helmers, "'Het hart des offraers' – The Dutch Gift as an act of self-representation." *Dutch Crossing: Journal of Low Countries Studies* 31 (2007): 223-252.

Broomhall, S. and J. van Gent. *Gender, power and identity in the early modern House of Orange-Nassau*. London and New York, 2016 [A].

---. *Dynastic Colonialism: Gender, materiality and the early modern house of Orange-Nassau*. London, 2016 [B].

Bryant, L. M. *The King and the city in Parisian royal entry ceremony*. Geneva, 1986.

Bussels, S. "Van macht en mensenwerk. Retorica als performatieve strategie in de Antwerpse intocht van 1549." Diss. Universiteit Gent, 2005.

---. "Making the most of theatre and painting: the power of tableaux vivants in joyous entries from the Southern Netherlands (1458–1635)." S. Bussels and C. van Eck (eds.), *Theatricality in Early Modern Art and Architecture*. Malden, 2011, 37-47.

- . *Rhetoric, performance and Power: The Antwerp entry of Prince Philip in 1549*. Amsterdam, 2012.
- Canova-Green, M.-C. et al. *Writing royal entries in early modern Europe*. Turnhout, 2013.
- Cholcman, T. *Art on paper: ephemeral art in the Low Countries. The Triumphal entry of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella into Antwerp, 1599*. Turnhout, 2014.
- Christian, K. and B. De Divitiis (eds.), *Local antiquities, local identities. Art, literature and antiquarianism in Europe, c. 1400–1700*. Manchester, 2018.
- Cordes, R. *Jan Zoet, Amsterdammer 1609-1674. Leven en werk van een kleurrijk schrijver*. Hilversum, 2008.
- Damen, R. “Princely entries and gift exchange in the Burgundian Low Countries: a crucial link in late medieval political culture.” *Journal of Medieval History* 33 (2007): 233-249.
- Deen, F. “Amsterdam in de Gouden Eeuw: het bezoek van Maria de' Medici. Een hoogst omstreden bezoek.” *Historisch Nieuwsblad* 23 (2014).
- Dencher, A. “The Politics of Spectacle: Imaging the Prince of Orange during the First Stadtholderless Era.” *The Court Historian* 19 (2014): 163-168.
- Deursen, A. Th. *Maurits van Nassau 1567-1625. De winnaar die faalde*. Amsterdam, 2000.
- Dixhoorn, A. van. *Lustige geesten. Rederijkers en hun kamers in het publieke leven van de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de vijftiende, zestiende en zeventiende eeuw*. Amsterdam, 2009.
- Dudok van Heel, S. A. C. “De schilder Claes Moyaert en zijn familie.” *Amstelodamum Jaarboek* 68 (1976): 13-48.
- . “Jan Vos (1610-1667).” *Amstelodamum Jaarboek* 72 (1980): 23-43.
- . “The Night Watch and the Entry of Marie de' Medici: a new interpretation of the original place and significance of the painting.” *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum* 57 (2009): 4-41.
- Duits, H. *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse opstand. Studies over de relatie tussen politiek en toneel in het midden van de zeventiende eeuw*. Hilversum, 1990.
- Eisenstein, E. *The printing press as an agent of change: communications and cultural transformations in early modern Europe*. Cambridge, 1979.
- Elias, J. E. *De Vroedschap van Amsterdam, 1578-1795*. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. Amsterdam, 1963.
- Enenkel, K. and K. Ottenheim. *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden, 1400-1700*. Nijmegen, 2017.
- Erenstein (ed.), R. L. *Een theatergeschiedenis der Nederlanden*. Amsterdam, 1996.
- Esser, R. *The politics of memory. The Writing of Partition in the Seventeenth-Century Low Countries*. Leiden and Boston, 2012.
- Forrer, M. and Y. Kobayashi-Sato, “The Dutch Presence in Japan. The VOC on Deshima and its impact on Japanese Culture.” Th. Dacosta Kaufmann and M. North (eds.). *Mediating Netherlandish art and material culture in Asia*. Amsterdam, 2014, 239-244.

- Frijhoff, W. and M. Spies. *1650: Bevochten eendracht*. The Hague, 1999.
- Galletti, S. "Female Agency and Early Modern Urbanism: The Paris of Maria de' Medici." *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 71 (2012): 186-203.
- . "Rubens's Life of Maria de' Medici: Dissimulation and the politics of art in early seventeenth-century France." *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014): 878-917.
- Gawronski, J. and R. Jayasena. *De 17de-eeuwse stadswal bij de Regulierspoort. Archeologische begeleiding Rembrandtplein, Amsterdam (2009)*. Amsterdamse Archeologische Rapporten. No. 63. Amsterdam, 2011.
- Gebhart, J. F. "Een dagboek uit het 'Rampjaar' 1672," *Bijdragen en mededelingen van het Historisch genootschap* 8 (1885) 45-116.
- Geerdink, N. *Dichters en verdiensten: de sociale verankering van het dichterschap van Jan Vos (1610-1667)*. Hilversum, 2012.
- Geertz, C. *Negara: the theatre state in nineteenth century Bali*. Princeton, 1980.
- Gelderens, M. van. *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt 1555–1590*. Cambridge, 1992.
- Gelderens, M. van and Quentin Skinner (eds.). *Republicanism: a shared European heritage*. Vol. 1. Cambridge, 2002.
- Geyl, P. *Oranje en Stuart 1641-1672*. Zeist, 1963.
- Glickman, S. "The Company One Keeps: View of Ambon (ca. 1617) in the Dutch East India Company's Sociopolitical Landscape." *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 10 (2018) DOI: 10.5092/jhna.2018.10.1.4.
- Goldring, E. and J. R. Mulryne (eds.). *Court Festivals of the European Renaissance*. Aldershot and Burlington, 2002.
- Gommans, J. "Merchants among kings: Dutch diplomatic encounters in Asia." Corrigan et al. (eds.). *Asia in Amsterdam: the culture of luxury in the Golden Age*. New Haven and Amsterdam, 2015, 32-38.
- Griffey, E. "More on the 'Dutch Gift' to Charles II." *The Burlington Magazine* 153 (2011): 521-522.
- Groenveld, S. *Verlopend getij: de Nederlandse Republiek en de Engelse Burgeroorlog, 1640-1646*. Dieren, 1984.
- . *Evidente factiën in den staet. Sociaal-politieke verhoudingen in de 17^e-eeuwse Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden*. Hilversum, 1991.
- . *Regeren in de Republiek. Bestuurspraktijken in de 17e-eeuwse Noordelijke Nederlands: terugblik en perspectief / Rede uitgesproken door Prof.dr. S. Groenveld [...] 19 mei 2006*. Leiden, 2006.
- Haitsma Mulier, E. O. G. and A. E. M. Janssen (eds.). *Willem van Oranje in de historie (1584-1984). Vier eeuwen beeldvorming en geschiedschrijving*. Utrecht, 1984.

- Hawkins, E. *Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the Death of George II*. London, 1885.
- Hell, M. and J. van Gent, “De doelens als herbergen en ontvangstcentra (1530-1700).” *Amstelodamum Jaarboek* 105 (2013): 277-326.
- Hell, M. and R. van Reijn. *De ommuurde stad. Langs de 17de-eeuwse bolwerken en stadspoorten van Amsterdam*. Amsterdam, 2014.
- Helmers, H. *The Royalist Republic. Literature, politics, and religion in the Anglo-Dutch public sphere*. Cambridge, 2015.
- Heringa, J. *De eer en hoogheid van staat. Over de plaats der Verenigde Nederlanden in het diplomatieke leven van de zeventiende eeuw*. Groningen, 1961.
- Hessing, W. A. M. “Foreign oppressor versus civiliser: the Batavian myth as the source for contrasting associations of Rome in Dutch historiography.” R. Hingley (ed.). *Images of Rome. Perceptions of ancient Rome in Europe and the United States in the modern age*. Portsmouth, 2001, 126-143.
- Hogendoorn, W. “Sieraden van het toneel. Iets over vertoningen in de Amsterdamse schouwburgen van 1637 en 1665.” *Scenarium* 2 (1978): 70-82.
- Hooft, P. C. H. *Nederlandsche historien, sedert de ooverdraght der heerschappye van kaizar Karel den Vyfden, op kooning Philips zynen zoon*. Amsterdam: Louys Elzevier, 1642.
- Horst, D. and J. Tanis. *Images of discord: a graphic interpretation of the opening decades of the Eighty Years' War/ De tweedracht verbeeld: prentkunst als propaganda aan het begin van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog*. Bryn Mawr, 1993.
- Horst, D. *De Opstand in zwart-wit. Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand 1566-1584*. Zutphen, 2003.
- Houten, E. van. *Geschiedbouwkundige beschrijvingen behorende bij het Grachtenboek van Caspar Philips Jacobszoon*. Amsterdam, 1962.
- Huizinga, J. *The waning of the Middle Ages. A study of the forms of life, thought and art in France and the Netherlands in the XIVth and XVth centuries*. Trans. F. Hopman. London, 1924.
- Ising, A. “Een feestelijke intogt binnen Amsterdam (1642).” *Mengelingen: proza en poëzij van Nederlandsche auteurs, verzameld door Mr. W. Van de Poll*. Vol. 1. Tiel, 1853.
- Israel, J. *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall, 1477–1806*. Oxford, 1995.
- . “The United Provinces of the Netherlands. The courts of the House of Orange, c. 1580-1795.” J. Adamson (ed.). *The Princely Courts of Europe. Ritual, Politics and Culture Under the Ancien Régime 1500-1750*. London, 1999, 119-139.
- Jacquot, J. (ed.). *Les fêtes de la Renaissance*. Paris. 1956-1960.
- Jensen, L. (ed.). *The roots of nationalism: national identity formation in early modern Europe, 1600-1815*. Amsterdam, 2016.

- Johns, A. *The nature of the book: print and knowledge in the making*. Chicago, 1998.
- Jongema, S. A. "Honderd jaar uitgeven op de Nieuwendijk. Michiel de Groot (1656-1680) en zijn opvolgers." MA Thesis. University of Amsterdam, 1997.
- Jouhaud, Ch. "Printing the event: from La Rochelle to Paris," R. Chartier (ed.), *The culture of print. Power and the uses of print in early modern Europe*. Transl. Lydia G. Cochrane. Princeton, 1987, 290-333.
- Kipling, G. *Enter the King. Theatre, liturgy, and ritual in the medieval civic triumph*. Oxford and New York, 1998.
- Klinkert, C. M. *Nassau in het nieuws: nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590-1600*. Zutphen, 2005.
- Knaap, A. C. and M. C. J. Putnam (eds.). *Art, music, and spectacle in the age of Rubens: the Pompa Introitus Ferdinandi*. London and Turnhout, 2013.
- Kolfin, E. "Voor eenheid, victorie, vrede en welvaart. Beeldvorming van Frederik Hendrik in contemporaine grafiek ca. 1600-1650." S. Craft-Giepmans (ed.). *Stadhouders in beeld. Beeldvorming van de stadhouders van Oranje-Nassau in contemporaine grafiek 1570-1700*. Jaarboek Oranje-Nassau Museum. Rotterdam and Gronsveld, 2007, 69-107.
- . "Past Imperfect. Political ideals in the unfinished Batavian series for the town hall of Amsterdam." R. Cohen-Tervaert (ed.), *Opstand als opdracht = The Batavian commissions: Flinck, Ovens, Lievens, Jordaens, De Groot, Bol, Rembrandt*. Amsterdam, 2011, 10-19.
- Kossmann, E. F. "De polemiek over de vertooningen van Jan Vos in 1660 en De t'Zamenspraeck van Jan Tamboer en Jan Vos." *Oud Holland* 30 (1912): 38-49.
- Kossmann, E. H. "The Batavian myth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." E. H. Kossmann and J. S. Bromley (eds.). *Britain and the Netherlands. Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch historical conference*. Vol. 5. Some political mythologies. The Hague, 1975.
- Landau, D. and P. Parshall. *The Renaissance print 1470-1550*. New Haven, 1994.
- Laurentius, F. *Clement de Jonghe (ca. 1624-1677): kunstverkoper in de Gouden Eeuw*. Houten, 2010.
- Lenarduzzi, C. and J. Pollmann. "Het vaderlands verleden in de zeventiende eeuw. Inleiding." *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29 (2013): 148-153.
- Lesger, C. *The Rise of the Amsterdam Market and Information Exchange: Merchants, Commercial Expansion and Change in the Spatial Economy of the Low Countries, c. 1550-1630*. Aldershot and Burlington, 2006.
- . "Merchants in charge: the self-perception of Amsterdam Merchants, ca. 1550-1700." M. C. Jacob and C. Secretan (eds.). *The self-perception of early modern capitalists*. New York, 2008, 75-98.

- Luijten, G. et al. *Dawn of the golden age: northern Netherlandish art, 1580-1620*. Amsterdam, Zwolle and New Haven, 1994.
- Lunsingh Scheurleer, Th. H. "Aanbesteding en verspreiding van Japansch lakwerk door de Nederlanders in de zeventiende eeuw." *Jaarverslagen Oudheidkundig Genootschap* 82-83 (1939-1941): 54-74.
- Maesschalck, A. and J. Viaene. *Mensen en bouwkunst in Boergondisch Brabant. Het Stadhuis van Brussel*. Kessel-Lo, 1960.
- . *Mensen en bouwkunst in Boergondisch Brabant. Het Stadhuis van Leuven*. Leuven, 1977.
- Mamone, S. and C. Pagnini. "Florentine festivals for the entry of Archduke Leopold V of Austria in 1618." Canova-Green et al. 2013, 129-151.
- McCartney, E. "A widow's tears, a Queen's ambition: the variable history of Marie de Médici's Bereavement." Allison Levy (ed.). *Widowhood and visual culture in early modern Europe*. Burlington, 2003, 93-107.
- McClung, W. "A Place for a Time: The Architecture of Festivals and Theatres." E. Blau and E. Kaufman (eds.). *Architecture and Its Image: Four Centuries of Architectural Representation*. Cambridge, 1989, 87-108.
- McGowan, M. "The French royal entry in the Renaissance: the status of the printed text." Russell and Visentin 2007, 29-54.
- McGrath, E. "Tact and Topical Reference in Rubens's 'Medici Cycle'." *Oxford Art Journal* 3 (1980): 11-18.
- Meadow, M. "Ritual and Civic Identity in Philip II's 1549 Antwerp Blijde Incompst." *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 49 (1998): 37-67.
- Meerendonk, S. van de. "Amsterdamsche Vreugdtriomfe: het bezoek van Amalia van Solms en haar dochters in 1659." *Amstelodamum maandblad* 96 (2009): 99-111.
- Millen, R. F. and R. E. Wolf, *Heroic deeds and mystic figures. A new reading of Rubens' Life of Maria de Medici*. Princeton, 1989.
- Mörke, O. 'Stadtholder' oder 'Staetholder'?: die Funktion des Hauses Oranien und seines Hofes in der politischen Kultur der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 17. Jahrhundert. Münster, 1997.
- Muller, F. *De nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen: beredeneerde beschrijving van nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten: verzameld, gerangschikt, beschreven*. Amsterdam, 1863.
- Mulryne, J. R., H. Watanabe-O'Kelly, and M. Shewring (eds.). *Europa Triumphans: Court and civic festivals in early modern Europe*. Aldershot and Burlington, 2004.
- Mulryne, J. R. et al. (eds.). *Ceremonial entries in early modern Europe: the iconography of power*. Farnham and Burlington, 2015.

- Murphy, N. *Ceremonial Entries, Municipal Liberties and the Negotiation of Power in Valois France, 1328-1589*. Leiden, 2016.
- Oosterhoff, F. G. *Leicester and the Netherlands 1586-1587*. Utrecht, 1988.
- Osborne, T. "A Queen Mother in Exile: Marie De Médicis in the Spanish Netherlands and England, 1631-41." Ph. Mansel and T. Riotte (eds.). *Monarchy and Exile. The Politics of Legitimacy from Marie de Médicis to Wilhelm II*. New York, 2011, 17-43.
- Ottenheim, K. *Oudheid als ambitie. De zoektocht naar een passend verleden, 1400-1700*. Nijmegen, 2017.
- Ottenheim, K., P. Rosenberg and N. Smit. *Hendrick de Keyser: Architectura Moderna. Moderne bouwkunst in Amsterdam 1600-1625*. Amsterdam, 2008.
- Overlaet, K. "The 'joyous entry' of Archduke Maximilian into Antwerp (13 January 1478): an analysis of a 'most elegant and dignified' dialogue," *Journal of Medieval History* 44 (2018): 231-249
- Panhuisen, L. *De Ware Vrijheid. De levens van Johan en Cornelis de Witt*. Amsterdam, 2005.
- Parshall, P. "Imago contrafacta: images and facts in the Northern Renaissance." *Art History* 16 (1993): 554-579.
- Paul, H. *Nederlanders in Japan 1600-1854. De VOC op Desjima*. Weesp, 1984.
- Peters, E. "Den gheheelen loop des weerelts (the whole course of the world): printed processions and the theater of identity in Antwerp during the Dutch Revolt." Diss. University of California, Santa Barbara, 2005.
- Pollmann, J. and A. Spicer (eds.). *Public opinion and changing identities in the early modern Netherlands: Essays in honour of Alastair Duke*. Leiden, 2007.
- Price, J. L., *Holland and the Dutch Republic in the Seventeenth Century. The Politics of Particularism*. Oxford, 1994.
- Reed, M. (ed.). *The edible monument. The art of food for festivals*. Los Angeles, 2015.
- Russell, N. and H. Visentin (eds.). *French ceremonial entries in the sixteenth century. Event, image, text*. Centre for Reformation and Renaissance studies, essays and studies. Vol. 11. Toronto, 2007.
- Scheltema, P. *De Graaf van Leicester, te Amsterdam, in de Jaren 1586 en 1587*. Amsterdam, 1851.
- Schenkeveld-van der Dussen, M. A. "Bestudering en waardering van de rederijkers in de zeventiende en het begin van de achttiende eeuw." *De Nieuwe Taalgids* 65 (1972): 460-470.
- (ed.). *Nederlandse literatuur, een geschiedenis*. Groningen, 1993.
- Scheurleer, D. F. *Nederlandsche Liedboeken. Lijst der in Nederland tot het jaar 1800 uitgegeven liedboeken*. Utrecht, 1977.

- Schöffner, I. "The Batavian myth during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries." E. H. Kossmann and J. S. Bromley. *Britain and the Netherlands. Papers delivered to the fifth Anglo-Dutch historical conference. Some political mythologies*. Vol. 5. The Hague, 1975, pp. 78-101.
- Schwarz, G. "Apelles, Apollo and The Third Man. Schilderkunst, letterkunde en politiek rond 1650." *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 11 (1995): 122-129.
- Scott Munshower, S. and B. Wisch (eds.). "*All the world's a stage*" *Art and Pageantry in the Renaissance and Baroque. Vol. VI, Part I: Triumphal celebrations and the rituals of statecraft*. Papers in Art History from the Pennsylvania State University, 1990.
- Sluijter, E. J. *Rembrandt and the female nude*. Amsterdam, 2006.
- . *Rembrandt's rivals. History painting in Amsterdam 1630-1650*. Amsterdam, 2015.
- Smit, J. G. *Vorst en onderdaan. Studies over Holland en Zeeland in de late Middeleeuwen*. Leuven, 1995.
- Smits-Veldt, M. "De 'Nederduytsche Academie' van Samuel Coster: de eerste Nederlandse Volksuniversiteit (1617-1622)." *Literatuur* 1 (1984): 58-64.
- . "Menenius Agrippa op het rederijkerstoneel in Vlaardingen en Amsterdam." K. Porteman and K. E. Schöndorf (eds.), *Liber amicorum Prof. dr. Kare Langvik-Johannessen*. Leuven, 1989, 185-197.
- . "Het Brabantse gezicht van de Amsterdamse rederijderskamer 'Het Wit Lavendel'." *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 8 (1992): 160-166.
- . "17 juni 1660: De zuster van de Engelse koning Karel II houdt een intocht in Amsterdam. Daarbij wekt eem 'tableau vivant' van Jan Vos haar afschuw. Dichters als maatschappelijke en politieke commentatoren," Schenkveld-van der Dussen (ed.) 1993, 265-270.
- . "Vertoningen in opvoeringen van Vondels tragedies, 1638-1720: van emblema tot 'sieraad'." *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 11 (1995): 210-222.
- . "De viering van de Vrede van Munster in Amsterdam: de dichters Geeraardt Brandt en Jan Vos bevestigen hun maatschappelijke positie." *De Zeventiende eeuw* 13 (1997): 193-200.
- Snoep, D. *Praal en propaganda. Triumphalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16e en 17de eeuw*. Alphen aan den Rijn, 1975.
- Soll, J. "Accounting for Government: Holland and the Rise of Political Economy in Seventeenth-Century Europe." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 40 (2009): 215-238.
- Soly, H. "Plechtige intochten in de steden van de Zuidelijke Nederlanden tijdens de overgang van Middeleeuwen naar Nieuwe Tijd: communicatie, propaganda, spektakel." *Tijdschrift voor geschiedenis* 97 (1984): 341-361.

- Spies, M. "Stadhouder Maurits wordt in Amsterdam verwelkomd met een tableau vivant dat Davids overwinning op Goliath uitbeeldt. De functie van tableaux vivants bij openbare festiviteiten." R. L. Erenstein (ed.). *Een theaterschiedenis der Nederlanden*. Amsterdam, 1996, 148-155.
- Stern, J. *Orangism in the Dutch Republic in word and image, 1650-75*. Manchester, 2010.
- Stock, J. van der. *Printing images in Antwerp: the introduction of printmaking in a city: fifteenth century to 1585*. Rotterdam, 1998.
- Strong, R. *Art and Power. Renaissance Festivals 1450-1650*. Woodbridge, 1984.
- Strong, R. and J. A. Van Dorsten, *Leicester's Triumph*. Leiden, 1964.
- Swart, K. *Willem van Oranje en de Nederlandse Opstand 1572-1584*. Ed. R. Fagel, M.E.H.N. Mout and H. van Nierop. The Hague, 1994.
- Tex, J. den. *Oldenbarnevelt*. Vol. II 1606-1619. Cambridge, 1973.
- Thøfner, M. "Marrying the city, mothering the country: gender and visual conventions in Johannes Bochius's account of the Joyous Entry of the Archduke Albert and the Infanta Isabella into Antwerp." *Oxford Art Journal* 22 (1999): 3-27.
- . *A Common Art: Urban Ceremonial in Antwerp and Brussels during and after the Dutch Revolt*. Zwolle, 2007.
- Tilmans, K. et al. (eds.). *Performing the past. Memory, history and identity in modern Europe*. Amsterdam, 2010.
- Troost, W. *Willem III, the Stadholder-King: a political biography*. Aldershot and Burlington, 2005.
- Turner, V. *The ritual process: structure and anti-structure*. Chicago and London, 1969.
- Uitman, J. E. "Les fêtes baroques d'Amsterdam de 1638 à 1660. L'intelligibilité de leurs motifs allégoriques et historiques pour le public contemporain." *Colloques internationaux du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique. Sciences humaines. Dramaturgie et Société*. Paris, 1968, 221-226.
- Veldhorst, N. *Zingend door het leven: Het Nederlandse liedboek in de Gouden Eeuw*. Amsterdam, 2009.
- Vereeniging Nederlandsch Scheepvaart Museum Jaarverslag 1978/1979*. Amsterdam, 1979.
- Viallé, C. "'Fit for Kings and Princes': A gift of Japanese lacquer." Y. Nagazumi (ed.). *Large and Broad: The Dutch impact on early modern Asia*. Tokyo, 2010.
- Vlaardingerbroek, P. *Het Paleis van de Republiek. Geschiedenis van het stadhuis van Amsterdam*. Zwolle, 2011.
- Vries, J. de and A. M. van der Woude. *The first modern economy: success, failure, and perseverance of the Dutch economy, 1500-1815*. Cambridge, 1997.

- Vroomen, I. "Taal van de Republiek. Het gebruik van vaderlandretoriek in Nederlandse pamfletten, 1618-1672." Diss., Erasmus Universiteit Rotterdam, 2012.
- Waal, H. van de. *Drie eeuwen vaderlandsche geschied-uitbeelding*. 2 vols. The Hague, 1952.
- Waals, J. van der. *Prenten in de Gouden Eeuw van kunst tot kastpapier*. Exh. cat. Rotterdam: Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, 2006.
- Wallerstein, I. *The Modern World-System II: Mercantilism and the Consolidation of the European World-Economy, 1600-1750*. New York, 1980.
- Wildt, A. de et al. *Amsterdam en de Oranjes*. Exh. cat. Amsterdam: Amsterdams Historisch Museum, 2008.
- Winkel, J. te. "De inneming van Groningen rhetorisch verheerlijkt." P. J. Blok et al., *Gedenkboek der reductie van Groningen in 1594*. Groningen, 1894, 239-264.
- Worp, J. A. "Nog iets angaande de polemiek over de vertooningen van Jan Vos in 1660, enz." *Oud Holland* 30 (1912), 38-49.
- . *Geschiedenis van den Amsterdamschen schouwburg 1496-1772*. Ed. J. F. M. Sterck. Amsterdam, 1920.
- Zandvliet, K. *Mapping for Money. Maps, plans, and topographic paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries*. Amsterdam, 1998.
- . (ed.). *Maurits. Prins van Oranje*. Amsterdam and Zwolle, 2000.

Images

Fig. 1. Entry route of William of Orange, March 17 1580, with arrival at “*het boom*” (red), pageants between *Nieuwe* and *Oude Brug*, and water jousting between *Oude* and *Papenbrug* (dark blue), landing at Dam Square with welcome burgomasters (green), and lodging at *Warmoesstraat* (yellow). Fireworks organized by the city at *Papenbrug* and by *d’Eglantier* at *Damssluis* on March 19 (light blue). Detail of Pieter Bast, Map of Amsterdam (1597). Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Splitgerber 10001, inv. no. 2.



Fig. 2. Entry route of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, March 10, 1586, with arrival at “*het boom*” (red), pageants accompanying him into the *Damrak* (dark blue), landing at Dam Square with welcome burgomasters (green). Procession from Dam Square to lodging at *Prinsenhof* (yellow), with triumphal arches placed at Dam Square stables, *Damssluis* and *Varkenssluis* (light blue). Detail of Pieter Bast, Map of Amsterdam (1597). Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Splitgerber 10001, inv. no. 2.



Fig. 3. Entry route of Stadtholder Maurice of Nassau, August 19, 1594, arrival by boat via IJ and *Damrak*, possibly welcome at “*het boom*” (red), and pageants (dark blue), landing at Dam Square with welcome burgomasters (green). Procession from Dam Square to lodging at *Prinsenhof* (yellow), with triumphal arch by placed at Dam Square stables and arch by *d’Eglantier* at *Oudezijds Voorburgwal* (light blue). Detail of Pieter Bast, Map of Amsterdam (1597). Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Splitgerber 10001, inv. no. 2.



Fig. 4. Entry route of Stadtholder Maurice of Nassau, May 23, 1618, arrival by boat via IJ and Damrak, welcome at “het boom” (red), landing at Dam Square with triumphal arch D’Eglantier (light blue) and welcome burgomasters (green). Procession from Dam Square to lodging at Prinsenhof (yellow), passing second triumphal arch ‘t Wit Lavendel placed at Varkenssluis (light blue). Parade of boats by Academy in front of Prinsenhof (pink). Detail of Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode, Map of Amsterdam, 1625. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Splitgerber 10001, inv. no. 7.

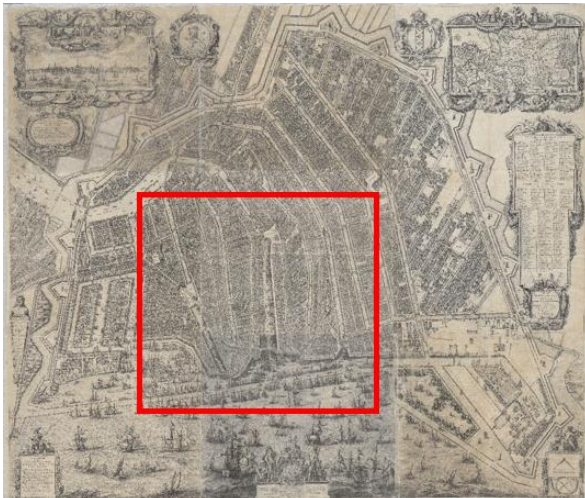
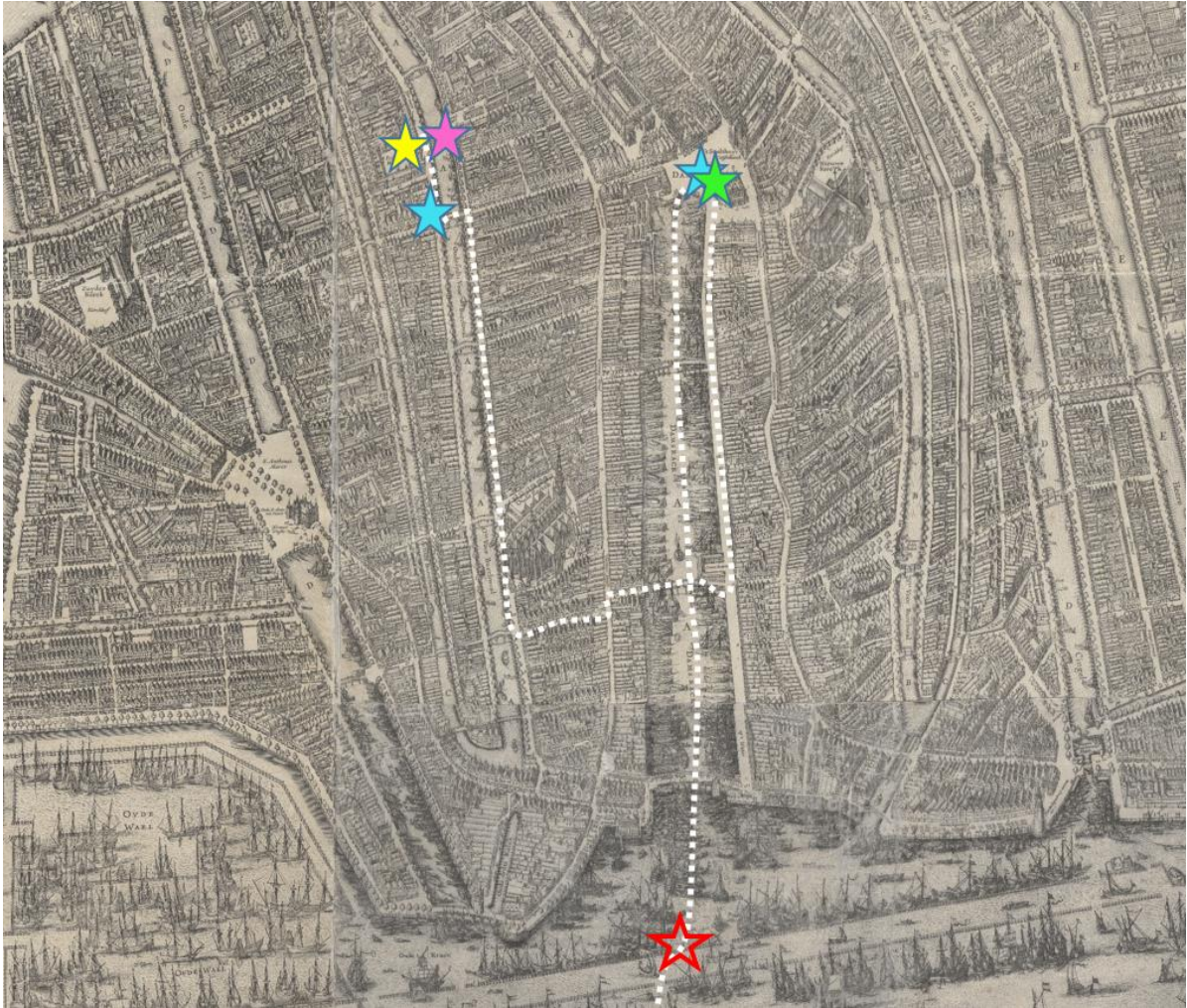


Fig. 5. Possible route taken by the Academy's parade of boats from their theater at Keizersgracht (orange) to the Oudezijds Voorburgwal in front of Prinsenhof (pink). Detail of Balthasar Florisz van Berckenrode, Map of Amsterdam, 1625. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Splitgerber 10001, inv. no. 7.

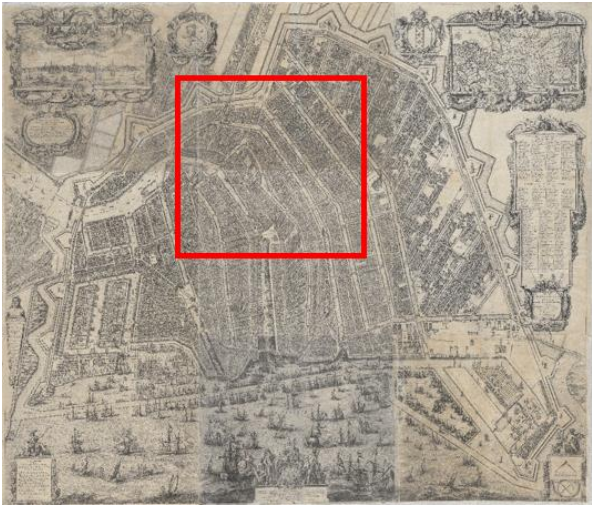
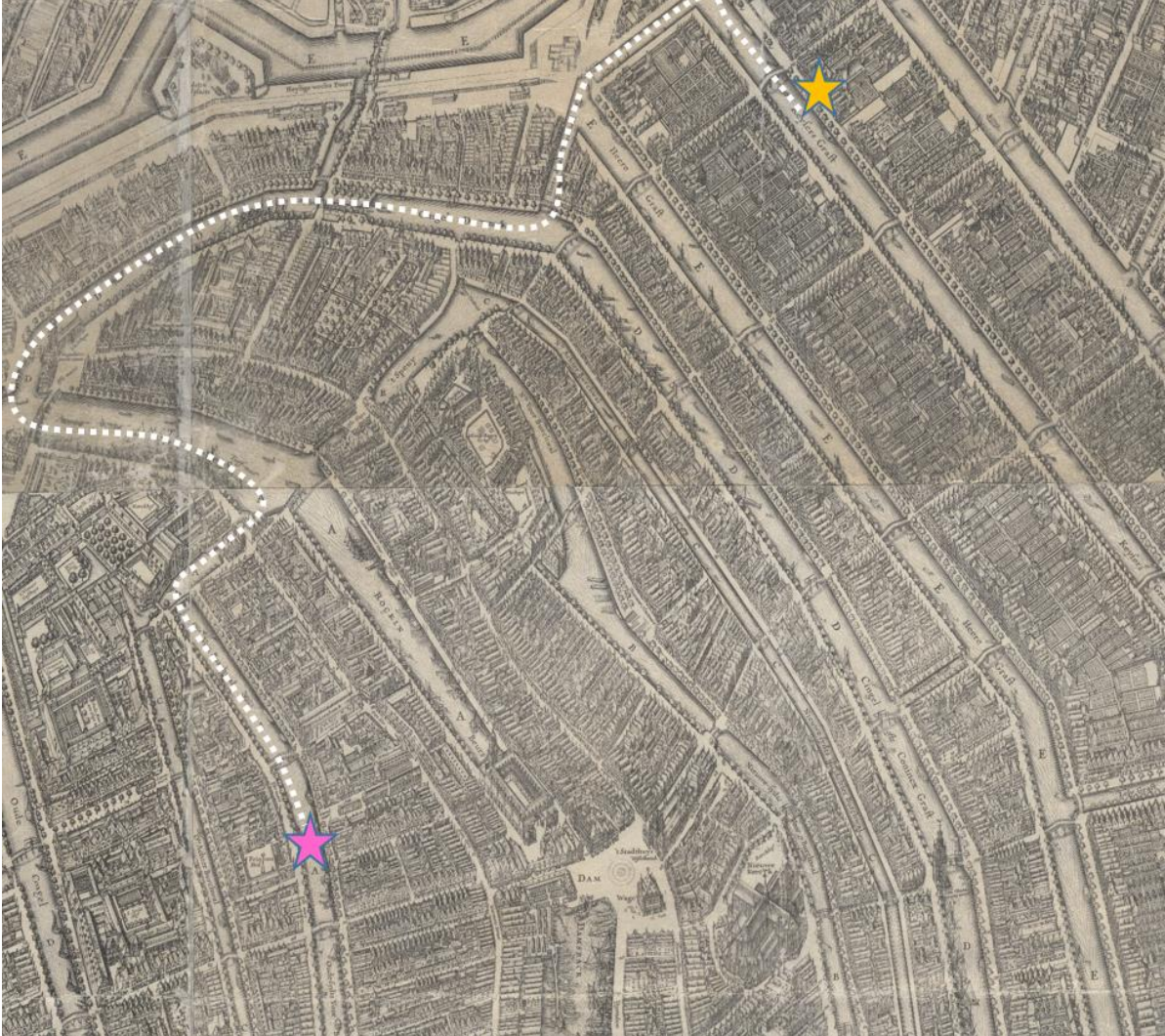


Fig. 6. *Arion on the Dolphin*, from: J. B. Houwaert, *Declaratie van die triumphante Incompst vanden [...] Prince van Oraignien binnen die princelijcke stadt van Brussele [...]*, Antwerp (Christoffel Plantijn) 1579. Leiden University Special Collections Copy 1367 E 9.



Fig. 7. Frontispice, *Triumphe tot Amsterdam. Over het Incomen vanden Hooch-gheboren Vorst Mauritius Prince van Orangien, met een oprechte uytlegginghe op de verthooninghe van alle de Camers / geschiet den 23. 24. 25. May/ Anno 1618*, Leiden (Uldrick Cornelisz Honthorst) 1618. The Hague, Royal Library, Knuttel 2594.



Fig. 8. Crispijn van de Passe I, *Allegory of the unified Republic during the Truce*, 1609. Engraving, 346 × 465 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-2002-119.

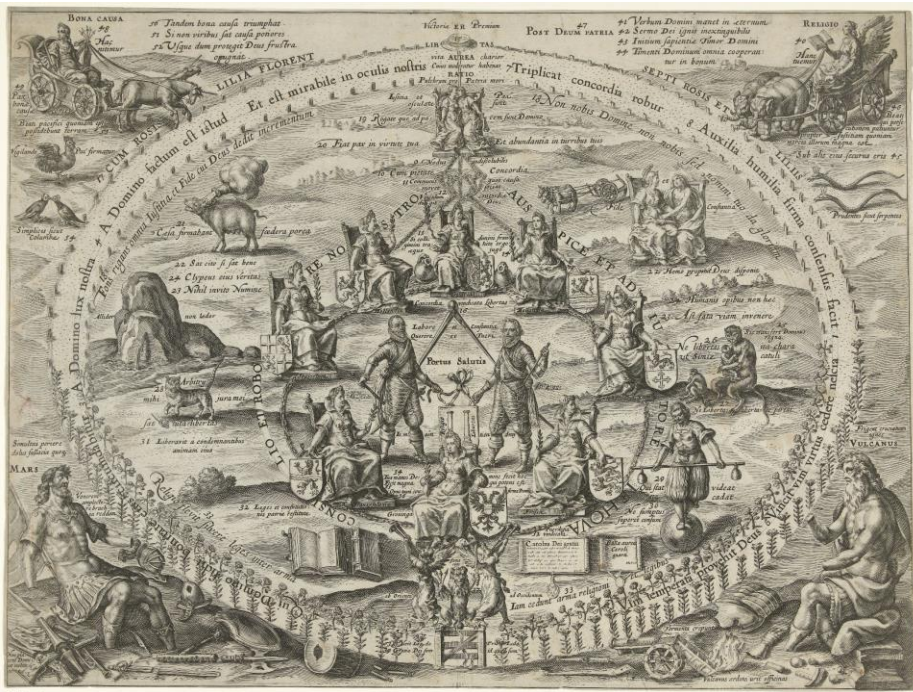


Fig. 9. Anonymous, *The Throne of Alva*, 1569. Engraving, 225 x 285 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-79.002.



Fig. 10. Willem Jacobsz Delff, *The Tyranny of Alva*, 1622.
 Engraving, 416 x 560 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-79.001.



Fig. 11. Anonymous, *Allegory of the political situation in the Netherlands*, c. 1618-1619.
 Engraving, 330 x 408 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1931-63.



Fig. 12. Frans Hogenberg (workshop), *Siege of Zutphen*, 1591-1593. Etching, 210 x 280 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-78.784-277.



Fig. 13, Jacques de Gheyn II (attributed), *Battle and siege of Turnhout*, 1597. Engraving and etching on two sheets, 333 x 896 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-80.447.



Fig. 14. Willem Jacobsz Delff, after Adriaen Pietersz van de Venne, *Cavalcade of the six princes of Orange-Nassau, Maurice, Philips William, Frederick Henry, William Louis, Ernst Casimir and John Ernst I*, 1621. Engraving, 432 x 570 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1898-A-20799X.



Fig. 15. Envisioned (dotted line) and taken route of Marie de' Medici from Haarlem to Amsterdam, with star indicating the location where the Queen and her entourage were met by a West India Company ship to facilitate the proposed travel by water and a company of cavalry to accompany her by land. Detail of Willem and Jan Blaeu, Map of Holland, 1635. Alkmaar, Regionaal Archief, inv. no. PR 1005079.



Fig. 16. Salomon Savery after Jan Martszen de Jonge, Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 1. Etching, 297 x 661 mm, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-AO-28-25.



Fig. 17A. Pieter Nolpe (?), title page for *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert*, Amsterdam (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Engraving and etching, 366 × 445 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-24.004.



Fig. 17B. Pieter Holsteyn II after Gerard Honthorst, *Portrait of Marie de' Medici*, 1638. Etching and engraving, 376 × 525 mm. Part of *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert*, Amsterdam (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.005.



Fig. 17C. Pieter Nolpe after Jan Martsen de Jonge, plate 1 of *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert*, Amsterdam (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Etching and engraving, 322 × 497 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.006.



Fig. 17D. Pieter Nolpe after Jan Martsen de Jonge, plate 2 of *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert*, Amsterdam (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Etching and engraving, 322 × 478 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.007.



Fig. 17E. Pieter Nolpe after Jan Martsen de Jonge, plate 3 of *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert, Amsterdam* (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Etching and engraving, 320 × 470 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.008.



Fig. 17F. Pieter Nolpe after Jan Martsen de Jonge, plate 4 of *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert, Amsterdam* (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Etching and engraving, 319 × 475 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.009.



Fig. 17G. Pieter Nolpe after Jan Martsen de Jonge, plate 5 of *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert, Amsterdam* (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Etching and engraving, 320 × 474 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.010.



Fig. 17H. Pieter Nolpe after Jan Martsen de Jonge, plate 6 of *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert, Amsterdam* (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Etching and engraving, 322 × 500 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.011.



Fig. 17I. Pieter Nolpe after Jan Martsen de Jonge, plate 7 of *Procession of Marie de' Medici along the Nieuwe Haerlemmervaert, Amsterdam* (Cornelis Danckerts), 1639. Etching and engraving, 322 × 183 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-24.012.



Fig. 18. The Haarlemmerpoort and Haarlemmerdijk as part of the still largely empty 1613 (third) western expansion of the city. Detail, Balthasar Florisz, *Map of Amsterdam*, 1625. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Splitgerber 10001, inv. no. 7.

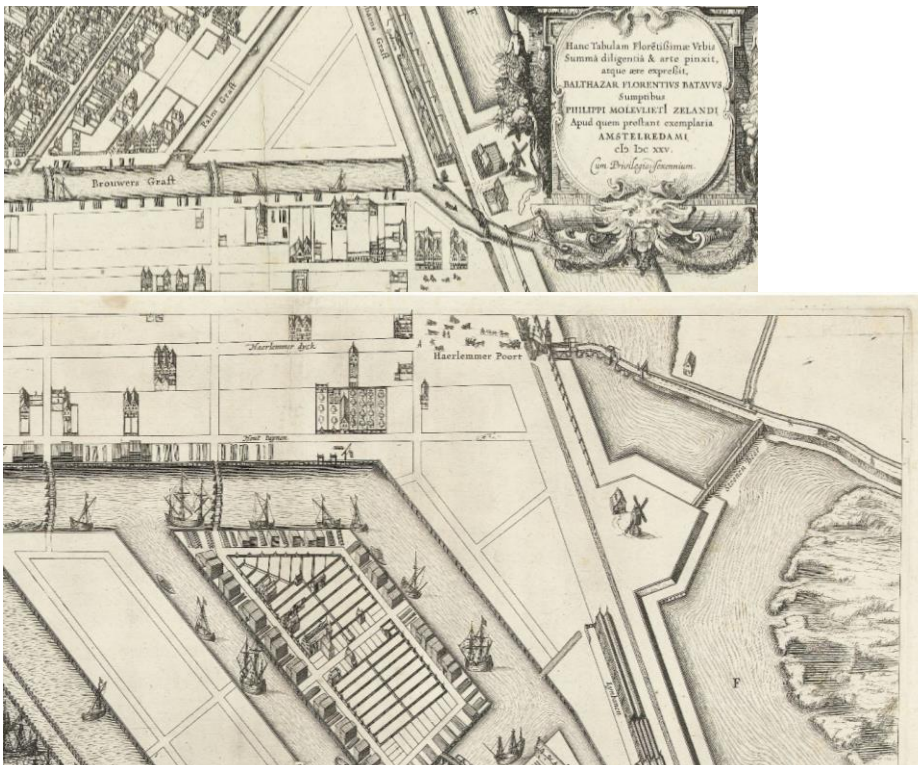


Fig. 19. Haarlemmerpoort and Haarlemmerdijk area. Detail of Mattheus Merian, Map of Amsterdam, 1636. Image courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman.



Fig 20. Haarlemmerpoort and Haarlemmerdijk area. Detail of Joan Blaeu, Map of Amsterdam, 1649. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

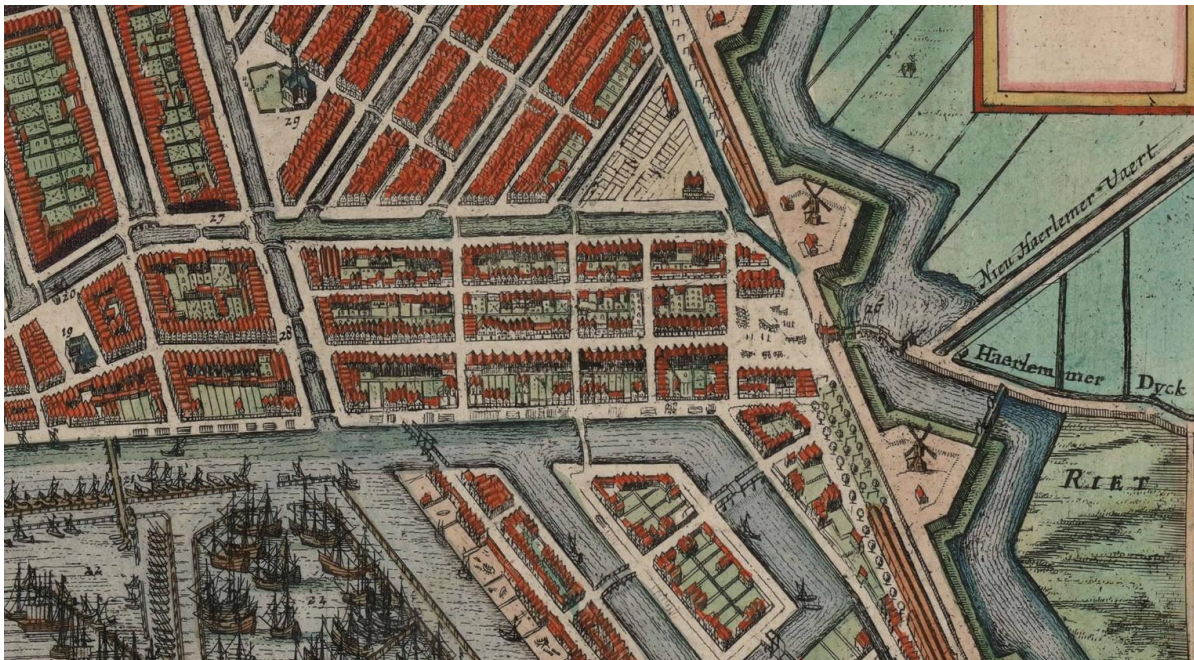


Fig. 21. Route of Marie de' Medici's entry into Amsterdam on September 1, 1638, with entry at the Haerlemmerpoort (red), along Haerlemmerdijk and Nieuwendijk towards Dam Square, with triumphal arches at Middeldam and Varkenssluis (blue) and finally arrival at Prinsenhof (yellow) indicated. Further spectacles, probably those involving the address by the Maiden of Amsterdam, Mercury and Neptune, were planned at Damrak (green), where Barlaeus mentions the equipment had been stored underneath the water's bridges. Due to the change in arrival route however, they were however instead performed at the Rokin on September 3. Detail of Joan Blaeu, Map of Amsterdam, 1649. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España.

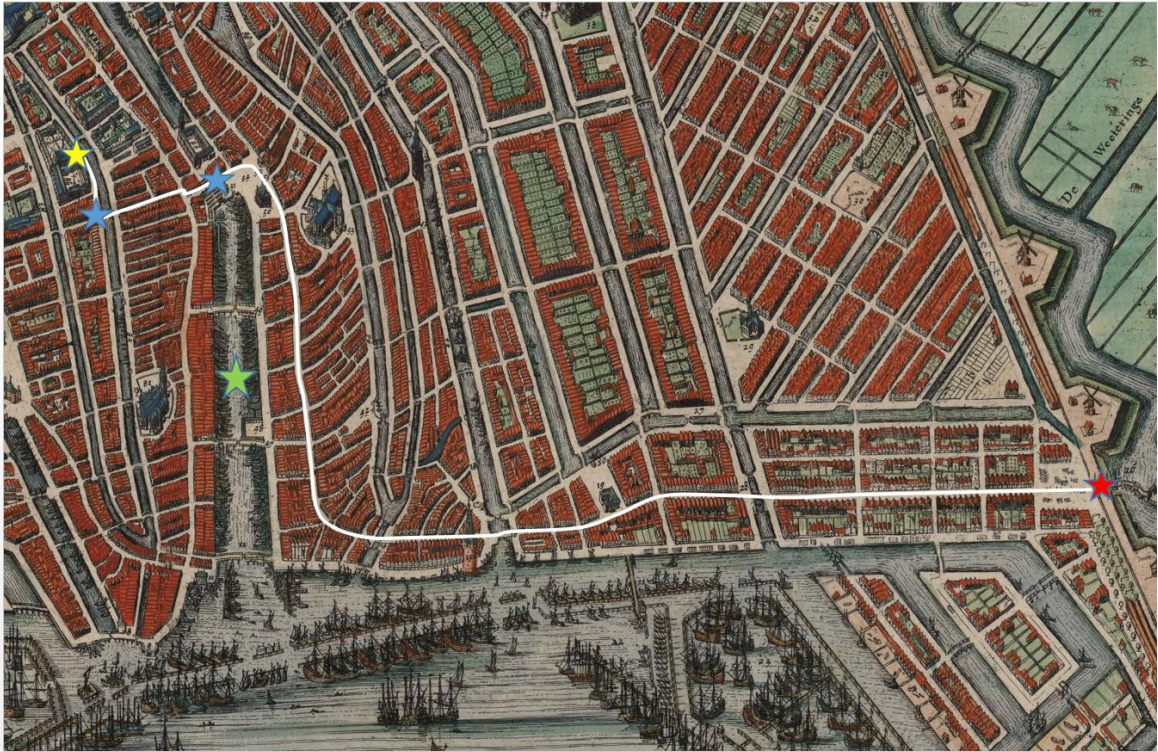


Fig. 22. Salomon Savery after Jan Martszen de Jonge, *Procession of Marie de' Medici arriving at the triumphal arch erected at the Damsluis*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 2. Etching, 294 × 383 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-76.460.



Fig. 23. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *The marriage ceremony of Henry IV and Marie de' Medici, performed at the triumphal arch erected at the Vijgendam*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 3. Etching, 297 × 385mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-81-437.



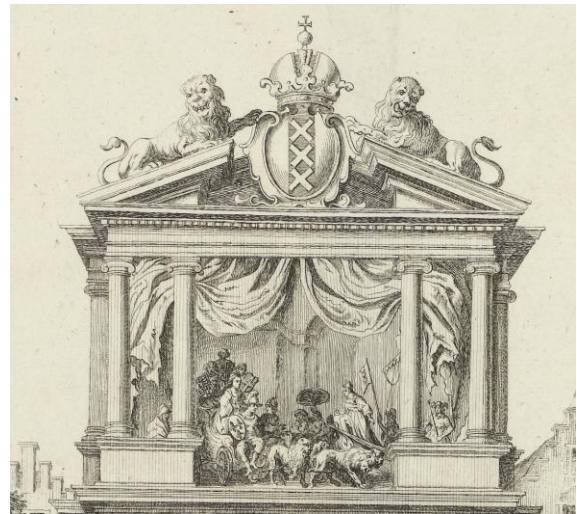
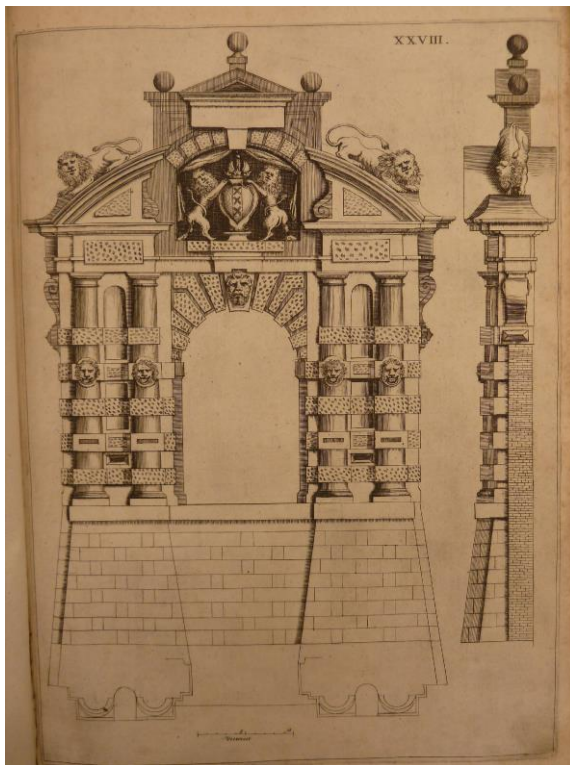
Fig. 24. Salomon Savery after Jan Martszen de Jonge, *Procession of Marie de' Medici arriving at the triumphal arch erected at the Varkenssluis*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 4. Etching, 297 × 388 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.459.



Fig. 25. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *Marie de' Medici as Bercynthia, welcomed by the Maid of Amsterdam*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 5. Etching, 291 × 383 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.461.



Fig. 26. Haarlemmerpoort western façade, elevation and section, from *Architectura Moderna*, Amsterdam (Cornelis Danckertsz) 1631 (left). Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.



Detail, Fig. 24.

Fig. 27. Anonymous, *View of the Oost-Indisch Huis (1606) in Amsterdam*, c. 1650-1700. Etching and engraving, 224 x 300 mm. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-OB-102.062. Showing the *Bushuis* on the left, and the original building attributed to Hendrick de Keyser with ornamental facade on the south-side across the courtyard. The extended west and north wing at Hoogstraat (front) were likely designed by Pieter de Keyser.

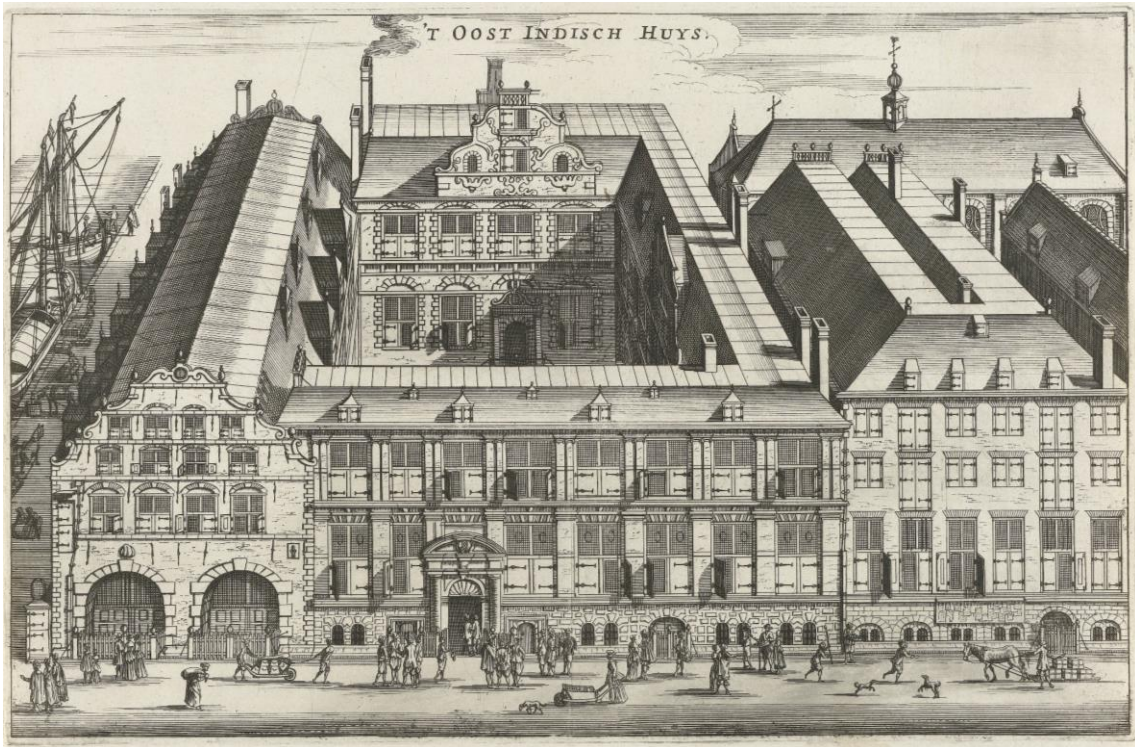


Fig. 28. Anonymous, *View of Ambon*, c. 1617. Oil on canvas, 148.8 x 268.2 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. SK-A-4482.



Fig. 29. S. Savery after S. de Vlieger, *Arrival of Marie de' Medici at the Rokin, north-facing stage*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 6. Etching 294 × 392 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.462



Fig. 30. S. Savery after S. de Vlieger, *Arrival of Marie de' Medici at the Rokin, south-facing stage, with view of jousting in the background*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 14. Etching 294 × 395 mm. Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.470.



Fig. 31. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *The marriage of Grand Duke Francesco I of Tuscany (1541-1587) and Joanna of Austria*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 7. Etching, 297 × 385 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.463.



Fig. 32. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *Emperor Maximilian I presents Amsterdam with the imperial crown*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 8. Etching, 295 × 385 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.464.



Fig. 33. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *France mourns the state of her realm*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 9. Etching, 295 × 388 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.465.



Fig. 34. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *The Maid of France requests aid from the Gods*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 10. Etching, 298 × 386 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.466.



Fig. 35. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *Hercules seeks advice from Pallas Athena and Mars*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 11. Etching, 297 × 388 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.467.



Fig. 36. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *Hercules repairs the State of France*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 12. Etching, 296 × 384 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.468.



Fig. 37. Pieter Nolpe after Nicolaes Moeyaert, *Hercules carries the State of France*, from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 13. Etching, 295 × 385 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.469.



Fig. 38. Salomon Savery after Simon de Vlieger, *Mock battle at the IJ* from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 15. Etching, 295 × 650 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-81.454.



Fig. 39. Salomon Savery after Jan Martszen de Jonge, *Leave-taking of Marie de' Medici* from Caspar Barlaeus, *Medicea Hospes* (1638), plate 16. Etching, 286 × 382 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.471.



Fig. 22 details.

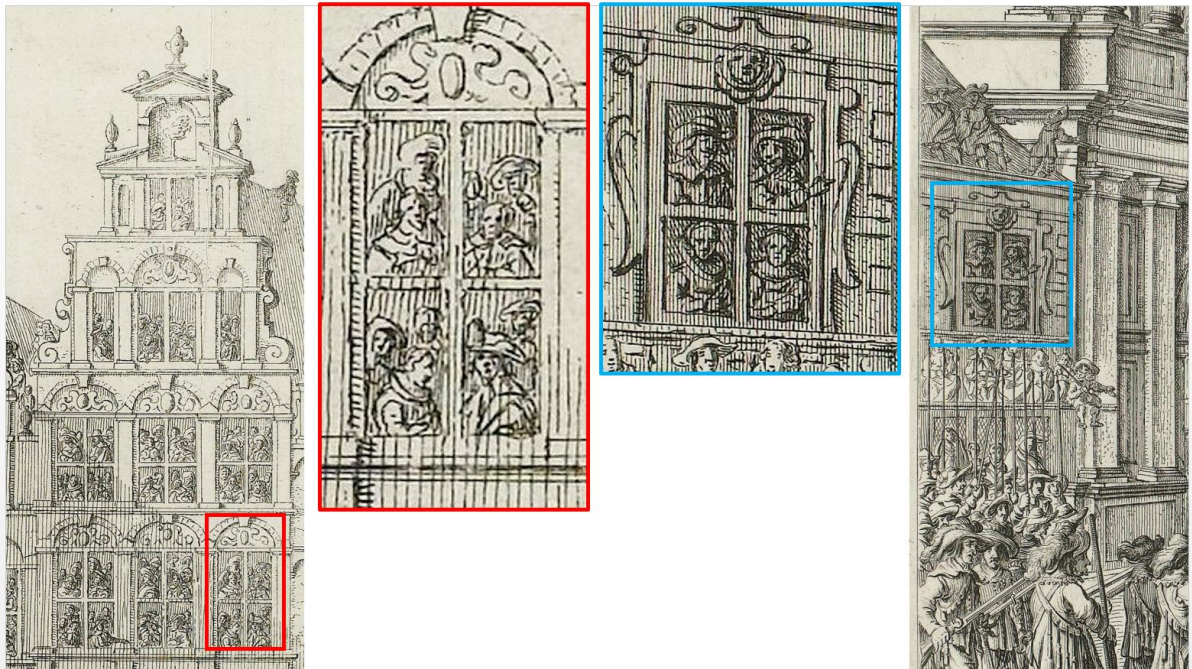


Fig. 40. Anonymous, *View of Marie de' Medici's entry into London*, from: J. P. de la Serre, *Histoire de l'entree de la reyne mere du roy tres-chrestien dans la Grande-Bretaigne enrichie de planches [...]*. London (John Raworth) 1639. London, British Library, G.10865.(2).



Fig. 41. Large format copy of Barlaeus, *Blijde Inkomste*. New York Public Library, Spencer Collection Neth. 1639.



Fig. 42. Handwritten dedication in Spencer Collection copy Neth. 1639, from Willem Jorisz. Backer to alderman Gerbrand Nicolaesz. Pancras.

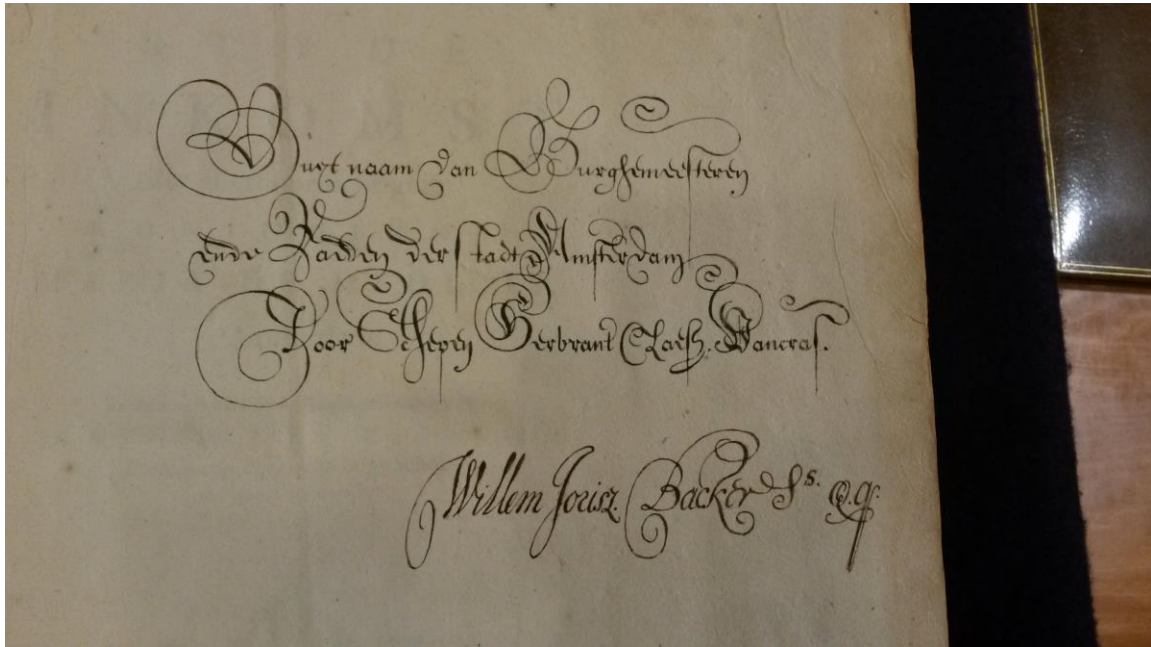


Fig. 43. Anonymous, *Portrait of Gerbrand Nicolaesz. Pancras (1591-1649)*, c. 1648. Oil on canvas, 92 x 70 cm. Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SA 3000.



Fig. 46. Thomas de Keyser, *Portrait of the burgomasters of Amsterdam awaiting the arrival of Marie de' Medici*, 1638. Oil on panel, 28.5 x 38 cm. Amsterdam, Amsterdam Museum, inv. no. SB 5755.



Fig. 47. S. Saverij after G. Honthorst, *Portrait of Marie de' Medici*, 1638. Etching and engraving, 322mm x b 212mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1944-1579.



Fig. 48 (left). W. Hollar, *portrait of Frederick Henry*.

Fig. 49 (right). W. Hollar, *portrait of Amalia of Solms*.

From J. P. de la Serre, *Histoire de l'entree de la reyne mere du roy tres-chrestien dans les Provinces Unies des Pays-Bas* (1639). Los Angeles, Getty Research Institute.



Fig. 50. Sebastian Dadler, *Frederick Henry in Triumph* (recto) and *Arrival of Princess Mary in the Netherlands* (verso), 1648. Gilt silver, struck, 72 mm (diameter). London, British Museum, inv. no. M.7149.



Fig. 51. Estimated route of Henrietta Maria's entry into Amsterdam on May 20, 1642, with entry at the Haarlemmerpoort (red), then towards Dam Square, with triumphal arches at Dam Square, in front of town hall, at Damsluis and Varkenssluis (blue) and finally arrival at Prinsenhof (yellow), and two possible processional routes indicated. Mary Stuart and William II of Orange were lodged at the Kloveniersdoelen (yellow). The spectacles of Arion and the Dolphin, and Perseus and Andromeda, which had been planned at Damrak also indicated (green). Detail of Joan Blaeu, Map of Amsterdam, 1649. Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional de España.



Fig. 52. Pieter Nolpe after Pieter Potter, *Af-Beelding van het Puyck Der Burger-Ruyteren door laste der Heeren Burgemeesteren vergadert om de Koninginne van Groot Britanie Henrieta Maria, op den 20 May in den Iare 1642 Amsterdam besokende, in the halen [...]*, 1642. Etching, c. 394 x 1455 mm. London, British Museum, inv. no. Kk, 5.2.100.



Fig. 53. A. van Leest, *William of Orange as Perseus, triumphant incompst [...]* (1579). Woodcut, 117 x 150 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum inv. no. BI-1937-210-10.



Fig. 54. Wierix after C. van den Broeck, *William of Orange saves the Netherlands from Spanish tyranny, ca. 1577. Engraving, 332 x 411 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum inv. no. RP-P-1944-1711.*



Fig. 55. Anonymous after R. van Persijn after I. Isaacsz, *The marriage of Mary Stuart and William II*, 1641. Engraving, 388 × 505 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-81.488.



Fig. 56. Jan Baptist Weenix (attributed), *Arion saved by the Dolphin with Neptune.*, 1642. Oil on panel, 11 1/2 x 14 3/4 inches (28.9 x 37.4 cms). Formerly with dealer Otto Naumann, New York.



Fig. 56 Details. Arion with the likeness of William I of Orange, and *Oude Brug* in the background (left). Coats of arms of Navarre, Granada, Aragon and Castile, and a flag with the cross of Burgundy (right).



Fig. 57. Jan Baptist Weenix (attributed), *Andromeda on the rock, rescued by Perseus*, 1642. 11 1/2 x 5 1/4 inches (29.2cm x 38.8cm). Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-3473.



Fig. 57 Details. Frederick Henry's coat of arms on Perseus' shield (top), and Vismarkt and Stock Exchange in the background (below).



Fig. 58. P. Nolpe after J. B. Weenix (attr.), *Arion saved by the Dolphin with Neptune*, from Coster's *Beschrijvinge*, 1642. Etching, 356 × 372mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.722.



Fig. 59. P. Nolpe after J. B. Weenix (attr.), *Andromeda on the rock rescued by Perseus*, from Coster's *Beschrijvinge*, 1642. Etching, 349 × 385 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.723.



Fig. 60. P. Nolpe after J. B. Weenix (attr.), *The wedding of Peleus and Thetis*, from Coster's *Beschrijvinge*, 1642. Etching, 351 × 380 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.724.



Fig. 61. P. Nolpe after J. B. Weenix (attr.), *The treaty between Adolf of Nassau and Edward I in 1294*, from Coster's *Beschrijvinge*, 1642. Etching, 355 × 376 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.725.



Fig. 62. P. Nolpe after J. B. Weenix (attr.), *The Marriage of Reginald II of Guelders with Eleonora of England in 1332*, from Coster's *Beschrijvinge*, 1642. Etching, 357 × 385 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.726.



Fig. 63. P. Nolpe after J. B. Weenix (attr.), *Marriage of James II with Maria van Egmond in 1449*, from Coster's *Beschrijvinge*, 1642. Etching, 358 × 382 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.727.



Fig. 64. The triumphal arch on the Dam Square, from Coster's *Beschrivinge*, 1642. Etching, 313 × 211 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.316 (left).

Fig. 65 The triumphal arch at *Beursstraat*, from Coster's *Beschrivinge*, 1642. Etching, 315 × 206 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.317 (right).



Fig. 66. The triumphal arch at *Damsluis*, from Coster's *Beschrivinge*, 1642. Etching, 310 × 210 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.318 (left).

Fig. 67 The triumphal arch at *Varkenssluis*, from Coster's *Beschrivinge*, 1642. Etching, 311 × 209 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-76.319 (right).

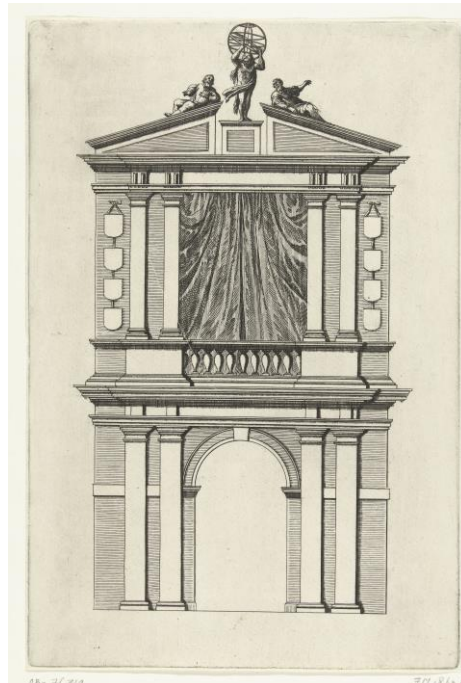


Fig. 68. Pieter de Jode II after Gaspar de Crayer, *Charles V crowned Emperor by the Pope*, 1636. Engraving, 273 x 343 cm. Plate 24 from G. Becanus, *Serenissimi principis Ferdinandi Hispaniarum infantis S. R. E. cardinalis triumphalis introitus in Flandriæ metropolim Gandavum [...]*, Antwerp (Johannes Meursius) 1636. New York City, Metropolitan Museum, inv. no. 51.501.7424.



Fig. 69. Theodoor van Thulden after Jacob Jordaens, after Peter Paul Rubens, *The marriage between Philip the Fair and Joanna of Castille*, 1639-1641. Etching and engraving, 256 mm x 295 mm. Plate 15 from C. Gevartius, *Pompa introitus [...] Ferdinandi Austriaci Hispaniarum Infantis [...]*, Antwerp (Johannes Meursius) 1641. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-70.254.

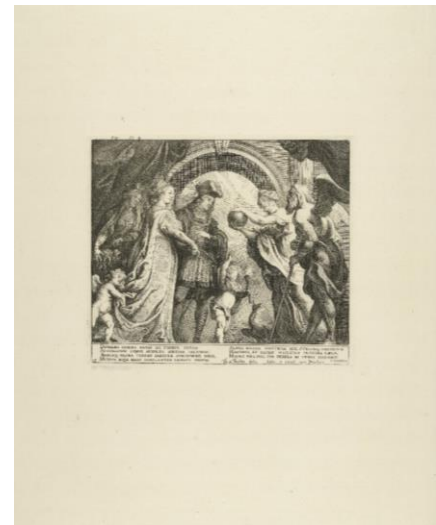


Fig. 70. Anonymous, Sixteen floats used for the visit of Amalia van Solms and Louise Henriette to Amsterdam, 1659. Woodcut and movable type 286 × 335 mm. Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-76.600.



Fig. 70 details. Floats of Concord, Gelderland, Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, and Friesland.



Fig. 70 details. Floats of Overijssel, Groningen, Adolf van Nassau, and Stadtholders William I of Orange, Maurice, and Frederick Henry.



Fig. 70 details. Floats of Stadtholder William II, William III, Gratitude, and Amsterdam.



Fig. 71. Frontispiece (detail), *Hollandsche Mercurius* [...] Vol. 11 (1661), Haarlem (Pieter Casteleyn, 1661). Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam Special Collections.



Fig. 72. Route William III and Mary Stuart from Leiden to Amsterdam 1660. Detail of Frederick de Wit, Map of Holland, 1630. Image courtesy of Leen Helmink.



Fig. 73. Meeting at Loopvelt and arrival at Amsterdam via Amstelveenseweg and Heiligeweg towards Heiligewegspoort. Detail Blaeu, *Toonneel des Aerdrücx [...]*, 1649, p. 260. Leiden, Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken.

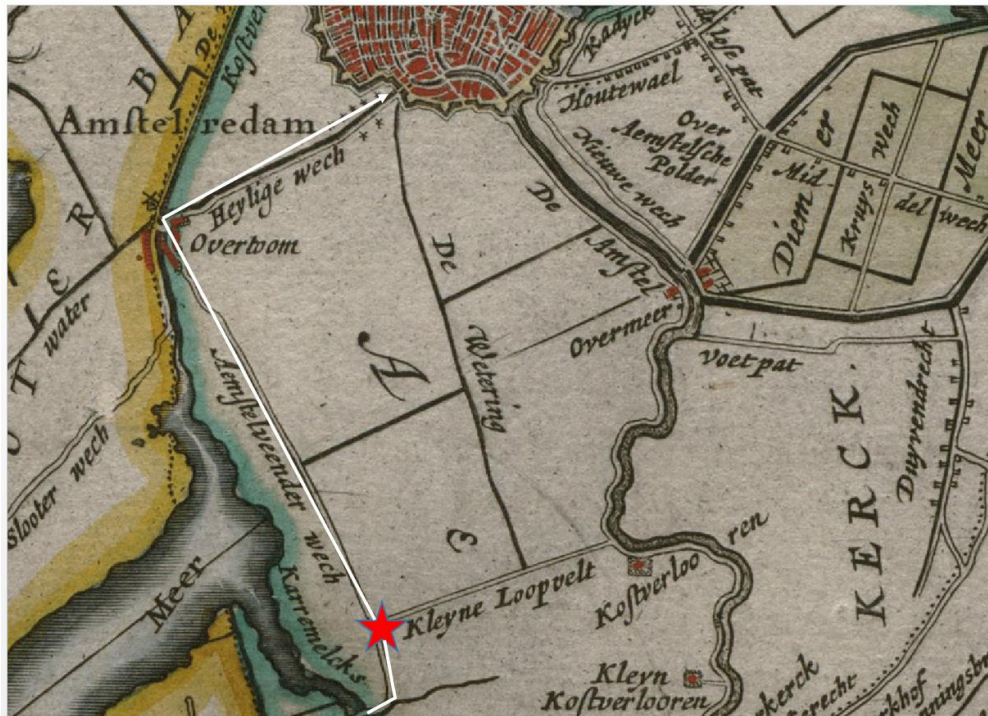


Fig. 74. The Regulierspoort, from T. Domselaer et al., *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam* [...] Amsterdam (Marcus Willemsz. Doornick), 1665, p. 264. Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam Special Collections.



Fig. 75. Joan Blaeu, *Amstelodami Celeberrimi* [...], 1657-1659. Map of Amsterdam showing the outlines of new fortifications in the proposed Fourth Expansion. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Kok 10095, inv. no. 43.



Fig. 76. Arrival into the city 1660 passing the Heiligewegspoort (yellow) and entering through the Nieuwe Regulierspoort (red) towards the Kalverstraat. Detail of Blaeu *Amstelodami Celeberrimi* [...], 1657-1659. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Kok 10095, inv. no. 43.



Fig. 77. Anonymous, *Amsterdamsche Vreugdtrionfe* [...] (Amsterdam, Michiel de Groot, 1660), frontispiece. Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam Special Collections, Vondel 1 F 46.



Fig. 78. Arrival into the city 1660 passing the Heiligewegspoort and entering through the Nieuwe Regulierspoort and Kalverstraat, halting at the new town hall (red) at Dam Square, then Oudezijds Heerenlogement (yellow) and Kloveniersdoelen (blue) (Detail Blaeu, *Amstelodami Celeberrimi [...]*, 1657-1659). Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Kok 10095, inv. no. 43.



Fig. 79. Zacharias Webber, *Kloveniersdoelen*, etching and engraving, from: Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam [...]*. Amsterdam (Marcus Willemsz. Doornick), 1665. Etching and engraving, 117 × 140 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-61.287.



Fig. 80. Zacharias Webber, *Oudezijds Heerenlogement*, etching and engraving, from: Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschryvinge van Amsterdam* [...]. Amsterdam (Marcus Willemsz. Doornick), 1665. Etching and engraving, 115mm × 141mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-1938-1225.



Fig 81. G. Flinck and J. Ovens, *The oath of the Batavians under Claudius Civilis*. 1659-1662. Oil on canvas, 550 x 550 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace.



Fig. 82. Ferdinand Bol, *Pyrrhus and Fabritius*, 1656. Oil on canvas, 485 x 350 cm. Amsterdam, Royal Palace, Burgomasters Chamber.



Fig. 83. Reconstruction of approximate route taken by William III of Orange during riding tour through Amsterdam on June 19, 1660, starting and ending at Kloveniersdoelen (blue). Detail of Blaeu, *Amstelodami Celeberrimi [...]*, 1657-1659. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Collection Atlas Kok 10095, inv. no. 43.



Fig. 84. Anonymous, *Een yder pronkt alhier op zijne Staten Wagen, de helden van Nassau worde hier ten toon gedragen [...]*, before 1780. Woodcut and moveable type, 325 x 260 mm. Amsterdam, University of Amsterdam Special Collections. Below: detail, float William I, comp. fig. 70.



Fig. 85. Anonymous, *Vreugde Sangh, Ofte verhael vande Stacy-Wagens* [...], 1660. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, Library, 15030 inv. no. 152205.



Fig. 85. Details, Floats of William I, Maurice, Frederick Henry and William II.



Fig. 85. Detail, *Crest of Amsterdam with the Amsterdam town hall, from Vreugde Sangh [...], 1660. Woodcut.*



Fig. 87. *Adriaen van der Venne and Jan Zoet, Prinsselik Zinnebeeld, 1660. Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk no. 2268.*



