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## Reformations and Revolt in the Netherlands, 1500–1621

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### Introduction

The Low Countries have a special place in Reformation history, both because of the great diversity of the religious landscape and because they experienced a genuine Reformation “from below,” as well as fierce repression of Protestant heresies. Protests against the latter helped to trigger the revolt that resulted in the split of the Habsburg Netherlands. In the northern Netherlands, the Dutch Republic gave the Reformed Church a monopoly of worship but also guaranteed freedom of conscience to dissidents. The southern Netherlands, once “reconciled” with the Habsburgs and having expelled its Protestant inhabitants, became a bulwark of the Counter-Reformation. For more on the revolt, see the *Oxford Bibliographies* in Renaissance and Reformation article “The Netherlands (Dutch Revolt/Dutch Republic)” by Henk van Nierop.

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### General Overviews

No single work is available that provides a satisfactory and up-to-date general overview of the early modern history of both the northern and southern Low Countries. However, Israel 1995 is recommended for its clear and authoritative treatment of the formation of the Habsburg Netherlands as a whole as well as the socioeconomic and religious developments. Although it focuses quite explicitly on the northern provinces, the first part covers the period from 1477 to 1588.

**Israel, Jonathan I. *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness and Fall, 1477–1806*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.**

Remarkable for its encyclopedic coverage. Part 1 covers the period up to 1588 in sufficient depth to meet the needs of advanced students. The discussion is invariably well informed, wide ranging, and stimulating. Israel’s claim that the boundary between the United Provinces and the Spanish Netherlands confirmed longstanding structural differences is, however, controversial.

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### Reference Works and Resources

Biographical reference works, such as the Académie royale de Belgique, Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek, and Biografisch Portaal van Nederland, as well as the biographical parts of the Dutch Revolt are now available online. Primary sources can also be found under the Dutch Revolt, as well as through Vindplaats voor de geschiedenis van Nederland. The pamphlets collected in Knuttel 1978 have also been digitized. As a guide to Reformation studies, Spiertz and Janssen 1982 remains important and useful.

**Académie royale de Belgique.**

Early volumes of *La biographie nationale de Belgique* can be consulted on this website.

### **Biografisch Portaal van Nederland.**

Various biographical dictionaries for the northern Netherlands, including those of Protestant ministers, are available on this website.

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### **Digitale bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse letteren.**

Many other primary texts and studies in cultural history can be found in this digital library for Dutch literature.

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### **Dutch Revolt. Universiteit Leiden.**

A useful reference tool for students of the Reformation and the Dutch revolt. It also offers selected source fragments in a variety of languages, which are useful for teaching purposes.

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### **Knuttel, Willem Pieter Cornelis, ed. *Catalogus van de pamfletten-verzameling berustende in de Koninklijke Bibliotheek*. 9 vols. Utrecht, The Netherlands: HES, 1978.**

Originally published 1889–1920. All pamphlets in this collection and many others have now been digitized, and many are available online for purchase or by subscription.

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### **Nationaal Biografisch Woordenboek.**

Volumes 1 through 10 of the [Flemish] *National Biographical Dictionary* can be consulted at this site and were digitized in cooperation with the Institute for Dutch History.

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### **Spiertz, M. G., and J. A. M. M. Janssen. *Gids voor de studie van reformatie en katholieke herleving in Nederland, 1520–1650*. The Hague: Archiefdienst Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, 1982.**

This comprehensive guide to the bibliography of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations covers the northern and southern Netherlands and the neighboring regions. It includes literature on ecclesiastical institutions, monastic movements, the Protestant confessions, and Reformed synods, as well as diocesan maps.

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### **Vindplaats voor de geschiedenis van Nederland.**

These digitized sources on Dutch history include the records of the classes of the Reformed Church from 1573 to 1620 and the correspondence of William of Orange.

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## **Printed Sources for the Protestant Reformation**

An abundance of source material is available on the Protestant Reformation. Early Protestant Bible production can be studied through the *Biblia Sacra*. For the 1520s, the *Corpus documentorum* (Frédéricq 1889–1902) provides a convenient and fairly comprehensive coverage of the 1520s through a wide range of sources. Although Flanders and Antwerp receive the most attention, Holland is also well represented. Anabaptist sources are now readily available. The editors of the *Bibliotheca reformatoria neerlandica* (Cramer and Pijper 1903–1914) were especially interested in the so-called Left Wing of the Reformation, and this is reflected in their selection of texts, including several rare evangelical works. With regard to Amsterdam, Friesland, and Groningen, the *Documenta anabaptistica Neerlandica* (Dankbaar, et al. 1975–2002) takes up almost where the *Corpus documentorum* (Frédéricq 1889–1902) left off at the end of

the 1520s; other volumes in this series include the writings of Hendrik Niclaes and Mennonite martyrs. Fortunately, van Braght 2002 provides an English translation of the standard Mennonite martyrology (originally published in 1660, with a second expanded edition in 1685). Excellent source publications for the Reformed churches follow their hierarchical organization at different levels and include excellent indexes. The decisions of the national synods in the second half of the 16th century can be found in the *Acta van der Nederlandsche synoden* (Rutgers 1889). All of the acts of the provincial synods, which were virtually autonomous, were published until 1620 as the *Acta der provincial en particulier synoden* (Reitsma and van Veen 1892–1899). The provincial synods were subdivided into classes, and many of their records for the formative period from 1573 to 1620 have been published under the general title of *Classes van de Nederlandse hervormde kerk* (van Dooren, et al. 1980–2008). These last are all provided with excellent indexes. Catechisms are covered in Heijting 1989.

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#### **Biblia Sacra: Bibles Printed in the Netherlands and Belgium.**

An outstanding Internet resource on the printing and distribution of printed Bibles in the Low Countries since the 15th century.

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#### **Cramer, Samuel, and Frederik Pijper, eds. *Bibliotheca reformatoria neerlandica: Geschriften uit den tijd der hervorming in de Nederlanden*. 10 vols. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1903–1914.**

Includes many rare evangelical and Anabaptist texts, devotional and polemical, as well as Catholic refutations that were first printed between the early 1520s and 1570. Anabaptist works are strongly represented and include the first Anabaptist martyrology (Volume 2) and the complete writings of Dirk Philips (Volume 10).

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#### **Dankbaar, W. F., B. S. Gregory, A. Hamilton, A. F. Mellink, and S. Zijlstra, eds. *Documenta anabaptistica Neerlandica*. 7 vols. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1975–2002.**

A series of sources for the history of the Anabaptists and Mennonites in the Low Countries. Proceedings against Anabaptists in Amsterdam, Friesland, and Groningen are published in Volumes 1, 2, 4, and 7; the other volumes include the debate between Menno Simons and Micronius (Volume 3), the spiritualist writings connected with the Family of Love (Volume 6), and the “forgotten writings” of Mennonite martyrs (Volume 8, which is actually Volume 7).

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#### **Frédéricq, Paul, ed. *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandica*. 5 vols. Ghent, Belgium: Vuylsteke, 1889–1902.**

Publishes a fairly comprehensive collection of sources, including edicts, pamphlets, trials, and accounts as well as extracts from chronicles and diaries. The last two volumes cover dissent in the 1514–1528 period. Excellent indexes.

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#### **Heijting, W. *De catechismi en confessies in de Nederlandse Reformatie tot 1585*. 2 vols. Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands: De Graaf, 1989.**

Describes in detail almost two hundred editions of the thirty-nine Dutch Protestant catechisms and confessions, printed before 1586. Contains an English summary.

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#### **Reitsma, Johannes, and S. D. van Veen, eds. *Acta der provincial en particuliere synoden gehouden in de noordelijke Nederlanden gedurende de jaren 1572–1620*. 8 vols. Groningen, The Netherlands: Wolters, 1892–1899.**

The records of these provincial synods give an unrivaled insight into the problems confronting the Reformed churches as they struggled to assert a Reformed and Presbyterian church order on the seven northern provinces, only a minority of whose inhabitants were committed Calvinists.

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**Rutgers, F. L., ed. *Acta van de Nederlandsche synoden der zestiende eeuw. Werken der Marnix-Vereeniging Serie 2. Utrecht, The Netherlands: Kemink & Zoon, 1889.***

Publishes the full text of first six “national” synods of the Reformed churches in the Low Countries held between 1568 and 1586. These laid down the “ground rules” for the Reformed churches that were further elaborated and confirmed at the synod of Dordrecht in 1618–1619.

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**van Braght, Thieleman J. *The Bloody Theater, or, Martyrs' Mirror*. 2d ed. Translated by Joseph F. Sohm. Scottdale, PA: Herald, 2002.**

This English translation, first published in 1886, includes the trial proceedings and letters of Anabaptist martyrs, most of whom were executed in the Low Countries. These testimonies provide invaluable information about the martyrs’ social background and beliefs. A scholarly edition is a desideratum.

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**van Dooren, J. P., J. van Gelderen, C. Ravensbergen, et al., eds. *Classicale acta, 1573–1620*. 8 vols. Rijksgechiedkundige publicatiën, Kleine Serie 49, 68, 69, 79, 88, 90, 93, 108. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1980–2008.**

The records of the classis give an insight into the workings of the Reformed Church closer to the grassroots, the training of ministers, relations with the local authorities, and the discussion of theological differences. Issues such as poor relief, matrimonial affairs, superstition, and religious dissidents were discussed here. Available online.

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## Printed Sources for Catholic Reform

Printed sources for Catholic Reform are too numerous and scattered to be listed here, beyond a few much-used titles on ecclesiastical politics. In *Romeinsche bronnen*, Brom and Hensen 1922 offers evidence from the Vatican Archives on the situation in the Low Countries. *Documents inédits* covers the plan for the new bishoprics (Dierickx 1960–1962). *Verslagen van kerkvisitatiën* contains evidence on the situation in Catholic parishes before the Reformation (van Rappard and Muller 1911). The *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle* gives a wealth of information on the attempts to implement reform in wartime (Pouillet and Piot 1877–1896). In *Correspondance d’Ottavio Mirto Frangipani*, the papal nuntius in Brussels offers a useful insight into the many obstacles to the recatholicization process from 1585, as well as the political developments (Frangipani 1924–1942).

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**Brom, Gisbert, and A. H. L. Hensen, eds. *Romeinsche bronnen voor den kerkelijk-staatkundigen toestand der Nederlanden in de 16de eeuw*. Rijks geschiedkundige publicatiën, Grote serie 52. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1922.**

Although the parts about the new bishoprics scheme have been superseded by Dierickx 1960–1962, other parts of this edition of documents in the Vatican archives contain useful evidence on papal politics and views on the political situation in the Netherlands between 1521 and 1592.

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**Dierickx, Michel, ed. *Documents inédits sur l’érection des nouveaux diocèses aux Pays-Bas (1521–1570)*. 3 vols. Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1960–1962.**

Brings together all the sources relating to the decision-making process and to the politically and ecclesiastically fraught implementation of the new bishoprics scheme.

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**Frangipani, Ottavio Mirto. *Correspondance d’Ottavio Mirto Frangipani, premier nonce de Flandre, 1596–1606*. 3 vols. Edited by Armand Louant. Rome: Institute Historique Belge, 1924–1942.**

Frangipani, originally operating from Cologne but papal nuntius in Brussels from 1596, was actively involved both in guarding papal

rights and privileges in the Low Countries and in the political scene of the Habsburg Netherlands and beyond.

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**Poulet, Edmond, and Charles Piot, eds. *Correspondance du Cardinal de Granvelle, 1565–1586*. 12 vols. Brussels: Hayez, 1877–1896.**

Because Granvelle had been forced to leave the Netherlands in 1564, he had to conduct all of his work as Archbishop of Mechelen by correspondence with his vicar Maximilian Morillon, whose frequent reports give a very valuable insight into attempts to implement reform and the fate of the church during the revolt, as well as the political situation.

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**van Rappard, F. A. L., and S. Muller, eds. *Verslagen van kerkvisitatiën in het bisdom Utrecht uit de 16e eeuw*. Werken 3e, 29. Amsterdam: Müller, 1911.**

Brings together reports by visitors on the situation in parishes in the bishopric of Utrecht before the Reformation, offering information on the provision of pastoral care and preaching, as well as concubinage among the clergy.

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## Bibliographies

*Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540* (Nijhoff and Kronenberg 1965–1971), *Belgica Typographica 1541–1600* (Cockx-Indestege, et al. 1968–1994), and *Typographia Batava 1541–1600* (Valkema Blouw 1998) are all to be used in conjunction with *Netherlandish Books* (Pettegree and Walsby 2011). For titles after 1600, see Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen, the bibliography of Dutch-language publications printed in the Dutch-speaking southern Low Countries, and the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands, a database of nearly two hundred thousand books published in the Netherlands and Dutch books published abroad (except Belgium) that also provides a bibliography for the 1540–1800 period. Pirenne, et al. 1931 is the standard bibliography for the southern Low Countries with a comprehensive listing of primary sources that has been periodically updated, most recently to 1988. De Buck 1968 serves a similar function for the northern provinces. To some extent, these bibliographies are being superseded by digital resources such as Digitale Bibliografie Nederlandse Geschiedenis. Consult Biblia Sacra on the spread of printed Bibles, and consult Heijting 1989 for the development of catechisms (both cited under Printed Sources for the Protestant Reformation).

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**Cockx-Indestege, Elly, Geneviève Glorieux, and Bart op de Beeck, eds. *Belgica Typographica, 1541–1600*. 4 vols. Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands: De Graaf, 1968–1994.**

A catalogue of almost ten thousand titles published in what is now Belgium that is limited, however, to those in Belgian libraries. Excellent indexes, including publications arranged in chronological order.

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**de Buck, Hendrick. *Bibliografie der geschiedenis van Nederland*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1968.**

The standard bibliography for the northern provinces that emerged as the United Provinces and, as such, the counterpart of Pirenne, et al. 1931.

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**Digitale Bibliografie Nederlandse Geschiedenis.**

Bibliographies of Dutch historical publications are available on this website.

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**Nijhoff, Wouter, and Maria E. Kronenberg, eds. *Nederlandsche bibliographie van 1500 tot 1540*. 3 vols. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1965–1971.**

This reprint of a catalogue of post-incunabula in the Low Countries, first published from 1919 to 1942, remains the starting point for

serious bibliographical research on the period.

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**Pettegree, Andrew, and Malcolm Walsby, eds. *Netherlandish Books: Books Published in the Low Countries and Dutch Books Printed Abroad before 1601*. 2 vols. Leiden, The Netherlands, and Boston: Brill, 2011.**

This short-title catalogue includes books in French printed in the Low Countries and combines data derived from personal inspection and from the catalogues of more than twenty-five hundred libraries worldwide. This collection records many titles and editions not found in *Typographia Batava* or *Belgica Typographica*. Although the catalogue has an index of printers, it does not contain an authors' index. This information can be found online.

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**Pirenne, Henri, Henri H. E. Nowé, and Hendrik T. Obreen. *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Belgique*. 3d ed. Brussels: Lamertin, 1931.**

Covers the Low Countries as a whole before 1598 and the southern provinces thereafter. This “national” framework has been largely retained by later bibliographies for Belgium, such as *Petite bibliographie de l'histoire nationale* (Brussels: Éditions universitaires, 1946); *Un quart de siècle de recherche historique en Belgique, 1944–1968*, edited by J. A. van Houtte (Leuven, Belgium: Éditions Nauwelaerts, 1970); and *Vingt ans de recherche historique en Belgique, 1969–1988*, edited by Léopold Genicot (Brussels: Crédit Communal, 1990).

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### **Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands.**

This short-title catalogue of books printed in the Netherlands, as well as those printed in Dutch abroad (with exception of books published in Belgium), before 1800, was completed in 2009 and is also available on the Bibliopolis website or the Dutch Royal Library website.

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### **Short Title Catalogus Vlaanderen.**

This short-title catalogue of early modern printed books printed before 1801 in the region known today as Flanders, including Brussels, is still a work in progress, but increasingly useful.

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**Valkema Blouw, Paul, ed. *Typographia Batava, 1541–1600: Repertorium van boeken gedrukt in Nederland tussen 1541 en 1600*. 2 vols. Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands: De Graaf, 1998.**

This short-title catalogue lists almost seventy-five hundred publications published within the borders of the modern Netherlands or elsewhere in Dutch, excluding those printed in Belgium. Includes information from libraries across the world.

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## **The Reformation before 1572**

The Reformation in the Low Countries stands out for several reasons. First, apart from Menno Simons and the problematic case of Erasmus, there were no religious leaders of European renown. Second, Protestantism achieved its (partial) success in the teeth of opposition from Charles V and Philip II, whose repressive policies were, however, hampered by the inertia or hostility of local political elites. This explains why historians have given much attention to antiheresy legislation, persecution, and martyrologies. The early evangelical movement recruited from among the intelligentsia, who drew inspiration from both Erasmus and Luther. Not until the early 1530s did religious dissidents begin to separate from the Catholic Church; at the same time, dissent gained widespread support among the *menu peuple* (common people), especially in Holland and Friesland. In the later 1530s, the revolutionary apocalypticism associated with Munsterite Anabaptism gave way to more pacific forms of dissent associated especially with Menno Simons. Although the separatist Mennonite movement spread throughout the Dutch-speaking region, it made little headway in the francophone provinces where Reformed Protestant influences imported from Geneva, Zurich, and Strasbourg made their mark from the mid-1540s. Persecution led to the formation of explicitly Calvinist/Reformed congregations in exile in England, East Friesland, and the Rhineland. Consequently,

many fugitives, having imbibed Genevan doctrines and a Presbyterian ecclesiology abroad, returned home in the 1560s as committed Reformed Protestants. In 1566 the Low Countries witnessed a surge of Calvinist activity, culminating in widespread iconoclastic riots. These attacks on churches alienated moderate Catholic opinion, helping the central government to recover quickly. The Duke of Alba's coming inaugurated a policy of harsh repression that forced many thousands of those implicated in the recent Troubles to seek asylum abroad. As a result, the alliance between disaffected nobles and the Reformed churches, incipient in the 1560s, solidified. William of Orange became the recognized leader of those who opposed the policies of Philip II, even though Orange's pragmatic and patriotic agenda was not always to the liking of the more fervent Calvinists.

## Recent Historiographical Overviews

Janse 2002, Marnef 2009, and Pollmann 2006 provide excellent surveys of the historiography of the Reformation in the Low Countries. The growing interest in the Catholic Reformation is also reflected in the latter two and especially in the essays of Marnef 2009 and Tracy 2005.

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**Janse, Wim.** "De protestantse reformatie in de Nederlanden: Wendingen in de twintigste-eeuws historiografie." In *Balans van een eeuw: Wendingen in de historiografie van het Christendom, 1901–2001*. Edited by Jack de Mooij and Ineke Smit, 33–49. Heerenveen, The Netherlands: Groen, 2002.

Shows how the historiography of the Protestant Reformation has changed as denominational church history has given way to the history of religion and as historians have adopted multidisciplinary approaches.

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**Marnef, Guido.** "Belgian and Dutch Post-War Historiography on the Protestant and Catholic Reformation in the Netherlands." *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 100 (2009): 271–292.

Conveniently summarizes the research of Dutch, Belgian, and foreign scholars since the 1960s. The survey covers the late medieval church, the early Reformation, Anabaptism, Calvinism and its involvement in the revolt, and the onset of the Catholic Reformation. The author applauds the tendency to place the Reformation in the Low Countries in a broader European context while regretting the absence, as yet, of a satisfactory synthesis.

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**Pollmann, Judith.** "The Low Countries." In *Palgrave Advances in the European Reformation*. Edited by Alec Ryrie, 80–101. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006.

Highlights new directions in research. These include a concern with the religious opinions and actions of the laity; a growing interest in Catholics, both north and south; and the discovery that many North Netherlanders felt no need to belong to any church. A select list of further reading in English is appended.

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**Tracy, James D.** "With and without the Counter-Reformation: The Catholic Church in the Spanish Netherlands and the Dutch Republic, 1580–1650; A Review of the Literature since 1945." In *The Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century: Erasmus, Religion and Politics, Trade and Finance*. By James D. Tracy, 547–575. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005.

This thoughtful survey of the literature on the Catholic Church in the Low Countries, first published in 1985 (*Church Historical Review* 71:547–575), summarizes postwar research until the early 1980s. Under the archdukes and their successors, the Catholic Reformation pervaded the culture of the Spanish Netherlands. Even in the Dutch Republic, the Holland Mission succeeded in training priests and creating an effective ecclesiastical structure.

## The Political Context: Charles V and the Government of the Low Countries

The onset of the Reformation era coincided with Charles V's efforts to consolidate his Netherlandish possessions and to maximize their fiscal potential, as discussed in Gunn, et al. 2007. In the process, Charles V made moves to centralize some aspects of government and



quelled local resistance, which Boone and Prak 1995 shows was a long and rich tradition. However, Koenigsberger 2001 shows how the States General, originally devised to facilitate bargaining with the estates, later became a forum for resistance, whereas Tracy 1990 argues that Holland's rebel cities first learned how to cooperate when promoting Habsburg political ends.

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**Boone, Marc, and Maaten Prak. "Rulers, Patricians and Burghers: The Great and the Little Traditions of Urban Revolt in the Low Countries." In *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*. Edited by C. A. Davids and Jan Lucassen, 99–134. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.**

Examination of urban revolt from the 12th century to the downfall of the Ancien Régime. Discerns two distinct, if closely related, traditions of revolt: the Great against the central government and the Little against the town magistracies. The revolt is viewed as falling within the "Great Tradition."

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**Gunn, Steven J., David Grummitt, and Hans Cools. *War, State, and Society in England and the Netherlands, 1477–1559*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.**

Examines the impact of the continuous wars of this period on state and society, arguing that war did not necessarily further state formation and that practices and institutions that were developed in support of war, such as the print industry or the provincial finances in the Low Countries, were later used to undermine Habsburg authority.

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

The first substantial treatment of the representative states between 1477 and 1600. Because political power in the Low Countries was unusually fragmented, it was negotiated between the prince and the provincial states; however, in 1477 and in the later 1570s, the States General assumed executive responsibilities. Although the States General atrophied in the Spanish Netherlands, in the Dutch Republic an uneasy balance was struck between that body, the *stadhouder* (chief magistrate), and the provincial states.

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**Tracy, James D. *Holland under Habsburg Rule, 1506–1556: The Formation of a Body Politic*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.**

During Charles V's reign, the province of Holland underwent a process of political and fiscal maturing. This study explains how, after repudiating the authority of Philip II, Holland's political and financial institutions became equal to the business of government.

## The Late Medieval Church

Although Toussaert 1963 argues that the late medieval Netherlands were barely Christian, scholars such as Post 1954, Caspers 1992, and van Engen 2008 have found high levels of religious engagement. Bijsterveld 1993 demonstrates that the priesthood was better educated than was previously thought, but Tracy 1993 shows why mendicants, especially, were the target of much criticism and occasional riots. Post 1968 demonstrated that the *devotio moderna* (Modern Devotion) was not a proto-Protestant movement, but van Engen 2008 shows it was influential in its emphasis on individual piety.

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**Bijsterveld, Arnoldus J. A. *Laverend tussen Kerk en wereld: De pastoors in Noord-Brabant, 1400–1570*. Amsterdam: VU Uitgeverij, 1993.**

Impressive prosopographical case study of the careers of parish priests and curates, highlighting their high level of education, dependency on lay and clerical patrons, limited career prospects, and the existence and wide acceptance of concubinage.

**Caspers, Charles. *De eucharistische vroomheid en het feest van Sacramentsdag in de Nederlanden tijdens de Late Middeleeuwen*. Miscellanea neerlandica 5. Leuven, Belgium: Peeters, 1992.**

Demonstrates the importance of eucharistic piety for the late medieval Netherlands, and argues that popular knowledge and understanding of the Eucharist's significance was much greater than earlier scholars supposed.

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**Hollander, A. A. den. *De Nederlandse bijbelvertalingen, 1522–1545*. Bibliotheca bibliographica Neerlandica 33. Nieuwkoop, The Netherlands: De Graaf, 1997.**

This book (translated as: "Dutch Translations of the Bible, 1522–1545") explains in detail how the existing tradition of Bible production changed under the influence of the evangelical movement and confirms the eclectic nature of the early Reformation. Much emphasis on the study of paratext.

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**Post, R. R. *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland vóór de Reformatie van 1500 tot 1580*. Utrecht, The Netherlands: Spectrum, 1954.**

A dispassionate assessment of the Catholic Church in the northern Low Countries before the old religious order was overturned. Although acknowledging the shortcomings of the church, it also finds evidence of renewal that, but for the Dutch revolt, might have produced an effective Counter-Reformation.

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**Post, R. R. *The Modern Devotion: Confrontation with Reformation and Humanism*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1968.**

A sober and painstaking survey of the Brethren and Sisters of the Common Life and the Windesheimers until the early 16th century. Claims the contribution made by the Modern Devotion to education in the late Middle Ages has been exaggerated and that the movement was generally indifferent to both Christian humanism and the Protestant Reformation.

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**Toussaert, Jacques. *Le sentiment religieux en Flandre à la fin du Moyen-Âge*. Paris: Plon, 1963.**

Claims the laity of late medieval Flanders had a shallow understanding of their faith and that religious observance was spasmodic. Although open to challenge, this provocative thesis has been unjustifiably dismissed. For a fresh assessment, see Johan Decavele, "Kerk en geloofsbeleving in Vlaanderen onder druk aan de vooravond van de Reformatietijd (ca. 1500–ca. 1566)," *Handelingen van het Genootschap voor Geschiedenis te Brugge* 146 (2009): 3–92.

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**Tracy, James D. "Elements of Anticlerical Sentiment in the Province of Holland under Charles V." In *Anticlericalism in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. 2d ed. Edited by Peter A. Dykema and Heiko A. Oberman, 257–269. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1993.**

Attributes the high levels of anticlericalism in the province of Holland to widespread resentment of clerical tax exemptions, urban objections to the business activities of monastic orders, venal practices of episcopal officials, and mendicant involvement in the persecution of heretics.

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**van Engen, John H. *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life: The Devotio Moderna and the World of the Later Middle Ages*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008.**

Argues that although the adherents of *Devotio Moderna* upset some parties in the medieval church and were forced to restructure as a tertiary order, their aim was not to challenge the power of the church or change doctrine but to take charge of their own souls and be responsible Christians.

## Erasmus and Erasmianism

Although scholars no longer believe in the existence of a distinctive Erasmian strand in the Reformation (Mout, et al. 1997), the influence of Erasmus is undisputed. Augustijn 1991 and Tracy 1996 have placed Erasmus back into his Low Countries context, and the reception of his work by one early reformer and in elite circles has been well studied in Spruyt 1994 and Spruyt 2006.

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**Augustijn, Cornelis. *Erasmus: His Life, Works, and Influence*. Translated by J. C. Grayson. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.**

A refreshingly down-to-earth reassessment of Erasmus. Although avoiding the exaggerated claims sometimes made for Erasmus's influence, Augustijn shows just how innovative and disturbing the humanist's "Christian philosophy" was. Erasmus's religion was "a piety of the low lands rather than of the mountains, intimate rather than passionate" (p. 200).

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**Mout, M. E. H. N., Heribert Smolinsky, and J. Trapman, eds. *Erasmianism: Idea and Reality*. Afd. Letterkunde, nieuwe reeks 174. Amsterdam: Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, 1997.**

An important collection, asking whether "erasmianism" existed and, if so, whether this should be seen as a "via media." Several authors stress that Erasmus's own erasmianism should be seen as a strategy for survival or as a way of life rather than as a doctrine, and they emphasize that the erasmianism of his readers differed from context to context.

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**Spruyt, B. J. "'En bruit d'estre bonne luteriene': Mary of Hungary (1505–58) and Religious Reform." *English Historical Review* 109.431 (1994): 275–307.**

Sees Mary of Hungary as a representative of "a variegated middle-of-the-road movement" (p. 303) in religious matters. Although taking strong measures against religious radicals and loyally upholding Charles V's antiheresy legislation, she nevertheless patronized moderate evangelicals into the 1540s. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

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**Spruyt, Bart Jan. *Cornelius Henrici Hoen (Honius) and His Epistle on the Eucharist (1525): Medieval Heresy, Erasmian Humanism, and Reform in the Early Sixteenth-Century Low Countries*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2006.**

Examines the humanist, medieval, and popular origins of Hoen's arguments against Christ's real presence in the Eucharist, as well as their influence on Swiss and German reformers.

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**Tracy, James D. *Erasmus of the Low Countries*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996.**

Lucid study argues that Erasmus's developing views should be understood in the context of his roots in the Burgundian Netherlands, the broader debates on reform among churchmen, and the difficulties of explaining his position to both Catholic and Protestant critics.

## The Protestant Reformation

Being highly literate, urbanized, and commercial, the Low Countries proved a natural habitat for the Reformation. Evangelical ideas attracted some elite support but were especially popular among middling urban ranks and in the industrialized countryside of Flanders. The prevailing characteristic of the early Reformation in the Low Countries was its eclecticism. The Anabaptists were the first group to separate from the Catholic Church, making a bid for power in Amsterdam and Münster, before regrouping as pacifist Mennonites. Other dissidents were also profoundly affected by persecution. Many who fled the heresy laws only developed into fully fledged Calvinists in Reformed safe havens abroad and returned as activists in 1566, 1572, and 1576. Within the Netherlands, Reformed Protestantism, with its devolved structure, lent itself better to underground organization than Lutheranism did, but it also benefited from a European-wide network of repressive government policies. These policies, meanwhile, also alarmed many ordinary Catholics because they ignored

local legal privileges, which became a major bone of contention between the Habsburg government and the local elites. This continuing disagreement expressed itself not only in growing local obstruction but also in the fear that new bishoprics or a “Spanish inquisition” heralded further bloodshed. Persecution thus became the main trigger for both noble and urban resistance in 1566, even though many believers had no wish to commit themselves to a particular confession. Although many excellent studies of the Protestant Reformation in particular towns and individual provinces are available, no synthesis embraces both the northern and the southern provinces. In this situation, the short history, written in French, of Halkin 1957 is most helpful. The collection of essays in Duke 1990 treats a wide range of topics, including the early evangelical movement (see also Trapman 1983, cited under Early Protestant Dissent), the Troubles of 1566, and the evolution of the Calvinist churches. A subsequent collection, Duke 2009 covers aspects of the Reformation and of the revolt. Fortunately, the multivolume 17th-century history of the Reformation is available in English (Brandt 1979), and because this includes many documents, more advanced students will find it an invaluable *Fundgrube* (treasure house). The persecutions in the Low Countries obliged many thousands of Protestants to seek asylum in the Rhineland and southeastern England, where, as Schilling 1972 shows, they had a profound influence on the local economy.

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**Brandt, Geeraert.** *The History of the Reformation and Other Ecclesiastical Transactions in and about the Low-Countries from the Beginning of the Eighth Century to the Famous Synod of Dort.* 4 vols. New York: AMS, 1979.

English translation, first published 1720–1723, of a well-documented history of the Reformation by an Arminian minister, originally published in Dutch 1671–1704. The author argues for the existence of a moderate native tradition of Netherlandish Protestantism and regarded orthodox Calvinism as a foreign innovation.

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**Duke, Alastair.** *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries.* London: Hambledon, 1990.

Explores the spread of dissenting ideas, emphasizing the eclectic character of the Reformation, assessing the importance of different media in spreading new views in urban society, and reexamining the reasons why so many people opposed the heresy laws. The later essays discuss changing notions of *patria* and patriotism in the revolt, as well as the obstacles to the spread of the Reformation. Reprinted in 2003.

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**Duke, Alastair.** *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries.* Edited by Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer. Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2009.

This collection brings together Duke’s recent essays on notions of “netherlandishness,” the impact of repression on the character of Netherlandish Protestantism, the role of print and propaganda, the mentality of the iconoclasts, and the strains that war placed on individuals who tried to square their religious convictions with the changing political realities.

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**Halkin, Léon-E.** *La Réforme en Belgique sous Charles-Quint.* Brussels: La Renaissance du Lvre, 1957.

This survey, which appeared more than fifty years ago, is a little dated; the title is anachronistic because “Belgique,” as used here, simply means modern Belgium. Its treatment of the Reformation as a three-stage affair is overly schematic. However, this succinct essay is worth reading because it distills the work of an eminent scholar whose preoccupation with antiheresy legislation and martyrologies exposed the severity of the Caroline repression.

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**Schilling, Heinz.** *Niederlandische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert: Ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte.* Schriften des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte 187. Gütersloh, West Germany: Mohn, 1972.

Compares the contribution of Calvinist refugees from the southern Netherlands to the economies of six German towns and London in the later 16th century. Their influence depended on their numerical strength but also on relations between the urban elites, who welcomed the strangers, and the craft guilds, which mistrusted them. As far as possible, the respective religious establishments tried to insulate the host communities from the immigrants’ Calvinist faith.

## Early Protestant Dissent

Although the Catholic authorities initially labeled all Dutch evangelicals indiscriminately as “lutherans,” many held opinions on the Eucharist that Luther would have repudiated. Trapman 1983 shows this became a hot topic in Dutch evangelical circles from the mid-1520s.

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**Trapman, Johannes.** “Le rôle des ‘sacramentaires’ des origines de la réforme jusqu’en 1530 aux Pays-Bas.” *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 63 (1983): 1–24.

Exposes the ambiguities and contradictions inherent in the term “sacramentarian.” This term covered a variety of “erroneous” opinions about the real presence. The provenance of evangelical theology was confused because most dissidents in the Low Countries, who drew inspiration from both Erasmus and Luther, did not grasp how their views on this sacrament differed.

## Anabaptism

In the early 1530s, dissent in Holland and Friesland gained mass support. Mellink 1953 attributes this to socioeconomic pressures suffered by the “small people.” Although now somewhat outdated, the *Mennonite Encyclopedia* (Dyck, et al. 1955–1990) is still a good resource. According to Deppermann 1987, Melchior Hoffman provides the “bridge” between the dissidents of the late 1520s and the separatist Anabaptists who emerged around 1530. Anabaptism in the northern Netherlands was traumatized by the overthrow of the Munsterite Kingdom in 1535 and fierce repression. It was at this critical point that David Joris briefly became a key figure in radical circles (see Waite 1990).

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**Deppermann, Klaus.** *Melchior Hoffman: Social Unrest and Apocalyptic Visions in the Age of Reformation*. Edited by Benjamin Drewery and translated by Malcolm Wren. Edinburgh: Clark, 1987.

Detailed examination of Hoffman’s apocalyptic theology, which exerted a profound influence on early Dutch Anabaptists—many of whom, however, did not endorse his pacificism.

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**Dyck, Cornelius, Dennis D. Martin, Harold S. Bender, et al., eds.** *The Mennonite Encyclopedia: A Comprehensive Reference Work on the Anabaptist–Mennonite Movement*. 5 vols. Hillsboro, KS: Mennonite Brethren, 1955–1990.

The numerous contributions by the Dutch Mennonite scholar Nanne van der Zijpp make this work of reference especially useful for the history of the radical Reformation in the Low Countries.

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**Mellink, Albert F.** *De wederdopers in de noordelijke nederlanden, 1531–1544*. Groningen, The Netherlands: Wolters, 1953.

Challenges earlier Mennonite historiography by offering a Marxist explanation for the mass support for Anabaptists at Münster and in the northern Netherlands. Also questions whether there was always a clear division between Anabaptists prepared to use force and those who later advocated nonviolence. Closes with a chapter on the structure and development of Anabaptism to 1544.

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**Waite, Gary K.** *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism, 1524–1543*. Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1990.

The best modern life of this key religious radical who in the aftermath of the Münster debacle briefly eclipsed all other Anabaptist leaders. Offers a lucid exposition of Joris’s own religious development. Useful appendixes on the Anabaptist leadership after 1535 and a translation of Jorien Ketel’s confession of 1544. However, the first part on the early evangelical movement is outdated.

## Reformed Protestantism

For a clear, concise, and authoritative account that sets Reformed Protestantism in the Low Countries in the context of the Calvinist Reformation as a whole, a good start is with the overview in Benedict 2002. Pettegree 1992 highlights the importance of exile for the formation of Dutch Calvinism, while Spohnholz 2011 focuses on religious coexistence among Protestant refugees. Hamilton 1981 explores the quest for religious alternatives by the followers of Hendrik Niclaes and his Family of Love. For additional sources, see Bakhuizen van den Brink 1976 and Duke 1992.

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**Bakhuizen van den Brink, J. N., ed. *De Nederlandse belijdenisgeschriften*. 2d ed. Amsterdam: Ton Bolland, 1976.**

An edition of the text of the Dutch Reformed confession of faith, the Heidelberg catechism, and the canons of the Dordrecht synod of 1618.

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**Benedict, Philip. *Christ's Churches Purely Reformed: A Social History of Calvinism*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2002.**

Chapter 6 offers a useful survey of the 16th-century history of Calvinism in the Low Countries (pp. 173–201).

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**Duke, Alastair. "The Netherlands." In *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1610: A Collection of Documents*. Edited and translated by Alastair Duke, Gillian Lewis, and Andrew Pettegree, 133–199. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1992.**

Selection of documents with an introduction that provides an accessible guide to Calvinist fortunes in the Low Countries.

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**Hamilton, Alastair. *The Family of Love*. Cambridge, UK: Clarke, 1981.**

Only detailed study of the Family of Love, the heterodox Dutch sect of the 16th and 17th centuries. Covers the movement's spiritual roots, the career of Hendrik Niclaes, his influence in spiritualist circles in Antwerp, and the split in 1573 between Niclaes and Hendrik Jansen. The Family attracted those repelled by growing confessionalization, but it gradually faded in the late 16th century.

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**Pettegree, Andrew. *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1992.**

Highlights the crucial role that the German town of Emden played in the start of the Dutch Reformation. It became a refuge for Protestants escaping persecution where a school for the inculcation of Reformed Protestantism and a center for the printing of Reformed theology and polemic were built. An appendix lists the books printed at Emden 1554–1584.

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**Spohnholz, Jesse. *The Tactics of Toleration: A Refugee Community in the Age of Religious Wars*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2011.**

Explores the daily practice of religious coexistence in the German town of Wesel. Close to the Netherlandish border, Wesel served as an important hub for Protestant refugees from the Habsburg Low Countries. Offers a useful nuance to narratives about exile and the rise of Calvinism.

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## The Repression of Dissent

Because the central government took a determined stand against religious dissent from the outset, historians have naturally paid much attention to this aspect. The most recent is Goosens 1997–1998. Gregory 1999 gives considerable coverage to Dutch Anabaptists in this study of this phenomenon in Europe in the Early Modern period. The controversies provoked by the edicts are studied in detail in Tracy

2005.

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**Goosens, Aline. *Les inquisitions modernes dans les Pays-Bas méridionaux, 1520–1633*. 2 vols. Brussels: Éditions de l'Université de Bruxelles, 1997–1998.**

The sustained repression of Protestant Reformation in the Low Countries produced a flood of antiheresy edicts, included in an appendix, and enforced through a bewildering range of ecclesiastical and secular courts. Goosens's monograph offers a comprehensive discussion of the legislation and the scale of the persecutions.

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**Gregory, Brad S. *Salvation at Stake: Christian Martyrdom in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1999.**

Around three-quarters of the martyrs memorialized in the Netherlandish Protestant martyrologies were Anabaptists. These martyrologies (1562–1685) are discussed at length in this study of Christian martyrdom. Often the martyrs' sufferings were first commemorated in verse, although later compilers used testaments and prisoners' letters as well as court proceedings.

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**Tracy, James D. "Heresy Law and Centralization under Mary of Hungary: Conflict between the Council of Holland and the Central Government over the Enforcement of Charles V's Placards." In *The Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century: Erasmus, Religion and Politics, Trade and Finance*. By James D. Tracy, 284–307. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2005.**

When Anabaptist agitation developed in Holland in the 1530s, the provincial court proved more lenient than the central government expected. This chapter examines why the judges were reluctant to enforce the laws strictly. First published in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 73 (1982): 284–307. Many documents cited have since been published in *Documenta anabaptistica neerlandica* (Dankbaar, et al. 1975–2002, cited under Printed Sources for the Protestant Reformation).

## Regional and Local Studies

The political and cultural diversity of the Low Countries has prompted research into the local Reformation. This, indeed, is one of the strengths of Reformation historiography for the Low Countries. Among the very many publications in this field, Decavele 1975, Marnef 1996, and Moreau 1962 stand out. Decavele 1975 offers a detailed, source-based study of the Reformation in Flanders, the most populous of the seventeen provinces. Antwerp was the country's sophisticated commercial metropolis, and Marnef 1996 discusses why the Protestant Reformation quickly found adherents there. Significant minorities of Anabaptists and Reformed Protestants established their first congregation in the Low Countries in Antwerp. The pattern of Reformation was very different in the Walloon towns, as is evident in the case of Tournai (Moreau 1962). The changing social appeal of the new doctrines in Tournai is the subject of further analysis in Moreau 1968. Although the process of confessionalization proceeded apace in the Walloon towns and in Flanders, the rhythm was quite different in Friesland (Woltjer 1962), where many postponed making a choice between Catholicism and Protestantism until the end of the 16th century.

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**Decavele, Johan. *De dageraad van de reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520–1565)*. 2 vols. Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1975.**

This outstanding monograph is based on prodigious archival research. Initially, the new doctrines attracted the urban elites. Confessionalization began with Anabaptism. Repression briefly checked dissent, but it recovered when émigrés returned as committed Reformed Protestants and when Mennonites began to proselytize. Unlike Anabaptism, Calvinism recruited from both the intelligentsia and discontented rural cloth workers. Useful tables reveal the scale and rhythm of the repression.

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**Marnef, Guido. *Antwerp in the Age of the Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.**

In Antwerp, many tailored their religious conduct according to circumstances. If the masses rallied to the Calvinist cause in 1566, many subsequently became reconciled. The occupational structure of Calvinists and Anabaptists differed markedly. The author pays great attention to how different Christians experienced their faith. Tables and graphs present a wealth of quantitative data. Text in Dutch available online.

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**Moreau, Gérard.** *Histoire du protestantisme à Tournai jusqu'à la veille de la révolution des Pays-Bas*. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres," 1962.

This monograph is a fine example of the research led by Léon-E. Halkin in the 1950s and 1960s. Moreau shows how the groups of early evangelicals gradually broke with the old faith to set up their own structures. Given Tournai's ties with France, the local Protestants were naturally affected by events across the border and looked to Geneva for their theology.

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**Moreau, Gérard.** "La corrélation entre le milieu social et professionnel et le choix de religion à Tournai." In *Sources de l'histoire religieuse de la Belgique: Moyen âge et temps modernes; Actes du colloque de Bruxelles, 30 nov.-2 dec.. 1967*. Edited by Colloque de Bruxelles, 286–301. Bibliothèque de la revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 47. Leuven, Belgium: Publications Universitaires de Leuven, 1968.

Compares the support for the Reformation across the social spectrum until 1565. The new teaching recruited very few priests after 1530, and peasants were drawn to Calvinism only after 1561. Support for Anabaptism was confined to newcomers to the town. Unsurprisingly, the lower orders bore the brunt of the repression.

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**Woltjer, Jan Juliaan.** "Friesland in hervormingstijd." PhD diss., Universitaire Pers Leiden, 1962.

Argues persuasively that the inhabitants of Friesland did not choose Calvinism, but that circumstances forced the great majority of religious and political moderates to abandon the middle ground, partly because Philip II refused to adopt a more conciliatory religious policy. This study has exerted a profound influence on the historiography of the revolt and led to a general appreciation that confessionalization was a protracted process.

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## The Dutch Revolt

Since the publication of Parker 2002, no new synthesis on the revolt has been published, although some new insights have been included in the useful volumes Darby 2001 and Van der Lem 2018, and in an updated bibliography Groenveld, et al. 2008. Parker's survey successfully promoted a new post-national approach to the Dutch revolt, which focused less on the motives for the revolt than on an explanation of its extraordinary outcome. This supplemented the fundamental work of Woltjer 1994, which showed the decisive influence that Netherlandish "middle groups" exerted in the course of the conflict. Arnade 2008 offers a lively take on the political culture of the revolt.

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**Arnade, Peter J.** *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008.

Examines how authority and opposition were mediated in the Low Countries, from Burgundian days until 1585. Focuses on the performance of power, arguing that, by challenging its religious underpinnings, the iconoclasts also attacked the political authority of the Habsburg state. Faced with retribution, the rebels succeeded in representing Habsburg policies as an inversion of civic and urban values. Less attention is paid to those Netherlanders who did not accept the rebel worldview.

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**Darby, Graham, ed.** *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*. London: Routledge, 2001.

A collection of essays by a team of international scholars with contributions on the nobility, towns, and religion—all with good



introductions. Others deal with more unexpected, if no less important, issues, such as the methods used by the States of Holland to finance the revolt and an assessment of Philip II's "grand strategy" in which the Low Countries did not occupy the highest priority.

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**Groenveld, S., H. L. PH. Leeuwenberg, M. E. H. N. Mout, and W. M. Zappy. *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog: Opstand en consolidatie in de Nederlanden (ca. 1560–1650)*. Zutphen, The Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2008.**

Revised edition of *De kogel door de kerk? De Opstand in de Nederlanden en de rol van de Unie van Utrecht, 1559–1609* (Zutphen, The Netherlands: De Walburg Pers, 1979) and *De bruid in de schuit: De consolidatie van de Republiek, 1609–1650* (Zutphen, The Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 1985). This edition of the very useful and accessible textbook on the revolt and early years of the Dutch Republic involved only minor revisions to the original text but includes an updated bibliography and splendid new illustrations.

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**Parker, Geoffrey. *The Dutch Revolt*. Rev. ed. London: Penguin, 2002.**

Although in need of revision, this remains the classic account of the revolt. This survey was the first to present that conflict in the wider context of the competing interests of the Spanish monarchy.

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**van der Lem, Anton. *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568–1648*. London: Reaktion, 2018.**

Concise and up-to-date overview of the causes, development, and outcomes of the military conflict in the Low Countries. Balanced in its attention to the northern and southern provinces, it explains why it took eighty years to achieve peace in the Netherlands.

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**Woltjer, J. J. *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog: Over de Nederlandse Opstand, 1555–1580*. Amsterdam: Balans, 1994.**

A revised collection of key essays, first published between 1971 and 1980, by the father of the revisionist historiography of the revolt whose seminal work demonstrated the influential role played in the revolt by religious and political moderates. The accessible, matter-of-fact style belies the depth of scholarship on which these essays rest.

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## Recent Historiographical Overviews

Smit 1960 offers a seminal analysis of historiographical debate on the revolt. For developments since Smit 1960 was published, see van Nierop 2001 and Pollmann 2009.

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**Pollmann, Judith. "Internationalisering en de Nederlandse Opstand." *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 124.4 (2009): 515–535.**

Discusses how studies on the broader international context of the revolt from c. 1970 forced Dutch scholars to rethink their national interpretations of revolt and Reformation.

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**Smit, J. W. "The Present Position of Studies Regarding the Revolt of the Netherlands." In Vol. 1, *Britain and the Netherlands*. Edited by J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, 11–28. London: Chatto & Windus, 1960.**

A very perceptive analysis of the debates about the revolt from the mid-19th century to the early 1950s, suggesting various ways forward for future research.

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**van Nierop, Henk. "Alva's Throne—Making Sense of the Revolt of the Netherlands." In *The Origins and Development of the Dutch Revolt*. Edited by Graham Darby, 29–47. London: Routledge, 2001.**

An accessible introduction to the history of the revolt that sketches out a fresh synthesis based on the latest research. Written by a scholar with an eye both for telling detail as well as for the bigger picture. First published in Dutch in 1995.

## Motives

The puzzling question of why the nobility in general, and William of Orange in particular, should have staked so much on the abolition of the heresy placards is better understood now thanks to van Nierop, whose views are summarized in his contribution about the nobles in Darby 2001 (cited under the Dutch Revolt), as well as the contributions of Swart 1978; Swart, et al. 2003; Mörke 2007; and Woltjer 2011. In addition, van Gelderen 1992 and Mout 1986 have done much to reassess the strategic use of political ideas by the rebels. Pollmann 2011 turns attention to Catholic perceptions of the conflict.

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**Mörke, Olaf. *Wilhelm von Oranien (1533–1584): Fürst und “Vater” der Republik*. Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 2007.**

This biography presents the prince as a great Burgundian nobleman torn between competing obligations to his Nassau family, to the mixed constitution of the Low Countries, and to Philip II. In religion, Orange became a nonconfessional Protestant, although political stability mattered more to him than religious uniformity. To unite a divided opposition, he invoked a comprehensive Netherlandish patriotism. Translated into Dutch as *Willem van Oranje (1533–1584): Vorst en “vader” van de Republiek* (Amsterdam: Atlas, 2010).

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**Mout, M. E. H. N. “Van arm vaderland tot eendrachtige Republiek: De rol van politieke theorieën in de Nederlandse Opstand.” *Bijdragen en Medelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 101 (1986): 345–365.**

Examines political theory in the Dutch revolt between c. 1568 and 1610. For all the discussion, it proved impossible to construct a coherent political theory that could do justice to the knotty political reality of the emerging Dutch state.

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**Pollmann, Judith. *Catholic Identity and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1520–1635*. Past & Present Book Series. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011.**

Using diaries and personal memoirs to gain insights into the attitudes of Netherlandish Catholics, this study asks why Catholics in the Netherlands, unlike their French coreligionists, reacted passively to the challenge of the Reformation but then, after firsthand experience of Calvinist intolerance and of exile, succeeded in creating a resurgent Catholicism that became the hallmark of the southern Netherlands under the archdukes.

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**Swart, K. W. *William the Silent and the Revolt of the Netherlands*. General Series Historical Association (Great Britain) 94. London: Historical Association, 1978.**

This pamphlet summarizes Swart's revisionist views on the prince's early career, as well as an analysis of his later years, which are covered in more detail in Swart, et al. 2003.

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**Swart, K. W., Alastair Crawford Duke, and Jonathan I. Israel. *William of Orange and the Revolt of the Netherlands, 1572–84*. Edited by R. P. Fagel, M. E. H. N. Mout, and H. F. K. van Nierop and translated by J. C. Grayson. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003.**

This study gives a balanced assessment of the prince's role after 1572. Especially strong on Orange's problems with the town corporations of Holland, the States of Holland, and, after 1576, the States General. The original Dutch version, published posthumously in 1994, is available online. Some errors were corrected in the English translation.

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**van Gelderen, Martin. *The Political Thought of the Dutch Revolt, 1555–1590*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1992.**

A thorough analysis of the thinking among Dutch rebels that, following the approach of intellectual historian Quentin Skinner, examines

the texts within both their historical and intellectual contexts. The rebels argued among themselves about such issues as the justification of resistance, freedom of conscience, relations between the new state and the Reformed Church, and the nature of the emerging commonwealth. Makes comparisons with the French monarchomachs and Renaissance republicanism.

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**Woltjer, Jan J. *Op weg naar tachtig jaar oorlog: Het verhaal van de eeuw waarin ons land ontstond*. Amsterdam: Balans, 2011.**

A wide-ranging account of religious (and, to a lesser degree, political) developments between the 1520s and the late 1560s. Pays particular attention to the ways in which the repression and Philip II's refusal to compromise in religion polarized attitudes to the detriment of those occupying the middle ground. Offers robust and lucid analyses, but is more conventional in approach than Arnade 2008 (cited under the Dutch Revolt). Excellent endnotes.

## The Outbreak of the Revolt

The introduction of new bishoprics from 1559 (see Dierickx 1967) not only antagonized the nobility but also triggered rumors about fiercer persecutions (see van Nierop 1991, Duke 1990, and Duke 2009 [the latter two cited under Reformation before 1572: Protestant Reformation]). Socioeconomic and class-based explanations for the events of 1566 are no longer in vogue. Crew 1978, Deyon and Lottin 1981, and Marnef 1999 emphasize the religious motives of the iconoclasts, but see also Arnade 2008 (cited under the Dutch Revolt). A recent theme issue of the *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* (van Bruaene, et al. 2016) provides an up-to-date reassessment of the iconoclasm of 1566.

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**Crew, Phyllis Mack. *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands 1544–1569*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1978.**

Based mostly on sources from the southern provinces, this study of Calvinist preaching, especially during the *annus mirabilis* 1566, argues against the idea that the iconoclasts or their preachers were motivated by socioeconomic concerns and demonstrated the concern of many Calvinist ministers to placate the authorities.

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**Deyon, Solange, and Alain Lottin. *Les "casseurs" de l'été 1566: L'iconoclasme dans le nord de la France*. Paris: Hachette, 1981.**

Examines the spike of Calvinist activity in 1566 in the Franco-Netherlands border region and the crackdown under the Duke of Alba. Concludes the iconoclasm was not a marginal phenomenon, a mad revolt, or blind vandalism, but rather a religiously inspired revolution in which the common people briefly challenged the established powers. Source documents are published in an appendix.

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**Dierickx, Michel. *L'érection des nouveaux diocèses aux Pays-Bas, 1559–1570*. Brussels: La Renaissance du Livre, 1967.**

A revised version of his *De Oprichting der nieuwe bisdommen in de Nederlanden onder Filips II, 1559–1570* (Antwerp, Belgium: Standaard-Boekh, 1950), which challenged common assumptions. Dierickx saw Charles V, not Philip II or Granvelle, as the author of the reforms. Although most bishops were easily installed, the vociferous opposition from the nobility and the abbeys that were incorporated to finance the scheme has colored our impressions.

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**Marnef, Guido. "The Dynamics of Reformed Militancy in the Low Countries: The Wonderyear." In *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and the Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands*. Edited by N. Scott Amos, Andrew Pettegree, and Henk van Nierop, 193–210. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1999.**

Argues for more consistorial and ministerial involvement in the iconoclasm than Crew 1978 considered, and demonstrates that the political organization of the Reformed Church was more sophisticated than previously thought.

**van Bruaene, Anne-Laure, Koenraad Jonckheere, and Ruben Suykerbuyk, eds. *Special Issue: Beeldenstorm: Iconoclasm in the Netherlands. BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review* 131.1 (2016).**

Theme-issue of the leading journal on the history of the Netherlands, dedicated to the Iconoclasm (*Beeldenstorm*) of 1566. Written by a range of experts, it assesses the causes, character, and outcomes of the troubles of 1566.

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**van Nierop, Henk. "A Beggars' Banquet: The Compromise of the Nobility and the Politics of Inversion." *European History Quarterly* 21.3 (1991): 419–443.**

Investigates the symbolic meaning of the Beggars' name and the rituals that accompanied their inauguration of the Compromise as a spoof order of chivalry, as well as their dress and the badges that they and their supporters wore in 1566. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

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## Habsburg Policy

Habsburg decision making was deeply influenced by the composite nature of the empire. Rodríguez-Salgado 1988 shows how viceroys and governors routinely predicted rebellion as part of the negotiating process with the center, so that warnings from Brussels were not taken seriously. Lagomarsino 1973 analyzes how factional wrangling at court affected policies for the periphery, whereas Parker 1990 discusses how Philip II's many other problems meant that the Netherlands were rarely at the top of his agenda and commanders were often starved of funds. Philip II's style of governance is assessed more positively than previously, but Parker 1998 and Parker 2014 demonstrate that, when faced with crises, the ruler descended into micromanagement. Soen 2012 explains why the Habsburg government struggled to repress dissent and achieve peace in the Netherlands.

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**Lagomarsino, P. D. "Court Factions and the Formulation of Spanish Policy towards the Netherlands (1559–67)." PhD diss., University of Cambridge, 1973.**

Although unpublished, this dissertation is often cited. Examines how differences between the Alba and the Eboli factions affected how Madrid responded to the problems of governing the Low Countries. Focuses on the debates in Spanish governing circles that preceded the decision to send Alba to the Low Countries in the summer of 1567.

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**Parker, Geoffrey. *Spain and the Netherlands, 1559–1659*. Rev. ed. London: Fontana, 1990.**

A collection of ten essays, many of them seminal. Three consider the Dutch revolt in a European, even global, context, and four examine the role of the Spanish army and navy in the Low Countries and the Mediterranean. The final three relate to Spain's government of the Low Countries. Originally published in 1979.

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**Parker, Geoffrey. *The Grand Strategy of Philip II*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998.**

Arguing that Philip had a clear sense of priorities but could not always maintain control of the governmental process or finance, Parker explains why the Army of Flanders failed to defeat the Dutch rebels, despite coming close on occasion.

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**Parker, Geoffrey. *Imprudent King: A New Life of Philip II*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2014.**

The best general overview of Philip II's life, worldviews, and government. Based on meticulous archival scholarship, Parker reevaluates Philip's administration and leadership failures.

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**Rodríguez-Salgado, Mia J. *The Changing Face of Empire: Charles V, Philip II, and Habsburg Authority, 1551–1559*. Cambridge,**

**UK: Cambridge University Press, 1988.**

Examines how, in practice, the ramshackle multinational Habsburg Empire worked to square the conflicting interests of its components, members of which did not see politics from the Olympian perspective of their rulers. Continuous warfare and inadequate finances provoked the state bankruptcy of 1557. Contrary to the older historiography, the author rates Philip II's achievements more highly than those of his father.

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**Soen, Violet. *Vredehandel: Adellijke en Habsburgse verzoeningspogingen tijdens de Nederlandse Opstand, 1566–1584*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012.**

Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012.

Maps the many (failed) attempts by aristocratic elites and the Habsburg administration to repress dissent and achieve peace in the Low Countries.

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## Alba's Governorship and the Outbreak of Revolt in Holland and Zeeland

Forcing the Netherlands to accept permanent taxes, as analyzed in Grapperhaus 1982, to finance the troops of the Duke of Alba proved a fatal mistake that gave the ramshackle Beggar troops the chance to gain a foothold (see also de Meij 1972). Grayson 1980 and van Nierop 2006 show that most cities declared for the Orange and the Beggars under the combined pressure of civic militias within and Beggar troops outside the gates and that support for the rebellion was by no means universal. Van Nierop 2009 emphasizes the terror, chaos, and despair that many experienced in this civil war.

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**de Meij, J. C. A. *De Watergeuzen en de Nederlanden, 1568–1572*. Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterkunde, Verhandelingen, nieuwe reeks 77. Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche, 1972.**

Because the Sea Beggars captured Den Briel in 1572, these privateers gained a legendary status in the revolt. De Meij argues, however, that their exploits between 1568 and 1572 contributed little to Orange's campaigns. His analysis of the captains and their crews shows that the great majority came from the northern maritime provinces. Those who signed up were driven by sheer necessity to resort to plunder, a thirst for revenge, and antipopery.

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**Grapperhaus, Ferdinand H. M. *Alva en de tiende penning*. Zutphen, The Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 1982.**

Discussion of taxation in the 16th-century Low Countries, focusing on Alba's fiscal reforms, especially the Tenth Penny, a 10 percent permanent sales tax. Examines the negotiations between Alba and the States General from 1569 to 1572 and the reasons why the Tenth Penny aroused such opposition and was never collected. Appendixes include annotated texts of fiscal edicts in modern Dutch.

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**Grayson, J. C. "The Civic Militia in the County of Holland, 1560–81: Politics and Public Order in the Dutch Revolt." *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 95 (1980): 35–63.**

The turmoil in the towns of Holland, especially in 1566 and 1572, gave the civic militias a brief, but unaccustomed, influence in local politics. Their demand to be regularly consulted on matters of state was, however, firmly rejected by the provincial states in 1581.

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**van Nierop, Henk. "Confessional Cleansing: Why Amsterdam Did Not Join the Revolt (1572–1578)." In *Power and the City in the Netherlandic World*. Edited by Wim Klooster and Wayne Te Brake, 85–102. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2006.**

Explains why some Holland towns joined the revolt but others did not by focusing on the combination of military pressure, the presence of garrisons and exiles, and the role of civic militias. Argues that Amsterdam's combination of a strict security policy with a campaign to foster traditional values enabled the government to keep it in the Habsburg fold until 1578.

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

This microhistory explores the experience of civil war through a study of the sufferings of a Catholic jurist from Hoorn, who was arrested in 1575 as a traitor and tortured. After his release in 1577, he demanded acquittal and remarkably secured a partial vindication, showing that, even in wartime, citizens enjoyed legal privileges that the courts grudgingly respected.

## The Revolt 1576–1588 and the Calvinist Republics

When virtually all Netherlandish provinces signed the Pacification of Ghent in November 1576, their main aim was to get rid of the mutiny-prone Habsburg armies, a development discussed in Baelde, et al. 1976 and Janssens 1989. No one had expected that this would result in artisan unrest in the cities, a leading role for William of Orange in Flanders and Brabant, the sudden expansion of Calvinism to the southern Netherlands, and the formation of Calvinist regimes in most of the southern cities, which has been studied in Decavele 1984, Marnef 1987a, Marnef 1987b, and van Roey 1968. Inevitably, this fomented not only schism in rebel ranks, but also profound Catholic disaffection; by 1579, the rebel camp was split, as discussed in Groenveld and Leeuwenberg 1979. Following van Gelder 1943, recent scholarship has argued that the revolt was increasingly experienced as a religious civil war. See also van Nierop 2009 (cited under Alba's Governorship and the Outbreak of Revolt in Holland and Zeeland and Pollmann 2011 (cited under the Dutch Revolt: Motives). Rebel discord, financial troubles, and military setbacks favored the Habsburg reconquest. Van der Essen 1933–1937 discusses how the Habsburg governor Farnese pursued a highly effective policy of reconciliation. Parker 1998 (cited under the Dutch Revolt: Habsburg Policy) argues that it was only English support that enabled the rebels to hang on until the Armada and Habsburg intervention in France checked the reconquest.

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**Baelde, Michel, P. van Peteghem, Gustaaf Janssens, et al. *Opstand en pacificatie in de Lage Landen: Bijdrage tot de studie van de Pacificatie van Gent, Verslagboek van het Tweedaags Colloquium bij de vierhonderdste verjaring van de Pacificatie van Gent*. Ghent, Belgium: Snoek-Ducaju, 1976.**

Collection with important contributions by Michel Baelde, P. van Peteghem, Gustaaf Janssens, and J. J. Woltjer on the mixed reception given the Pacification in Flanders, Brabant, and the northern provinces. Also includes useful essays on emigration from the southern provinces and on toleration. Publishes the text of the Pacification and related documents. For van Peteghem's article in English, see the *Low Countries History Yearbook* 12 (1980): 65–84.

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**Decavele, Johan, ed. *Het Einde van een rebelse droom: Opstellen over het Calvinistisch bewind te Gent (1577–1584) en de terugkeer van de stad onder de gehoorzaamheid van de koning van Spanje (17 September 1584)*. Ghent, Belgium: Stadsbestuur, 1984.**

A profusely illustrated collection of essays on Ghent during the Calvinist Republic. Important contributions on Ghent as the bastion of Reformed Protestantism and the center of rebel propaganda, as well as the contribution of the Calvinist regime to education in the city, including the short-lived Calvinist theological seminary.

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**Groenveld, Simon, and H. L. Ph. Leeuwenberg, eds. *De Unie van Utrecht: Wording en werking van een verbond en een verbondsacte*. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1979.**

Collection of essays to mark the quadricentennial of the Union of Utrecht. As well as reprinting original text and related documents, includes essays on the circumstances leading to the Union, Johan von Nassau's role in its realization and the doubts of the Orange. For English translations of O. J. de Jong's essay on the Union and religion and van Deursen's essay on its constitutional significance, see *The Low Countries History Yearbook* 14 (1981): 29–64.

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**Janssens, Gustaaf. *Brabant in het verweer: Loyale oppositie tegen Spanje's bewind in de Nederlanden van Alva tot Farnese, 1567–1578. Anciens pays et assemblées d'États* 89. Kortrijk-Heule, Belgium: UGA, 1989.**

Examines ideology of the loyalists in Brabant. Although staunchly loyal to Philip II and to Catholicism, the loyalists believed that relations between the king and his subjects were contractually regulated. Their constitutional stance became harder to maintain with the formation of the rival unions of Utrecht and Arras, but it served to dilute an absolutist ideology in what became the Spanish Netherlands.

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**Marnef, Guido.** “Brabants Calvinisme in opmars: De weg naar de Calvinistische republieken in Antwerpen, Brussel en Mechelen, 1577–1580.” *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis* 70 (1987a): 7–21.

Comparing the rise of Calvinist regimes in three cities, the author emphasizes the gradual character of this change and highlights the important role of local security committees in initiating reforms, which were then followed by magistrates and resulted in gradual purges of the lower echelons of power, resulting in the marginalization of Catholics.

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**Marnef, Guido.** *Het Calvinistisch bewind te Mechelen, 1580–1585. Anciens pays et assemblées d'États* 87. Heule, Belgium: UGA, 1987b.

Applying Woltjer's model on the importance of the middle groups, Marnef shows how, after a phase of power sharing by pro-revolt “patriots” from traditional ruling families, growing polarization in Mechelen resulted first in a short-lived reconciliation with the Habsburg regime and then by a military coup in 1580, which enabled the rise of a Calvinist regime. Although this saw the rise of newcomers in government, the regime did not primarily reflect artisan-class interests.

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**van der Essen, Léon.** *Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas, 1545–1592. 5 vols.* Brussels: Librairie nationale d'art et d'histoire, 1933–1937.

Outstanding biography of the most successful governor general during the revolt. Makes extensive use of correspondence in the Farnese archives at Naples, destroyed in 1943. Notable for attention paid to the conduct of war, including the siege of Antwerp. Highlights Farnese's skill as a negotiator who achieved gradual reconciliation of the Walloon provinces with Philip II.

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**van Gelder, H. A. Enno.** *Revolutionnaire reformatie, de vestiging van de Gereformeerde Kerk in de Nederlandse gewesten, gedurende de eerste jaren van de opstand tegen Filips II, 1575–1585.* Amsterdam: van Kampen, 1943.

An early attempt to see the revolt as a civil war. Although Calvinists were in a minority, they seized the initiative, whether in Flanders, Friesland, or Holland. Refutes the notion of a predetermined dividing line between an innately loyal South and a North predisposed to rebellion; the fortunes of war, not the character of the inhabitants, eventually created the boundary.

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**van Roey, J.** “De correlatie tussen het sociale-beroepsmilieu en de godsdienstkeuze te Antwerpen op het einde der XVIe eeuw.” In *Sources de l'histoire religieuse de la Belgique: Moyen âge et temps modernes*, 239–258. Bibliothèque de la revue d'histoire ecclésiastique 47. Leuven, Belgium: Publications Universitaires de Leuven, 1968.

Examines the relationship between religious choice and social and occupational patterns in late-16th-century Antwerp. By combining data from property and tax registers in the mid-1580s as well as from lists of those who purchased citizenship with information about confessional loyalties of those in urban militias, the author concludes that in Antwerp, at least, Protestantism appealed strongly to propertied classes, whereas Catholicism retained loyalty of the less well-off.

## Media, Printing, Propaganda

The influence of the printing press in fomenting reformation and revolt in the Netherlands has long been acknowledged (e.g., see Geurts 1956 and Swart 1975). However, in recent years, this has been amplified by a much better understanding of illicit printing through the work of Johnston 1998 and the role of images, studied in Horst 2003, as well as in Duke 1990 and Duke 2009 (cited under the Reformation before 1572: Protestant Reformation). Recent studies, such as van Bruaene 2008 and Waite 2000, have also drawn

attention to the influence of oral and performative media (e.g., in chambers of rhetoric), whereas Stensland 2012 devotes attention to government attempts to influence public opinion. Janssen 2011 discusses the controversy over exile in Catholic circles.

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**Geurts, Pieter A. M. *De Nederlandse opstand in de pamfletten, 1566–1584*. Nijmegen, The Netherlands: Dekker & Van de Vegt, 1956.**

In the “paper war,” the rebels set the pace and the author examines almost 150 of their pamphlets. The first part looks at the pamphlets in chronological order, and the second discusses the issues covered in the pamphlets, including justifications for resistance, the best form of constitution, and religious toleration. The final chapter considers how the pamphlets were tailored for their intended readership. Text available online.

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**Horst, Daniel R. *De opstand in zwart-wit: Propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse opstand, 1566–1584*. Zutphen, The Netherlands: Walburg Pers, 2003.**

This study of the visual propaganda reproduces the hundred or so extant prints, accompanied by a commentary, disseminated in the early stages of the revolt. To ensure the viewer “got the message,” most were captioned, sometimes in German, Latin, and French, to bring the rebels’ agendas before an international public. These texts are transcribed in full.

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**Janssen, Geert H. “Quo Vadis? Catholic Perceptions of Flight and the Revolt of the Low Countries, 1566–1609.” *Renaissance Quarterly* 64.2 (2011): 472–499.**

Just as had happened among Protestant refugees, the revolt created a new attitude to exile among Catholics and also led to different appreciations of exile among Catholics in the Republic and the southern Netherlands. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

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**Johnston, Andrew G. “Printing and the Reformation in the Low Countries, 1520–c. 1555.” In *The Reformation and the Book*. Edited by Jean-François Gilmont and translated by Karin Maag, 154–187. Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 1998.**

Examines the nature of Dutch evangelical (but not Anabaptist) literature printed in the Low Countries under Charles V. Although modest by comparison with the output in the German lands, the number was nonetheless significant, especially given their clandestine character. Contains much information about the forbidden book trade.

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

Demonstrating that the Habsburg regime was much more aware of the need to communicate its views than has been alleged and showing how it used traditional ritual, oral means, and legislation to do so, Stensland argues that governors prior to Farnese nevertheless did too little to argue their case in terms accepted by their intended audience.

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**Swart, K. W. “The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War.” In *Some Political Mythologies: Papers Delivered to the 5th Anglo-Dutch Conference*. Edited by J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann, 36–57. Britain and the Netherlands 5. The Hague: Nijhoff, 1975.**

Claims Dutch rebels made four contributions to the Black Legend. They emphasized the machinations of the Spanish Inquisition, the private vices of Philip II, a Spanish master plan for universal monarchy, and the innate cruelty of Spaniards. Available online for purchase.

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**van Bruaene, Anne-Laure. *Om beters wille: Rederijkerskamers en de stedelijke cultuur in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden, 1400–1650*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008.**



Confirming earlier findings on the religious importance of the chambers of rhetoric, this study shows how the culture of the chambers in the Dutch-speaking South nevertheless broke down in the revolt and argues that the rhetoricians' creative and critical habitus ceased to thrive in the confessionalized context of the revolt and its aftermath.

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**Waite, Gary K. *Reformers on Stage: Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V, 1515–1556*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.**

Emphasizing the religious self-image of the Chambers of Rhetoric, this analysis of their dramatic output shows how the rhetoricians helped to further criticism of the religious establishment and promote an eclectic Reformation agenda.

## International Dimensions and Comparisons

The importance of English support for the revolt has long been acknowledged (Wilson 1970); however, since Parker 2002 (cited under the Dutch Revolt) was published, much more research has been done on the international context in which the revolt played itself out. Comparisons with France made in van Nierop 1995; Benedict, et al. 1999; Pettegree 2004; and Pollmann 2006 (cited under Recent Historiographical Overviews) as well as comparisons with Germany in Arndt 1998, Weis 2003, and Schilling 1991, show the extent to which the protagonists modeled their assessments of political and religious risks and solutions on what was happening beyond the Netherlands.

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**Arndt, Johannes. *Das Heilige Römische Reich und die Niederlande 1566 bis 1648: Politische-konfessionelle Verflechtung und Publizistik im Achtzigjährigen Krieg*. Cologne: Böhlau, 1998.**

Using the Circle of the Lower Rhine and Westphalia as a case study, Arndt examines the intricate relationships between the Holy Roman Empire and the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands with a focus on the legal framework, the political links, and the exchange of news, ideas, and propaganda.

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**Benedict, Philip, Henk van Nierop, Guido Marnef, and Marc Venard, eds. *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands, 1555–1585: Proceedings of the Colloquium, Amsterdam, 29–31 October 1997*. Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999.**

Although only a few of the contributions make explicit comparisons, this is a useful collection of parallel essays on both the French and Netherlandish wars of religion. These concern militancy, the nobility, Calvinism, Catholicism, moderates, royal policies, and finance.

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**Pettegree, Andrew. "France and the Netherlands: The Interlocking of Two Religious Cultures in Print during the Era of the Religious Wars." *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 84 (2004): 318–337.**

Demonstrates the existence of an international "news community" across France and the Netherlands. Outside the control of the ruling elites, this enabled literate people in both polities to stay abreast of events and opinions across the border, including the developments in their respective civil wars, and to consider their potential influence in their own lands.

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**Pollmann, Judith. "Countering the Reformation in France and the Netherlands: Clerical Leadership and Catholic Violence 1560–1585." *Past & Present* 190.1 (2006): 83–120.**

Argues that Netherlandish Catholics were much more passive in responding to Calvinism than their French counterparts because the Netherlandish clergy were more reluctant to enlist the laity to fight heresy than in France, not least of which being that they did not dare risk a conflict with local elites. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

**Schilling, Heinz. *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries. Sixteenth Century Essays & Studies 17*. Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal, 1991.**

These essays focus on the impact of “civic” Calvinism in the northernmost Netherlands and East Friesland. Argues that political radicalism of Calvinism depended on the status of the Reformed Church and on the godliness of the prince. The author also analyzes the development of consistorial discipline at Emden and Groningen.

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**van Nierop, Henk. “Similar Problems, Different Outcomes: The Revolt of the Netherlands and the Wars of Religion in France.” In *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective*. Edited by Karel Davids and Jan Lucassen, 26–56. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1995.**

This stimulating chapter highlights the different position of the monarchy in the two countries, the greater political maturity of the towns in the Low Countries, the earlier development of militancy among French Catholics, and the readiness of the moderates in France to rally to the monarchy.

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**Weis, Monique. *Les Pays-Bas espagnols et les états du Saint Empire (1559–1579): Priorités et enjeux de la diplomatie en temps de troubles*. Travaux de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l’Université Libre de Bruxelles 110. Brussels: Éditions de l’Université de Bruxelles, 2003.**

Drawing on the neglected correspondence of the secretariat for relations between the Habsburg government in Brussels and the Holy Roman Empire, this monograph examines how diplomacy was conducted and how Philip II tried to build up a pro-Spanish party among the German princes to counter rebel propaganda. Useful French translations of prolix German documents.

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**Wilson, Charles. *Queen Elizabeth and the Revolt of the Netherlands*. London: Macmillan, 1970.**

Wilson claims that if the queen had intervened in the late 1570s, the Spanish army might have left the Low Countries for good, thus removing a threat to England’s security. He poses interesting questions, exploits the neglected *Relations politiques des Pays-Bas*, edited by Kervyn de Lettenhove (Brussels: Hayez, 1882–1900), and gives unaccustomed attention to the Walloon nobility.

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## **The Counter-Reformation in the Southern Netherlands after 1585**

Although slow to be implemented to the full (see Cloet 1968 and Harline and Put 2000), the decades after 1585 undoubtedly witnessed a spectacular Catholic revival in the southern Netherlands. This was partly the result of a close collaboration between church and state (see Pasture 1925, Duerloo 1997, Thomas and Duerloo 1998, and Duerloo 2012), partly because of innovations such as those trialed by old and new orders (discussed by Andriessen 1957). Janssen 2014 emphasizes the role of returning exiles in shaping Catholic militancy.

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**Andriessen, J. *De Jezüieten en het samenhorighedsbesef der Nederlanden, 1585–1648*. Antwerp, Belgium: De Nederlandsche Boekhandel, 1957.**

Although some of its premises are outdated, this book remains a seminal, lucid, and rich account of the activities and political, cultural, and religious impact of the Society of Jesus in the Low Countries.

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**Cloet, Michel. *Het kerkelijk leven in een landelijke dekenij van Vlaanderen tijdens de XVIIe eeuw: Tielt van 1609 tot 1700*. Leuven, Belgium: Universiteitsbibliotheek, 1968.**

An exemplary account of how the parochial clergy and their parishioners in this rural deanery in Flanders gradually appropriated the sexual morality and devotional practices prescribed by the Tridentine Church. Based on the reports sent by the bishops to Rome and on visitations conducted by the bishops and rural deans. For an English summary, see Cloet’s article in *Acta Historiae Neerlandica* 5

(1971): 136–60.

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**Duerloo, Luc.** “*Pietas Albertina: Dynastieke vroomheid en herbouw van het vorstelijk gezag.*” *Bijdragen en Mededelingen Betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 112 (1997): 1–18.

Important article that analyzes the political dimensions of the ostentatious Counter-Reformation piety of the Archdukes Albert and Isabella. This was not only intended to inspire equal zeal in their subjects, but it also gave a new religious justification for their power by sacralizing the authority of the Habsburg dynasty.

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**Duerloo, Luc.** *Dynasty and Piety: Archduke Albert (1598–1621) and Habsburg Political Culture in an Age of Religious Wars.* Farnham, UK: Ashgate 2012.

Offers a modern perspective on Albert’s role in the Habsburg restoration, arguing that he was more than a Spanish puppet. Also argues that Albert had his own agenda and maneuvered cleverly between the wishes of the Spanish Habsburgs, those of the Austrian branch of the dynasty, and his own interests as a potential candidate for the imperial throne.

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**Harline, Craig, and Eddy Put.** *A Bishop’s Tale: Matthias Hovius among His Flock in Seventeenth-Century Flanders.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2000.

Based on the diary of the archbishop, this lively study uses the trials and tribulations of Hovius’s career to highlight that, even after Trent, a reform-minded prelate had to overcome formidable opposition, mostly from other parties within the church. Useful reading for any student of the Counter-Reformation.

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**Janssen, Geert H.** *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile and Reformation Europe.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2014.

Examines the impact of flight and displacement during the Revolt and argues that Catholic exiles of the 1570s and 1580s became the mobilizing forces of a popular Counter-Reformation movement in the southern Netherlands.

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**Pasture, Alexandre.** *La restauration religieuse aux Pays-Bas catholiques sous les archiducs Albert et Isabelle (1596–1633) principalement d’après les Archives de la nonciature et de la visite ad limina.* Leuven, Belgium: Librairie Universitaire, 1925.

Although outdated in its approach, this remains a useful overview of what action was taken by the state and papal nuncios and bishops to restore and further the influence of the Catholic Church in the archdioceses of Malines and Cambrai.

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**Thomas, Werner, and Luc Duerloo, eds.** *Albert & Isabella, 1598–1621: Essays.* Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1998.

Originally written to accompany an exhibition, this volume brings together new research on many aspects of the archducal regime with a strong, but not exclusive, focus on the public representation of power.

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## Catholic Reform in the Cities

Lottin 1984, Marinus 1995, and Thijs 1990 show that local authorities demonstrated distinct preferences for initiatives focusing on preaching, teaching, and social discipline in their patronage of new religious orders and other reform activities.

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**Lottin, Alain. *Lille, citadelle de la Contre-Réforme? (1598–1668)*. Dunkirk, France: Westhoek-Editions, 1984.**

Detailed study of the Counter-Reformation in the city of Lille, where heresy had been almost completely suppressed during the revolt. The author emphasizes the religious orders that took the lead in developing a “Mediterranean” and ultramontane style of Catholic culture in the city and that strove to reform Catholic life from the cradle to the grave.

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**Marinus, Marie J. *De contrareformatie te Antwerpen (1585–1676): Kerkelijk leven in een grootstad*. Verhandelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Wetenschappen, Letteren en Schone Kunsten van België, Klasse der Letteren, 155. Brussels: Paleis der Academiën, 1995.**

Detailed study of the Counter-Reformation in the main city in the south. As in Lille, much of the work of reform was done by religious orders. The local authorities believed very strongly in the virtues of teaching and preaching and invested heavily in Sunday schools, sermons, and popular print. The Counter-Reformation of the countryside lagged behind and only began in earnest about 1607 to 1609.

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**Thijs, Alfons K. L. *Van Geuzenstad tot katholiek bolwerk: Maatschappelijke betekenis van de kerk in contrareformatie Antwerpen*. Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 1990.**

Emphasizing the intensive collaboration between urban elites and the Catholic Church and postulating a big gap between popular and elite culture, this study examines the extensive efforts to “recatholicize” the city and discipline its poorer inhabitants.

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## **The Dutch Republic: Reformation and Religious Diversity**

By 1580 non-Reformed worship was banned everywhere in the rebel Republic. Van Deursen 1974 and Kaplan 1995 emphasize that the Reformed Church had a privileged position as a “public church”; however, no one was forced to attend it, and the church was slow to grow. Briels 1985 and Müller 2016 explore the role of immigrants for the development of the Reformed Church and Janssen 2017 addresses the growing appreciation of religious exile. Parker 1998 notes the limited reach of church discipline, which extended only to the voluntary membership, which for decades remained fairly small. Although virtually everyone thought of themselves as Christian, Spaans 1989 shows that by 1620 perhaps only half of the adult population were communicant members of any church. Kooi 2012 offers a useful evaluation of recent scholarship and illuminates the daily practice of religious coexistence.

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**Briels, J. G. C. A. *Zuid-Nederlanders in de Republiek, 1572–1630: Een demografische en cultuurhistorische studie*. Sint-Niklaas, Belgium: Danthe, 1985.**

The author’s estimate that around 1620 southern immigrants made up almost 40 percent of the urban populations in Holland and Zeeland is perhaps on the high side, but these immigrants certainly contributed greatly to the economic miracle of the Dutch Republic and its culture. Although not all immigrants were Calvinists, the many who were helped to ensure the triumph of the Contra-Remonstrant party at the Synod of Dordrecht in the 1618–1619 period.

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**Janssen, Geert H. “The Republic of the Refugees: Early Modern Migrations and the Dutch Experience.” *The Historical Journal* 60.1 (2017): 233–252.**

Evaluates recent historiography on migration and addresses the position of religious refugees in the Dutch Republic. Argues that the experience of civil war and forced migration fostered the development of a patriotic discourse that framed religious exile as a heroic experience. Diaspora identities and signs of transnational solidarity could therefore be presented as something typically “Dutch.”

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**Kaplan, Benjamin J. *Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578–1620*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1995.**

Concentrates on the struggle among Utrecht Protestants about the extent to which their community should be confessionalized. The

Calvinist minority wanted to impose its discipline on society but was thwarted because it lacked the backing of the civil powers, whereas the Libertines upheld Christian freedom and opposed consistorial discipline. Although the Calvinist party gained the day in the church, it failed to win over Utrechters as a whole to their agenda.

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**Kooi, Christine. *Calvinists and Catholics during Holland's Golden Age: Heretics and Idolaters*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2012.**

Based on consistory records from the province of Holland, it examines the social, political, and religious relationships between Calvinists and Catholics during the late 16th and 17th centuries. Shows and explains how religious boundaries were negotiated during and after the (Counter)Reformation.

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**Müller, Johannes. *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora*. Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2016.**

Reevaluates the impact of exile on Protestant identity formation and focuses, in particular, on memory cultures in the 17th-century Netherlands.

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**Parker, Charles H. *The Reformation of Community: Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572–1620*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1998.**

Very useful because of its comparative analysis of material contained in local studies. Parker examines the conflicts over provisions for the poor between the Reformed consistories and urban authorities in Holland, arguing that these were rooted in the different concepts of community. Parker stresses the role of negotiation between churches, both with the regent elites and with the recipients of poor relief.

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**Spaans, Joke. *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijk cultuur en kerkelijke leven, 1577–1620*. The Hague: Stichting Hollandse Historische Reeks, 1989.**

This history of religious culture in a large Dutch city examines the provision of education and the organization of poor relief. Interestingly, by 1620 only half of Haarlem's population belonged to any denomination. The magistrates fostered harmony by promoting an uncontentious urban identity and allowing all denominations a fair measure of freedom in return for loyalty from the respective religious leaders. Has a useful summary in English.

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**van Deursen, A. Th. *Bavianen en slijkgeuzen: Kerk en kerkvolk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt*. Assen, The Netherlands: Van Gorcum, 1974.**

Using the records of the Reformed Church, the author considers preaching, pastoral care, the consistories, poor relief, and church–state relations in Holland after 1572. Disagreements arose about the exercise of discipline and access to the Lord's Supper. These contributed to the doctrinal and ecclesiastical conflicts that disrupted Reformed congregations in the early 17th century. A collection of unpublished sources concludes this study. Text available online. Reprinted in 2010.

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## Reformed Protestantism

The Reformed churches were not initially uniform in church order or even teaching. Only after the crisis of the 1610–1618 period did the orthodox Calvinist wing prevail (Kooi 2000, Nijenhuis 1979, Parker 2018, and Pettegree 1994). See also Duke 1990 (cited under Reformation before 1572: Protestant Reformation), Benedict 2002 (cited under Reformed Protestantism), and van Deursen 1974 and Kaplan 1995 (both cited under Dutch Republic: Reformation and Religious Diversity). Sierhuis 2015 examines the impact of the controversy of divine predestination on literary and intellectual life.

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**Kooi, Christine.** *Liberty and Religion: Church and State in Leiden's Reformation, 1572–1620.* Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2000.

Study of conflicts about the character of Reformed teaching and church order in Leiden, which shows how much the position of both the Reformed and the minority communities was still a subject of negotiation and debate in the early Republic. Very useful also because of the comparison with other cities in the conclusion.

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**Nijenhuis, Willem.** "Variants within Dutch Calvinism in the Sixteenth Century." *Low Countries Yearbook* 12 (1979): 48–64.

Demonstrates that Dutch Calvinism was more pluriform than is often supposed because of its eclectic doctrinal roots. A circle of irenic Calvinists developed around William of Orange that tried to moderate the hard-liners and promote an ecumenical outlook. Available online for purchase or by subscription.

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**Parker, Charles H.** "Reformed Protestantism." In *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age.* Edited by Helmer Helmers and Geert H. Janssen, 189–207. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Offers a concise yet comprehensive overview of recent scholarship on the development of Reformed Protestantism in the United Provinces. Includes an assessment of the Reformed Church in Dutch territories in Asia and the Americas.

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**Pettegree, Andrew.** "Coming to Terms with Victory: The Upbuilding of a Calvinist Church in Holland, 1572–1590." In *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620.* Edited by Andrew Pettegree, Alastair Duke, and Gillian Lewis, 160–180. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Discusses the problems facing the Reformed Church in Holland when it became the public church. This situation created tensions within the Calvinist churches and between the churches and the civil, and often mistrustful, authorities. The appointment of ministers, poor relief, and the exercise of consistorial discipline proved contentious; eventually, uncomfortable compromises were made.

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**Sierhuis, Freya.** *The Literature of the Arminian Controversy: Religion, Politics and the Stage in the Dutch Republic.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Examines the impact of disputes between Arminians and Calvinists (1609–1619) on literary and intellectual culture in the Dutch Republic. Sierhuis argues that the controversy of divine predestination acted as a catalyst for artistic and cultural change.

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## Catholics and Mennonites in the Dutch Republic

The Union of Utrecht guaranteed freedom of conscience, and, despite considerable harassment and high penalties, dissidents worshiped underground in private homes and eventually in purpose-built spaces. In some provinces, therefore, a substantial Catholic community survived, on which see Janssen 2014 (cited under the Counter-Reformation in the Southern Netherlands after 1585), Geraerts 2018; Kaplan, et al. 2009; Kooi 2012 (cited under the Dutch Republic: Reformation and Religious Diversity); Parker 2008; Rogier 1945; and Spaans 2012. Zijlstra 2000 reminds us that the Mennonite communities were initially much larger than were the Reformed.

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**Geraerts, Jaap.** *Patrons of the Old Faith: The Catholic Nobility in Utrecht and Guelders, c. 1580–1702.* Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2018.

Addresses the long-neglected role of the Catholic nobility after the revolt. Based on prosopographical analysis of noble families in the provinces of Utrecht and Guelders, it demonstrates how Catholic elites were instrumental for the survival and resurgence of Catholicism in the Dutch Republic.

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**Kaplan, Benjamin J., Bob Moore, Hank van Nierop, and Judith Pollmann, eds. *Catholic Communities in Protestant States: Britain and the Netherlands, c. 1570–1720*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 2009.**

Collection of essays focusing on Catholicism in England and the Republic as a minority culture that had to survive in a hostile political environment. It examines ritual, material culture, and international networks, as well as relations between laity and clergy, men and women, and Catholics and Protestants.

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**Parker, Charles H. *Faith on the Margins: Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008.**

Excellent reassessment of the position of Catholics in the Dutch Republic. Rejecting the idea that the Holland Mission became Augustinian in its ethos and theology, Parker emphasizes that Dutch Catholicism was thoroughly baroque and focused on the universal character of the Roman communion. Catholic reform could emerge without compulsion from church and state, but as the result of “the active collaboration of laity and clergy” (p. 19).

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**Rogier, L. J. *Geschiedenis van het katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16e en de 17e eeuw*. 3 vols. Amsterdam: Urbi et Orbi, 1945.**

Very well-researched and detailed survey of Catholic life. Outdated in its interpretation and infuriating because of the sparse footnotes, but still useful because of its systematic approach and its excellent index.

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**Spaans, Joke. *De levens der maechden: Het verhaal van een religieuze vrouwengemeenschap in de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw*. Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 2012.**

Based on the collective biography that Tryn Jans Oly wrote of her community, this study investigates how women and priests reinvented a form of female religious life in a society that had banned convents and religious vows.

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**Zijlstra, S. *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden: Geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden, 1531–1675*. Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 2000.**

Excellent and extensive survey of the complex history of the Anabaptist and Mennonite communities in the Netherlands, doing full justice to the diversity of ideas and showing how the Mennonites created and retained their religious identity.

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## Coexistence and Toleration

Although competition between the churches was fierce, believers learned how to coexist with people of different confessions. There was little violence, but Dutch toleration was less a matter of principle than the result of connivance (Frijhoff 2002, Hsia and van Nierop 2002, Kooi 2018, and Pollmann 1999). See also Kaplan 1995 (cited under The Dutch Republic: Reformation and Religious Diversity).

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**Frijhoff, Willem. *Embodied Belief: Ten Essays on Religious Culture in Dutch History*. Hilversum, The Netherlands: Verloren, 2002.**

Important collection of essays by the scholar who coined the term “everyday oecumene” to describe the culture of religious coexistence in the Dutch Republic. Also includes seminal essays on the function of miracles, expectations for the future, prophecies and pilgrimage among Catholics, as well as aspects of Reformed culture.

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**Hsia, R. Po-Chia, and Henk van Nierop, eds. *Calvinism and Religious Toleration in the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2002.**

These essays modify the perception of the Republic as a haven of religious toleration. In practice, the civil powers did privilege the Reformed Church, whereas dissenters—whether Catholics or Spinozists—had little reason to extol Dutch toleration, although their first priority was to keep the civil peace and avoid confessional confrontations. The space for non-Calvinists varied from province to province, with those in the north and the east more hostile to Catholics than those in Holland.

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**Kooi, Christine. “Religious Tolerance.” In *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*. Edited by Helmer Helmers and Geert H. Janssen, 208–224. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018.**

Offers a concise overview of recent scholarship of religious coexistence in the United Provinces after the Revolt.

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**Pollmann, Judith. *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius, 1565–1641*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press, 1999.**

The autobiographical writings of this Utrecht lawyer allow the reader to follow his confessional career as he shifted from traditional Catholicism to become an elder in the Utrecht consistory. Having become an orthodox Calvinist, Buchelius nevertheless remained in close touch with a wide range of non-Calvinists. He combined his commitment to orthodoxy with ongoing participation in a corporate culture of Christian unity that transcended religious divisions.

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