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Replacing the Icon: Seventeenth-Century Tomb Monuments for Dutch Naval Heroes by Rombout Verhulst

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Replacing the Icon:
Seventeenth-Century Tomb Monuments for Dutch Naval Heroes by Rombout Verhulst

A Thesis submitted in partial satisfaction
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

in

Art History

by

Elizabeth Ryan Osenbaugh

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INTRODUCTION

Emanuel de Witte's *Interior of the Nieuwe Kerk Amsterdam* presents a view of

the austere interior of the Protestant church, which was preferred to the ornate decoration

of traditional Catholic churches in the wake of the Iconoclasm of the late sixteenth

century (Fig. 1). Central within the painting by De Witte is the tomb of Admiral Michiel

de Ruyter by the Dutch sculptor Rombout Verhulst (1624-1698). Light pours in from

above, through the clear glass windows in the clerestory, upon groups of figures below.

The "tomb tourists" stand with their backs to the viewer before the commemorative

monument – perhaps contemplating the untimely death of the Dutch hero, or recounting

the historical narrative associated with the man. The tomb for de Ruyter was the most

ambitious of the naval tombs by Verhulst, all of which were commissioned by a branch

of the government of the Dutch Republic.[1] The monumental tombs Verhulst sculpted,

including the ones for fallen naval officers, are located in the western Netherlands within

medieval, and of course formerly Catholic churches, which were used as public spaces

and city centers even in the seventeenth century.[2]

In the wake of the Netherlandish iconoclasms, of which the most destructive

occurred in August of 1566, new art forms and styles emerged to satisfy the Calvinist

belief that art should represent the world as seen with the human eye, rather than artistic

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1. Elisabeth Neurdenburg, *De zeventiende eeuwsche beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden; Hendrick de Keyser, Artus Quellinus, Rombout Verhulst en tijdgenooten* (Amsterdam: J.M. Meulenhoff, 1948), 203-205, 219-221.

2. Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories: Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch tomb sculpture*. Translated by Michael Hoyle (Zwolle: Waanders Publishers, 2003), 13.

interpretations of holy figures that excited the senses.[3] It was determined that religious

art in particular should only be instructional and supplemental to the Word of the Bible.[4]

Text paintings, epitaphs, model ships and tomb monuments were some of the art objects

used to replace destroyed icons in the majority of the Catholic church interiors

throughout the Low Countries that had been gutted of much of their Catholic furniture

and ornament.[5]

In the Northern Netherlands the soberness that resulted from the removal of

artwork and the whitewashing of church walls, paired with an interest in Classical

Antiquity, evolved into the seventeenth-century aesthetic known as "Dutch Classicism."[6]

The most renowned and prolific Dutch architects' incorporation of antique architectural

principles, column orders, mythological figures, and decorative elements in contemporary

church decoration and architecture, as well as civic and residential design, "served to

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3. David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1566-1609* (New York: Garland, 1988), 54.

4. Mia M. Mochizuki, "Supplanting the Devotional Image After Netherlandish Iconoclasm," in *Negating the Image: Case Studies in Iconoclasm,* eds. Jeffrey Johnson and Anne L. McClanan. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 142.

5. Mia M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image After Iconoclasm, 1566-1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), passim.

6. Koen Ottenheym et al., *Jacob van Campen : Het Klassieke Ideaal in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Architectura & Natura Pers; Stichting Koninklijk Paleis te Amsterdam, 1995), 285.

elevate the decorum and status of the building."[7] Classical elements in architecture also

reflected the Republic's view that it was heir to the Roman Republic.[8]

However, these new forms of art, and the architectural principles that arose, are

rarely considered in contemporary scholarship on Dutch art. The seventeenth century is

lauded as the "Golden Age" of Dutch art, yet the art to which this refers is almost

exclusively painting, with drawing and printing following closely behind. It was during

this century that paintings of sea and landscapes, everyday scenes, and portraits all

became noticeably "Dutch," dominated by esteemed artists such as Rembrandt, Jan

Vermeer and Frans Hals. The sculpture produced at this time, therefore, was not "Dutch"

enough to contribute to this Golden Age because of its apparent Italian influence. Indeed,

at this time many of the northern sculptors and architects were familiar with Italian

sculptors like Bernini, having seen their work directly during a stay in the south or via

prints and drawings.[9] Seventeenth-century Dutch Classicism was deeply indebted to

Vitruvian principles of architecture, by way of northern humanist thinkers and artists,

who studied modern Italian treatises by Serlio, Scamozzi and Palladio.[10]

If Dutch sculpture is mentioned at all in discussions of the seventeenth century, it

is in conjunction with architecture, understandably because sculptors and architects were

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7. Konrad Ottenheym, "Classicism in the Northern Netherlands in the Seventeenth Century," in *Palladio and Northern Europe: Books, Travellers, Architects,* ed. Guido Beltramini (Milan: Skira, 1999), 163.

8. Ottenheym, *Jacob van Campen*, 284.

9. Frits Scholten, *Artus Quellinus: Sculptor of Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 2010), 6-7.

10. Ottenheym, "Classicism in the Northern Netherlands," 151.

very often one and the same in early modern Europe.[11] However, the attention paid to either sculpture or architecture compared to painting is still slim, especially in introductory survey texts that shape the view of the century for most people.

The sculpture that usually is considered quintessentially "Netherlandish" is late medieval, created a century or more before the dawn of the Golden Age. Much of it is devotional in subject matter, either iconic or narrative of saints and Biblical figures. Polychrome wood or limestone sculptures (Fig. 2), small ivories and elaborate, painted and carved altarpieces (Fig. 3) were popular formats for religious art. The production of these objects abruptly ended in the North with the onset of the Protestant Reformation, however.

The lack of attention that sculpture and architecture have received in comparison with painting can be blamed partly on the scholarship of twentieth-century scholars who were foundational in creating the canon of Dutch art.[12] It is only recently that these often-understudied media, especially architecture, have received more attention.[13]

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11. Konrad Ottenheym, "Amsterdam 1700: Urban Space and Public Buildings," in *Circa 1700: Architecture in Europe and the Americas,* ed. Henry A. Millon (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 120.

12. See Seymour Slive, *Dutch Painting 1600-1800* (New Haven: Yale UP Pelican History of Art, 1998); Erwin Panofsky, *Early Netherlandish Painting, Its Origins and Character* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953); David Freedberg, *Iconoclasm and Painting in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1566-1609* (New York: Garland, 1988); and Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing: Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Berkeley: UC Press, 1983).

13. See Krista de Jonge and Konrad Ottenheym, eds., *Unity and Discontinuity*: *Architectural Relations Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), passim.

The debate between sculpture and painting is not necessarily unique to seventeenth-century Dutch and Flemish art. The *paragone* was a popular Renaissance debate among artist, art enthusiast, and humanist circles, and in the end painting prevailed somewhat. Although the gravity of the *paragone* had declined by the seventeenth century, and is no longer considered relevant by contemporary scholars, it cannot be denied that it influenced the discipline of art history, as we know it.[14]

Current scholarship on Dutch and Flemish sculpture

An early twentieth-century book by Marinus van Notten, with editions in both Dutch and French, surveys the sculpture by Verhulst, and presents archival documents associated with the artist. He divides Verhulst's artistic career into four periods, the last being one of decline during which time Verhulst made one of the largest of his commissions, the naval tomb of Michiel de Ruyter (Fig. 4).[15] At the time of publication, it was a significant source on the work of Verhulst because it was the first modern scholarly text on the artist's work, and it contains beautiful folio-sized, black and white photographic reproductions of the monuments.

Several decades after van Notten's book was published, *De zeventiende eeuwsche beeldhouwkunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden; Hendrick de Keyser, Artus Quellinus, Rombout Verhulst en tijdgenooten* was written by Elisabeth Neurdenburg.

14. See John White, "Paragone: Aspects of the Relationship Between Sculpture and Painting," in *Art, science, and history in the Renaissance,* ed. Charles Singleton (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), passim.

15. Marinus van Notten, *Rombout Verhulst: Sculpteur, 1624-1698* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1908), 60-66.

Neurdenburg's text remains a very important source on the life and work of Verhulst, as well as the artists Hendrick de Keyser (1565-1621) and Artus Quellinus I (1609-1668), despite being written only in Dutch, and over sixty years ago, because post-Reformation Dutch sculpture has received so little attention. It, too, provides the little-known biographical information on Verhulst, along with a catalogue of his work. Most importantly, the book introduces the lineage of sculptural production in the Netherlands during the seventeenth century. Neurdenburg situates Verhulst as the successor to the two other sculptors included, Hendrick de Keyser and Artus Quellinus I, for the role of most important Dutch sculptor in the last half of the century. De Keyser was born near Utrecht in 1565 and died in Amsterdam in 1621.[16] Neurdenburg suggests that the first half of the century was dominated by the large de Keyser family workshop. Its status rapidly declined after Hendrick's death, and by the mid-seventeenth century the Flemish sculptor Quellinus I took over the role as leading Dutch sculptor. It was not until Quellinus I returned to the Southern Netherlands in 1663 when Verhulst succeeded him as the most talented and prominent sculptor in the region.[17]

Of the three sculptors within Neurdenburg's study, Hendrick de Keyser has earned the most attention in today's scholarship, and Verhulst perhaps has received the least. De Keyser was not only a sculptor, but also a mason and architect, and many of his buildings still stand throughout the Netherlands. He also can be considered one of, if not

16. Neurdenburg, 27.

17. Ibid, 201.

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the first artist to have a monograph dedicated to him – *De architectura moderna*.[18] The

tomb monument by Hendrick de Keyser, completed in 1622 to commemorate William

the Silent, the first leader of the Dutch Republic who was assassinated in 1584, is the

most widely known seventeenth-century tomb monument (Fig. 5).[19] The magnificent

canopied, double portrait monument of the ruler in the chancel of the *Nieuwe Kerk* in

Delft, was one of the earlier monuments commissioned by the States-General, and it set

the precedent for the multitude of honorific monuments later in the century.

What the books by M. van Notten and Elisabeth Neurdenburg lack, however, is

consideration of the function of the tomb monuments within the medieval churches in

which they stand. Furthermore, they fail to consider the Dutch monuments in relation to

similar sculptural tombs that were created simultaneously to the south in the Spanish

Netherlands. This is a reasonable comparison to make because both Quellinus I and

Verhulst were Flemish by birth, and many of Verhulst's contemporaries had returned to

the Southern Netherlands and continued to produce work after the completion of the

Amsterdam *Stadhuis*. Clearly, if these books remain the leading sources on Verhulst's

oeuvre, then his sculpture has not received the attention that it is due, especially

considering how significant these monuments were at the time they were erected.

The foremost scholar today of Dutch sculpture is Frits Scholten, Senior Curator of

Sculpture at the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam. His book *Sumptuous Memories* is a

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18. For a complete reprint see Koen Ottenheym and Vereniging Hendrick de Keyser, *Hendrick de Keyser: Architectura Moderna; Moderne Bouwkunst in Amsterdam 1600-1625* (Amsterdam: SUN, 2008), passim.

19. See Neurdenburg, 49-54, and Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories,* 73-112.

collection of case studies on Dutch tomb monuments by the major sculptors working in

the Netherlands in the seventeenth century – Hendrick de Keyser, François Dieussart,

Bartholomeus Eggers and Rombout Verhulst.[20] The chapter that is primarily about the

work of Verhulst analyzes the tombs for Dutch patricians, commissioned by the families,

for example the tomb for Johan Polyander van Kerkhoven in Leiden (Fig. 6). Regarding

the tombs commissioned by Maria van Reygersbergh (Fig. 9) and Anna van Ewsum,

Scholten argues that the imagery asserts the respectability and importance of the widows

displayed, which was essential for their continued power in the Northern Netherlands

after the deaths of their respective husbands.[21] The patrons' agenda for individual and

familial glorification influenced the design and location of the monuments.   Two of

these tombs are located in the province of Groningen, and were considered more

thoroughly in an earlier book by Scholten (Fig. 7 and 8).[22] The tombs commissioned by

wealthy landowners will not enter this discussion on commissions for naval tombs by

Rombout Verhulst. However, in the chapter in *Sumptuous Memories* on the naval

monument by Bartholemeus Eggers, the naval tombs by Verhulst are discussed in

relation to it.

What is most notably missing in all of the scholarship on Dutch and Flemish tomb

sculpture is a comparison of the sculpture produced in the Northern Netherlands to that of

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20. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories,* passim.

21. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories*, 207-209.

22. Frits Scholten, *Rombout Verhulst in Groningen: Zeventiende eeuwse praalgraven in Midwolde en Stedum* (Utrecht: Stichting Matrijs, 1983), passim.

the Southern Habsburg Netherlands. Scholten briefly suggests the idea in his

introductory chapter, but does not elaborate more than to say that the northern

monuments express the "hope of resurrection" less theatrically than the southern

bishopric tombs that incorporate Biblical narrative.[23] This is an important distinction,

and will be further elaborated upon in this thesis. Many of the seventeenth-century

sculptors defy what is considered "Dutch" or "Flemish," having worked on both sides of

the divide, including Verhulst. The Dutch and Flemish art historian, and author of the

Pelican History of Art edition on Flemish Art, Hans Vlieghe, addresses this issue in his

article "Flemish Art, Does It Really Exist?," which appeared in the leading journal on

Dutch art *Simiolus* in 1998.[24] The article argues that the two cultures and their artwork,

primarily in terms of style, are too decisively split in current scholarship, considering that

many Flemish and Dutch artists worked in both regions, and were considered "as one" in

art history texts before the nineteenth century.[25]

The scholarship on tomb monuments in the Southern Netherlands is perhaps even

sparser. The two leading texts on the oeuvre of seventeenth-century Flemish tomb

monuments are dissertations from the 1970s. Saskia Durian-Ress' "Das barocke

Grabmal in den südlichen Niederlanden: Studien zur Ikonographie und Typologie" was

published in the *Aachener Kunstblätter* in 1974.[26] It provides a typology of the Baroque

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23. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories,* 28-29.

24. Hans Vlieghe, "Flemish Art, Does It Really Exist?" *Simiolus* 26, no. 3 (1998): 193.

25. Ibid, 193-194.

tombs in the Southern Netherlands, and is a very important overview of the great quantity

of seventeenth-century monuments that were created there. Cynthia Lawrence also wrote

her dissertation in 1978 on similar Flemish tomb monuments, but it is in English, unlike

the German text by Durian-Ress. It is a bit more theoretically interpretative, although

she, too, lays out a typology of the monuments.[27] In some ways it is much more

thorough, as she considers over one hundred objects in her analysis, and gives geographic

coordinates for each as part of what she calls "a detailed examination" with the purpose

of "analyz[ing] changes in Flemish commemorative monument production and design."[28]

The two studies do consider issues of display, in addition to iconographical analysis and

social history, so are very important for sepulchral art scholarship, and this thesis in

particular.

Structure of analysis

This thesis is based on my own, original research and observation of the Dutch

and Flemish monuments, and the churches that house them.[29] After traveling throughout

the Netherlands and Belgium, documenting early modern Netherlandish church art and

architecture, I realized that I had yet to see a seventeenth-century tomb monument in a

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26. Saskia Durian-Ress, "Das barocke Grabmal in den sudlichen Niederlanden: Studien zur Ikonographie und Typologie." *Aachener Kunstblätter* 45 (1974): passim.

27. Cynthia Miller Lawrence, "Flemish Baroque Commemorative Monuments 1566-1725" (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 1978), 56-72.

28. Ibid, 8.

29. Research was conducted in August and September 2010. More archival research must be done before publication beyond this thesis.

seventeenth-century church building, in either region. Instead, the monuments are displayed in the choirs, naves and transepts of formerly Catholic, gothic churches. That is not to say that all medieval churches have tomb monuments, or that these sculptural objects were the only seventeenth-century art form erected within the interior space – epitaphs, text panels, organs, and pulpits also are within these churches that had suffered from iconoclasms, but remained important hubs for public activity, and emblems of civic pride. In the South, altars were built as well. However, these other art forms are also located in seventeenth-century churches, unlike the large tomb monuments. The lack of these within the new churches designed by architects, including Hendrick de Keyser and Jacob van Campen in the North, led to questions about the significance of the monuments, and the role they play within the church space, and on a greater scale, the Low Countries.

Central to this project are the sculptural monuments commemorating Dutch naval heroes, created by Verhulst in the last half of the seventeenth century. The Netherlandish sculptor was born in 1624 in Mechelen in the Spanish Southern Netherlands, well after the Dutch Reformation, and the Northern Netherlands declared its independence from the empire of the Spanish Habsburgs. He died in 1698 in The Hague in South Holland, after spending the majority of his life and artistic career in the Northern Netherlands.[30]

The thesis is divided into two distinctive chapters, the first of which introduces the location and typology of Verhulst's naval tombs, and explores the intended purpose of the monuments within the changing political and religious context of the seventeenth-

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30. Van Notten, 3.

century Northern Netherlands. The artworks considered in this chapter are the six naval tombs by Rombout Verhulst that can still be seen in their original locations in medieval churches in Amsterdam, Utrecht, Middelburg, Rotterdam and Delft (Appendix B). They share a similar format and iconography, and were all commissioned by the government of either the Dutch Republic, or the officer's home province. The second chapter is a more narrow analysis of the tombs by Verhulst in the *Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam in comparison to a tomb created by the Flemish sculptor Artus Quellinus II for Antwerp's *Onze Lieve Vrouwekathedraal* in the Southern Netherlands.

I will argue that the Baroque tomb monuments by Verhulst acted not only as commemorative tombs honoring the deceased individual, but also as national monuments that actively shaped a new collective memory of the past. The classicized altar-like tombs, with life-size sculptural effigies of the deceased in marble, emphasized the century after the revolt against the Habsburg Empire as the most noteworthy period in the region's much longer history, reflecting a growing national identity associated with the Northern Netherlands that was unique from that of the Spanish Netherlands to the south.

The role of images in the formation of memory, especially collective memory, has roots in classical antiquity. The destruction, reconstitution or replacement of public portrait sculpture was used to manipulate the memory of Roman citizens. *Damnatio memoriae* removed the visual representations of certain emperors who were "damned" by the senate at the end of their rule.[31] However, the practice of *damnatio memoriae* was not aimed at religious figures in ancient Rome and was reserved instead for the

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31. Eric R. Varner, ed. *From Caligula to Constantine: Tyranny & Transformation in Roman Portraiture* (Atlanta: Emory University, 2000), 9-19.

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destruction and removal of imagery depicting specific, and recently departed secular

rulers.

The sixteenth-century iconoclastic destruction and removal of "false idols" had

obvious religious motivations associated with the Ten Commandments. However, it

cannot be denied that Biblical iconography and church space had secular associations in

the early modern period as well, and secular rulers and clergy of the church influenced

the understanding of the Baroque monuments within those spaces. Spanish King Philip

II, the "most Catholic king," was ardently opposed to the Reformation of the Catholic

faith in the Low Countries, and enforced the tenets of the Catholic Counter-Reformation

to be upheld.[32] The removal of Catholic iconography within the medieval churches,

which were no doubt associated with the rule of the Catholic Habsburgs, including Phillip

II, had similar intentions to those of the Roman *damnatio memoriae*. The Baroque

secular tombs of important national figures that replaced the Catholic altarpieces and

church furniture, loosely represented the overthrow of the Catholic ruler by the new

republican government.

Both the Northern and Southern Netherlands experienced fundamental religious

changes, in addition to the political turmoil of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

The Dutch and Flemish sculptors were entirely aware of the impact of display, not only

on the viewers' perception of the tomb monuments, but also on the function of church

space. Display of tomb monuments, therefore, was used to promote the ideologies of the

Reformation or the Counter-Reformation. Each theology's doctrine on the use of church

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32. Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477-1806*, Oxford History of Early Modern Europe (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 74.

space was somewhat central to the theological dispute, corresponding to the role of the clergy, mass rites, feast days and the abuse of images.[33] In the North, many of Verhulst's naval tombs were commissioned for the area where the high altars had once stood within the choirs of the great medieval churches. The tombs in the South, on the other hand, stood around the perimeter of the chancel, replacing previous barriers blocking its view from the ambulatory.

Comparing the work of two artists

A comparison between secular funerary monuments by Rombout Verhulst located within the Dutch Republic and monuments for Church officials by his contemporary Artus Quellinus II in the Spanish Netherlands, reveals the intended function of the tombs, and how they influence the use of space in reformed protestant or Catholic churches. Although the northern tombs in the protestant Dutch Republic discouraged Catholic ritual within formerly Catholic medieval churches, they continued to exploit the long-established sacred places within the church. On the other hand, the Baroque tombs in the Catholic Spanish Netherlands promoted ritual within the church space and continued to exalt the high altar, while subscribing to the new building tenets of the Counter Reformation.

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33. Joris Snaet, "For the Greater Glory of God. Religious Architecture in the Low Countries 1560-1700," in *Unity and Discontinuity: Architectural Relations Between the Southern and Northern Low Countries 1530-1700*, eds. Krista De Jonge and Konrad Ottenheym. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 258.

Making such a comparison between the two sculptors Verhulst and Quellinus II is

viable, even fruitful, despite how little is known about their lives. Both were of the same

generation and Flemish by birth, and had trained within the workshop of Quellinus I in

Amsterdam on the most significant sculptural commission in early modern Netherlandsih

history, the interior and exterior sculptural decoration of the new *Stadhuis* (Town Hall)

(Fig. 10 and 11).[34] However, Verhulst remained in the North after the completion of the

building, while Quellinus II returned to Antwerp. A juxtaposition of this sort is

illustrative of Dutch and Flemish tomb production on a greater scale in the Northern and

Southern Netherlands. Additionally it addresses the current separation of Dutch and

Flemish art history through a medium that is often disregarded.

Verhulst had trained under two Flemish sculptors still living and working in the

Southern Netherlands – Rombout Verstappen and Frans van Loo – before moving to

Amsterdam in his twenties.[35] Quellinus II, the nephew of the master, spent two years in

Italy, before returning again to Antwerp.[36] Quellinus I was also Flemish, having lived in

Antwerp most of his life except for the years he spent training in Italy. In the mid-

seventeenth century, he was the most gifted sculptor of his generation in the Northern and

Southern Netherlands and so was sought to head the workshop for the sculptural

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34. Katherine Fremantle. *The Baroque Town Hall of Amsterdam* (Utrecht: Haentjens Dekker & Gumbert, 1959), passim.

35. Neurdenburg, 201.

36. Hugo Kehrer, "Über Artus Quellin den Jüngeren," in *Der Belfried: Eine Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Gegenwart der Belgischen Lande* (Leipzig: Im Insel-Verlag, 1918), 127-128.

decoration of the Amsterdam *Stadhuis*. The complex iconography of the program, rich

variation in format and subject matter, and the enormous size of the building made this

one of the most extensive architectural projects in the Netherlands, and it required

Quellinus I to hire many sculptors as his assistants. Because of this, most of the well-

known Dutch and Flemish sculptors from the seventeenth century worked in the shop.

Much of his elegant Baroque style can be seen in the work of his pupils Quellinus II and

Verhulst. Once Quellinus I left the Netherlands, Verhulst was certainly the most

proficient and talented sculptor remaining in the North. He would keep that status the

rest of his life, as he did not return to the Southern Netherlands and had very little

competition in the Netherlands after Quellinus I returned to Antwerp.[37]

Quellinus II's commissions for tombs were mostly from the Catholic Church,

because in the Spanish Netherlands during the Counter-Reformation, the Church was

actively commissioning new artwork for the interiors of their buildings. The deceased

represented were thus Catholic officials, mostly bishops. In addition to the monument for

Bishop Ambrosius Capello (Fig. 12), which will be discussed in detail, Quellinus II also

created the tomb monument for Abbess Anna Catharina de Lamboy that was originally

located in the abbey church of *Herkenrode* in Hasselt (Fig. 13).[38] The way these tombs

were displayed continued to emphasize the sacredness of the high altar within the choir of

the church, although they also conformed to the Counter Reformation's demands for

increased transparency of this space to the laity.

37. Bartholomeus Eggers is considered his only real competition in the Northern
Netherlands at that time. See Neurdenburg, 201-207.

38. Durian-Ress, 286.

Both Verhulst and Quellinus II were commissioned to create large sculptural

tomb monuments of contemporary figures to be placed within the medieval churches, but

their tombs differ in subject matter, imagery, format, and display. These differences

reflect the patrons for whom they were made – the States-General in the Northern

Netherlands and the Catholic Church, and, indirectly, the Spanish Habsburgs in the

Southern Netherlands. This method of comparison will close the gap in the current

scholarship on Dutch and Flemish sepulchral monuments, as well as question larger

issues of identity and religious belief that were in flux in both regions due to recent

political separation, as well as the Reformation and subsequent Counter Reformation.

Returning to the painting by the artist Emanuel de Witte of the Verhulst tomb in

the choir of the *Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam, one can see that at that time these sculptural

monuments for naval heroes were extremely significant to early modern Europeans (Fig.

1). De Witte was a prolific painter of church interiors, which was a very popular genre in

the seventeenth century because it portrayed the nontraditional use of formerly Catholic

church space in the Northern Netherlands.[39] In fact, this painting was finished only four

years after the monument itself, perhaps even in response to the building of the

monument. In addition to the life of the admiral, it is the work of art itself that the

tourists were admiring. These popular seventeenth-century paintings continue to fall very

nicely within the canon of Dutch art. They depict the post-Iconoclasm and therefore

post-Reformation church interiors, whitewashed and austere, which have become

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39. Angela Vanhaelen, "Iconoclasm and the Creation of Images in Emanuel de Witte's 'Old Church in Amsterdam'," *The Art Bulletin* 87, no. 2 (June 2005): 249-264.

emblematic of this time period in Dutch history. That the monument by Rombout

Verhulst, which is almost entirely unfamiliar today to most art historians, is given such

prominence within a painting that is now considered to epitomize Dutch Golden Age art,

and within that painting is shown being admired by both Dutch and foreign citizens,

contradicts the relative lack of attention these monuments have received by scholars

today.

I

The great iconoclasm of the Protestant Reformation that occurred in the Low

Countries in August 1566 is a good marker for the beginning of the revolt against the

Spanish. The Habsburg dynasty's continued rule over the southern Netherlandish

provinces imposed Catholicism upon all citizens. After their declaration of independence

from Spain, the seven northern provinces formed the Dutch Republic, which was to be

co-ruled by the *stadholder* and the States-General, the bicameral parliament with

representatives from each of the seven provinces.[1] In the North, the Protestant sect of

Calvinism or the Reformed Church became the official religion; although, religious

tolerance was advocated, and Catholicism was allowed to be practiced, but only in

private "house churches."[2] Catholic citizens, however, were not allowed to hold public

offices.

Commemorative sculptural monuments in the seventeenth century were erected

within churches both Catholic in the Southern Netherlands and Protestant in the Northern

Netherlands, following a long tradition in Europe that can be traced back to the Early

Christian period.[3] Burial within a Catholic church promised eternal prayer for the soul by

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1. Israel, *The Dutch Republic,* 214.

2. Steven Mullaney, Angela Vanhaelen, and Joseph Ward, "Religion Inside Out: Dutch House Churches and the Making of Publics in the Dutch Republic," in *Making Publics in Early Modern Europe: People, Things, Forms of Knowledge*, ed. Bronwen Wilson and Paul Edward Yachnin (New York: Routledge, 2010), 25.

3. Erwin Panofsky, *Tomb Sculpture* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1964), 46-47.

the church's Catholic priests and parishioners. Protestant tomb monuments, on the other hand, glorified the deceased individual but also acted as *memento mori,* reminding onlookers of the brevity of life. The sculptural tomb monuments by Rombout Verhulst for naval heroes of the Dutch Republic asserted a new, shared knowledge of a fabricated history, one that rejected a previous government and religion, and in turn helped to propel a new "national" identity.

Rombout Verhulst's naval tombs were commissioned by the government of the Dutch Republic, including the States-General, between 1654 and 1682 for Admiral Michiel de Ruyter in Amsterdam (Fig. 4), Admiral Jan van Galen also in Amsterdam (Fig. 14), Willem van Gendt in Utrecht (Fig. 15), Admiral Maarten Tromp in Delft (Fig. 16), Cornelis and Johannes Evertsen in Middelburg (Fig. 17), and Egbert Cortenaer in Rotterdam (Fig. 18). The towns in which they are located run along the Western coast of the country, within more urban, densely populated areas (Appendix B).

Verhulst was the obvious choice for the commission of the tombs in the 1650s because of his association with the Quellinus I workshop, and because he was the most renowned sculptor remaining in the Netherlands between 1663 and 1698. Many of the large sculptural tomb monuments for members of the nobility and naval officers, erected in the Dutch Republic in the later half of the seventeenth century, are by Verhulst, although there are several naval tombs commissioned by the States-General in the last quarter of the seventeenth century that are not by him, most notably Bartholemeus

Eggers' monument for Admiral Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam in the *Grote Kerk* in The Hague, Netherlands (Fig. 19).[4]

The History of the early modern Low Countries

Although it is often thought that nations are conceptual constructions of the nineteenth century, the sixteenth-century effort of the northern provinces for political freedom from the Spanish Habsburg king Philip II resulted in a patriotism associated with the unification of these seven provinces into the new Dutch Republic.[5] The leader of the rebellion was William of Orange (1533 –1584), who was appointed the first monarch of the country and the founder of the Orange-Nassau royal family line.[6] The turmoil between Spain and the Netherlands – the Eighty Years' War – began in 1568 and lasted until 1648.[7] The citizens of the Low Countries had been dissatisfied with their Catholic Spanish rulers because of the empire's heavy taxation, inefficient and absent leadership, and violent persecution of protestants. Additionally, the Spanish troops of Philip II were frequently sent to keep the peace, which only heightened animosity. The great destruction from the war led many to flee the Spanish Netherlands and seek refuge

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4. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories*, 145-178.

5. Judith Pollmann, "No Man's Land. Reinventing Netherlandish Identities, 1585-1621," in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300-1650,* eds. Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann. (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 241-242.

6. Israel, *The Dutch Republic,* 174-178.

7. Ibid*,* 169-398.

elsewhere, primarily in the Northern Netherlands and Germany.[8] The northern provinces were successful in their campaign for independence, and in 1648 the Treaty of Munster was signed that officially ended the war and marked the beginning of the Spanish recognition of the new country as a separate entity.[9] However, the southern provinces that became the Southern Netherlands, also known as the Spanish or Habsburg Netherlands, were not able to break away from the Spanish.

Keeping possession of the Low Countries was important to Phillip II and his kingdom because of its great wealth and status as the major center of international trade in Northern Europe. The geographical make-up of the region, relatively flat land perforated by many rivers that empty into the North Sea, naturally made the Low Countries ideal for the import and export of goods. It was one of the earliest examples of a capitalist country, having developed the first full-time stock exchange.[10] The Dutch East India Company was an international power in global trade, and was also active in the exploration and colonization of parts of Asia, the Americas and Africa.[11] Sea navigation was central to the Dutch economy and way of life, and because of this, maritime imagery inundates Netherlandish art.

Typically at the front of the altar table on a Dutch naval tomb is a marble relief panel portraying the sea battle in which the admiral lost his life, and therefore a narrative

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8. Ibid, 219, 308-310.

9. Ibid, 564.

10. Ibid, 408-409.

11. Ibid, 409.

scene of the more recent modern history of the Netherlands. Samuel Pepys, the English

naval administrator who was visiting the Netherlands in May 1660, praised the battle

scene of Scheveningen on the front of Tromp's tomb in his journal, saying, "There is a

sea-fight cut in marble, with the smoke, the best expressed that ever I saw in my life"

(Fig. 20).[12] The relief was carved by Willem de Keyser (1603-1674), who was the son of

Hendrick de Keyser, and was a member of Quellinus' workshop in Amsterdam.[13]

Seascapes and historical paintings of battle scenes in the Northern Netherlands were quite

popular in the seventeenth century. On de Keyser's relief, the rough waves toss the ships

around, conveying the turmoil of the battle, as well as the tragic loss of a national figure.

It is as if nature is reflecting the great violence of the battle. Scenes such as this were

also interpreted by the early modern viewer as "faith tested by trial."[14]

Maritime imagery was not confined to the reliefs, however. The effigy of Willem

van Gendt (Fig. 15) lies on the altar above a relief of the Battle of Solebay, and is

surrounded by marble symbols of triumphant sea battle.[15] The monument stands

vertically between two columns, and at the top are two putti surrounded by standards,

flanking a black marble pyramid with dolphin heads at the bottom. In the register above

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12. Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys, 1660* (Echo Library, 2006), 126.

13. Neurdenburg, 203.

14. Cynthia Lawrence, "Hendrick de Keyser's Heemskerk Monument: The Origins of the Cult and Iconography of Dutch Naval Heroes," *Simiolus* 21, no. 4 (1992): 272.

15. Van Notten, 57.

the recumbent effigy is the Latin inscription surrounded by war trophies and ceremonial armor.

On the left of van Gendt's inscription is an empty helmet next to the shield of the Dutch Republic, directly opposite the crest of the Orange royal family and a skull with a crown of laurel leaves, evoking a hero or Olympian from classical antiquity. The crest of Amsterdam is at the bottom of the inscription directly above the effigy. Each naval tomb carries emblems of the Dutch Republic and the Orange royal family. Furthermore, civic imagery, especially those representing Amsterdam, adorn the tombs as well. Discussing the monument for Admiral van Wassenaer by Bartholomeus Eggers, Scholten argues that it "provided the States-General with a way of stressing its position as the sovereign power in the Republic, and gave expression to the glory and honour of the state, which far outweighed the glorification of an individual naval hero."[16] It is not just the memory of the man himself, but also the heroism of the fallen soldier, sacrificing his life for the greater good of the republic, that is asserted in each tomb program.

Although Van Gendt's monument was arranged and paid for by the state, Scholten suggests that it was because of van Gendt's noble status that he received a monument rather than a more modest epitaph.[17] In fact, the Latin inscription above his effigy mentions the nobility and military expertise of other members of the van Gendt family as well (Appendix A).[18] The crests of his noble family lineage outline the body

16. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories,* 169.

17. Ibid, 32.

18. Van Notten, 57-59.

and sarcophagus. Although it was the States-General that commissioned the monuments, each of the provinces in which they were located, as well as the officers' families, played a role in their construction.[19] The families were also instrumental in encouraging larger, statelier tombs adorned with family crests to glorify the family, and to portray it as active within the new intellectual elite and the young Dutch Republic.

The effigies on the tomb for the Evertsen brothers, as well as the other Verhulst tomb effigies, are depicted at the moment of their death during battle, but appear as if asleep (Fig. 17). Depicting the dead in this manner is a "typically Protestant attitude to death," not only for naval heroes, but for nobility as well.[20] It signifies the Christian eternal afterlife, which begins when the deceased awakes in heaven. However, it has roots in the classical tradition of sleeping figures in relief on sarcophagi. It also references images of the sleeping figure in medieval depictions of the Christian *Tree of Jesse*.[21]

Although the war with the Spanish ended in 1648, the Dutch Republic became entangled in a new set of wars over sea trading routes with Britain beginning in 1652 that lasted until 1674.[22] Seventeenth-century Britain and the Dutch Republic were great

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19. Van Notten, passim.

20. Frits Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories*, 207.

21. Ibid, 201.

22. The last Anglo-Dutch War took place in 1781-1784 but is outside the scope of this thesis. The Netherlands fought against the French as well in some of the battles. See Israel, *The Dutch Republic,* 713-869.

maritime powers, which fostered rivalry between the two states. The Dutch Republic's

interest in trade and sea navigation during a century of war affirmed the power and

significance of the state's navy. The naval tombs honored the chief naval officers who

died in battle against the British fleets. The naval battles of the Anglo-Dutch Wars are

directly referenced in the imagery of Verhulst's tombs of naval heroes. Scholten argues

that the States-General was eager to commission tombs honoring the naval heroes at this

time of conflict in order to "present itself to the outside world as a mature sovereign

power."[23]

Catholic altars as protestant tombs

The naval tombs by Verhulst are all fairly similar in format, subject matter and

iconography. In fact, the sculptor created the earlier tombs built in 1654 for Admiral Jan

van Galen in Amsterdam (Fig. 14), and Admiral Maarten Tromp in Delft (Fig. 16) while

he was in the workshop of Quellinus I. The format of these two tombs was new to the

Netherlands at the time, and they served as models for the later Verhulst tombs.[24] All of

the naval tombs by Verhulst are more vertically stacked monuments, like the Tromp and

van Galen tombs, with flat panels that rise above an altar-like table. They either stand

against the wall of a church, or are freestanding within the choir like a Catholic high altar.

The one monument that varies slightly in form is the double tomb for the Evertsen

brothers, which stands against the wall in the Reformed Church of Middelburg, exactly

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23. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories,* 159.

24. Neurdenburg, 203.

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because it is a double portrait commemorating two men (Fig. 17). It varies substantially

from the other double tombs by Verhulst for married couples (Fig. 9).[25] Additionally, it

is unique because the family shared in the patronage of the tomb with the province of

Zeeland, which is perhaps why the monument is quite elaborate. It is more similar in

form to the earlier tomb by Verhulst for the nobleman Adriaen Clant in Stedum, whose

sarcophagus extends from the wall monument (Fig. 7). The effigy "sleeps" on top of it,

as do the Evertsen brothers. The Evertsen monument was the last of the naval tombs by

Verhulst.[26]

Verhulst's flat, upright tomb type is very like that typically used for Baroque

altars constructed simultaneously within Catholic churches in the Southern Netherlands –

too similar in fact to be a coincidence. Moreover, they are in appearance reminiscent of

the fifteenth-century tombs of doges in Venice, and even the papal tombs in Vatican City,

Rome.[27] The Italian and seventeenth-century Dutch shared interest in Antiquity is

responsible for the aesthetic similarities. Furthermore, Netherlandish artists like

Quellinus had direct knowledge of the Italian tombs and altars. Turning to Venice for

inspiration was a natural choice for Dutch monuments, because it was the paradigmatic

maritime power and international trade center in Europe.

Although the tombs do have much in common with the Venetian and Roman

Renaissance tombs, they do not share the Biblical figurative elements of their Italian

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25. See Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories*, 179-210.

26. Van Notten, 69-72.

27. See Debra Pincus, *The Tombs of the Doges of Venice* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), passim.

prototypes, nor are they in the same locations within the church. The Dutch tombs, in fact, do not include the Biblical imagery or holy figures that would have been included in earlier Catholic tombs of noblemen. Instead, the Dutch naval tombs are plastered with much of the same secular imagery. Each monument is adorned with heraldry of the Dutch Republic, ceremonial armor and weaponry, as well as personal family crests. At the center of each panel is an inscription, often written in Latin, describing the heroism of the deceased officer (Appendix A). Classical virtues dressed in antique clothing were not uncommon in early modern Western sepulchral art, but it is especially so on the tombs of national heroes.[28] Additionally, marble putti can be found throughout the tomb program for a naval hero. They play many functions – holding symbols of virtue or mourning, or presenting a scroll inscribed with the biography of the officer.

The Iconoclasts' removal of Catholic imagery, including sculptures of Catholic clergy and holy figures from within these great medieval churches, resulted in whitewashed walls and spare ornamentation that encouraged a general taste for pure natural light and austere interiors. However, it can also be said that seventeenth-century artwork in the form of secular tomb monuments, epitaphs, pulpits and organs seemed to replace that which had been removed. Mia M. Mochizuki argues that in fact this is the case, and that the austerity that is often assumed is not entirely accurate because of the multitude of new art forms that replaced the pre-Reformation icons.[29]

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28. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories,* 161.

29. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image*, passim.

Because of the great overlap between church and state, the monumental reformed church buildings within the city were in effect understood as public government buildings as well. The location on the main city squares adjacent to civic government buildings emphasized this association. Dutch citizens of all religions, and foreign visitors alike, were encouraged to visit the great medieval churches daily, not necessarily for religious devotion.[30] *Wandelkerken* or "wandering churches" were spaces for contemplation, [31] but also prefigured Habermasian "public spheres," where citizens from all strata of society intermingled within the church space.[32]

Memory in the monuments

The depiction on the monuments of objects used in funerary rituals recalls the mourning of the soldiers during the period after their deaths. The effigy of Egbert Cortenaer is laid out on a straw mat that would have been understood as a replica of the mat used when preparing the corpse for burial (Fig. 18).[33] This portrays the mortality of man, and the function of the tomb as the eternal resting place for the deceased. The protestant naval tombs were "memorials" for the soul, unlike the more medieval Catholic conception that the "grave is represented as the dwelling-place in which the defunct continues his existence still endowed with human feelings and needs, or where he lies in

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30. Mochizuki, "Supplanting the Devotional Image," 151.

31. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories,* 13.

32. Mullaney, 25-27.

33. Henriette s'Jacob, *Idealism and Realism: A Study of Sepulchral Symbolism* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1954), 53.

eternal rest."[34] It also encourages perpetual mourning for the deceased individual, and reminds one of the Republic's grief over the loss of a hero.

Classical imagery of heroes and rulers

The association of sacrifice for the greater good of a state was familiar in the classical legend of Marcus Curtius. An oracle had told the Roman soldier that the only thing that could fill a chasm on the Roman Forum, which had been created by an earthquake, was the most precious thing Rome possessed, referring to a "good, dutiful citizen," so he sacrificed himself and his horse to save the republic. Indeed, the chasm closed behind him, so Rome celebrated his heroic sacrifice.[35] Images of the military hero of Ancient Rome were prevalent in sculpture, print and painting in the Renaissance and Baroque periods. In the various prints and paintings from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including those by Hendrick Goltzius, the soldier mounted on his horse is shown in or right before the moment he sacrifices himself (Fig. 21).

Although the tomb monuments by Verhulst primarily reference the seventeenth-century battles with the English, the replacement of Catholic icons with the Baroque secular tombs of important national figures can be understood as a physical representation of the overthrow of the defunct Habsburg government, and the control of the current, better Dutch Republic. It was the classical practice of *damnatio memoriae*

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34. S'Jacob, 3.

35. Ger Luijten, Ariane van Suchtelen, and Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, *Dawn of the Golden Age: Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 455.

that set the precedent for the defacing and replacing of Catholic iconography within the medieval churches, which was no doubt associated with the rule of the Catholic Habsburgs. In Ancient Rome *damnatio memoriae* or "damnation of memory" described the practice of defacing and removing images of hated rulers that had been condemned by the senate after their loss of power. It began during the Roman Republic when "Romans themselves were keenly aware that historical truths were highly malleable, and that commemorative monuments associated with capital offenders or public enemies of the Roman state *(hostes)* could be altered or transformed."[36] The defacement was aimed primarily at the sculptural portraits that stood in the public spaces of Rome. Eric Varner describes it as a symptom of "political transition", and if the "ability to maintain power and for his chosen heir to succeed him peacefully" does not occur, the ruler is deemed "bad" and therefore is removed from memory.[37] "Portraits of condemned rulers were pulled down from public display, destroyed, disfigured, or transformed into more acceptable likenesses of 'good' emperors" in order to show in material form the overthrow of the previous government.[38] Often it was the act of defacing and not the replacing of the images of ancient rulers that was symbolically important.

Although the practice of *damnatio memoriae* was reserved for the destruction and removal of imagery depicting recently departed secular rulers in Antiquity, in some ways the iconoclasm of the early modern period shared similar intentions. In sixteenth-century

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36. Varner, 10.

37. Ibid, 9.

38. Ibid, 9.

Europe the Church had very real political and governmental power throughout early

modern Europe. Additionally, the Habsburg monarchy was politically involved with the

leaders of the Catholic Church in attempts to prevent the spread of Protestantism. It was

believed in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance that kings possessed divine right to rule

given directly from God, which intimately connected them with the Catholic Church.[39] A

similar destruction of imagery associated with the Hapsburgs by protestant and Dutch

sympathizers occurred around 1576 when the statue of the Duke of Alba was torn down

from the square in Antwerp.[40] Similarly, the epitaph for Admiral Heemskerk in the

Amsterdam *Nieuwe Kerk* was placed on the same ambulatory column that had once held

a panel depicting the memorial service for Emperor Charles V.[41] Lawrence describes the

choice by the protestant church as a representation of the "physical supersession of a

symbol of the Habsburg empire by one representing the new Dutch Republic."[42]

The Dutch Republic was often likened to Republican Rome, so the destruction of

imperial images of "bad rulers" in Antiquity would have been seen as comparable to the

destruction and replacement of Catholic imagery to be replaced with "good" republican

citizens. The States-General, civic administrators, and anti-Orangist politicians

incorporated classical imagery and form in order to draw comparisons between the Dutch

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39. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1957), 84-85.

40. Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 208.

41. Lawrence, "Hendrick de Keyser," 280.

42. Ibid, 280.

Republic and Republican Rome, in contrast to imperial era imagery. In an article on the marble busts of Dutch burgomasters created by Quellinus I during his stay in Amsterdam, Scholten suggests that the classicized imagery adorning the portraits were intended to encourage this type of reading. The classicized portrait busts not only worked to "manifest their position and power," but also to exhibit the "great importance of the individual *virtus* for the success of the state, and the readiness for civic sacrifice."[43] Furthermore, the marble bust was intended to evoke the memory of the honorable figure.

Certainly Dutch citizens were aware of the practice of *damnatio memoriae* from Antiquity, and many of the images that were affected were those of Church officials, in addition to holy figures (Fig. 23). The ornate medieval churches that are centrally located within Netherlandish towns were most vulnerable to the active removal of all Catholic insignia. Removing the past's visual iconography made it necessary for an overhaul of the shambled interiors, which most notably included plastering over all the walls to cover religious stone reliefs and murals (Fig. 24).

The most important space in a Catholic church is the high altar, located at the east end of a cruciform church at the apex of the choir. They were often elaborately decorated with portrayals of Biblical figures and narratives (Fig. 3). The altars were visual focal points within the church space, and were the sites of the transubstantiation of the Eucharist, so were obvious targets of the destruction during the Iconoclasm. Although the high altars in the Netherlands were removed in the late sixteenth century, the empty

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43. Frits Scholten, "Quellinus's Burgomasters: A Portrait Gallery of Amsterdam Republicanism," *Simiolus* 32, no. 2/3 (2006): 93-94.

spaces were often filled with Baroque tombs that were reminiscent of the destroyed high altars, including that of the tombs of Willem van Gendt in Utrecht and of Michiel de Ruyter in Amsterdam.

The monument for Admiraal Michiel de Ruyter in the *Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam has three flat marble panels that form a stationary triptych and displays the effigy of the naval hero on an altar-like table at the bottom of the middle panel (Fig. 4). Before the sixteenth-century iconoclasms, an altarpiece by Pieter Aertsen of the *Nativity,* with scenes of the *Annunciation, Circumcision* and *Adoration of the Kings* stood at that spot, as described by Karl van Mander.[44] De Ruyter's tomb is most similar in format to the medieval altarpiece because of its triptych form, despite its secular imagery, although the marble panels are static because there is no functional requirement to open or shut according to the feast day calendar, like a true altarpiece. It is precisely because it looks like a high altar in form and placement that it can be understood as having transformed the previous Catholic altarpiece, and therefore symbolically the Catholic Habsburg government. The altar is appropriated as a gesture of triumph, perhaps.

However, the religious implications distinguish the iconoclasms of the sixteenth century from the classical *damnatio memoriae*. The Reformation's mission was to end the violation of the Second Commandment prohibiting false idols and graven images. Furthermore, violence of the Iconoclasm in the sixteenth century was not aimed at replacing those destroyed images with other things. It had more to do with the symbolic import of destroying, and removing or concealing anything visibly iconic, which had

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44. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm,* 123.

come to be synonymous with Catholic art.[45] However, more than symbolism was

important here. The Middle Ages believed icons to have "presence" making them "living

images" as Hans Belting calls it, meaning they were believed to embody the holy figure

depicted in a mystical way.[46] In a similar sense, the portrait sculptures from Antiquity

were also perceived to be linked to the human depicted, and therefore any harm to the

image would also be inflicted upon the person, even if posthumously (*poena post

mortem*).[47] However, the violence towards Catholic imagery was not intended to inflict

harm – even symbolically – upon the holy figure depicted, rather it was in response to the

perceived abuse of images within the Church. Furthermore, sixteenth-century Europe

was in the transition from the "era of the image" to the "era of art," understanding images

to be visual representations rather than mystical manifestations of the spirit depicted.[48]

What can be theoretically linked between classical *damnatio memoriae* and early

modern iconoclasm is the presence and use of *memoria* in imagery, which in Latin

includes "concepts of individual fame, reputation, and afterlife."[49] Of course, the

embodiment of this sense of *memoria* would have been obvious in the naval tomb

monuments, including that of de Ruyter. Varner further argues that, "The damnation of

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45. Arnade, *Beggars,* 92-93.

46. Hans Belting, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*, translated by Edmund Jephcott. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994): passim.

47. Varner, 10.

48. Belting, 14-15.

49. Varner, 11.

memory then cancels an individual's posthumous identity from the collective

consciousness; this cancellation was enacted through...the transformation and destruction

of monuments."[50] It is this element of *memoria* that was employed by the States-General

in their patronage of the tombs, including that of de Ruyter, and would have been

understood by the seventeenth-century Dutch citizen as well.

Memorial and a monument

The *memento mori* was a popular theme in the early modern Netherlands, as can

be seen in most of the church interior paintings, including that by de Witte. The function

of the Baroque tomb monument was more than commemoration of the individual – it also

was instructional. Contemplating the lost life as shown upon the tomb was intended to

remind the viewer of his own fleeting life. Symbols of death were included within tomb

iconography to encourage this reading, for example a human skull is depicted on the back

of the de Ruyter tomb, above the entrance to his crypt (Fig. 31). The image of death

reminds the viewer that only the memory of accomplishments and virtue remains. The

tomb monuments, and the paintings of the monuments for that matter, were reminders of

the importance of leading good, honorable lives.

The promotion of leading a similar life to the deceased figure was not dissimilar

to the Counter-Reformation's justification of a cult of Saints. It was asserted at the

Council of Trent that images of the saints and their martyrdoms is not only justifiable, but

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50. Ibid, 11.

also necessary because it encouraged Catholics to lead similarly good lives devoted to God:

> "…great profit is derived from all holy images, not only because the people are thereby reminded of the benefits and gifts bestowed on them by Christ, but also because through the saints the miracles of God and salutary examples are set before the eyes of the faithful, so that they may fashion their own life and conduct in imitation of the saints, and be morved to adore and love God and to cultivate piety."[51]

A very literal interpretation of the tomb's propagandistic agenda is that it encouraged young Dutch men to enlist in the war effort. In the nineteenth-century painting *Van Speyck before the tomb of de Ruyter* the Dutch naval lieutenant is shown as a boy admiring the effigy of de Ruyter, as if in that moment he had been inspired to join the Dutch navy (Fig. 25). Cynthia Lawrence argues for this view in her analysis of the memorial epitaph for the Dutch Admiral Jacob van Heemskerk by Hendrick de Keyser, which was commissioned by the States-General in 1609.[52] The tomb had a dual purpose as memorial and as propaganda supporting the war against the Spanish.[53] However, the tombs by Verhulst, including that of Willem, Baron van Gendt, were begun two decades after the Treaty of Münster ending the Eighty Years' War. The Anglo-Dutch Wars in the seventeenth century took place between 1652 and 1654, 1665 and 1667, and 1672 and

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51. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm,* 56.

52. Lawrence, "Hendrick de Keyser," 266.

53. Ibid, 295.

1674.[54] Therefore, the young republic had rarely known times of peace since its inception. The propagandistic rhetoric proposed by Lawrence is continued in the tombs by Verhulst, as can be seen in the subject matter, display and the manner in which the figure is depicted. The design of the monuments still is aware of the propagandistic nature of the subject matter and imagery, although there was no longer a need for men to fight against the Spanish. Rather, the Dutch Republic is represented as a major maritime power of international standing, in both trade and military might.

In a recent article, Judith Pollmann explores the term *Nederlander*, or paradigmatic Dutch citizen, and its use in the seventeenth century. She proposes that it had a meaning that was something entirely Dutch and not Flemish, used to distinguish the northern Netherlandish provinces from those in the south after the end of the Twelve Years' Truce.[55] Often, the Dutch provinces were shown as "free" rather than "chained," like their southern counterpart. In fact, "pamphleteers frequently alleged that Netherlanders were beginning to forget about the past, and brought all sorts of rhetorical devices to bear to try and remind them of the evils of Spanish rule."[56] The use of propaganda in the form of prints and pamphlet literature intentionally shaped the *memoria,* or the collective memory in the seventeenth century.[57] This awareness of a new ideal *Nederlander* is reflected in Verhulst's tombs of naval heroes in the Northern

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54. See Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 719-869.

55. Pollmann, 259.

56. Ibid, 253.

57. Ibid, 254.

Netherlands as well. It seems that the idea of the *Nederlander* in addition to humanist and Protestant ideals have been fully incorporated into the material culture of the Dutch Republic.

Tomb tourists

The Dutch church interior paintings provide the contemporary viewer with a unique look into the past, through which the early modern use of church space, and promotion of tomb monuments can be observed. These paintings were quite popular in the seventeenth century and were painted by many artists in addition to Emanuel de Witte, including Peter Saenredam. Perhaps this is more evidence of the interest the Dutch had in the atmospheric qualities within the church space, especially lighting, or international curiosity in the reuse of Catholic space in a protestant context. Mostly featured in these scenes were the post-Reformation medieval church interiors, with whitewashed walls, wooden ceilings and church furniture.

A painting by Hendrick van Vliet shows the grand monument for Tromp with a view into the east end of the large church (Fig. 25). Verhulst's monument for Admiral Maarten Tromp in the Old Church of Delft is probably second in renown behind the tomb of de Ruyter but it was especially popular and was depicted in church interior paintings as well. Church visitors wander throughout the immense church space. The tomb tourists in front of the monument appear to include both foreigners and Dutch by their clothing, showing the significance of the Dutch Republic and its history to both its own citizens and internationally.

In van Vliet's painting, a dog stands in the corner, presumably beside his masters, and looks across the foreground at nearby children playing a game on the floor of the church. Dogs in early modern art are standard symbols for loyalty, and perhaps the children represent the "world's folly," especially when juxtaposed with the unearthed tomb slab nearby.[58] Simon Schama argues that placing children within "topographically meaningful – and sometimes recognizable – settings…evoke[s] the civic and public virtues to which the correctly brought-up child should be led."[59] Furthermore, "it is almost as though that civic architecture…performs the function of didactic vigilance…,"[60] so that the reformed interiors of the *Oude Kerk* in Delft, as well as the Tromp tomb within, will correct the imprudence of their visitors. Furthermore, the dog, when juxtaposed with children, "symbolizes *leerzugtigheid*, Christian aptitude, and belongs to a tradition in which the instruction of children is reinforced by the visual analogue of training dogs in obedience."[61]

Often shown in the church interior paintings are "tourists" curious to see the famous tombs of the world-renowned heroes who fought against the tyranny of the Habsburgs and formed a republic. The presence of foreigners also reflects how powerful the Northern Netherlands had become by the seventeenth century. It was an international superpower, mostly because of its leadership in global trade. If these tomb monuments,

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58. Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches* (New York: Vintage, 1997), 498.

59. Ibid, 499.

60. Ibid, 499.

61. Ibid, 547.

especially the tomb of de Ruyter, located at the city center in Dam Square, can be called

national monuments, paintings of foreigners paying respect to the naval tombs in effect

represent international homage to the Dutch Republic.

The obvious purpose of the tombs was to commemorate the deceased, but

together they form a new collective memory that shaped each citizen's understanding of

the Dutch Republic's history. Maurice Halbwachs defines "collective memory" as a

socially constructed thing: "While the collective memory endures and draws strength

from its base in a coherent body of people, it is individuals as group members who

remember."[62] Within the constructs of collective memory, the tombs acted as material

sites of memory called *lieux de mémoire,* as coined by Pierre Nora.[63] The function of the

national monument according to Nora is "the identification of individual discourse with

collective discourse, the insertion of individual rationality into *raison d'état.*"[64] He

further distinguishes history from memory stating, "Memory attaches itself to sites,

whereas history attaches itself to events."[65] It is the "revision of memory" of historical

events that separates memory from an actual historical past.[66] However, memory

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62. Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*. Translated by Lewis A. Coser. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 48.

63. Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," *Representations* 26, Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): passim.

64. Ibid, 22.

65. Ibid, 22.

66. Ibid, 21.

presupposes a connection with the past with which it is interested, unlike history, which supposes a perceived separation from that past.[67]

In the later half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch were still aware of their shared heritage with the Southern Netherlands, which Judith Pollmann discusses extensively.[68] Images of the *Leo Belgicus* were popular depictions of the map of the two regions in the form of a heraldic lion (Fig. 26). The prints were begun in the 1580s, after the separation of the two countries but before the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621), and were intended to encourage support for the reunification of the Low Countries, and the continued fighting against the Spanish. However, as the war progressed it became apparent that this would not occur, and that the two regions had grown too far apart. In fact, the narrative within Dutch propaganda materials shifted to a more hostile view of the southern provinces as traitors – at least those who did not support the revolt.[69] It continued to encourage fighting, emphasizing the differences between the Catholic and Protestant regions in order to do so.[70]

The growing sense of national identity as citizens of the Dutch Republic increasingly identified themselves as *Nederlander* referred to the seven provinces rather than seventeen before their division.[71] Contrary to Habsburg propaganda, that identified

67. Steven Knapp, "Collective Memory and the Actual Past," *Representations* 26, Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring 1989): 130, 142.

68. Pollmann, 242.

69. Ibid, 258.

70. Ibid, 256-257.

the Dutch as *Hollander*, a slanderous term alluding to exclusivity of the province of

Holland, and its supposed betrayal and abandonment of the neighboring provinces in the

Southern Netherlands, the term *Nederlander* was all-inclusive of the seven northern

provinces. However, part of its meaning had to do with anti-Spanish and pro-Republican

sentiments, thus indirectly excluding the citizens of the southern provinces. There was an

increasing awareness, especially by the last half of the seventeenth century, that the two

Netherlandish states were moving further and further away from the possibility of

reuniting.

By the 1670s and 80s when Verhulst's naval tombs were constructed, it had long

been felt that the two regions had separated indefinitely. Meanwhile, in the Southern

Netherlands there was a notable lack of seventeenth-century tomb monuments for fallen

naval heroes or members of the nobility with ties to the Habsburgs. This was already

almost twenty years after the Treaty of Münster. The once bustling, wealthy southern

provinces and towns, such as Antwerp and Ghent, were made barren, and population in

these parts dramatically declined while the power and wealth shifted to the North.

Perhaps the citizens of the South had less desire to commemorate either Habsburg or

Netherlandish soldiers fallen in battle, as their enemies to the North did, because of the

devastation they felt as a result of the war. Instead the monuments located within the

choirs of the great churches of the Spanish Netherlands are of bishops. In fact, the

Catholic Church succeeded in quashing the Reformation in certain regions with the

Counter Reformation, in which the bishops were central. Many thought the Dutch

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71. Ibid, 258.

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provinces had abandoned them, or had been foolish in their campaign against the Spanish.[72] In addition, the Flemish may not have seen themselves entirely on the side of the Habsburg dynasty, despite its rule over the region. They, too, had fought for freedom and protestant reform, but had failed to gain independence from the Habsburgs or the Catholic Church. Instead, the Spanish rulers inundated public imagery with religious iconography that related to the triumph over heresy, which was most often intended to allude to the Dutch Protestants to the north.[73]

72. Ibid, 251.

73. Nancy J. Kay, "The Sacred Public Sculptures in Antwerp: From Their Medieval Origins to the French Revolution" (PhD diss., Brown University, 2008), 123-129.

II

Antwerp experienced its "Golden Age" during the sixteenth century, when it was the largest and most prosperous Netherlandish city. This was the moment before the great economic decline of the Southern Netherlands around the end of the century, caused by The Eighty Years' War, at which time the wealth and power shifted to Amsterdam in the North, ushering in a Golden Age of its own around the beginning of the seventeenth century. By the time Rombout Verhulst was working in Amsterdam in the last half of the seventeenth century, the Low Countries had been divided for almost a century into the northern Dutch Republic and the southern Spanish Netherlands. In the decades following the separation of the provinces, the political, social and religious realities shifted dramatically in each region. The identity of the early modern Dutch citizen was very closely linked to both religious and political affiliation. During the tumultuous century following the Reformation and Counter Reformation, declaring religious affiliation was not only an affirmation of spiritual belief, but also political alignment, especially in the Low Countries. The sovereigns in both the Northern Netherlands and Southern Netherlands determined the official state religion, intertwining spiritual belief and cultural or "national" identity.

Rombout Verhulst was active in the Northern Netherlands, fulfilling the States-General's commissions for Dutch naval tomb monuments within reformed medieval churches, while simultaneously, Artus Quellinus II was working on sculptural commissions in the Southern Netherlands for tombs honoring the memory of deceased

Catholic clergy, which were commissioned for the choir spaces of medieval Catholic

churches. Rombout Verhulst's tomb monuments for Admiral Michiel de Ruyter (1607-

1676) (Fig. 4) and Jan van Galen (1604-1653) (Fig. 14) within the *Nieuwe Kerk* of

Amsterdam will be compared to the monument for Bishop Ambrosius Capello (1597-

1676) (Fig. 12) in Antwerp's *Onze Lieve Vrouwekathedraal*, created by Verhulst's

contemporary, Artus Quellinus II, in order to analyze the changing use of sacred space in

the Protestant North and the Catholic South.

Before the Reformation iconoclasms, Catholic altarpieces, reliquaries, and church

furniture had prompted processional movement throughout church space, because

devotional movement was required in order to venerate them. The Baroque bishopric

tomb monuments erected in the Southern Netherlands not only emphasized those sacred

spaces, especially the high altar in the east end of the choir, but also encouraged lay

participation in traditional Catholic ritual within the church building.

The secular Dutch monuments by Verhulst replaced the altarpieces that had been

removed or destroyed during the sixteenth-century iconoclasms, continuing to emphasize

the traditionally Catholic sacred places within the church building. The location of the

Dutch naval tombs within the sacred space of the church, as well as the format would

have signaled to the viewer the importance of the "body" laid out on the table, although it

was now to glorify a fallen citizen of the Republic. Perhaps this not only referenced the

body of Christ, but also the relics of Catholic saints. Scholten likens the growing

"pantheon of heroes" to a secularized cult of saints.[1] However, ritualistic movement

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1. Scholten, *Sumptuous Memories,* 169-170.

within the church space was discouraged. Instead, church visitors were expected to "wander" throughout the immense church interiors, contemplating the honorable life of the deceased hero, and the moral duties of a good protestant and Dutch citizen.[2] The effect of the tomb's location within the Dutch reformed church, therefore, is ambiguous, oscillating between deconsecrating the altar space and sanctifying the admiral.

Nieuwe Kerk, Amsterdam

Located on Dam Square next to the seventeenth-century *Stadhuis*, the *Nieuwe Kerk* is central within the bustling city of Amsterdam. The fourteenth-century building is constructed on a cruciform plan and in a late gothic style. Upon entering the massive church, one's attention is immediately directed upward to the vaulted wooden ceiling so typical of the medieval churches built in the Netherlands (Fig. 27). Most likely it would have been adorned with painted depictions of holy figures and biblical scenes prior to the Iconoclasm of 1566. After its conversion from a Catholic parish church to a reformed Calvinist church there was little religious figurative decoration left in the building to distract the laity. According to Calvinist theology, the church space had to be cleansed of all earlier iconic Biblical decoration that did not contribute to the narrative of the Gospels. However, the monumental marble tomb of Admiral Michiel de Rutyer was constructed in the choir in 1681.

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2. Ibid, 13.

Michiel De Ruyter was an admiral in the Dutch Navy from around the 1620s until

his death in 1676 during battle in the Third Anglo-Dutch War.[3] A direct view of the

tomb in the choir is blocked by a seventeenth-century gleaming brass roodscreen that

bears the emblem of Amsterdam at its apex (Fig. 29). Under the soaring choir ceiling and

surrounding pointed arch windows of the clerestory above stands the monumental, stately

tomb. The polychrome marble offers little visual contrast with the surrounding interior

church – the red, white and black marbles mirror the black stone floors, austere

whitewashed walls and brown wooden furniture and vaulted ceiling.

The frontal, triptych-like format of the tomb demands to be viewed from the

interior of the choir space (Fig. 28). The tomb is elevated and several steps lead to it

from the choir, which is unusual for Dutch tomb monuments, but is common in Catholic

altar *retables*. A recumbent effigy of the deceased Admiral Michiel de Ruyter lies at eye

level. Long, wavy hair frames de Ruyter's plump face, which makes him appear as if

asleep. (Fig. 29) Verhulst's portrayal of the face is highly individualized and most likely

close to reality, as can be observed when comparing it to the 1667 painted portrait of de

Ruyter by Ferdinand Bol (Fig. 30). The painting was one of six portraits by Bol

commissioned to celebrate de Ruyter's gallant naval career.[4] He is clad in full-body

armor and his head rests on the barrel of a canon, making him appear as if he has just

3. Israel, *The Dutch Republic,* 880-881.

4. "Lietenant-Admiral Michiel de Ruyter (1607-76) (BHC2997)," *National Maritime Museum, London,* http://www.nmm.ac.uk/collections/explore/object.cfm?ID=BHC2997 (accessed May 23, 2011).

fallen in battle. De Ruyter's body is laid upon an altar-like structure that extends out from the triptych structure above.

Typical of admiral tomb monuments, De Ruyter's tomb includes honorific descriptions of the battle in which he died, glorifying the moment of his death. The Latin inscription carved into the marble and traced in gold praises his life, and urges the importance of his sacrifice for the greater good of the Republic (Appendix A). On the right panel, it is said that the memory and fame of de Ruyter will be eternally kept by the people of the Dutch Republic, for the heroic deeds he performed while in the navy. This corresponds to the figure of Fame on the central triptych panel above the figure of de Rutyer who blows the trumpet, telling the life of de Ruyter to those before the tomb. Fame leans on the heads of putti, who hold the heraldic coat-of-arms of the Dutch Republic and Holland. She stands on a naval crown of five ship prows clustered in a semi-circle – a common symbol of Amsterdam.[5] Within an oval cartouche is a low relief depiction of a naval battle, most likely that of Syracuse, the site of de Rutyer's death. Two tritons blow their conch shells on either side of the body of de Ruyter, echoing Fame above but also signaling de Ruyter's connection to sea navigation and exploration of foreign lands.

Each of the flat marble side panels frame a figurative relief of a virtue associated with de Ruyter. On the left is a female personification of eternal life and vigilance, as

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5. Lawrence, "Hendrick de Keyser," 286.

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symbolized by the mirror she holds in her left hand and the rooster that stands at her feet.[6]

She, as well as the entire group of figures, is dressed in classical drapery, further evoking

Classical Antiquity. The medium and format of the monument itself are references to the

classical stele, a marble funerary marker of a grave in ancient Rome. To the right is a

relief of personified Strength, crowned with a medieval rampart and leaning against an

Ionic column. In a smaller niche above the central panel of the monument is an

arrangement of heraldic imagery, including a family crest presented by a crowned lion on

the left and a braying horse on the right. Standards surround the grouping. Directly

beneath it is the coat-of-arms of the Dutch Republic.

The actual remains of de Rutyer's body lie below the monument in the crypt of

the church, where there had been saintly relics before their removal during the

Reformation iconoclasm. The entrance to the crypt is behind the monument in the east

end of the ambulatory. The back of the monument facing the east end of the ambulatory

is very plain, made in plaster and lacking decoration, except a smaller group of sculptures

directly above the crypt entrance on the back of the central panel of the monument (Fig.

31). The same heraldic grouping at the apex of the monument on the front is repeated

here; however, it is in lower relief and is missing the surrounding drapery from the

abundance of standards. Directly below this grouping, sitting on the ledge of the entrance

door to the crypt, are two putti flanking the emblem that reads "INTAMINATIS

FULGET HONORIBUS," praising the honor and life of the deceased de Ruyter. The

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6. Erwin Fahlbusch, *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2008), 263.

winged putto on the left rests one hand on a skull and the other hand holds a trumpet.
The putto to the right is crying for the loss of the hero. The inscription, putti and heraldry
combined form a *memento mori*.

Not far from the de Ruyter tomb, but located in the nave, is another tomb
executed in 1654 by Rombout Verhulst for the naval hero Jan van Galen (Fig. 14).
Quellinus I in fact designed the monument more than twenty-five years prior to the de
Ruyter tomb's construction, and it was erected the year after van Galen's death at the tail
end of the First Anglo-Dutch War. The altar-like monument stands against the north wall
of the aisle just south of the transept. The format is very similar to that of the de Ruyter
tomb – the *gisant* "sleeping" figure of van Galen lies on top of the altar-like structure in
front of a flat back that rises against the wall behind him. The body of van Galen lies on
a straw mat, rolled up at one end under his head, and resting on top of cannon barrels
with vegetal decoration. The straw mat was used during the post-mortem preparation of
the body for burial, and also during the funeral visitation of the body. Including it in the
scene suggests that van Galen has only recently died in battle and his corpse will be on
display in stone to be mourned by churchgoers for eternity, although he is not represented
as a *transi* or decaying body, but as if it were lying in state.[7]

Below the relief panel of a battle scene is a poem carved in the black stone
surrounding the tomb (Appendix A). Unlike the central inscription, the poem is written
in Dutch. It corresponds to the battle relief and identifies it as the battle at Livorno, Italy,
during the First Anglo-Dutch War, in which van Galen was wounded. The poem further

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7. S'Jacob, 48.

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describes van Galen as a brave hero in the earlier war against Spain and then explains that he was honorably wounded, with a "lion's heart," by the British in the naval battle off the coast of Tuscany, which is why he is buried in "this grave of honor" (Appendix A).

The tomb for van Galen is not a triptych but it does have a decorated flat panel that extends behind and above the figure of van Galen. The black marble oval that is central to this panel holds the Latin inscription describing the honorable life that van Galen led, and is framed by a laurel wreath carved in white marble, shown tied with nautical rope. Nondescript standards surround the wreath above the body and the abundance of fabric on them is draped and twisted elegantly around the inscription. Placed throughout the twisting fabric are naval instruments and other weaponry, such as swords, bows and arrows. Centrally located above the inscription is the familiar heraldic grouping, though this is simpler than that on the tomb of de Ruyter. Again on this tomb the roaring lion in profile is depicted on a shield above an emblem of the city of Amsterdam. However this lion holds an upraised sword in his right paw and a bunch of arrows in his left. A jeweled crown tops the crest, which is in fact the coat of arms of the Dutch Republic.

Consecrated church space

Maurice Halbwachs' theory of collective memory describes a codependence and reinforcement of sanctity between "consecrated places," or religious sites, and Christian belief.[8] While discussing pilgrimages to Jerusalem, the nature of Christianity, especially

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8. Halbwachs, 201.

the cult of saints, is connected to collective memory associations with all spaces that are deemed holy within the faith:

> "Transported to these places and developed in an enlarged collective memory, Christian recollections became focused on consecrated places that favored the emergence of a cult. Aside from its sacred character, the place of a cult is a part of the soil with a clearly defined position in space. Like all material things, this position tends to remain as is. There is something mechanical about the force that retains people around a sacred place."[9]

Memory of the function of each place within the medieval church was still present in the Dutch collective memory of the relatively recent past, not yet having been a century after the Reformation in the Netherlands.

However, protestant dogma maintained that worship is not dependent upon consecrated church space, which was seen as promoting the importance of the clergy, so attempts were made to reorganize the use of medieval church space.[10] Large, elaborate pulpits were erected within the naves of the reformed church spaces, to shift the importance placed on the Host to the Word of the Bible, and to prohibit ritualistic procession down the center of the church. The *Nieuwe Kerk* houses the seventeenth-century carved oak pulpit by the sculptor Albert Jansz. Vinckenbrink (c. 1604-1664) (Fig. 32). It was constructed against a column on the central north side of the nave between 1649 to 1664, with the intention of creating a new center of activity within the church space. The combination of high and low relief carving depicting Biblical subject matter and personified virtues and caritas figures covers every façade of the hexagonal pulpit.

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9. Ibid, 201.

10. Edward Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe*. 2nd ed. New approaches to European history (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 231-232.

Vinckenbrink depicted the Christian narratives using Renaissance linear perspective and classical decorative elements and figure styles, with extravagant Baroque vegetal ornamentation in the surrounding architectural elements. However, the basic format of the elevated and enclosed pulpit is one rooted in a medieval tradition. The narrowing spire above it, although classical in detail, appears as if Gothic in shape. The pinnacle soars above the sounding board towards the vaulted ceiling. Although religious icons were prohibited within the church space, the placement of it on the pulpit was most likely acceptable in order to promote the pulpit as most sacred. Furthermore, what is shown are the Biblical narratives rather than icons.

The other notable seventeenth-century *Nieuwe Kerk* commission is the main organ spanning the west interior wall from floor to ceiling (Fig. 33). It was agreed upon at the Synod of Dordrecht that the singing of hymnals would be an integral part of church service, which stimulated construction of new organs around the middle of the century. The massive organ case in the *Nieuwe Kerk* was designed by Jacob van Campen in 1645, with painting by Jan Gerritsz. van Bronckhorst, and adorned with sculpture, also by the workshop of Quellinus I. Consisting of three registers, with multiple types of marble, gold gilding and large oil painting on the hinged organ doors, the case "illustrates the harmony of the universe" and the "dignity of the city government." The classicized program of the organ case, including the crowning pediment, relates to music. Painted scenes from David's life as told in the Old Testament are on the hinged doors as well.

The multitude of figures shown are set in painted architectural settings built of white marble, ornamented with marble garlands and classical molding in grisaille. The

"classical temple" structure formed by the organ case foreshadows the neighboring Town Hall that would be built next door to the *Nieuwe Kerk* three years later by the same architect and sculptor, Jacob van Campen and Artus Quellinus I (Fig. 10 and 11). The grisaille marble interior with its ornate classicism, the pediment and the combination of painting and sculpture all reflect the interior building program of the new government building. In fact, this organ was seen as a representation of a harmonious city government, which was a popular theme at this moment when Amsterdam was at its height in power, international prowess, wealth and prestige.

"Dutch Classicism" was the modern style used in contemporary church decoration and architecture, as well as civic and residential design, by the most renowned and prolific Dutch architects, sculptors, masons and artists. No longer were churches to be built as Heavenly Jerusalems on Earth; instead they were understood as reflections of man's knowledge of math, science and antiquity.[11] Beginning in the Renaissance, humanist thinkers and architects, such as Alberti, believed that knowledge of science, math, and music were all divinely given to man from God, but man also was capable of using these skills to create on Earth.

The Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp and the Tomb of Bishop Ambrosius Capello by Artus Quellinus II

The *Onze Lieve Vrouwekathedraal* in Antwerp is built on a cruciform plan, similar to the groundplan of the *Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam, but the original church

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11. Ottenheym, "Amsterdam," 119.

foundation dates to the Romanesque period. As discussed earlier, the cruciform plan of

the traditional medieval church was developed in the Middle Ages to control ritualistic

movement through the building itself, but also through the city and, in a much greater

context, through Europe along pilgrimage routes. For example, the *Corpus Christi*

procession, connected to the Host kept in the choir of the church, "became the

centerpiece for vast public spectacles and dramatic performances," which also were

connected to the government authority that determined its route through the city.[12]

The late sixteenth-century iconoclasm destroyed much of the religious artwork in

the Southern Netherlands as well, including the interior of Antwerp's cathedral.[13]

However, unlike in the northern provinces, the Habsburg dynasty continued to rule over

the southern Netherlandish provinces, and imposed Catholicism upon all citizens. In the

wake of the destructive iconoclasms, the Church commissioned many artworks to replace

the vandalized or missing works. Although mass rites and the procession of holy objects

was to be continued during the period of the Counter-Reformation, new tenets were put

in place calling to rectify corruption within the Church and strengthen Catholic

doctrine.[14]

In the seventeenth century, the high altar on the east end of the chancel, where the

Eucharist was consecrated for service, was encompassed on the north and south sides by

four tombs of former bishops of Antwerp. The tomb of Bishop Marius Ambrosius

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12. Muir, 75.

13. Arnade, *Beggars*, 90-91.

14. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm*, 264-265.

Capello by Artus Quellinus II is currently located along the east wall of the south

transept; however, it originally stood on the south side of the choir, facing the high altar

(Fig. 12).[15] Ambrosius Capello was bishop of the diocese of Antwerp and was one of

only five bishops of Antwerp to be consecrated within the cathedral.[16] He was honored

for his piety and charity to the poor.[17] The tomb was completed in 1681, five years after

he died, and nearly fifty years after the high altar by Peter Paul Rubens (1577-1640) was

constructed at the east end of the choir (Fig. 37). It also happened to be the year the tomb

of Michiel de Ruyter was completed in Amsterdam (Fig. 4).

Placing the tomb monuments of bishops around the edges of the chancel had

become standard in the large Catholic Churches of the Southern Netherlands by the end

of the seventeenth century, as had erecting naval tombs at the spot of the high altar in the

Northern Netherlands. This format can still be seen in *St-Baafskathedraal* in Ghent (Fig.

33); although, none of the original bishopric tombs now surround the high altar in the

choir of the *Onze Lieve Vrouwekathedraal*. In fact, the tomb of Capello is the last

surviving tomb of the Baroque period within the church. It is known that there were four

tombs for the first three bishops of Antwerp and that of Capello, who was the seventh

bishop of Antwerp.[18]

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15. W. Aerts, ed., *The Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp* (Antwerp: Mercatorfonds, 1993), 242.

16. Ibid, 74.

17. Patrick Rynck, *The Cathedral of Our Lady in Antwerp* (Ghent: Ludion, 2005), 80.

18. Aerts, 230.

Bishop Capello was also given a wall monument in recognition for leaving all of

his possessions to the poor upon his death,[19] which was carved by another Flemish

sculptor, Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen (1654-1724) (Fig. 35). Verbrugghen was closely

associated with the Quellinus workshop, and until recently the monument was in fact

attributed to Quellinus II.[20] The memorial hangs near the west end of the church near the

entrance to the almoners' room, the patrons of the monument.[21] Although it is less

grandiose than the Quellinus II tomb, it has very similar iconography, except that it

includes a marble portrait medallion representing the bishop, rather than an effigy. A

putto and two angels hold the round portrait relief above Capello's casket, which is

covered by a black curtain and the figure of Death, who looks down into the viewer's

space as he gestures above toward Capello's likeness – an obvious *memento mori*

reference. The portrait medallion was a preferred visual trope in Baroque sepulchral art,

because of its association with memory, honor and classical antiquity.[22]

In order to prevent further Protestant uprisings, Philip II and the Pope enacted the

bull *Super Universas* (May 12, 1559) to divide the original Netherlandish diocese into

fourteen smaller sees in order to maintain control over parishioners and the cathedral of

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19. Ibid, 228-229

20. Iris Kockelbergh, "Verbrugghen: (3) Henricus-Franciscus Verbrugghen." *Grove Dictionary of Art*, http://www.oxfordartonline.com/subscriber/article/grove /art/T088754pg3#T088758 (accessed May 3, 2011).

21. Aerts, 230.

22. Scholten, *Gebeeldhouwde portretten/Portrait sculptures*, Translated by Michael Hoyle. (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1995), 42.

Antwerp became the seat of the Antwerp bishopric.[23] However, this was not in the best interest for the members of the chapter of the then-collegiate church. In fact, during the century after the first bishop was consecrated in Antwerp, there was conflict between the bishop and the chapter, including surrounding the role the bishop was to play in regular mass, celebratory masses and liturgy. It was agreed in 1592 that the bishop was to lead mass on seven high feast days per year, but the dean of the chapter was given control of the remaining services.[24] The rhetoric in the tombs of the bishops, therefore, can also be interpreted as glorifications of the bishops, in order to justify their rule within the Catholic churches in the Southern Netherlands. Catholic bishops, not deans or chapter members, were given primary control over the imagery included within churches by the Council of Trent.[25]

Unlike the Verhulst naval effigies, the *demi-gisant* figure of Capello leans on one elbow on top of his sarcophagus. In white marble, the figure of the bishop is dressed in his finest pontifical robes and his *miter* used for special feast days. A putto at his feet holds his coat of arms. The miter he wears is one of three possible, known as the *auriphrygiata mitre,* and is worn during the sacraments, Advent, and Lent. One can only wear the miter within the church in which one was consecrated, and only on special feast days. It could simply be displayed on his head to show his right to rule over the cathedral

23. Aerts, 74.

24. Ibid, 74.

25. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm,* 264-265.

of Antwerp, as granted to him by the pope himself. However, in Catholic tradition it is never to be worn while the bishop is in prayer.

Quellinus II depicted the fine texture of the fabric, and ornate design of the narrative "woven" on his robes superbly. The embroidered figurative scenes from the life of Christ decorate both lapels. On the red marble sarcophagus below is the inscription carved in black marble, surrounded by classicized decorative elements in white marble. The face of Capello's effigy is very like that of a painted portrait in a guild book for the Brotherhood of the Fortnightly anointing (Fig. 36).

The marble Capello leans back and looks upward towards the high altar. His hands are clasped in prayer, with the ring of his bishopric visible. His gaze would have been directed at the scene of Mary's ascension into heaven, as depicted by the painting *The Assumption of the Virgin* by Peter Paul Rubens (Fig. 37). The workshop of Rubens created several monumental paintings for the decoration of portico altar backs in the large churches and cathedrals throughout the major Flemish cities, but *The Assumption of the Virgin* in the *Onze Lieve Vrouwekathedraal* is one of his most famous. On the large canvas, Madonna is painted in the upper-middle register as the subject of the scene, as presented to the viewer by the large figure of John the Baptist in the left foreground. Mary gazes upward serenely while fleshy putti pull the cloud on which she sits towards heaven above. The configuration ensures that Capello will be eternally praying to the Trinity and to the Madonna, while witnessing the coronation of Mary as Queen of Heaven.

Rubens' monumental painting is framed by double columns on either side carved with red marble, and topped with a shallow coffered rounded arched niche of similar marble framed in black and white classical molding. On the back is a painting of the *Death of the Virgin* (Fig. 38). Within the niche sit two large marble figures of the Trinity. However, this portico altar is a nineteenth-century replacement, after the original was destroyed during the French Revolution.[26] Fortunately, Rubens' painting was not present during the destruction, and so survived. A seventeenth-century print by Adriaan Lommelin depicting the original altar by Robrecht and Jan de Nole shows that the overall format of the structure, especially the supporting columns, was reconstructed in the later version, but the depiction of the trinity above differs substantially (Fig. 39). In the original altar, Christ, the Holy Spirit and God the Father are arranged vertically along an axis directly above Mary. The marble Christ holds the crown of heaven directly above Mary's head, and the dove of the Holy Spirit soars right above him. Christ stands in graceful *contrapposto* within a rounded niche, and the bust of God the Father is enclosed in the rounded pediment at the apex. With widespread arms, He looks outward from the scene toward the to the nave, crossing and entrance to the chancel. Therefore, he invites the lay viewer towards the choir and high altar the moment he enters the church from the west. Rubens' monumental painting satisfied the Counter Reformation desire for the high altar to be visible from the main entrance of the church space, which is usually at the opposite end of a long nave. The painting of Mary seated on a beautiful cloud, too, entices the viewer to come closer to witness the magnificent scene. Indeed, the frontal

26. Aerts, 242.

format of the altar, and direct engagement with and beckoning from so holy a figure as God himself, would have led the viewer from the west entrance towards the east end through the nave, which was only possible on feast or other holy days during processions. Thus it is implied that this scene, as being witnessed by the effigy of Bishop Capello, as well as church visitors, is intended to signal the holy day of the Assumption of the Virgin.

The Catholic Church, prior to the Counter-Reformation, argued that direct engagement with God was possible only with the intercession of the clergy and saints.[27] With the increasing popularity of humanism in the early Renaissance, this issue was of greater importance, even within the Catholic Church. In response, increased transparency was encouraged, not only in the church space itself but also in the theology. Therefore, the direct engagement between the depicted figure of God on the main altar – the holiest, and historically most concealed spot – with the lay viewer below, was an effort to incorporate laity participation within the sacred space. Of course, it is impossible to know how close Lommelin's print of the altar portico was to the original altar. However, it can be seen that the depiction of Rubens' painting is similar in formatting and figures included, so one can assume that at least those of the sculptured portico are faithful to the original as well.

On the ceiling of the crossing dome, behind the tomb of Capello, another depiction of *The Ascension of the Virgin* is painted, this one by Cornelis Schut, although it is portrayed from a different vantage point (Fig. 40). Painted after Rubens' *Ascension*, the dome painting appears similar in color and loose brushwork. From a perspective that

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27. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm,* 72.

is below Mary, the viewer seems to be witnessing the same moment in the biblical narrative, yet from the underside as she is gazing upward. In fact we share her view of heaven above and we seem to be in the crowd of angels that swarm around her at the sides of the dome.

The crossing dome hovers above the liminal space between the more-worldly nave, and the holy chancel. By witnessing Mary's ascension from the viewpoint of one well below on earth, the viewer feels his own place within the profane world while witnessing the glory of the sacred heaven above. When looking at the figure of God in the high altar, the holiest place within the church, the viewer sees the post-liminal heaven that includes God, the Holy Spirit and Christ at the moment when Mary enters.[28] Of course, all parts of the church, including the nave and crossing were considered sacred spaces, but it was because it was within the church space shared by the high altar and less because it represented holiness itself. In *Defining the Holy,* the relation of space and sacredness is defined as relative, arguing that all space within the cathedral was considered "holy" but some were considered holier than others. Hierophany or the "manifestation of the sacred," identifies those spaces in the world that are most sacred, and everything else as less sacred or more profane, because "religious man cannot live except in an atmosphere impregnated with the sacred, we must expect to find a large number of techniques for consecrating space."[29]

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28. Muir, 52-58.

29. Sarah Hamilton, *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*. Andrew Spicer ed. (Aldershot, England: Ashgate, 2005), 3.

The nave can be seen as the space of the pious on earth reflected in the apostle nave statues being holy, but worldlier than the holiest saints represented within the chancel.[30] This corresponds to the placement of the pulpit against the nave arcade. Adorning the columns of the nave in most Southern Netherlandish churches are full-figure sculptures of the Apostles, those men sent throughout the world to evangelize and preach to non-believers. Quellinus II was responsible for making one such column sculpture in the Antwerp cathedral.[31] *Joshua* depicts an Old Testament figure that assisted Moses in leading the Israelites to Promised Land (Fig. 41). The life-size figure is dressed in Roman clothing and leans against a rod. He gazes intently at the east end of the church, as if encouraging movement towards that end of the church. *Joshua* was originally created for the altar of the Fencers' Guild, but was moved to the nave arcade. Although not originally in the nave, similar nave column sculptures of Biblical figures were erected there during the seventeenth century, as can be seen in depictions of the church interior (Fig. 46).

Also in the nave in the southern Catholic churches were auxiliary altars that were entirely visible to laity. These important spaces were defined by altar enclosures called 'tuin' (Fig. 42). This structure protected the altar and marked the sacred from the less holy surroundings. Although the priest would have been the only one allowed within this space during ceremonial events, he would have been visible during the liturgy performed within the enclosed altar space because the tuin is actually only about 2 feet tall, thus

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30. Ibid, 7.

31. Aerts, 233-234.

fulfilling the need for "transparency" imposed on the Catholic officials by the Counter

Reformation. The laity would gather around these spaces during the performance of the

mass rituals.

The movement involved with ritual, but not necessarily the church building itself,

determines the sacredness of space.[32] However, the cruciform church layout, the interior

space of the church as well as the tomb architecture in both the Southern and Northern

Netherlands, reinforced Catholic ritualistic behavior associated with devotion, and

therefore religious belief (Fig. 45). Although the entire church was a consecrated space,

within the church the sacred space can be further delineated into three levels of holiness,

which are, from sacred to holiest: the nave, the crossing, and the choir.[33]

Procession of the Virgin Mary in Antwerp

The majority of Quellinus II's commissions were not tomb monuments, but were

iconic sculptures or decorative furniture for the interiors of Southern Netherlandish

churches. One of the sculptural icons within the cathedral by Quellinus II is the *Virgin of*

the Immaculate Conception that stands in the Chapel of Our Lady within the cathedral

(Fig. 44). The city of Antwerp was dedicated to the Virgin Mary long before Bishop

Capello's death in 1676. The miracle of the "Virgin on a Stick" (*Onze Lieve Vrouw op 't*

Stoksken) took place outside of the medieval city ramparts in the early Middle Ages.

According to legend, the Virgin appeared in a tree stump after the Norman invasion in the

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32. Hamilton, 3.

33. Snaet, *Unity and Discontinuity,* 258.

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ninth century, and it was housed within the *Onze Lievekerk*, before it was a cathedral, on an altar.[34] After a new altar was built and consecrated in the twelfth century, the Virgin statue was called "Virgin of the Assumption" and became Antwerp's patron saint.[35] As early as 1200 the altar of the cathedral was dedicated to Mary.[36]

The small statue was processed through the city streets on the Sunday after the Assumption of the Virgin Mary feast day. The processing of the Virgin, as well as the display of public sculptures of holy figures throughout the city, including and especially Mary, was part of a larger "process of marking sacred sites" and "Christianizing" the urban landscape.[37] Mary was the most prevalent of the Biblical figures depicted within the church and throughout the city of Antwerp because of her status as patron saint and protector of the city.[38] Holy processions occurred on every one of the twenty-one feast days celebrated in early modern Antwerp. They would originate within the cathedral at mass, before moving throughout the city.[39]

Bishop Capello upheld the observance of holy days, such as Sabbath day masses and feast days.[40] Depicting Capello's devotion to the high altar, and more importantly, to

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34. Kay, 15-16.

35. Ibid, 16.

36. Aerts, 73.

37. Kay, 7.

38. Arnade, *Beggars,* 326-327.

39. Ibid, 327.

40. Kay, 117.

Rubens' painting of the Assumption of the Virgin, is also displaying his eternal

observation of these days, because Marian feasts were encouraged by the Counter-

Reformation, but also were the most prominent rituals practiced in Antwerp.[41]   Because

the feast of the Assumption was so closely connected to the city of Antwerp, and not just

the Church or diocese, Capello's effigy is expressing his loyalty to the city as well.

Funeral procession of a naval hero in the Dutch Republic

The engraving by Jan Luyken commemorating the funeral of Admiral Michiel de

Ruyter displays a multitude of people processing through Dam Square, with the *Stadhuis*

and *Nieuwe Kerk* prominently in the background (Fig. 45). Below the image is narrative

text describing the event and listing notable participants in the service, with

corresponding numbers placed throughout the image. The corpse was marched

throughout the Dutch Republic, beginning in Rotterdam. A description of the "high

pomp" of the ceremony in Amsterdam is briefly described. Many soldiers, lords and

fellow naval officers attended the funeral, as well as city officials and members of the

States-General. Once inside the church, de Ruyter's casket was laid in the choir of the

church under ornaments hung throughout. Luyken recounts the solemn decoration, as

well as the service that took place outside the church – soldiers stood in the square firing

muskets and playing trumpets.

What is most visually apparent in the narrative print is the magnificence of the

newly built *Stadhuis*, depicted more prominently than the *Nieuwe Kerk* that slightly

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41. Arnade, *Beggars,* 326.

recedes into the background. The viewer is supposed to understand the gravity of de

Ruyter's death for the people of the Dutch Republic, from the great splendor and

solemnity of the ceremony. Moreover, the print exalted the man as a hero, and depicts

the gloriousness of the city of Amsterdam and the Republic.

Processions would have had great meaning in the reformed protestant culture of

the Dutch Republic, especially juxtaposed with the monumental city church. Ritualistic

processing in and out of churches was associated with the Catholic practice of venerating

relics and holy figures throughout the city on feast days, which of course was opposed by

Calvinists as an "external sign of faith," considered to be "false and dangerous

worship."[42] However, the obvious secular associations highlighted throughout the print,

and the shocking lack of church figures mentioned, would distance this from a display of

Catholic ritual. Nevertheless, in many ways the act of processing the body connotes the

holiness of the naval hero, establishing a connection between the admiral killed in battle

for the greater good of the Dutch cities, provinces and Republic, and the martyred patron

saint, equally seen as protector of cities from earthly harm.

Tomb tourists in Amsterdam and devout churchgoers in Antwerp

Seventeenth-century paintings of Catholic church interiors in the Southern

Netherlands were as popular as their Dutch counterparts. However, the Catholic scenes

include a mixture of clergy and laity during mass, or praying throughout the church. In

Paul Vredeman de Vries' *Interior of Antwerp Cathedral,* the nave is almost entirely

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42. Kay, 72.

shown, with a view into the chancel at the end (Fig. 46).   There is a rood screen with a Crucifixion, which is another liminal moment pertinent to the meaning of the crossing, and also reflecting the Eucharist beyond in the chancel. The church visitors and clergy are shown kneeling in prayer in front of different stations throughout the church, including the nave. There is encouragement for movement among the worshippers from station to station towards the holiest spot, the high altar. The deep recession in space that organizes the Catholic church scenes emphasize the importance of the choir space as the apex of the church ritual. However, it is still shown somewhat obscured by the rood screen, and the viewer is not allowed a glimpse inside. In fact the majority, if not all, of these painted interiors do not show the choir and the bishop tombs at all, unlike the contemporary Dutch paintings that depict the naval tombs as central within the space.

By the early modern period the movement through the Catholic church space was not necessarily the ritual practice used by medieval pilgrims adoring relics, but it mimicked it in the movement from altar to altar. By then the artworks by Rubens, Maarten de Vos and Quentin Metsys were objects worthy of worship that determine the movement of church visitors. The sacred spaces within the church were still considered to be holy.

The Council of Trent, which determined the use of church space in the Counter-Reformation, intended to re-sanctify the church space and perhaps separate it from secularization more than it had previously been in the Middle Ages.[43] It "required bishops to 'banish from the churches…all worldly conduct, vain and profane

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43. Freedberg, *Iconoclasm,* 264-265.

conversations, wandering around, noise and clamour, so that the house of God may be seen to be and may truly be called a house of prayer.'"[44] To the north, the Protestant church spaces in the Dutch Republic were increasingly becoming used for "wandering around" and "worldly conduct" that was not obviously devotional. The *wandelkerken* or walking churches, as opposed to *preekerken,* or preaching churches, were early versions of modern public spaces. However, this is not to say that the Protestant church spaces during certain times of worship, such as the reading of the sermon, did not call for more obvious devotional behavior. Furthermore, there was always a moralizing tone within the church space. Yet, the use of ritual within the church space was absent because of the very lack of sacred relics to be worshipped.

Although Calvinists argued that one place was not more sacred than another within the space of the church, the holiest places by tradition were still utilized to show great honor to the deceased national heroes of the Dutch Republic. They did not only fill the empty high altar space of the choir because there was a void to be filled, but because that area was still associated with the most prestige within cultural memory, only elevating the deceased naval officer to national hero.[45]

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44. Hamilton, 17.

45. Ibid, 19.

CONCLUSION

The iconoclasm of the sixteenth century shared many aspects with the classical *Damnatio memoriae*. The removal of all Catholic icons, and replacement with tomb monuments for Dutch naval heroes, was also symbolic of the ousting of the Church and the Habsburg Empire from the Northern Netherlands. Some of the most magnificent of the Baroque tombs were erected where the high altars had stood before their removal.

The *Nieuwe Kerk* in Amsterdam and the *Onze Lieve Vrouwekathedraal* in Antwerp are examples of the "extent to which defining sacred space was exploited by the authorities as a means of reinforcing their own position and political ideologies" in the Protestant Northern and Catholic Southern Netherlands, respectively.[1] The naval tomb monuments erected within the Dutch Republic, although sharing the format of a Flemish baroque altar, deliberately hindered Catholic ritual within the church space. Unlike Verhulst's tombs in the North, the Southern Netherlandish tombs of bishops, including the tomp for Bishop Capello by Quellinus II, do not share the same format as an altar, nor do they replace the high altar, but rather they reinforce the high altar's authority within the church interior. Furthermore, the bishopric tombs conform to the doctrines of the Counter-Reformation that called for more visibility into the chancel, while remaining a barrier to the laity within the ambulatory.

Like Rombout Verhulst, Artus Quellinus II's sculptural commissions included tomb monuments; however, they are located in Catholic churches throughout the

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1. Hamilton, 23.

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Southern Netherlands rather than the protestant reformed church interiors in the Dutch

Republic. Quellinus II also created elaborately carved wood pulpits, marble high altars

and nave statues of saints and other holy figures. In the use of the elegant late Baroque

style, the sculptural tomb monuments of the Northern and Southern provinces are very

similar. Artus Quellinus II and Rombout Verhulst had similar backgrounds, both being

Flemish and having trained with Artus Quellinus I.

Rombout Verhulst was the most renowned sculptor working in the Dutch

Republic in the late seventeenth century. His understated baroque style, and beautiful

rendering of likeness and texture, made him quite popular among the Dutch elite.

Verhulst was especially interested in the incorporation of classical figures and styles

within his work, which satisfied their Northern European humanist interests. The tomb

monuments erected throughout the Dutch Republic, as well as other public works by him

such as marble relief façades for civic buildings, are the works that would have been

known to most Dutch citizens, and foreign tourists alike, although his oeuvre also

consisted of private commissions for terracotta and marble portrait busts, as well as small

ivories.[2] The medieval church interiors can be considered public spaces because the

Reformed Church had become the official religion of the Dutch state. Furthermore,

visiting the large medieval churches, or *wandelkerken*, was encouraged for citizens of all

religions.

The placement of the tombs within the Catholic and Protestant church spaces

determined viewers' perception of the monuments, and laid out the hierarchical

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2. Neurdenburg, 201-225.

importance of the differing church spaces for visitors. Although the role of the Christian church space, and the importance of the sacred objects within, may shift over time, there is "resistance of things, sometimes of rites, of mechanical or material formulas, of ancient commemorations fixed in the stones of churches or monuments, where the beliefs and the testimony once took the form of solid and durable objects."[3] The tombs by Verhulst resist Catholic ritualistic behavior within the church; yet implicitly conjure memory of Catholic sacred space, in order to elevate national heroes to sainthood.

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3. Halbwachs, 234-235.

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ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

Figure 6

Figure 7

Figure 8

Figure 9

Figure 10

Figure 11

Figure 12

Figure 13

Figure 14

Figure 15

Figure 16

Figure 17

Figure 18

Figure 19

Figure 20

Figure 21

Figure 22

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Figure 24

Figure 25

Figure 26

Figure 27

Figure 28

Figure 29

Figure 30

Figure 31

Figure 32

Figure 33

Figure 34

Figure 35

Figure 36

Figure 37

Figure 38

Figure 39

Figure 40

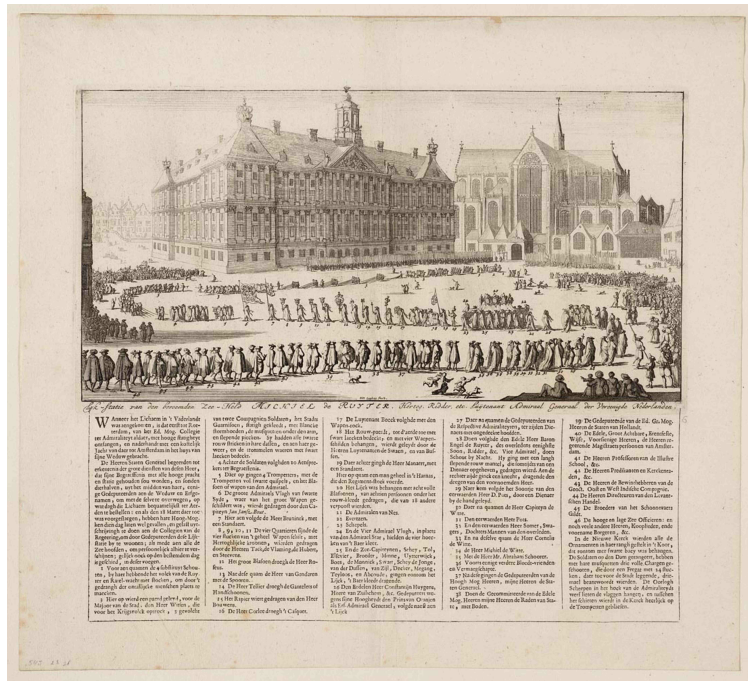Figure 41

Figure 42

Figure 43

Figure 44

Figure 45

Figure 46

APPENDIX A:

MONUMENT INSCRIPTIONS

1. *Tomb of Michiel de Ruyter* by Rombout Verhulst (Fig. 4)

Left:

MICHAELI RUITERO

MARTIUS HIC TUMIDI MODERATOR ET INCOLA PONTI,

QUI SIBI SE TOTUM DEBUIT, ECCE JACET.

IPSE LAPIS, CINIS IPSE VIRI SPIRARE VIDENTUR

INCLYTA PRO PATRIIS, QUÆ TULIT ARMA FOCIS.

HOSTI INTENTAT ADHUC MARMOR CLADEMQUE FUGAMQUE:

SAXA CRUENTATAS STRAGE MINANTUR AQUAS.

NAUFRAGUS HUNC SENSIT SCOPULUM, QUICUMQUE BATAVAS

ÆQUORA TURBANTI CLASSE PREMEBAT OPES.

HIC HOSTES UBICUMQUE JACENT COMMUNE SEPULCRUM

CUM DUCE SORTIRI, PATRIA, CREDE TUOS.

SI TAMEN EST TUMULUS MORIBUNDIS, VITA SALUSQUE

CIVIBUS, ET DEXTRÆ LAUS REDIT UNDE SUÆ.

Center:

D.O.M.S.

ET ÆTERNÆ MEMORIÆ MICHAELIS DE. RUITER ARCHITHAL ASSI
HOLLANDIÆ ET WESTFRISIÆ

A TRIBUS EUROPÆ REGIBUS DONATI GENTILITIIS INSIGNIBUS EQUESTRI
DIGNITATE ET DUCATU REGNI

NEAPOLITANI VIRI QUI NULLA SIBI PRÆLUCENTE MAJORUM IMAGINE SOLI
DEO ET VIRTUTI

OMNIA DEBUIT EXPERIENTIA LVIII ANNORUM REI NAVALIS SUÆ ÆTATIS
PERITISSIMUS REBUS

MAXIMIS TOTO OCEANO ET MEDITERRANEO MARI PER VII BELLA BENE
GESTIS INSULIS CASTELLISQUE

AD BOREAM ET MERIDIEM OCCUPATIS ASSERTA BELGIS VASTA AD MARE
ATLANTICUM ORA

DOMITIS PIRATIS DUCTU SUO JUSTIS QUINDECIM PRÆLIIS INVICTUS
DECERTAVIT QUATRIDUANA

PRÆ RELIQUIS MEMORABILI PUGNA EDITA SOCIATARUM CLASSIUM VIM
IMMANEM QUATER

AB IPSO REIPUBLICÆ JUGULO PROSPERRIME SUBMOVIT COPIIS MINOR
VIRTUTE PAR CONSILIO

ET SUCCESSIBUS MAJOR TANDEM PATRIA PRÆSENTISSIMO DISCRIMINI
EREPTA SECUNDO APUD

SICILIAM CONFLICTU SAUCIUS SYRACUSANO IN PORTU FORTITER
OCCUBUIT XXIX APRIL A.

CIↃ.IↃ C.LXXVI NATUS VLISSINGÆ XXIV MART A. CIↃ.IↃ C.VII ORDINES
FEDERATÆ

BELGICÆ DUCI OPTIME MERITO MONIMENTUM HOC IMPENSIS PUBLICIS
EXCITARI CURAVERUNT

VIXIT ANNOS LXIX. MENS I DIES V

IMMENSI TREMOR OCEANI

Right:

MICHAELI RUITERO

RUITERI HOC CINEREM VICTORIS ET OSSA SEPULCRO

ADSERTA ÆQUOREO MARTE RECONDIT HUMUS.

TANTILLUM EXUVIAS SPATII COMPLECTITUR OMNES

FUNERE DE TANTI QUAS TULIT URNA VIRI.

NIL TAMEN EGISTI, MORS IMPORTUNA, TRIUMPHUM

DE TE PERPETUUM FAMA SUPERSTES AGET.

IN TITULOS EUROPA PARUM EST: SCIT AMERICUS ORBIS,

AFRICA LAURIGERI SCIT DECUS ORA DUCIS.

VIX CAPIT OCEANUS, VIX SOL ORIENSQUE CADENSQUE

TOT PALMIS GRAVIDAM TOT SPOLIISQUE MANUM.

MAXIMA QUOD SI QUEM VIRTUS SACRAVIT OLYMPO,

HANO ANIMAM ÆTHEREA FAS JUBET ARCE FRUI

2. *Tomb monument for Bishop Marinus Ambrosius Capello* by Artus Quellinus II (Fig. 12)

D.O.M.

F. MARIUS AMBROSIUS

CAPELLO

Ex Denominato Yprensi

VII. Episcopus Antverpiæ

ibidem natus A. 1597

Et Ord: Prædic: Pro*f*essus A. 1613

Obiit A.   1676 4. Octob.

3. *Tomb of Jan van Galen* by Rombout Verhulst (Fig. 14)

Top:

Generoſiſſ Heroi

JOANNI A GALEN

Eſſenſi

Qui obresſæpe fortiter & felicitet

geſias ſexies uno anno Duinkerkanor

prædatoriamnavem captam & a Barbaris

opima ſpolia reportata Ordinum claſſi

in Mari Mediterraneo præfectus memora

glorum navibus captis fugatis, incendio & ſub-

merſione deletis commercium cum dicti

Maris accolis reſtituit Idibus Mart. A.CIↃIↃ CLIII:

Et altero pede truncatus nono die poſt

victoriam annos natus XLVIII obiit:

Ut in Seculaper Gloriam viveret

Illumſtriſſ & præpot Fœderati Belgii

Ordinum Decreto

Nob & pot Senatus Archithalaſſ

qui est Amstelodami

M.IIP.

Bottom:

Hier leidt in t'Graf van Eerde dappere Van Gaalen

Die eerst ging buit op buit Castilien afhaalen

En, met een Leeuwen hert, naa by 't Toskariner strandt

De Britten heeft verjaagt, verovert en verbrandt.

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4. *Tomb of Willem Baron van Gendt* by Rombout Verhulst (Fig. 15)

D.O.M.[1]

HIC SITUS EST

GULIELMUS JOSEPHUS BARO DE GENDT

NOBILISSIMA ET ANTIQUA APUD GELROS PROSAPIA

ILL. COLL. AMSTEL. THALASSIARCHA. LEG. I. CLASSIAR. TRIBUNUS

HAEREDITARIAE MAIORUM VIRTUTIS EXEMPLUM

INTER QUOS MARTINUM ROSSEMIUM FULMEN ILLUD BELLI

WALRAVIUM ET OTTHONEM. BARONES DE GENDT AVUNCULOS

CLARISSIMA. BELLO CONTRA TRES PHILIPPOS NOMINA

NUMERAVIT.

VIR STRENUUS PRUDENS INVICTUS

HOSTIUM MARI TERRAQUE TREMOR ET TERROR

CELEBERRIMA IN THAMESIN EXPEDITIONE PER TOTAM EUROPA

NOBILIS

VERUS PIRATARUM SCOPULUS

QUOS BATAVIS MARI INFESTOS DISIECIT, CEPIT, COMBUSSIT

SIC MAGNIS REBUS FORTI FIDELIQUE OPERA GESTIS

VII. ID. IUN. ANNO MDC.LXXII.

PRAELIO CONTRA BRITTANNICAM GALLICAMQUE CLASSIS

---

1. D.O.M. is the acronym for "Deo optimo maximo."

TORMENTO PROSTRATUS.

FORTEM ANIMAM DEO. CREATORI SUO REDDIDIT

AVETO VIATOR

MON. HOC. ILL. POT. D. RER. MARIT.

ILL. COLL. AMSTEL. CURATORES

P.C.L.M

5. *Tomb of Maarten Tromp* by Rombout Verhulst (Fig. 16)

Top:

AETERNAE MEMORIAE

QUI BATAVOS, QUI VIRTUTEM AC VERUM LABOREM AMAS

LEGE AC LUGE.

BATAVÆ GENTIS DECUS, VIRTUTIS BELLICÆ FULMEN HEIC JACET QUI
VIVUS NUNQUAM JACUIT ET IMPERATOREM

STANTEM MORI DEBERE EXEMPLO SUO DOCUIT, AMOR CIVIUM, HOSTIUM
TERROR, OCEANI STUPOR.

MARTINUS HARPERTI TROMPIUS

QUO NOMINE PLURES CONTINENTUR LAUDES, QUAM HIC LAPIS CAPIT,
SANE ANGUSTIOR EI, CUI SCHOLA

ORIENS ET OCCIDENS MARE MATERIA TRIUMPHORUM UNIVERSUS ORBIS
THEATRUM, GLORIÆ FUIT,

PRÆDONUM CERTA PERNICIES, COMMERCII FELIX ASSERTOR,
FAMILIARITATE UTILIS, NON VILIS, POSTQUAM

NAUTAS ET MILITES DURUM GENUS PATERNO ET CUM EFFICACIA
BENIGNO REXIT IMPERIO,

POST L. PRÆLIA QUORUM DUX FUIT AUT PARS MAGNA, POST INSIGNES
SUPRA FIDEM VICTORIAS

POST SUMMOS INFRA MERITUM HONORES TANDEM BELLO ANGLICO
TANTUM NON VICTOR CERTE

INVICTUS X. AUG. AN. ÆRÆ CHRISTIANÆ CIƆIƆCLIII ÆT LUI VIVERE AC
VINCERE DESIIT.

FŒDERATI BELGII PATRES

HEROI OPTIME MERITO

M.P.

Middle:

Urbs Phebi cineres jactat sed currus honores.

Ingreditur quoties egrediturque mari.

6. *Tomb of Johannes and Cornelis Evertsen* by Rombout Verhulst (Fig. 17)

Top:

TER EEUWIGE NAGEDACHTENIS

VAN DE

ONSTERFELIJKE ZEEHELDEN

DE GEBROEDERS

JOHAN EN CORNELIS EVERTSEN

LUITENANT-ADMIRALEN VAN ZEELAND

BEIDEN

STRIJDENDE VOOR HET VADERLAND

GESNEUVELD

IN DEN JARE MDCLXVI

Bottom:

DIT PRAALGRAF OP LAST

DER STATEN VAN ZEELAND GESTICHT

IS UIT DE ST PIETERSKERK HERWAARTS OVERGEBRAGT

OP BEVEL VAN DEN KONING MDCCCXVIII

7. *Tomb of Admiral Egbert Cortenaer* by Rombout Verhulst (Fig. 18)

Top:

HEROI INCOMPARABILI EGBERTO BARTHOLOMÆI A CORTENAER
ARCHITHALASSO

HOC VIRTUTIS ET GLORIOSÆ MORTIS MONUMENTUM

POSUERE NOBIL ^{mi} D ^{ni} PRÆFECTI REI MARITIMÆ AD MOSAM

Bottom:

DE HELDT DER MAES. VERMINCKT AEN OOG

EN RECHTERHANDT

EN ECHTER 'TOOG VAN 'T ROER. DE VUYST

VAN 'T VADERLANDT.

DE GROOTE KORTENAER, DE SCHRICK VAN

'S VYANTS VLOOTEN,

D' ONTSLUYTER VAN DE SONDT, LEYT IN DIT

GRAF BESLOOTEN.

– G. BRANDT

8. *Wall monument for Bishop Marinus Ambrosius Capello* by Hendrik Frans Verbrugghen (Fig. 35)

Jll:^{mo}_{ac} REV:^{mo} Dno

F. AMBROSIO CAPELLO

ord: Prædicatorum

VII ANTVERP. EPISCOPO
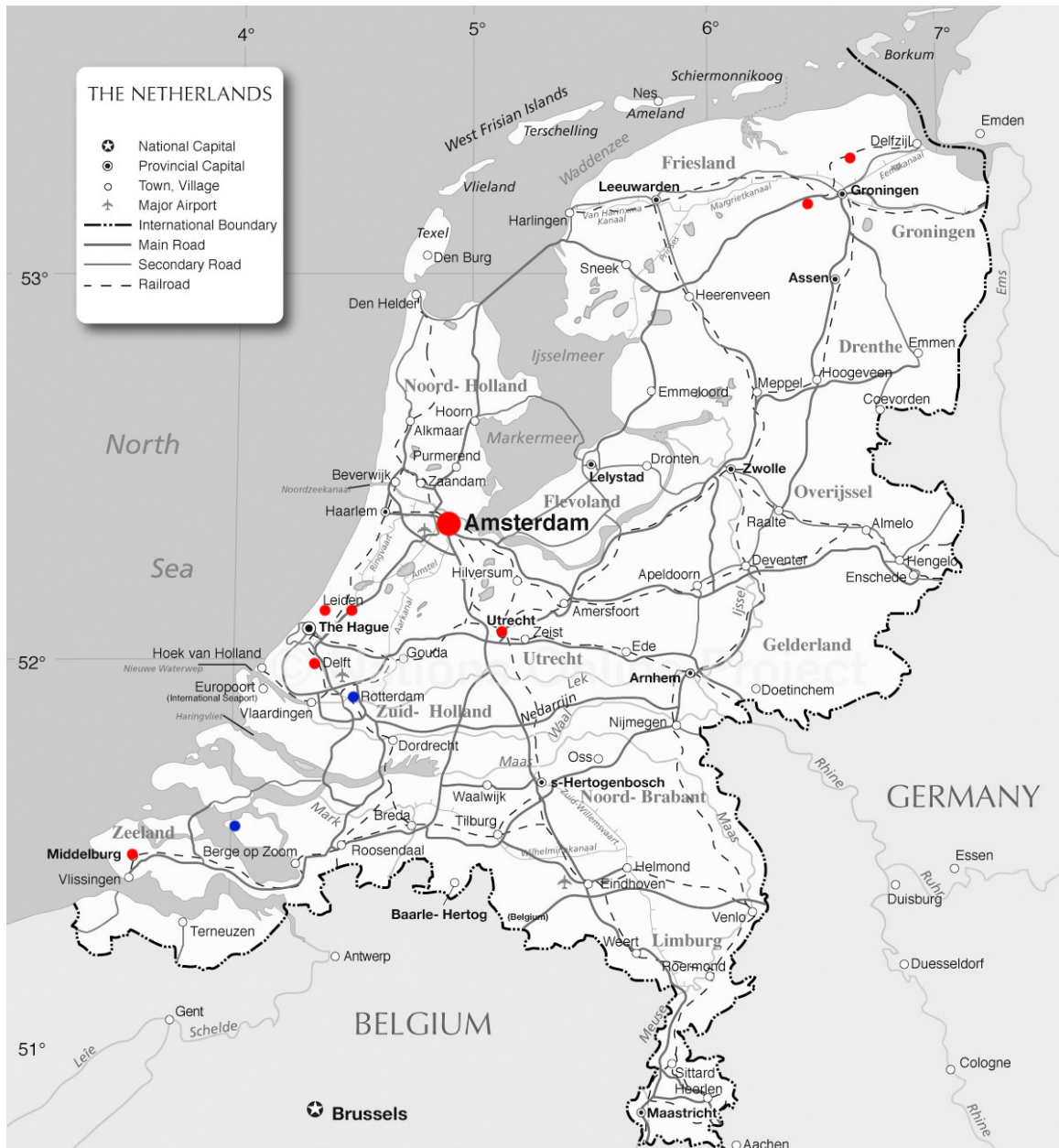
In vita et in morte

ARCHI-ELEEMOSYNARIO

(dixi satis)

ELEEMOSYNARII ex asse hæredes

Pio et grato animo P.P.

MDCLXXVI

APPENDIX B

LOCATION OF (NON-WALL) SCULPTURAL TOMB MONUMENTS BY ROMBOUT VERHULST

Red = Monuments by Rombout Verhulst   Map by the author.

Blue = Attributed to Rombout Verhulst