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Correspondence to coatofarms@theheraldrysociety.com

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HERALDIC REVENGE AND REWARD IN THE DUTCH REVOLT. THE EFFECTS OF A CAMPAIGN AGAINST COATS OF ARMS (1569–1571)

Dr. STEVEN THIRY, A.I.H.

On 14 February 1568, a delegation accompanied by twelve halberdiers marched into the university city of Leuven. Bearing orders of the Spanish governor-general of the Netherlands, the Duke of Alba, their intimidating presence was not meant for any ordinary student. They had been sent to take Philip William, count of Buren, and eldest son of the country's most prominent nobleman, the Prince of Orange. The thirteen-year-old boy had little choice but to comply. He was escorted out of the city, despite protest about this breach of academic immunity, and then shipped off to Spain in the company of – as his high status demanded – two pages, a couple of servants, and a small honorary guard. He would never see his father again.[1]

The reason for this action, which later patriotic histories imagined as a brutal abduction, lay in the outbreak of an open revolt in the Habsburg Netherlands. By taking such precious hostage the Duke of Alba tried to dissuade prince William of Orange from leading the opposition. In preceding years high nobles like Orange, who considered themselves natural leaders of the country, felt frustrated by the way the Spanish king Philip II as sovereign of the Netherlands overlooked their interests. They at the same time expressed concern about the persecution of Protestants. While their petitions went unheeded, a broad group of lesser nobles allied in a covenant or 'compromise of nobles' to extort concessions from the Habsburg government. Yet things turned ugly when an Iconoclastic Fury erupted in the summer of 1566, ravaging countless churches and convents on its course. For King Philip II such disobedience and sacrilege were intolerable. However, his untimely decision to send a punitive expedition led by the ill-reputed Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, duke of Alba, provoked an armed conflict that is now known as the 'Dutch Revolt' and which would rage for decades to come.[2]

It was Alba's intention to stamp out all dissent. Upon his arrival in the Netherlands, he therefore imposed a set of repressive measures, even though the troubles had by then cooled down.[3] These repressive measures, as the following pages will explore, likewise affected the visual field, including heraldry. Needless to say, coats of arms functioned in the early modern period as symbols of honour and widespread markers of aristocratic power and possession.[4] In that sense they formed a conspicuous reminder of, in particular, the 'noble' involvement in the troubles that affected the Habsburg Netherlands. One now almost forgotten sanction used in response to the upheaval of the mid-1560s was a systematic denial of the armorial identity of men banished and executed for their involvement. This focus on heraldry is indicative of a wider symbolic side to the confiscations and other repressive measures, and underscores the specific meanings and concerns that these emblems evoked.[5] Most directly, Alba ordered the removal of arms that marked the confiscated properties of convicted 'rebels'. His instruction resulted in a destructive campaign documented for several localities and noble residences through the last months of 1569 and 1570, the full scope of which is difficult to determine for reasons which will be discussed below.

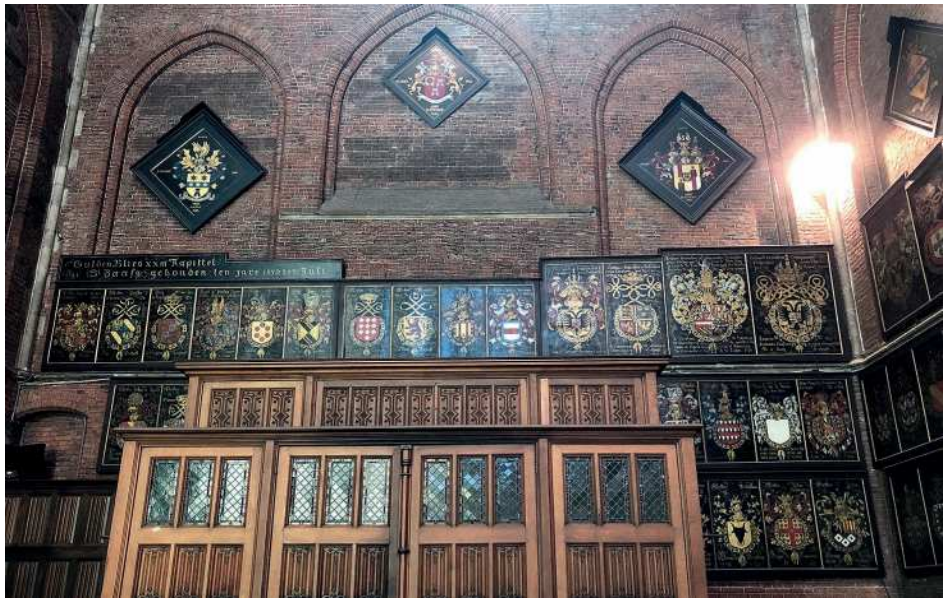

Figure 1: armorial panels of the 23rd chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1559, Ghent, St. Bavo's Cathedral.

Heraldic images were of course more than just personal signs. Punitive measures that concentrated on the use of these hereditary designs and shared symbolism unavoidably caused discussion about the extent of guilt, and on the consequences that such punishment might have for the crown's relation with relatives and future successors of rebel nobles. What kind of heraldic display, if any at all, could the king allow for indirect 'associates' like Philip William, the son of the rebel leader now under Spanish control? Did the boy automatically bear guilt for his father's crimes, up to an extent that this should affect his own status? Another issue concerned the memory of noble ancestors once prized for their loyalty to the dynasty, but now sharing the infamy of their progeny.

The cases under discussion reveal that heraldic punishment of rebellion needed to be applied with caution. Aside from being a target of revenge, this was a medium with the potential to promote loyalty and show attachment to the crown. As a mark of princely favour it rewarded supporters, and as such could be used to promote good relationships with the next generation of nobles, such as Philip William, whose allegiance still mattered for the Habsburg regime. The example of the Dutch Revolt therefore helps us to better understand a practice that scholars recently highlighted as a part of early modern dealings with treason and rebellion.[6] At the same time, I would argue that the period also marks an important point in the evolution of noble heraldry in the Netherlands itself. Precisely at the intersection of punishment and favour, the heraldic image – if not also the social identity it expressed − came to depend on princely consent. The heated actions taken in the 1560s and 1570s, in that regard paved the way for the orderly law of arms

installed from the late sixteenth century onwards in those provinces that reconciled with Habsburg rule.

Counter-iconoclasm under the Duke of Alba

The political unrest and the Iconoclastic Fury were not seen as mere religious dissent. They were considered treacherous deeds against both God and king which required the most serious of punishments.[7] Alba's first action was the erection of a 'Council of Troubles' or, as locals soon dubbed it, the 'Council of Blood'. This extraordinary tribunal traced down everyone implicated in the troubles. Many had by then moved to safety, so most of the thousands of sentences were pronounced in absentia. But that did not prevent the Council from applying traditional punishments for treason and rebellion on an unprecedented scale. Convicts, at least if they possessed anything substantial, saw their goods confiscated and publicly sold or, in the case of larger noble estates, annexed to the crown. To inventory and manage all these forfeited goods, a separate Chamber of Confiscations was set up, run by a 'treasurer-general' and a team of local receivers. If the confiscations and sales offered the prospect of extra income for the crown, the seizure of properties that had defined people's standing in society also formed a symbolic assertion of royal authority.[8] It is in this context that heraldry comes into view.

Alba's sentences spared no one. Most famously, in June 1568, the public beheading for treason of two of the country's most prominent nobles, the counts of Egmont and Hornes, caused a public outcry. Both men were unquestionably Catholic, and their interventions had helped to restore order after the Iconoclastic Fury. Philip II, however, could not pardon their opposition against his royal policies. The Council of Troubles likewise condemned the Prince of Orange, along with a series of other dissatisfied grandees, but these men had managed to escape in time. The outrage caused by the beheadings confronted the new administration with the persistent memory of recalcitrant nobles. In death, the question of their guilt became the subject of visible strife.[9] One way to stress the executed counts' treacherous intentions was the manipulation of heraldic remembrance. In spite of their high status, the Duke of Alba only permitted the executed men to have modest funeral services in their respective local seats. When Egmont's widow, Sabina of Bavaria, had a funeral blazon attached above the gate of his Brussels residence – a practice customary for noble mourning – the new governor ordered the sign to be torn down. As not everyone could just stand by to watch their lord posthumously humiliated, Alba had to insist twice to get the actual work done.[10]

Reprisals against coats of arms were not unheard of. Thanks to Laurent Hablot we know how the practice developed in the Middle Ages, taking several forms from breaking to ritually shaming or modifying arms.[11] For the early modern period, the phenomenon has been studied by Antoine Robin. He drew attention to the case of the Constable of France, Charles III of Bourbon, whose defection in 1523 to the Habsburg side led the French king to unleash an iconoclastic campaign against the man's armorial memory.[12] While knowing French precedents, the Habsburg government had its own experience with heraldic punishment. In the early 1520s, for instance, the repression of the Spanish *Comuneros* revolt against Emperor Charles V had also involved the erasure of the coats of arms of some rebels.[13] In the Netherlands, the removal or even ritual inversion of armorial panels went back to the fifteenth century, when it had been applied to punish some of the knights of the Order of the Golden Fleece who had failed to live up to their

Figure 2: armorial panels from the 23rd chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1559, Ghent, St. Bavo's Cathedral, source www.artinflanders.be; left, 2a: panel of prince William of Orange; right, 2b: panel of Count Lamoral of Egmont.

oath of loyalty.[14] The noble opposition of the 1560s certainly recalled these cases but, as will become clear, the situation was now more complicated.

For all these precedents, concern about the armorial presence of rebels seemed to have surfaced through the very practice of repression. This is at least suggested by an early incident. At the time of the beheadings, Alba's commissioners investigated the iconoclasm and pillaging committed by a rebel gang in the abbey of Mariënweerd near the Dutch place of Arnhem. What struck them were the still untouched windows showing the arms of the gang's noble leader, whose family had in the past always patronized the abbey. Reporting back, the commissioners asked if they had to remove or alter these arms in revenge for the sacrilege. The duke of Alba took up their suggestion. He had them removed throughout the abbey.[15]

Only once the confiscations were fully underway did the new governor-general turn to a more systematic approach. On 4 October 1569, Alba dispatched an instruction letter to all provincial courts and audit chambers. These, in turn, had to order the administrators of the confiscated residences, castles, villages and lordships of those executed or banished for the troubles to 'remove, break and shatter' all their arms present ('*a faire oster, romper et casser touttes les armoiries*').[16] The instruction letter made clear that a thorough execution was expected: either in sculpted, painted or engraved form, whether

in public or private spaces, no spot with arms was to be neglected – though the removal had to be done 'at the least possible expense for His Majesty'. Furthermore, the task had to be accomplished within one month, after which each administrator had to report back.

Alba's instruction thereby curiously echoed the religious destructions in the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566. By removing material signs of honour, the proclaimed enemies of God and king faced a similar fate as the saints whose images some of them had damaged. The targeting of their profane arms thus mirrored the violent denial of sacred capacities in that it denied the social identity of those who bore them.[17] Both acts reveal the sentiments that visual expressions evoked. But for all this similarity, the counter-iconoclasm ordered in late 1569 which continued through the early months of 1570, was distinct in focus. The Duke of Alba himself did his best to avoid the association with religious violence. His instruction letter explicitly excluded those arms appearing in churches, abbeys, monasteries and 'other places of piety'. All sacred places were thus to be left untouched, thereby abandoning his earlier stance.[18]

Another reservation concerned the armorial panels of the Order of the Golden Fleece which adorned a number of churches. These panels, including those of implicated Golden Fleece knights, were a reminder of the solemn chapter meetings of the Order (**Figure 1**). As already mentioned, treacherous behaviour of knights could be punished by shaming or rejecting their armorial panel at a new chapter. However, the Order's statutes also stressed the consent of all other members. Given organizational difficulties, and confronted with the protest of still loyal knights against the execution of their peers, Alba admitted that the armorial panels of discredited members were to be kept in place for the time being (**Figures 2a-2c**). He advised the king to investigate the possibility of convoking only the knights residing in Spain and organize a new chapter over there, where the question could be solved.[19] But at that time not enough Golden Fleece knights could be assembled for such a valid assembly. In fact, no chapter of the Order in its traditional form would ever be convoked again. This likewise meant that convicted members were never formally ousted from the Order.[20]

The call to reject every other heraldic sign of convicts seemed more straightforward. Carrying out the instruction proved another matter, since these things cropped up in the most diverse places. Moreover, the Netherlands lacked a tradition of heraldic visitations. With no clear overview local commissioners had to dig through the long list of condemned people and then try to get the heraldic identification right. How difficult this could be was experienced by one local receiver in the west of Flanders. For two days, the man crossed the countryside on horseback, enquiring where banished or executed rebels had left their marks, but with little success. He only discovered the bearings of two banished lords on the windows of some parish churches, which would thus fall under the exception rule.[21]

Other obstacles such as financial considerations caused hesitation. In November 1569, for instance, the Spanish keeper of the confiscated castle of Hoogstraten, the family seat of the condemned count of Hoogstraten, wrote to his superior. For the time being he had not executed the instruction concerning the arms. Just those adorning stone columns in the castle, he sighed in his letter, amounted to more than two hundred, without mentioning the bearings carved in woodwork or wrought in iron. And did the castle's consecrated chapels fall under the religious exception? He was particularly unsure about what to do with the massive (and costly) tiled stoves in the castle, bedecked with heraldic

Left, *Figure 2c:* armorial panel of Count Philip of Hornes from the 23rd chapter of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 1559, Ghent, St. Bavo's Cathedral, source www.artinflanders.be; right, *Figure 3*: arms of Prince William of Orange from the *Armorial of the Ghent Calvinist Republic*, 1578, Lieven Vander Schelden, University Library Ghent.

motifs. Destroying the arms depicted on them would leave everyone in the cold as it would then be necessary to entirely replace these stoves.[22]

From all these examples we learn that Alba's heraldic punishment served two objectives. On the one hand, the destruction divested treacherous subjects of their status. In a kind of counter-reaction to religious iconoclasm, the punishment also affirmed in a negative sense that the king was the source of these honorific marks. On the other hand, there was clearly a practical side to the instruction. Arms visually marked the possession of the goods and domains in question. Now that these fell to the crown there had to be no doubt about the change of ownership. The removal of signs that reminded of former inhabitants and functions also made it easier to repurpose some of the confiscated residences. This motive partly explains why Alba's instruction letter mentioned 'all arms of private individuals'. He later specified in an additional instruction (26 November 1569) that this also included arms of predecessors, even though strictly 'private' spaces could be spared 'to avoid greater expense'.[23] However, as turned out, this inclusive approach brought up some uneasy questions.

Harming ancestors and progeny… or the extent of heraldic memory

Alba's repression did not remain unchallenged. The exiled prince of Orange organized an armed resistance, and after some military confrontations gained a foothold in the northern provinces of the Netherlands. When the opposition hardened in the early 1570s, lawyers in the service of Alba looked to neighbouring France – where a similar civil war was raging – to devise a proper response. Once again, heraldry was part of the plan.

In September 1569, the Parlement of Paris had condemned Admiral Gaspar de Coligny and his brother, along with other Huguenot leaders, for treason. Part of the sentence was the confiscation of their lands and a revocation of nobility, which was also extended to their offspring. Because these men were fugitives, effigies of them were publicly strangled instead, after which their family arms were dragged at the tail of a horse through the muddy streets of Paris.[24] In Alba's view, the Prince of Orange merited a similar treatment for his 'hostilities and heinous devilry (*maleficios)*', even though he had already been formally condemned by the Council of Troubles. The governor-general therefore suggested that the King have the Prince of Orange executed 'in effigy and arms' by dragging his bearings through the dust and then having them shattered by an executioner. Following the French example, Orange's sons should be deprived of their nobility and declared unworthy to possess any land in 'the realm of His Majesty'.[25]

The king did not pursue the proposal, yet the heraldic repercussion of such 'guilt by association' had, in fact, been explored earlier for the abducted Philip William. As early as March 1569 (months before the counter-iconoclasm) Alba sent Philip II a possible 'design of arms' for Orange's heir.[26] We unfortunately have to guess about this 'design', as well as about the arms Philip William used before his Spanish captivity. Being the titular 'Count of Buren', a small county he had inherited from his mother, the boy likely did not just use the paternal charges (**Figure 3**). This seems confirmed by the undated ensign of a messenger of the Count of Buren. It shows an impaled shield combining the paternal Orange-Nassau arms to the dexter with his maternal arms of Egmont-Buren on the sinister side.[27]

Was this also the composition debated in 1569? The appearance of the title 'Prince of Orange' on the piece points to a later date, after his father's death in 1584, but it may reflect earlier usage. In any case, after personally reviewing the heraldic design sent to him, the King noted to Alba that it contained the arms 'of the Nassau lineage' in the 'principal quarter' (he was perhaps not making reference to the Nassau lion as such, but rather to the entire paternal part). Since the prince of Orange had 'so rightly lost [these arms]' Philip II requested further judicial counseling before he could make up his mind. Until then, the King decided to formally suspend Philip William's armorial – and thus noble – identity.[28]

The pending verdict reflects a wider debate on the extent of noble treachery. While Alba's men went ahead with cancelling heraldry, they also harmed innocent ancestors, relatives and offspring. For instance, in the castle of Zottegem, the seat of the beheaded count of Egmont, no arms escaped.[29] Material testimony of this intervention has survived in the form of two renaissance corbel pieces with erased armorial bearings (**Figure 4**), with those of the Count himself still showing the dynastic collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, which the carpenter charged with the task had carefully preserved. That other armorial bearings suffered, such as those of the count's widow,

Figure 4: Wooden corbel pieces originally from the castle of Zottegem with the erased arms of count Lamoral of Egmont on the right, and of his wife Sabina of Bavaria on the left, 16th century, City Hall Zottegem – Egmontkamer.

Sabina of Bavaria, even though she was not seen as complicit, is suggested by the other corbel. It is marked by a completely shaved off female shield in a lozenge shape.

At the aforementioned castle of Hoogstraten, where heraldic decoration abounded, the initial reluctance ended with shipping away both the arms carved in wood, and those sculpted on the stone columns and fireplaces throughout all chambers and dependencies.[30] But these comprised mainly shields placed there by a former count, Antoine I of Lalaing, and his spouse Elizabeth of Culemborg, who in their time had been celebrated for their services to the Burgundian-Habsburg dynasty.[31] Because of the impact on the memory of often well-respected figures, commissioners unavoidably hesitated. Some delayed their task, unsure about the identity of a shield, or confronted with local obstruction.[32] In another case, that of the convicted and deceased Marquess of Bergen, the council of the family town of Bergen-op-Zoom agreed to remove their lord's funeral blazons and banners from the local church. This curiously deviated from the exception for sacred places, but the funerary accoutrements were perhaps not considered a fixed part of the church interior. Be that as it may, the council did make sure to execute the instruction in the evening, 'silently', to cause no disturbance.[33]

It seems that the commissioners sometimes made their own discernment. One final, exceptional testimony still exists today in the urban residence of squire Jan van Renesse in the northern town of Utrecht. Van Renesse was banished for joining the Compromise of nobles and his alleged involvement in the Iconoclastic Fury of 1566.[34]

That same year he had also received William of Orange in his Utrecht home at Drift 25. Although the house was heavily rebuilt in the eighteenth century, a hall on the first floor still preserves some renaissance corbel pieces with armorial decoration. The arms that would have adorned the shield-shape are completely erased. There is little doubt this was done by the local artisan who after Alba's instruction had entered the house to 'erase and cast down thirty-five coats of arms standing high and exalted in the air', along with fifty-six others located 'low and at ground level, as well as above the gate, in front of the chimney piece, and on the beams'.[35] These removed arms were likely those of the banished nobleman's late father (also called 'Jan'), sharing now posthumously in his son's infamy (**Figure 5a**). However, unlike the example of the lozenge from the Egmont castle in Zottegem, one of the Utrecht pieces shows a damaged shield of alliance whereon the family charges of Jan van Renesse's mother, Alyt van Bronckhorst Batenburg, were left untouched (**Figure 5b**). Like her son, the still-living widow had been forced to flee the country for her reformed sympathies. One explanation made is that a dividing wall only later removed hid the 'female' part from view.[36] But it is equally plausible that the artisan in question interpreted his task in a restrictive way, perhaps in view of the mother's local reputation.

The idea that treason not only incriminated the offender personally, but also incapacitated relatives, had been applied before. When the cash-strapped Charles V in 1552 set out to sell knighthoods in Castile, he specified that they should not be conferred on 'the son or grandson' of any rebel involved in the *Comuneros* revolt thirty years earlier.[37] The duke of Alba and his advisers subscribed to a similarly rigorous line. They held that offspring of rebels could be rightfully deprived of the heritage and honours of their fathers, which the counter-iconoclasm seems to have projected − retroactively − on predecessors too. In this view Orange's children were as sons of both a rebel and heretic

Figure 5: wooden corbel pieces with erased arms in the former house of Jan van Renesse, Drift 25 Utrecht, Rijksdienst voor het Cultureel Erfgoed; right, 5b: the sinister half still showing the arms of Alyt van Bronckhorst Batenburg. Photographs by J. Du Jr. Saar.

incapable of any dignity and honour, and thus could not bear arms and titles without special grace of the king, not even those from the mother's side.[38] Other legal advisers advocated a more moderate stance. They reminded King Philip II of the importance of royal clemency, arguing that the next noble generation would be crucial for the restoration of royal authority in the Netherlands.[39] In this perspective, heraldic memory served not only as an object of retribution but it also provided a way to mend relations.

By royal grace: rehabilitating arms

After it became clear who the opposing sides in the conflict were, attention became more focussed on the more beneficial possibilities of the usage of arms. Alba's methods had only fuelled the rebellion. Philip II therefore soothed the repression by introducing a more reconciliatory approach. In the 1570s and 1580s he began rewarding supporters with a series of ennoblements, leading to new grants and recognitions of arms.[40]

One notable example of this is today illustrated by the imposing heraldic mural above a fireplace in the *Chateau du Pin*, an old fortress in the then Habsburg principality of the Franche-Comté (now France) (**Figure 6**). It was commissioned in the seventeenth century by the owner in honour of his father Benoît Charreton, seigneur de Chassey. This Charreton turns out to have been Alba's confidant in charge of the abduction of Philip William. He defended the royal cause on several other occasions and later made it to the

Figure 6: Heraldic mural above the fireplace of *Chateau du Pin* (Franche-Comté), depicting the arms of Benoît Charreton, seigneur de Chassey, and those of his children and alliances, 1643, photograph by the author.

post of 'treasurer-general of the confiscations'. Already in 1573, Charreton was ennobled for his services, and ten years later he was created a *chevalier*. The ennoblement also earned him 'marks of honour' of a special kind, which still proudly adorn the fireplace at *du Pin*: a shield with a lion and a chief displaying the characteristic golden billets on azure of the Franche-Comté − a charge referring to the king's own heraldry. It is, moreover, combined with a Burgundian saltire, and topped with another lion in the crest. Below the shield features a Latin motto: UT CUM IGNE, CUM PRINCIPE ('beware of the king, as of fire').[41]

And the King's revenge could be fiery indeed… The most notorious of heraldic favours befell one of Charreton's compatriots, a young Catholic zealot named Balthasar Gérard. On 10 July 1584, having infiltrated the prince's household at Delft, Balthasar Gérard fulfilled the royal will by shooting William of Orange to death, a deed he paid for with his own life. Philip II later showed his gratitude by elevating Gérard's siblings to the nobility. In addition, they were granted the confiscated estates of Orange in the Franche-Comté, together with appropriate – albeit unconventional − arms visualizing the force of royal wrath: *Party per bend sinister argent and gules, a lion counterchanged ready to strike with Jupiter's bolt,* with the same lion returning in the crest (**Figure 7**).[42]

This positive use of heraldry cannot be isolated from its destructive counterpart. Apart from explicit grants of arms, the earlier punitive campaign laid the foundation for heraldic rewards of a tacit kind. The denial of nobles' visual identities under Alba meant

Figure 7: arms granted to the Gérard family, depicted on the royal letter patent which rewarded the family of Balthasar Gérard with the lordships of Lièvremont, Hostal and Dommartin in the Franche-Comté, 1590, Royal Library of the Netherlands, The Hague.

that the continuation of the same signs by their posterity had now also become a matter of royal favour. It brings us back one last time to the fate of Orange's captive son.

During his detention in Spain, Philip William was allowed to continue his education, but was afterwards confined in a remote castle after correspondence with his father came to light. For all that, the king clearly did not follow the suggestion to deprive him and other offspring of rebels of their noble status and accompanying honours. However, and this is confirmed in the juridical discussion at that time, the fact that they were spared their fathers' dishonour was considered a special grace of His Majesty.[43] We do not know when Philip II made up his mind about Philip William's arms. Yet he did eventually recognize him as successor to the sovereign principality of Orange. Only as late as 1596, the by then forty-two-year old nobleman, who had grown into a good Catholic faithful to the Habsburg cause, was allowed to return to the Netherlands. Over the decades that followed, Philip William managed to take possession of his inheritance, whereas his reformed siblings continued as 'stadholders' of the now independent Northern provinces. Among these restituted lands were, in another ironic twist, the lordships in the Franche-Comté previously awarded to the brothers of his father's murderer.[44]

When the lost son of Orange made his comeback on the noble stage, the arms he flaunted were now the full paternal charges.[45] In 1599, he followed in his father's footsteps when being inducted into the Order of the Golden Fleece. In accordance with the established procedure, now that chapter meetings were no longer held, his bearings and crest were required to be registered in the Order's official register, leaving no doubt as to the king's approval.[46] The once disputed arms now reconfirmed Philip William in his noble identity by way of royal intercession. The Orange-Nassau charges, encircled by the Golden Fleece, were erected for example on the town hall in the old family lordship of Diest, on the occasion of Philip William's formal entry there in 1602 (**Figure 8**).[47] Some years later they were placed on top of a new altar gifted by Philip William to the nearby shrine of Our Lady of Scherpenheuvel, a place of special importance for the restoration of Catholic Habsburg power and the ongoing fight against the rebellious north.[48]

As to other successors and relatives of compromised nobles, they were of course not controllable in the resumption of ancestral charges that had suffered public disgrace under the Duke of Alba. But here too, the unstated permission to restore and use these arms openly in Habsburg territory did entail an implicit royal recognition. It marked the political re-integration of these men, signifying how the fate of their family patrimony depended on royal obedience.

Conclusion

What do the events above tell us about heraldic evolution in the Netherlands at large? Once markers denoting the relative independence of grand noble families, the symbolic onslaught in the early years of the Revolt asserted royal control over coats of arms (and the noble status they expressed). The high nobles who had been notably critical – who had considered themselves almost equal to their sovereign – were visually stripped of honour in revenge of their disobedience.

Yet the nullification of arms, with their familial dimension, proved a difficult exercise. Because royal authority depended on noble support, heraldic punishment interacted with heraldic reward, either by explicit grants or implicit recognition. The new generation of nobles who resumed contested bearings, did so with a new connotation. The arms

Figure 8: arms of Philip William of Orange, erected on the facade of the town hall of Diest on the occasion of his Joyous Entry in 1602, City Museum 'De Hofstadt', Diest.

still served as a reminder of high noble independence, but suggested that such identity existed by royal grace. In that regard, the radical focus on heraldic images provoked by the troubles paved the way for the development of an orderly law of arms from the late sixteenth century onwards which unmistakably denoted all arms as royal privilege.[49]

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[1] W.C. Mees, *Philips Willem van Oranje* (The Hague, 1965), pp.2 9–30; P.J. Blok, 'Philips Willem van Oranje's gevangenschap in Spanje', *Bijdragen voor Vaderlandsche Geschiedenis en Oudheidkunde,* 5th ser., VII (1940), pp. 1–13.

[2] A concise, factual overview of the Dutch Revolt in: A. Van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands. The Eighty Years War, 1568–1648*, transl. A. Brown (London, 2018).

[3] V. Soen, 'The Beeldenstorm and the Spanish Habsburg Response', *BMGN-Low Countries Historical Review*, no. 131 (2016), pp. 99–120.

[4] S. Thiry and L. Duerloo, (edd.), *Heraldic Hierarchies. Identity, Status and State Intervention in Early Modern Heraldry* (Leuven, 2021).

[5] In a paper presented on 20 October 2022 to the *Société Française d'Héraldique et de Sigillographie*, Dominique Delgrange brought to light some examples of this heraldic destruction from Artois, drawing similar conclusions about the significance of Alba's order. The symbolic dimension of the Habsburg repression – though not focusing on heraldry – is stressed in: Y. Junot and V. Soen, 'User ou abuser des confiscations : les voies tortueuses de la punition, du pardon et de la récompense par les Habsbourg d'Espagne durant la Révolte (Pays-Bas espagnols, 1566–1609)', in: Y. Junot and V. Soen, (edd.), *Confisquer, restituer, redistribuer. Punition et réconciliation matérielles dans les territoires des Habsbourg et en France (XVIe et XVIIe siècles)* (Valenciennes, 2020), pp. 87–133; P. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts & Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch* Revolt (Ithaca/London, 2008); J. van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden, 2015).

[6] L. Hablot, '"Sens dessubz dessous". Le blason de la trahison au Moyen Âge', in: M. Billoré and M. Soria (edd.), *La trahison au Moyen Âge. De la monstruosité au crime politique (Ve-XVe siècle)* (Rennes, 2010), pp. 331–347; L. Hablot, 'Le bris des armes : l'iconoclasme héraldique dans la société médiévale', in: P. Charron,

M. Gil and A. Vilain (edd.)*, La pensée du regard. Etudes d'histoire de l'art du Moyen Âge offertes à Christian Heck* (Turnhout, 2016), pp. 181–191; A. Robin, 'Emblematic Iconoclasm: The Case of Charles of Bourbon in 1527', in: Thiry and Duerloo, *Heraldic Hierarchies*, pp. 191–212.

[7] Soen, 'The Beeldenstorm'.

[8] Junot and Soen, 'User ou abuser des confiscations'; A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le conseil des troubles* (Flavion-Florennes, 1981); J. Spijkers, 'De erfenis van Bergen. Confiscaties als financiële strategie van de Raad van Beroerten', in: B. van Eekelen and J. Spijkers (edd.), *Jan IV van Bergen 1528–1567: leven en nalatenschap van een (on)fortuinlijk markies* (Hilversum, 2020), pp. 129–135, 150–158.

[9] Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts & Civic Patriots*, p. 189.

[10] Alonso Ulloa, *Comentarios del s. Alonso de Ulloa* (Venice, 1569), f. 26v.; G. Dansaert, *La Comtesse Lamoral d'Egmont* (Brussels, 1934), p. 58; A.L.E. Verheyden, *Le conseil des troubles. Liste des condamnés (1567–1573)* (Brussels, 1961), pp. 558, 560: Alba to receivers de Helmont and le Rouck, 9 December 1569.

[11] Hablot, '"Sens dessubz dessous".

[12] Robin, 'Emblematic Iconoclasm'; Hablot, 'Le bris des armes'.

[13] G. Parker, *Emperor: A New Life of Charles V* (New Haven/London, 2019), p. 140.

[14] F. de Reiffenberg, *Histoire de l'ordre de la Toison d'or depuis son institution jusqu'à la cessation des chapitres généraux* (Brussels, 1830), pp. 47, 50, 108–109, 111, 197, 235–236. This topic was also presented at the Congress by Hannah Itterbeke and Claire Toussat.

[15] G. Van Hasselt, *Stukken voor de vaderlandsche historie, uit de verzameling van Mr. G. van Hasselt* (Arnhem, 1792), I, pp. 256–261, n° 129: van der Boe to Alba, 10 June 1568, and pp. 266–268, n° 131: Alba to van der Boe, 24 June 1568. On the pillaging of the Mariënweerd abbey, see: B. van Bavel, *Goederenverwerving en goederenbeheer van de abdij Mariënweerd (1129–1592)* (Hilversum, 1993), p. 557.

[16] Verheyden, *Liste des condamnées*, pp. 557–558: Alba to Council of Brabant, 4 October 1569; Jacob Marcus, *Sententien en indagingen van den hertog van Alba uitgesproken en geslagen in zynen bloedtraedt* (Amsterdam, 1735), pp. 432–434: Alba to Audit chamber of Holland, 4 October 1569. An example of how this instruction was subsequently passed on to local levels in Petri Bondam, *Oratio secularis de Foedere Trajectino* (Utrecht, 1779), pp. 42–44: Audit chamber of Gelre to town magistrate of Elburg, 25 October 1569.

[17] On the mechanisms and motives behind the religious iconoclasm, see Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, pp. 90–165.

[18] Verheyden, *Liste des condamnées*, pp. 557–558.

[19] Alba to King, 1 June 1569, transcribed in: *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España,* vol. 38 (Madrid, 1861), pp. 115–116; L.P. Gachard, ed., *Correspondance de Philippe II sur les affaires des Pays-Bas*, vol. 2 (Brussels, 1851), p. 93. See also: Gachard, *Correspondance*, I, pp. 583–584: Alba to King, 9 October 1567.

[20] On the failed attempts to convoke a new chapter and the subsequent reinvention of the Order of the Golden Fleece, see: S. Thiry, 'Chivalric Solidarity or Royal Supremacy? The Symbolic Revival of the Order of the Golden Fleece (1566–1598)', *Dutch Crossing,* no. 43(2019), esp. pp. 31–32.

[21] C. de Coussemaker, ed., *Troubles religieux du XVIe siècle dans la Flandre Maritime*, vol. 3 (Bruges, 1876), pp. 322–323 (confiscation account of Jean Willaert for Bergues Saint Winnocq and Berchambacht).

[22] General State Archives, Brussels (hereafter ARA), Conseil des Troubles, 16: don Luis Carillo de Castilla to Juan de Vargas, member of the Council of Troubles, 28 November 1569.

[23] Marcus, *Sententien en indagingen*, pp. 439–440: Alba to Audit Chamber of Holland, 26 November 1569.

[24] Pierre Bruslart, 'Journal des choses plus remarquables arriveès en France', in: *Mémoires de Condé*, vol. 1 (London, 1743), pp. 207–209, 211; D. Crouzet, *Les guerriers de dieu. La violence au temps des troubles de religion vers 1525-vers 1610*, vol. 2 (Seyssel, 1990), pp. 48–49. The effigies were removed from the gallows in August 1570 on the occasion of the Peace of Saint-Germain. For the reception of the condemnation in the Netherlands, see: Godevaert Van Haecht, *Kroniek over de troebelen van 1565 tot 1574 te Antwerpen en elders*, vol. 2 (Antwerp, 1929–1930), pp. 107, 132; *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba, Don Fernando Alvarez de Toledo* (Madrid, 1952), II, pp. 591–592: Alba to King, 8 May 1571.

[25] *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba,* II, pp. 591–592: Alba to King, 8 May 1571; Archivo General de Simancas (hereafter AGS), Consejo de Estado (hereafter E) 546 n° 110 (French original); AGS, E 550 n° 50 (Spanish translation); G. Janssens, 'L'emploi des biens confisqués par le Conseil des Troubles : un moyen pour le roi Philippe II de restaurer la fidélité de ses loyaux sujets (Pays-Bas espagnols, 1569–1573)', in: Junot and Soen, *Confisquer*, p. 175. Philip II asked further investigation: AGS, E 547 n° 156: King to Alba, 20 June 1571.

[26] *Coleccion de documentos inéditos,* vol. 37, p. 574: secretary Albornoz to de Zayas, 11 March 1569.

[27] The ensign is preserved in the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam: A reproduction in: T. Coppens, *Buren, Egmond en Oranje* (Baarn, 1989), p. 178.

[28] Gachard, *Correspondance,* II, p. 113: King to Alba, 18 November 1569; AGS, E 542 n° 57

[29] ARA, Rekenkamers. Delen en banden. Comptes des confiscations 19213, f. 96r. (Zottegem, 1570).

[30] ARA, ibid. 19285, ff. 9r.-v.

[31] Antoon I of Lalaing and Elisabeth of Culemborg. The convicted 3rd count of Hoogstraten, Antoon II of Lalaing, was their grand-nephew.
[32] E.g., Marcus, *Sententien en indagingen*, pp. 439–440: Alba to Audit chamber of Holland about the rejection of arms of 'predecessors', 26 November 1569; Van Hasselt, *Stukken*, II, pp. 24–25 n° 11: Johan van Aefferden to Audit chamber of Gelre, 29 May 1570.
[33] Spijkers, 'De erfenis van Bergen', p. 132.
[34] Haak, 'Renesse (Jan van)', in: *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, vol. 5 (Leiden, 1921), pp. 585–587.
[35] Excerpt from an account book of the local receiver of confiscations, after 18 October 1569, transcribed in: Antonio Matthaeo, *De jure gladii tractatus* (Leiden, 1689), p. 625.
[36] A. Jordens, 'Drift 25', *Steengoed*, 61 (2017), pp. 10–11.
[37] Parker, *Charles V*, p. 140.
[38] Gachard, *Correspondance*, p. 120: Alba to King, 15 January 1570; *Epistolario del III Duque de Alba*, II, pp. 312–313. See also: AGS, E 550 n° 49: legal advice of Hieronymus Olrignanus and Luis del Rio, endorsing the applicability of the Paris arrest on Orange and his offspring.
[39] AGS, E 550 n° 52: legal advice of Julio Claro to dr. Velasco on the status of Orange's sons.
[40] See the entries in: L. Duerloo and P. Janssens, *Wapenboek van de Belgische adel: van de 15de tot de 20ste eeuw* (Brussels, 1992–1994).
[41] A. Bouvard, 'Un exemple d'architecture militaire comtoise : le château du Pin', *Société d'émulation du Jura. Travaux présentés par les membres de la Société en 1977 et 1978* (Lons-le-Saunier, 1979), pp. 405–406, 425–427.
[42] J.M. Suchet, 'Balthazar Gerards', in: *Annales Franc-Comtoises, cinquième année*, vol. 10 (1868), pp. 334–346; Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, p. 117. The letter patent was issued on 20 July 1590, yet dated 4 March 1589.
[43] See footnote 38.
[44] P. Vanhoutte and M. Van Der Eycken, 'Van Madrid naar Diest (1595–1602)', in: M. Van der Eycken, ed., *Filips Willem. Prins van Oranje, heer van Diest* (Amsterdam, 2018), pp. 62–68.
[45] E.J. Th. À Th. Van der Hoop, 'Het wapen van Oranje-Nassau in zijn historische ontwikkeling', *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, 51 (1933), pp. 147–167.
[46] S. Thiry, 'Van wapenbord tot koningsboek. Herinnering, herstel en herbestemming in de heraldiek van het Gulden Vlies (1559–1795)', *Virtus*, 25 (2018), pp. 179–202.
[47] Vanhoutte and Van der Eycken, 'Van Madrid naar Diest', pp. 67–68.
[48] L. Duerloo and M. Wingens, *Scherpenheuvel. Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven, 2002), pp. 86–87.
[49] L. Duerloo, 'Het blazoen ontsmet. Adellijke heraldiek als toe-eigening van eer en deugd, 1550–1650', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review*, 123 (2008), pp. 633–654.