Master Thesis
Isaäc J.R. Vogelsang
Utrecht Universtity
Prof. Dr. M.A. (Thijs) Weststeijn
Second Reader: R. Daalder

‘Aensien doet Ghedencken’

Patronage of Dutch Maritime Art in the Golden Age

Content

Introduction

The Dutch seventeenth-century culture and society was closely connected with maritime activities. Inland seas were overflowed with fisher boats, and many rivers provided a vast network for the transport of cargo throughout the country. Much of the welfare that the Dutch republic experienced during this period was based on its global success at sea; a success that was accomplished predominantly by means of violence and slavery. Merchant ships travelled to virtually all corners of the world and made large profits with their trade. Thousands of people were directly involved with life at sea, and even more depended indirectly on sea trade and its related industry.[1] By 1650, in the course of just five months, a total number of 1035 ships sailed into the Baltic from the North Sea; 986 of them sailed under the Dutch Republic's flag.[2] Although the Dutch would never reach the point of an absolute monopoly, this extraordinary number illustrates quite clearly their dominating position.[3] To sustain their dominance, a large fleet of warships was built to protect both the valuable trade and the vulnerable coastline. This armada was also used in conquering fortresses overseas, thereby strengthening their trading position even more. Admirals like Maerten Tromp and Michiel de Ruyter, who both had brilliant insights into navy war fighting, were regarded as the heroes of their time. When they died in action, both admirals were commemorated in churches with richly decorated sepulchral monuments.[4] This rare form of personal commemoration in the Netherlands was not done without good reasons, for the Dutch navy protected the sovereignty of the Republic during the three Anglo-Dutch wars between 1652 and 1674. More than half a century earlier, the Dutch were also fighting for their independence from the Spanish rulers. The early successes from the warfare at sea would eventually play a crucial role in the rebellion against Spain.[5]

Apart from the monuments for the navy officers, the battles at sea were also commemorated in art in the form of expensive tapestries and large-sized paintings. Such costly and ambitious commissions were quite rare because the great majority of artists worked for the open art market. With the church being left out as the traditional leading patron for the arts, there was only a little amount of significant commissions to be handed out. Other examples where Dutch artists could work on a large scale are the group portraits, or

[1] Russell, 1997, p. 213.
[2] Slive, 1979, p. 285.
[3] Slive, 1979, p. 285.
[4] Giltaj, 1996, p. 11.
[5] Sigmond & Kloek, 2007, p. 15.

schutterstukken, by Frans Hals, Bartholomeus Van der Helst, or Rembrandt's famous *Night Watch* (1642). Interestingly enough, both types of works share a strong military character.

Research Question

It is important to notice that these costly commissions took place in a period when the Dutch Republic began to take shape. To attain a wider perspective into the context in which these artworks were made, I formulated the following research question:

What were the motives behind the Dutch seventeenth-century large-scale commissions of marine art in relation to the founding of the Dutch Republic as a legitimate state and its cultural identity?

Before answering this research question, I will first examine how far this relatively new genre of marine art had advanced at the time when the first major commissions were handed out. In order to do so, I will look at the formative years of "the father of marine painting" Hendrick Vroom (1566-1640) when he travelled through the south of Europe (1585-1592). By approaching this topic from an international perspective, I will question the idea that marine painting is something that should be considered as typically Dutch.

Next, I will take a look at four case studies of large-scale commissions. While selecting the case studies, the works of art had to fulfil certain criteria. First, they must represent a battle at sea that took place during the Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) against Spain. Although the vast majority of maritime pictures show the battles at sea against the English during the Anglo-Dutch wars (mostly because Willem van de Velde the Younger contributed to this), the cause of war that was fought against the Spanish meant more for the independence of the Dutch Republic. The second criterion involves the timespan, which I have divided into two parts, in which the commissions were handed out. Part I involves the commissions that took place during the Dutch revolt, and part II consists of two commissions that took place after the Peace of Westphalia (1648) until the 'rampjaar' 1672. The reason for choosing this timespan is because it covers most of what we consider now to be the "Golden Age of Dutch marine art'. Besides, selecting two works from before and after the Peace of Westphalia, might give room to make an interesting comparison about the motives of these commissions.

The third criterion is that the commission should have come from a Dutch patron. The Admiralties were known to be the main patrons for maritime artists.[6] The naval fleet of the Republic was divided under five regional Admiralties colleges that were located in the cities Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Hoorn (altering with Enkhuizen), and in the provinces Zeeland and Friesland.[7] Apart from decorating their own colleges with commemorations of sea-battles, they were also generous in their donations of paintings to friends or diplomatic allies. Next to the Admiralties, local governments did in some occasions also play the role as commissioner. We will see two examples of such commissions with the Middelburg tapestries that were commissioned by the States of Zeeland, and The Battle of the Zuiderzee that was commissioned by the College of West Friesland and the Noorderkwartier. I should also make a special note about the third case study, the commission of the two pen paintings by Willem Van de Velde the Elder, because this is the only private commission in this study. While these pen paintings may not have been on public display, the story behind the commission provide significant information about the pride that a family of a deceased navy admiral felt as well as the admiration that the people in the Netherlands had for his heroic deeds.

The fourth criterion is to make sure that some form of variety in the case studies is present. For this reason, I have chosen the works of four different artists. Another form of variety is also present in the different mediums in which the artworks are executed. While paintings may have been the dominant art form during the seventeenth century, the expensive tapestries were considered to be far more prestigious. To prevent the paintings from outbalancing the tapestries, I also included a case study that involves a work of art in a slightly different medium than painting: the pen painting.

Part I of this thesis will thus focus on commissions from the beginning of the seventeenth century, at the time when the Netherlands were at war against Spain. The first case study will be about the tapestries in Middelburg, one of the most ambitious and costly projects during the early years of the Dutch Golden Age (**Fig. 9-13**). Many art historians with a preference for painting seem to overlook that between 1591 and 1599, Hendrick Vroom had made the design for five tapestries of sea battles for the States of Zeeland.[8] These five tapestries included *The Battle of Bergen op Zoom* (1574), *The Battle of Rammekens* (1572), *The Battle of Lillo* (1573), *The Siege of Veere* (1572-1573) and *The Siege of Zierikzee* (1575). The battles that are represented on these tapestries took place during the first years of the

[6] Daalder, 1996, p. 39.
[7] Daalder, 1996, p. 39.
[8] Karel van Mander designed the sixth tapestry, which consists the *Coat of Arms*.

Eighty Years' War (1568-1648) and the Dutch victories became a turning point in the war. In what way does Hendrick Vroom portray these victories and which honour did the States of Zeeland, who were the patrons, take themselves credit for?

The second case study is about *The Battle of Gibraltar* by Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen (1577-1633) (**Fig. 14**). This painting was one of the largest in size that was being produced during the seventeenth century. The Amsterdam Admiralty ordered the painting of the battle as a gift with a political undertone for prince Maurice to be displayed in his palace in The Hague. The records from the Admiralty give us a rare insight into how the negotiations on such a commission took place, but it also presents us with a mystery on why the Admiralty had ordered two paintings with the same subject by two different artists, i.e. Van Wieringen and Abraham de Verwer.

Part II will focus on the works of art that were commissioned after the Peace of Westphalia (1648), when the Dutch Republic operated as a legitimate state. The third case study examines the pen paintings that Willem van de Velde the Elder made for the family of Maerten Tromp (**Fig. 18-19**). This private commission came forth out of a public commission for the tomb monument of Maerten Tromp. The heroic status of this well-known Dutch admiral will therefore be a central theme in this chapter.

The last case study is about the *Battle of the Zuiderzee* that the College of West Friesland and the Northern Quarter had ordered in 1663 by the Alkmaar painter Jan Theunisz Blanckerhoff (**Fig. 31**). Three years later, this College ordered a frame by the Alkmaar wood cutter Johannes Kinnema that enjoyed a greater respecter than the painting itself. In this chapter, the circumstances around this commission of both the painting and the wooden frame will be related to the cultural identity of West Friesland and the competitive position that the region had with Amsterdam.

On the basis of these four case studies I will show that the motives behind these commission primarily served to glorify the local military history of the regions or province in the Netherlands that had ordered them.

Theoretical Context

In addition to my research question, I am also interested in examining whether it is justified to link the modern notion of a national identity to the seventeenth century. The academic discourse on studies that deal with national identities is divided into two groups: the

traditionalists and the modernists.[9] It is the modernist belief that national identities are 'modern' phenomena that have started to appear from the nineteenth century onwards. Traditionalists, on the other hand, claim that the roots for nationalistic thoughts were already embedded before 1800. In this thesis, I shall concur with the traditionalists. Although the developments in the nineteenth century have contributed significantly to the emergence of the Dutch identity, they cannot be understood without a thorough understanding of the symbolism in earlier times in relation to creating a sense of community or 'togetherness'. This togetherness, or as it is called in Dutch: 'wij-gevoel', is frequently articulated in contrast to a hostile 'them'.[10] These collective feelings are often fuelled through the pens of poets, especially in times of war and during peace celebrations. The Peace of Westphalia, for example, led to a significant increase in poems with a nationalistic character in the Province of Holland, specifically in Amsterdam, which functioned as the cultural centre at the time.[11]

William of Orange used a similar tactic to get the necessarily support among the Dutch population, instead of just the Protestants who were already on his side. In order to convince the Catholics (and other religions), he presented himself as a "Vader des Vaderlands" (Father of the Fatherland) who called upon all the good 'patriots' to resist the Spanish tyranny.[12] The only problem was that most people in the Netherlands did not think in terms of 'nationality' yet, and neither did they have any sense of what it meant to be a citizen of The Netherlands.[13] This thesis will examine whether the maritime art shared a similar purpose to contribute to such feelings of a shared origin among the people of the Dutch republic.

A second point that I like to address in this introduction concerns some ambiguities with the terms 'marine art' and 'seascape'. Professor Geoffrey Callender defines 'Marine Art'- as opposed to the "frail and utterly inhuman thing, the Seascape"- as follows: "Marine art, surely, holds up the mirror of truth to man's association with the sea, his love of it, his indebtedness to it, his struggles with it, his mastery of it, his dominion over it".[14] Callenders definition of 'Marine Art' seems hardly satisfying because it can equally be applied to the seascapes of Jan Porcellis (whom I will argue, is not a 'marine painter'). Margarita Russell gives us a more elaborated explanation: "Literally speaking, seascape and marine painting are not the same thing. The former is primarily concerned with nature, the latter with ships; i.e. seascape painting must be considered as a subdivision of landscape art while marine painting

[9] Jensen, L., 2016, p. 13.
[10] Jensen, L., 2016, p. 13.
[11] For example Vondel's *Leeuwendalers-Lantspel* (Amsterdam, 1647).
[12] Velde, te, H., 2014, p. 36.
[13] https://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/29474/de-propaganda-van-willem-van-oranje.html.
[14] Callender, G., 1929, p. 20.

consists of ship portraiture and pictorial records of sea battles and naval events". [15] Russell teaches us that the focus of 'marine art' lays predominantly on the historical events that are being portrayed on the water. This means that 'marine art' relates to history painting in the same way as the 'seascape' relates to landscape painting.

Wilhelm Martin observed that the seascape originated from ship portraiture and images form battles at sea.[16] Other art historians, perhaps unknowingly, illustrated the key difference between 'seascapes' and 'marine art' by means of three consecutive periods in the history of maritime art. Fred C. Willis was the first author to do so in his 1911 publication of *Die Niederländische Marinemalerei*.[17] Laurens J. Bol would follow Willis' footsteps sixty years later in his grand overview of *Die Holländische Marinemalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*.[18] Both scholars characterise the first period, the one that was led by Hendrick Vroom, as documentary in nature and that these artists were predominantly interested in historical subject matters.[19] Painters from the second period, which started with the works of Jan Porcellis from the 1620's onwards, let the overall setting of ferocious seas and threatening dark skies play the central part in their pictures.[20] As opposed to the colourful paintings of the first period, both authors refer to this second period as the 'tonal phase'.[21] The third period entails a group of painters who were mostly active in Amsterdam between 1650 and 1670.[22] Their works are characterized by the reintroduction of colour in combination with the atmospheric effects from the second phase. During this third period, the division between 'seascapes' and 'marines' becomes more opaque when artists like Willem van de Velde the Younger, Jan Theunisz Blanckerhoff and Jan Beerstraten began to apply some of the visual effects that were invented during the second phase to the renewed popular genre of the maritime historical paintings.[23] This last period may therefore be seen as an artistic deduction from the first and second period in which 'seascapes' and 'marines' were made simultaneously.

We must also take into account that the terms 'marines' or "seascapes" are not solely used for pictures that show the open sea. A Dutch seventeenth-century seascape may also

[15] Russell, M., 1974, p. 14.
[16] Martin, W., 1935, p. 258.
[17] Willis, F.C., 1911.
[18] Bol, L.J., 1973.
[19] Willis, F.C., 1911, pp. 1-2; Bol, L.J., 1973, p. 9.
[20] Willis, F.C., 1911, p. 2; Bol, L.J., 1973, p. 91.
[21] Bol, L.J., 1973, p 91.
[22] Giltaij, J., 1996, p. 17.
[23] Willis, F.C., 1911, p. 2.

include the inland waterways or mouths of rivers close to the sea.[24] In many cases it is hard to differentiate between a seascape and other categories of landscape painting like beachscapes or townscapes, where the setting is equally divided between land and water. According to Wolfgang Stechow, the Dutch Seventeenth-century seascape is not solely defined by the presence of water, but rather by the prominent place that sailing boats take in the composition of the painting.[25] Therefore, the relationship between the vertical and diagonal elements of these sailing boats in respect to the water and air could be viewed in a similar way as to how trees and buildings relate to land and air in landscapes. It becomes clear from Stechow's view on seascapes that in the seventeenth century there were hardly any depictions of the sea without the addition of boats and ships, and men sailing them. Stechow writes: "The sea without men was as much a discovery of the nineteenth century as was landscape without men".[26] The addition of men was not only to make the composition more vivid; it also implied that men are an essential part of nature.[27] Because some form of maritime activity is always present in a seventeenth-century seascape, there is often a thin line to use the proper term in describing these paintings. Willis, Bol and Russell acknowledged this problem and therefore chose to use both terms simultaneously. Stechow too, while writing about 'seascapes', mentions the sea battles by Hendrick Vroom while these paintings are actually marines.[28] Therefore, I argue to define paintings that take place at sea and have a historical significances, such as battles at sea, the arrival of statesmen or portraits of ships, as strictly 'marine', and otherwise as being a 'seascape'.

When Karel Van Mander wrote his *Schilder-boeck* in 1604, he was not yet in the position to make a clear distinction between the two terms because the field of marine painting was still in its infancy and the 'seascape' had not been invented yet. Still, Van Mander recognized the importance of the marines because of its great potential for history painting, a theme that was considered to be the highest category of artistic endeavour.[29] While the Dutch were fighting the Spanish at sea, the maritime paintings had something new to offer within the existing context of history painting, and that is the representation of contemporary events, like battles at sea or important royal arrivals in harbours.

[24] Russell, M., 1974, p. 14. According to Russell, term "seascape" may also include beachscapes and harbour scenes, but Wolgang Stechow (Dutch Landscape Painting, London, 1966) has excluded the beachscapes from the seascapes.
[25] Stechow, 1966, p. 110.
[26] Stechow, 1966, p. 110.
[27] Sutton, 1987, p. 7.
[28] Stechow, W., 1966, p. 112.
[29] Keyes, 1990, p. 7.

But the painter of 'seascapes' could also rely on support from the seventeenth-century art critic. Porcellis' new and modern way of painting was greatly admired by Constantijn Huygens.[30] In his *Inleyding tot de Hooge Schoole der Schilderkunst* (1678), Samuel Van Hoogstraten describes a competition between François Knibbergen, Jan van Goyen and Porcellis to illustrate three different ways of painting. In a single day each was to paint a picture that would then be judged by connoisseurs. Knibbergen painted some particular landscape features, like trees and waterfalls, in a careful and detailed way. Van Goyen, on the other hand, used a rough application of paint in which the shapes seemed to appear as if of their own volition. Finally, there was Porcellis, who Van Hoogstraten called 'dien grooten Raphel in 't zeeschilderen!' (the great Raphael in sea painting).[31] Porcellis looked at the empty canvas for a while and it almost appeared as if he had no idea how to start. Van Hoogstraten explains that Porcellis first imagined the overall outlook of the picture in his mind, before he put any paint on the canvas. Porcellis won the competition because it resulted in an excellent way of expressing naturalness (keurlijker natuerlijkheyt). It has been questioned whether Van Hoogstraten is not referring to Jan's son, Julius Porcellis, also a painter of marines. Hofstede de Groot mentions that when Jan Porcellis died in 1632, Jan van Goyen was still working in an old manner of landscape painting and could therefore not be a suitable participant in such a competition.[32] By stating this, however, Hofstede de Groot may have overlooked the possibility that Van Hoogstraten described an imagery competition between the three artists, meaning that it never actually took place in real life. A famous example of such kind is the fictional competition between the Greek painters Zeuxis and Parrhasius, as it is described in Pliny the Elder's *Naturalis Historia*. Van Hoogstraten could have used the competition as a metaphor to illustrate the three different painting styles of the artists. In this sense, it is more likely that he referred to Jan Porcellis, who was already praised by his contemporaries as the greatest marine painter of his age.[33]

The works of art that I will discuss in this thesis are strictly 'maritime' in nature in the sense that they represent historical events. The stylistic development of the maritime genre will only be a side note in this thesis because previous authors, like Laurens J. Bol and Wolfgang Stechow, have examined this topic thoroughly before. Instead, this study will

[30] When Thomas de Keyser painted the portrait of Huygens, he placed a Porcellis-like seascape above the mantelpiece (Thomas de Keyser, *Constantijn Huygens and his Clerk*, 1627, National Gallery, London).
[31] Hoogstraten, 1678, p. 238.
[32] Hofstede de Groot, Thieme Becker XX, p. 583.
[33] Slive, S., 1979, p. 288. It is also known that both Rembrandt and Jan van de Capelle collected his work.

examine the role that the maritime works of art played in the socio-cultural climate in the Netherlands.

The last point that I would like to address in the theoretical context of this thesis is the notion of realism, or to rephrase it more precisely, a *seeming* realism in maritime art.[34] We are easily tempted to compare a painting of a sea-battle by one of the Willem van de Veldes with a front-cover picture from a newspaper that is reporting a war. This common misconception is still a heritage from the nineteenth-century idea that Dutch artists from the Golden Age portrayed images that looked like direct representations of reality.[35] The French painter and art theorist Eugène Fromentin (1820-1876) called the Dutch painters 'realists pur sang'.[36] Travelling through the Low Countries, Fromentin noted that the Dutch school had no reason to rely on their own imagination because the Dutch landscape itself already appealed to all sensibilities. The image of the Dutch painter as a non-inventive imitator of nature persisted well into the twentieth century. In his *History of Dutch painting* (1935), Wilhelm Martin (1876-1954) introduced the 'born painter of Dutch reality', whose work is characterized by 'a detailed description and observation of nature'.[37]

The present-day view on Dutch painting is that it can hardly be considered a photographically rendered slice of daily life.[38] How close to reality a seventeenth-century painting may look, in most cases it is a constructed image, created in the artist's studio. Therefore, we should be careful to use a maritime painting as an accountable and objective historical source. A good example is the *View of Amsterdam* (1665) that Ludolf Bakhuizen painted on behalf of the city government of Amsterdam (**Fig. 1**). The commission was part of a diplomatic mission to please the French minister of foreign affairs Hugues de Lionne[39]. The Dutch ambassador in France, Coenrad van Beuningen, felt the urge to smooth things over with the French after tensions increased between the two countries.[40] Louis XIV was married to the Spanish princes Maria Theresa. After the death of her brother, king Philip IV of Spain, Louis XIV renewed his claims on the Spanish Netherlands. Van Beuingen entrusted the Amsterdam burgomaster Hasselaer to find an appropriate painter to execute the commission. In the painting, Bakhuizen deliberately made the town hall exceptionally large as if to have no

[34] I derived this term from Eddy de Jongh's article 'Realism and Seeming Realism in Seventeenth-Century Dutch Painting'. exh. cat *Rembrandt en zijn tijd* pp. 143-194. Paleis voor schone kunsten, 1971. Reprinted in Frantis, W. a.o. *Looking at Dutch Seventeenth-Century Art: Realism Reconsidered*, Cambridge, 1997.
[35] Buijsen, 1993, p. 45.
[36] Buijsen, 1993, p. 45.
[37] Martin, 1935, p. 236.
[38] Hecht, 1997, p. 89.
[39] De Beer, 2004, p. 8.
[40] De Beer, 2004, p. 8.

misunderstanding about the city that was being portrayed. He also accentuated the Dutch warship *De Spiegel* by letting it bath in a bright ray of sunlight. By stressing these elements, the Dutch must have sent a clear message to De Loinne, namely that they were not willing to back off that easily. This commission is therefore a good example that patrons were not shy to manipulate reality for their own good.

Apart from the obvious political statements, there is yet another factor that should be taken into consideration while judging the "realism" in commissioned works. Pictures from famous battles at sea were often commissioned years after the real action took place. The battle on the Zuiderzee took place on October 11, 1573, but has been depicted several times throughout the seventeenth century. In 1621, the Admiralty of West Friesland and the Noorderkwartier possibly commissioned one of these works by Abraham de Verwer (**Fig. 2**).[41] On the painting, the Zuiderzee is occupied with hundreds of boats. The contrast between the small boats from the Sea Beggars against the bigger galleys from the Spaniards seems to be in line with the state of warfare in 1573. The painting in our last case study from Jan Theunisz, Blanckerhoffs (**Fig. 3**) is also somehow true to history, but all historical accuracy is lost in Abraham Storck's depiction of the aforementioned battle (**Fig. 4**) where he portrays ships from the second half of the seventeenth century.[42]

Official portrayals of navy war ships can, in some occasions, also be purely imaginative. The wars between England and the Netherlands during the second half of the seventeenth century made it necessary for the republic to expand its fleet. In 1653, a total of thirty new warships were built, followed by another thirty in 1654. One of the ships that was built in 1653 was the *Eendracht*. Ludolf Bakhuizen painted the *Eendracht* around 1670, meaning that he painted it several years after the ship went up in flames during the battle of Lowestoft in 1665 (**Fig. 5**).[43] The same ship also served as a model for a drawing of Willem van de Velde the Elder (**Fig. 6**). Robert Vorstman compared the painting of Bakhuizen with the drawing of Van de Velde. It turns out that the *Eendracht* in the drawing of Van de Velde looks quite different than the one in the painting of Bakhuizen[44]. Assuming that Van de Velde was accurate in his drawings, it must have been Bakhuizen who made radical changes to the appearance of the ship.[45]

[41] Daalder, 1996, p. 41.
[42] Daalder, 1996, p. 42.
[43] Sigmond. P. & Kloek, W. 2007, pp. 115-116.
[44] Vorstman, 1985, p. 17.
[45] The drawing of Van de Velde is now in the Fitzwilliam museum (Cambridge) and was made in 1665. This means that Van de Velde possibly drew the *Eendracht* from real life.

Despite these examples of 'realistic' flaws, there are also many cases in which the maritime artists surprise us with an extraordinary truthfulness to the actual events. We can often rely on archival research and records from eyewitnesses who were present during the battles, to check the historical accuracy in our paintings.

Methods

In order to answer my main research question in a proper way, I will make use of a wide variety of different sources and methods. As mentioned before, the first chapter focuses on the state of marine art at the time when the first major commissions were handed out, and the crucial role that Hendrick Vroom played in the development of the genre. While using Karel van Mander's account on the life of Vroom as a primary source, a suitable method for answering this first sub question will therefore be a biographical study about the formative years of this "father of marine painting". Additional secondary literature will be used to critically reflect on Van Mander, and to reconstruct Vroom's exact whereabouts during his travel through the south of Europe and the artworks that he saw there. Consequently, I will not discuss the overall history of the maritime genre that probably reaches back to the ancient Greek vase paintings on which the stories of Odysseus were depicted. Neither will I discuss the artistic challenges in the natural rendering of moving water that were instigated by Jan Van Eyck, and later on further developed by Joachim Patinier and Pieter Breughel the Elder, that Vroom in one way or the other carried the legacy of.[46] Discussing this topic would lead to a stylistic debate that will not be of contributable value to my main research question.

Apart from Karel van Mander, who wrote about Hendrick Vroom and Cornelis Van Wieringen, I will also make use of the biographical notes on the lives of Willem van de Velde the Elder and Jan Theunisz Blanckerhoff that were written down by Arnold Houbraken. In general, a critical note must be placed here in the sense that one has to be cautious of the historical truth of contemporary biographies on artists. As Patricia Rubin mentions in relation to Giorgio Vasari's *Vite,* contemporary biographies are a period piece that we should regard "as a product of the conventions and convictions of historical writing" in their time.[47] It is a common misconception among biographers and art critics to link the personal lives of artists with the works that they created. As we will see, the four artists in the case studies were all, in one way or the other, involved with the life at sea. Vroom and Blanckerhoff were supposedly inspired to paint marines from their many travels on board of ships, and Van Wieringen and

[46] For a detailed description about Flemish influences on the Dutch seascape see: Russell, M., 1983, pp. 3-23.
[47] Rubin, P., 1995, p. vii.

Van de Velde the Elder had even taken the profession of sailor in their youth. Since Van Mander knew Vroom and Van Wieringen personally (they were all active as painters in Haarlem at the same time), and no evidence has come forth that contradicts the information that Van Mander provides on these two artists, it is likely to assume that the biographical information that is used in this thesis is correct. The historical accuracy of Houbraken's account is often characterized as more troublesome.[48] Blanckerhoff had passed away when Houbraken was nine years old, and later research has shown that many details on dates and places that are mentioned in the short biographies on both the Willem Van de Velde's turned out to be false; this probably due to the fact that the Van de Velde's had already moved to England at the time when Houbraken was doing his research.[49] Houbraken's biographical notes on Van de Velde and Blanckerhoff will therefore only be used very briefly in order to attain some idea about what is written in relation to these artists.

The use of artworks as a primary source will be given a more prominent role during the four remaining chapters in which I will discuss the separate case studies. Apart from the mediums that are the topic of the case studies, I will also study drawings, prints and marble reliefs. As my research question focuses on the motives behind the commissions of marine art, my main method will be an iconographical approach. Iconography is the branch of art history that deals with the subject matter of works of art and its interpretation. In my case, this interpretation will focus on a social political and cultural context. Apart from an analysis of the visual content in the artworks, I will also study the inscriptions because such written words can often clarify the intentions of the patrons. In addition, many artworks contain heraldic symbols that seem to emphasize the prominent role of the patron in both the commission and that battles are depicted on the work of art. For this reason, the use of such heraldic symbols will frequently be analysed.

The trial pieces for two of the case studies (i.e. from the *Battles of Gibraltar* and the *Zuiderzee*) are still available to us and they provide an excellent opportunity to make a visual comparison with the finished artwork to see what alterations were made during the process of creating it. The results of such visual comparisons can be of great contribution to the more general iconographical approach. In the third case study, the method of a visual comparison is also applied while a comparison between the formal qualities of the pen paintings by Willem van de Velde and his design for the marble reliefs on the tombstones of naval admirals is

[48] Emmens, J.A., 1968, p. 86. Emmens questions the historical accuracy of Houbraken's writings in relation to Rembrandt.
[49] Daalder, R., 2013, pp. 15-16.

made. This visual comparison, however, will not contribute to a greater iconographical interpretation, but to an interpretation about the genesis and original patronage of the works. Dendrochronology and inventory research will likewise play a role for this reconstruction of the original patrons.

Fortunately, the minutes from the meetings of the various Admiralties and Colleges that handed out the commission for the artworks have been saved through time. These original documents can be found in the *Nationaal Archief* in The Hague, and the *Rijksarchief voor de Provincie Noord-Holland* in Haarlem. G.T. van Ysselsteyn has published the contracts for the Middelburg tapestries integrally while A. Bredius published the relevant minutes of the Amsterdam Admiralty that are about the commission of the *Battle of Gibraltar*. Such documents in relation to art are in fact rare during the Dutch seventeenth century and are therefore worth of re-examining with the current research question in mind.

Apart from the archival documents in which the commissions are mentioned, I will also make use of other contemporary written sources like letters, pamphlets, poems and city chronicles. The third case study entails an extensive biography about Maerten Tromp. The contemporary pamphlets, prints and poems that I mention in this chapter tell a lot about the way people in the Netherlands thought about his persona and the festivities that broke loose throughout the country when he defeated the Spaniards twice in 1639. Such information may also clarify why Admirals were buried in richly decorated sepulchral monuments.

For interpreting the motives of the commission of *The Battle of the Zuiderzee*, the historical treatises by Hadrianus Junius and Theodorus Velius are used as sources in determining the cultural identity of the area of West Friesland. The interpretation of this painting also demands secondary literary to examine the economic position of West Friesland in relation to its main competitor Amsterdam and the *Chronicle of Hoorn* that was written in 1842 and that contains some further information about the competition between the Admiralties of Hoorn and Amsterdam. Naturally, these sources will all be used in the wider iconographic method that I use to analyse this particular commission.

Finally, the works of art will often be discussed in a more general context of the political circumstances in the Netherlands. The sources that I have at my disposal to create this image consist of secondary literature in which the political and (naval) military background in the Netherlands is sketched.

Part I

Marine painting during the Dutch Revolt (1568-1648)

Chapter 1
Hendrick Vroom and the "Dutch-ness" of marine art

The great majority of overviews on marine painting justly praise the Haarlem painter Hendrick Vroom for evolving the seascape into the independent artistic genre that had flourished during the Dutch Golden Age, and had continued to flourish in England and the United States throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Being called the 'father of marine painting', Vroom indeed procreated an impressive offspring in terms of the many painters who took over his trade.[50] Apart from Vroom's significant artistic contribution to the development of marine painting in the Netherlands, one might also argue that the genre gained its popularity from the close relation between the Netherlands and the sea. A decree from 1594, which was signed by the burgomasters of Haarlem, shows that Vroom was excused from military duty due to his 'unique skill in painting of marine subjects in which he excels all others'.[51] This document shows that Vroom's popularity as a painter of maritime subjects was already well established at the time.

The path of Vroom towards the painting of marines can best be distilled from Van Mander's comprehensive account that covers the first part of Vroom's life.[52] Hendrick Vroom descended from an artistic family of sculptors and stonecutters.[53] Before Vroom's widowed mother got remarried with a draughtsman, the family had stayed in Delft for a while, where Vroom was trained by an unknown local painter.[54] After the remarriage of his mother, the family moved back to Vroom's birthplace Haarlem where he helped his stepfather with the decoration of ceramics.[55] After Vroom had left his home, he went on to travel through several cities in the Netherlands and eventually stepped on board of a ship that was heading towards San Lucar in Spain. From San Lucar, he travelled to Seville, Livorno, Florence and Rome. Vroom initially stayed with a Spanish Canon in Rome, but he was soon supported by Cardinal Ferdinand I de' Medici (1549-1609) for the rest of his two-year stay in the city.[56] This de' Medici Cardinal had a strong affection for naval matters.[57] After becoming the Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1587, it became his ambition to follow the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor,

[50] Bol, 1973, p. 11. Bol calls Vroom "Der Nestor dieser Schiffsmaler".
[51] Russell, 1983, p141. See also: Bredius, K.I., VII, p. 273.
[52] Van Mander, K., "Het Leven van Hendrick Cornelissen Vroom, Schilder van Haarlem" In: *Het Schilderboek*, Haarlem, 1604 and Amsterdam, 1618.
[53] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 287r.
[54] Russell, 1983, p. 94.
[55] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 287r.
[56] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 287r- 287v.
[57] Butters, S.B., 2010, pp.187-188.

Duke Cosimo I (1519-1574), who had tried to build up Florence as a naval power.[58] His title of Grand Duke also implied that he became the grand master of the knights of Santo Stefano.[59] In 1562, Cosimo I had founded this chivalric naval order to fight the non-Christian Turks in the Mediterranean.[60] Before becoming Grand Duke, Ferdinand was already planning to expand the Tuscan naval fleet and needed Vroom to make drawings of ship types that interested him.[61]

Northern artists who stayed in Rome had the habit to seek each other out,[62] and Van Mander indeed mentions that Vroom received 'frequent visits and instructions' from Paul Bril.[63] Vroom probably arrived in Rome around 1584, meaning that it is uncertain whether or not he also met Paul's brother Matthijs, who died around 1583-84. In any case, he must have seen the Bril brothers' contribution for the decoration in the *Galleria della carte geografiche* in the Vatican, which was one of the centres of attractions for visitors at the moment. This 120 meter long gallery consists of forty monumental topographical maps by Ignazio Danti, including some panoramic views of ports. The program shows some interesting overlaps between painting and cartography that can later also be seen in Vroom's design for the English *Armada Tapestries*.

Based on the close connection between Ferdinand and Florence, it seems obvious that Vroom went on at least one excursion to Florence to get the opportunity to study the de' Medici Mural Atlas in the Palazzo Vecchio.[64] This Atlas was also executed by Danti in 1570, almost a decade after he had made the decoration of the Galleria Geografica in Rome. Meanwhile, Vroom must have probably encountered the Flemish-born artist Jan van der Straet (called Stradanus), whom executed the mythological seascape frescoes in the Sala di Penelope in the Palazzo Vecchio, and who stayed in Florence around the period that Vroom was there.[65] Vroom's close contacts with Ferdinand in Rome and Florence thus introduced Vroom to an environment where marine subjects mattered a great deal.

[58] Russell, 1983, p. 95.
[59] Butters, S.B., 2010, p. 187.
[60] Butters, S.B., 2010, p 187.
[61] Russell, 1983, p. 98.
[62] Russell, M., 1984, p. 95.
[63] Van Mander, 1604, fol. 287v.
[64] Otherwise Vroom could have visited this room earlier during his previous visit to Florence.
[65] This room is now called the Sala di Stradano. For biographical notes on where Stradanus was active see: https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/75652.

Vroom separated ways from his benefactor shortly after the death of Ferdinand's predecessor Francis I, whose dukedom the Cardinal had to succeed.[66] Vroom left to Venice where he took on his early profession of painting majolica and porcelain.[67] It seems reasonable to assume that Vroom wanted to visit Venice because this small city-state was known to be a great maritime power, and Vrooms love for navel affairs had certainly been awakened. Apart from the countless ships in the lagoon, Vroom must have also studied the naval battles from Tintoretto (1518-1594) and Andrea Vicentino (1542-1617) in the Palazzo Ducale. After one year in Venice, Vroom made some insignificant travels to Milan, Genoa and Turin. In Lyons he worked for Monsieur Bottoin in a castle outside the city.[68] He could make use of his growing knowledge in marine art when he made watercolours on canvas of the battles that Bottoin's father and ancestors had fought on land and water. After Lyon Vroom travelled to Paris, Rouen and eventually back to Haarlem where he got married in 1590. After one year of marriage he travelled with his wife to Danzig (north of Poland) to visit his uncle. There he painted an alter-piece for Polish Jesuits while his uncle instructed him in perspective and other aspects of art.[69] Hendrick then returned with his wife to Haarlem. Soon after his return to his hometown he set out for Spain on his own, carrying some of his small religious paintings with him. The reason behind Vroom's departure is unknown. It was perhaps out of financial motives because it became more and more difficult for him to sell his religious paintings in Haarlem. On the other hand, he had also started to paint small pictures from prints, also marines. These (marine) paintings apparently did not sell well; otherwise he would have stayed with his wife in Haarlem.

On board of a ship to Spain, Vroom got shipwrecked off the coast of Portugal but he managed to survive. Van Mander writes that the religious paintings that he brought with him saved his life for it proved to the monks and coast guards on the island that Vroom was a religious person, instead of an English pirate; otherwise he would have been sentenced to death.[70] Vroom decided to return home and boarded a ship that was heading towards Haarlem. Because of a bad premonition, he left the ship minutes before it left the shore of Setubal. Vroom's intuition proved to be right because the ship sank in a storm and all people aboard drowned. News spread out in Haarlem that Vroom was also on the ill-fated ship, and so proceedings were started to divide his property, but this was put to a halt when Vroom wrote

[66] Russell, M., 1984, p. 94.
[67] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 287v.
[68] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 287v.
[69] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 287v.
[70] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 287v.

his wife that he was still alive. Still in Setubal, Vroom created a painting of his shipwreck that he sold for a large sum of money to a gentleman in Lisbon.[71] Because of a rising demand for marine pictures, he continued making them, earning quite a bit of money. When Vroom eventually returned to Haarlem, other painters advised him to continue to make works of art that depict ships.[72] These pictures sold well and people started to like these ship pictures more and more, probably because it also coincided with the sudden expansion of the Dutch maritime trade.[73] Therefore, it seems that Vroom was simply at the right place at the right time to become a commercially successful painter, and his trade had found a niche in the then booming art-market.

The English Armada Tapestries

The tempest paintings that Vroom supposedly made in the early 1590's were likely to be produced for the open art market in The Netherlands. But an important breakthrough in Vroom's professional career came from across the borders. In March 1592, Lord Howard of Effingham, the admiral of England, commissioned a total of ten tapestries to commemorate the 1588 battle of the English against the Spanish fleet that was led under his command.[74] The Spanish King Philips II wanted to take over the reign of England from the "heretic" Queen Elizabeth I. He was planning on doing so by disposing an army of 19.000 men, the army being assembled in the Netherlands by the Duke of Parma, in an amphibious invasion on the English shore. The Spanish armada had over 130 ships and was seven miles wide in formation. Due to some tactical manoeuvres and better artillery on the English ships, the Spanish were forced to make their way to the north around Scotland and Ireland, where most of their fleet was eventually destroyed due to multiple severe storms.[75]

The famous tapestry weaver Francois Spierincx (1550-1630) was commissioned by Lord Howard to manufacture the tapestries, but the designs still had to be made. Spierincx had initially asked Karel van Mander to prepare the designs, but Van Mander, at least according to his own saying, had no experience in drawing ships.[76] He therefore directed the famous weaver to Hendrick Vroom. When the tapestries were finished in 1595, they were originally displayed in Lord Howard's Chelsea residence in order to show the Lord's wealth

[71] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 288r.
[72] Van Mander, 1604, fol. 288r: "*T'huys ghecomen, door raedt der Schilders aldaer, voer al vast voort met te maken stucxkens met Schepen, en begon allenxkens meer en meer daer in toe te nemen: En t'volck, ghelijck in Hollandt veel Zee-vaert is, begon oock groot bevallen in dese Scheepkens te crijghen.*"
[73] Boxer, 1965, p. 4.
[74] Ysselsteyn, II, no. 165.
[75] https://armada.parliament.uk/history.html.
[76] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 288r.

and the importance he attached to his triumph.[77] It seems, therefore, as if the commission had originated out of a personal taste instead of state matters. Queen Elizabeth I supposedly admired the tapestries, and Lord Howard occasionally presented them for her as a gift while keeping them in his possession.[78] In 1616, Lord Howard had sold the tapestries to Elizabeth's son, King James I, for the sum of 1.628 pounds.[79] The tapestries were then hung on "public" display in the House of Lords from 1644 until 1801, when they were moved to the more spacious Court of Requests.[80]

The tapestries were destroyed in the fire in the old palaces of Westminster in October 1834. Unfortunately, Vroom's designs have also been lost, together with the cartoons. Based on the engravings by John Pine (1690-1756), we do have some indication on what the tapestries looked like (**Fig. 7**). Together with Lord Howard's personal account of the battle, Vroom could also make use of the prints from Robert Adams (1540-1595), which were more or less cartographic representations of the various stages of the battle.[81] Vroom transformed these prints into a panoramic seascape that is seen from a bird's-eyes view. This approach was quite innovative at the time. One series of tapestries that may count as a precedent of the *Armada*-series is the *Battle of Lepanto* in the Palazzo Andrea Doria in Genoa, which was woven in Brussels.[82] This set of eight tapestries also shows the battle in a panoramic form. Its static compositions with a strong emphasis on the strategic phases of the battle are clearly derived from Vasari's mural *Order of Battle from the two fleets* (1572) in the *Sala Regia* in the Vatican. But even though the perspective and bird-eye view between both tapestry series look similar, it seems unlikely that Vroom saw *The Battle of Lepanto* for the simple reason that they had arrived in Genoa about two years after Vroom's departure from Italy.[83]

A recent project has transformed Pine's etchings form the *Armada*-series back into life-size paintings (**Fig. 8**). These paintings, however, can hardly do right to the specific medium of the tapestries and the problems that Vroom and Spierincx had to face. As mentioned before, tapestries were a prestigious craft, and much more costly to produce than painting. The loose hanging of the tapestries, combined with a slight movement in the air, somehow brings the scenes to life. This formal quality of the medium proved to be ideal for commemorating heroic battles.

---

[77] The tapestries had cost 1.582 pounds, which is the equivalent of 87 years of wages for the average workman.
[78] https://armada.parliament.uk/history.html.
[79] https://armada.parliament.uk/history.html.
[80] The tapestries were initially only shown in the House of Lords during important events, but by 1651 they were displayed on a daily basis.
[81] These prints had also been commissioned by Lord Howard and include a written account of the battles.
[82] Keyes, G. S, 1990, p. 6.
[83] https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/82222

Conclusion

Looking back at Vroom's early career, we can conclude the Dutch culture of seafaring may have had little to do with Vroom's personal development as a maritime artists, since he had spent a great deal of his formative years traveling through the southern part of Europe. What seems to be of a greater importance are the journeys that he made during the early stages of his career. Vroom got into contact with governors and artists who had a strong affection for naval matters. He also had the opportunity to witness the finest examples of maritime works of art in Rome and other great seafaring nations, such as Venice. If we follow Van Mander's account closely, than we learn that Vroom started to become successful as an artist after his return from Portugal with pictures of sea storms, an experience that he had passed through himself. The international character of his early career also comes forth in his fist major commission for the design of the *English Armada Tapestries*. The next chapter will show how Vroom's career continued in the Netherlands when I discuss his designs for the tapestries in Middelburg.

Chapter 2
Case Study I: The Middelburg Tapestries

The Province of Zeeland had drastically changed in the seventeen years that had passed since its violent rebellion against Spain. The Spanish army had departed from Zeeland in 1576, leaving the Province somewhat independent and free of governance. After Zeeland joined the Union of Utrecht in 1579, it became part of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces. The daily governance was in the hands of the College of the Committed Council (de Kamer van de Gecommitteerde Raden), which was located in the Abbey Complex in Middelburg.

An economic and cultural upheaval followed when merchants, scholars and artists sought for Zeeland as their political and religious safe-heaven, especially after the Fall of Antwerp in 1585.[84] Even though there was no royal court present, the local governors did not neglect their position as patrons of the arts. On July 30, 1591, the States of Zeeland had put its treasurer Jacob Valcke (1540-1603) in charge to commission a tapestry that would commemorate *The Battle of Bergen op Zoom* (**Fig. 9**).[85] Images representing the Republic's contemporary history became popular around 1600 and many cities had ordered paintings that celebrated the early years of the Revolt to decorate their city halls.[86] Tapestries were more expensive and thus rare, but Zeeland was not the only city in the young Republic that was willing to use this form of art to display its ostentation. In 1587, for example, Leiden had ordered a tapestry by the weaver Joost Jansz. Lanckaert. This tapestry represented the 1574 Siege of Leiden. Its design, which was made by Hans Liefrinck (1538-1599), was not unique. Lanckhaert had used the same cartoon ten years earlier when he fabricated the same tapestry for Prince William of Orange's brother-in-law Count Günther XLI van Schwarzburg-Arnstadt.[87] One must note that the use of a so-called 'unica', meaning that a single design could not be used again for other tapestries, was in itself rare. The series of tapestries that the States General of the Netherlands had ordered in 1591 by Francois Spierincx were also fabricated from pre-existing cartoons.[88] *The Battle of Bergen op Zoom*, however, had not been celebrated in the form of tapestries yet, meaning that new designs had to be made.

Jacob Valcke commissioned Spierincx to weave the tapestries. The definitive contract between Valcke and Spierincx was signed on the 8th of June 1593, one year and three months

[84] Van Swigchem, 1991, p. 25.
[85] Van Swigchem, 1991, p. 26.
[86] Heyning, 2007, p. 76.
[87] Ysselsteyn, I, 1936, p. 65.
[88] Ysselsteyn, II, 1936, no. 92, 94, 95.

after Lord Howard's order for the *Armada*-series by the same Spierincx.[89] Both Lord Howard and the governors from Zeeland were likely inspired by the example of Charles V's *Conquest of Tunis* tapestries, which were designed by the Flemish artist Jan Cornelisz. Vermeyen (1504-1559), and executed by Willem de Pannemaker (c. 1513- 1581). Lord Howard had seen the *Conquest of Tunis* shortly after their completion when they decorated the walls of Winchester Cathedral during the wedding of Philip II to Mary of England in 1554.[90] The Zeeland Grand Pensionary Christoffel Roels (1540-1597) had visited De Pannemaker in Brussel in 1568; fourteen years after the tapestries had been fabricated in that same workshop.[91] The memory of Jan Vermeyen was also kept alive in Middelburg because his daughter lived there, and in her house she had kept several portraits of her father with the battle of Tunis in the background.[92]

The members of the Zeeland government were well aware of the symbolic implications of the tapestry medium. Valcke had studied in Leuven, together with two other Zeeland governors, i.e. Caspar van Vosbergen and Lieven Keersemacken. As members of their embassies, they had visited quite a number of royal courts where the walls of the palaces were likely to be hung with tapestries. Another governor, Pieter de Rijcke, had been in the entourage of William of Orange for quite some years and must have paid several visits to the court in Brussels.[93] The people who handed out the commission thus knew very well what line of tradition they were following: one that was usually reserved for royals, or other members of the high nobility only.

It took Valcke and Spierincx approximately two years to agree on the contract. From the correspondence it is known that they mostly disagreed on the price. In a letter from November 27, 1592, Spierincx had asked for £3 (Flemish pounds) per el, something that seemed, at least to Spierincx, a reasonable price.[94] Apart from that, Spierincx wanted to include the price of the cartoons because he could not use this design again. From the letters we can deduce that Spierincx was a clever and confident negotiator. He writes that Valcke can look for other weavers who are willing to ask a lesser amount of money, but that in the end Valcke would regret that decision because these other weavers would not deliver the same quality as he does. Spierincx even reminds Valcke of the purpose of the tapestry, because it

[89] Ysselsteyn, II, 1936, no. 165.
[90] M. Russell, 1983, p. 121.
[91] Heyning, 2007, p. 76.
[92] M. Russell, 1983, p. 137.
[93] Heyning, 2007, p. 76.
[94] Ysselsteyn, II, 1936, no. 96.

serves for "the honour and praise of the country, as for an respectable memory for the coming generations".[95]

After the completion of the *Battle of Bergen op Zoom* in the summer of 1595, the States of Zeeland ordered five more tapestries so the entire room would be decorated. This time, the commission to execute the remaining tapestries was not acquired by Spierincx, but by Jan de Meacht. There exists no documental evidence that Vroom designed the cartoon for the *Battle of Bergen op Zoom*. But based on Vroom's close contacts to Spierincx, the contracts that he received for the remaining tapestries, and the visual similarities with the other tapestries, like the gradual ordinance of the ships in space and the rendering of water, most scholars assume that Vroom did make the design for the first tapestry.[96] The tapestries for *The Battle of Bergen op Zoom* and The *Battle of Rammekens* (**Fig. 10**) are almost equal in size and measure around an impressive 3.91 by 7.42 meters. Compared to the clear separation of enemy fleets in any of the *Armada Series*, the *Middelburg Tapestries* look more vivid because the combating ships are arranged in smaller groups. The battle is showed from a bird-eye perspective and the horizon lays on almost 9/10th of the height, which was quite a common way to place it at the time. While drawing up the cartoon, Vroom had to be aware that the areas of water would not visually turn into a vast blue mass.[97] Vroom solved this potential problem by putting an altering pattern of foam-crested waves on the water fragments.

Vroom was able to acquire his knowledge about the events that occurred during the battles from eyewitnesses. He might have had the opportunity to speak with these witnesses while he visited Jacob Valcke in Middelburg. Valcke had declared a couple of receipts for the expenses that he made while he received the weavers and the designers at his house on several occasions.[98] None of the tapestries represent a snapshot of the events that occurred. The multiple actions that we see on the two tapestries of the *Battle of Veerle* (**Fig. 11**), for example, took place in the course of a week, while some of the actions during the *Battle of Zierikzee* (**Fig. 12**) took place during night-time.[99] Vroom also visited the places where the battles took place to increase the topographical accuracy of his design. These must have been pleasant boat trips because Valcke declared a considerable amount of wine by the States of

[95] Ysselsteyn, II, 1936, no. 96.
[96] M. Russell, 1983, p. 137 and Heyning, 2007, p. 61.
[97] Pieter van Aalst had to add a flower pattern in Christ's white robe in Raphael's design for *The Charge of St. Peter* (1515-16, Vatican Museum).
[98] Heyning, 2007, p. 65.
[99] Heyning, 2007, p. 66-67.

Zeeland.[100] A problem that Vroom faced was that the silhouette of the cities had changed drastically in the course of twenty years between the battle and the manufacturing of the tapestries. The Westmonsterkerk in Middelburg, for example, was torn down in 1574 and should have therefore been represented in the background of the *Battle of Rammekens*.[101]

The appearance of the ships had also changed drastically. The ships from the Zeeuwen are recognizable by their orange-white-blue flags, while the Spanish ships carry a white flag with a red Saltire. The sterns of the Zeeland/Dutch boats are richly decorated with either the Lion of Zeeland, or the Tree of Orange. In reality, the fleet of Zeeland, especially during the first years of the revolt, consisted of a wide mixture of different types of ships that were either captured or hired.[102] It seems unlikely that a lot of time, effort and money were put in repainting these sterns with the coats of Zeeland. The ornaments that we see in the tapestries might therefore be more representative for the situation in 1595 when the Zeeland ships were richly decorated with paintings, woodcarvings and gilded statues to intimidate the enemy.

As mentioned earlier, the commission for the remaining tapestries was given to Jan de Maecht. The reason for this sudden change of weaver was not because Spierincx had charged too much. De Maecht came up with an equal price of £3 per el and for the *Coat of Arms* (**Fig. 13**) he had even asked £4 per el.[103] The real motivation to hand out the commission to De Maecht must have risen from an early form of a corporate social responsibility-ship. The government in Middelburg had stimulated the arrival of craftsmen by providing them with severe tax benefits and other profitable settlements such as free porter-ship and annual surcharges.[104] In 1593, after moving away from Brussels, De Maecht had opened his own studio in the Cellebroedercloister in Middelburg.[105] It would only be in line with the Middelburg policy to give the commission to this new-welcomed local entrepreneur.

The remaining four battles were executed in five tapestries (*The Battle of Veere* has been split-up in two parts). The sixth, and last, tapestry shows the *Coat of Arms*. The decorating board surrounding *The Battle of Bergen op Zoom* was copied and used for the other battle scenes to create a sense of unity.[106] Each board differs from the others in the Latin

[100] Heyning, 2007, p. 65.
[101] Heyning, 2007, p. 67.
[102] Heyning, K, "Een schoon schip van oorloghe". In: *Tijdschrijft voor Zeegeschiedenis*, Vol 30, 2011, p. 3.
[103] Ysselsteyn, II, 1936, No. 154-156.
[104] Heyning, 2007, p. 63.
[105] Heyning, 2007, p. 63.
[106] Spierincx often used similar kinds of boards for his tapestries that include fruit bowls, vases with flowers and allegorical figures. The inscriptions, mythological scenes and coats of arms in the upper corners are, of course, deliberate choices to place there.

inscriptions on top, and in the mythological scenes on the bottom of the boards that serve as a pendant to these inscriptions (**Table 1**).[107]

Some of the verses refer to the Zeeuwen as the "Mattiaken", a legendary German tribe that once lived on the islands of Zeeland. Abraham Ortelius (1527-1598) wrote in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570) that the Mattiaken were closely connected to the Batavieren, the presumed ancestors of the people from Dutch descent.[108] The content of the inscriptions is regional-orientated, for it expresses a great adoration for the heroic deeds of the Zeeuwen, and not in particular the people of the Dutch Republic. Only in one inscription we find a mentioning of the homeland ('t Vaderland), which, seen in context, is more likely to refer to the homeland of Zeeland than to the Republic.

The use of Latin in the inscriptions implicates that these verses were not supposed to be read by the ordinary man, but only by (local) scholars or ambassadors from other regions, who would have had no trouble in understanding these verses. The references in the mythological scenes to the battles between the Zeeuwen and the armies of Charles V are unmistakable. The mythological scenes thus show a humanistic approach on the events, while a strict religious connotation is left behind. Van Swigchem remarks that this approach is different from contemporary songs of the Sea Beggars.[109] In a song from the pamphlet *Waerachtighe geschiedenisse gheschiedt in Seelandt […]*, a particular praise for the aid of God in the achievement of their victories is evident.[110] *De waerachtige geschiedenisse des schipcrijchs […],* another pamphlet that was published in Dordrecht in 1574, equally credits the providence of God in the victory of the Zeeuwen.[111] In here, the only reference to Greek mythology is to the story of Perillos and the Brass Bull.[112] This Bull, however, was also named in the Golden Legend since the Romans had used it as an executional device during the prosecutions of early Christians.[113]

---

[107] See Appendix 1 for an overview of the inscriptions with the English translation and the accompanying mythological scene.
[108] Van Swigchem, 1991, p. 50 (note 13): Ortelius, *Theatrum*, editie Antwerpen 1592, p. 41: Mattiacorum gens Batavis similis (The Mattiaken are equal tot he Bataven).
[109] Van Swigchem, 1991, pp 76-77.
[110] (unknown author) *Waerachtighe geschiedenisse gheschiedt in Seelandt betreffende den schipcrijch die d'onse met den alghemeyen vyant ghehadt heeft ende ghenadighe troostelicke overwinninghe de welke God ons barmhartighen Vader sonder onse verdienste ende gheweldt ghegheven heeft.* Dordecht 1574.
[111] (unkown author)*De waerachtige geschiedenisse des schipcrijchs ende het innemen der stadt Middelborch geschiet in Zeelandt*, Dordrecht 1574.
[112] *De waerachtige geschiedenisse des schipcrijchs ende het innemen der stadt Middelborch geschiet in Zeelandt*. 116r. Dordrecht, 1574.
[113] *Legenda Aurea, life of St. Eustace,* exemplar Amsterdam, UBA, hs. VI B 15. Utrecht, 1438, p. 217 rb. He is send to death in a 'metalen osse' (a metal ox).

During the first seventy-five years after its completion, the tapestries were only hung on special occasions in the big hall of the "Prinsenlogement" that was located in the Abbey of Middelburg. This hall was used for receptions and other occasions that involved the presence of foreign ambassadors and statesmen.[114] The placement of the tapestries thus shows that the average citizen from Zeeland was not able to see the works that easily, and could therefore contribute to a sense of unity among the Zeeland people only to a very small extend. The tapestries primarily purpose was more likely to serve as a kind of visual propaganda that would help Zeeland to be recognized as a genuine and independent state by other European powers.

This leads us to the political significance of the last tapestry: *The Coat of Arms*. After a design by Karel Van Mander, the tapestry shows the crowned arms of Zeeland with its device: "LVCTOR ET EMERGO" (I struggle and emerge). The arms depict a lion that struggles with the water, at the time a well-known symbol for the revolt against Spain.[115] Neptune and Mars, respectively the Roman Gods of the Sea and War, support the weapon of Zeeland. In the left and right borders are six weapons of the six Zeelandic cities that have an electoral vote in the States of Zeeland (Staten van Zeeland) and who, together with a representative of the nobility (de Eerste Edele) govern the region.[116] This representative of the nobility was William of Orange. In the tapestry, William is flanked by his own Coat of Arms on the lefts, and his device "SAEVIS TRANQUILLIS IN UNDIS" (calm in the midst of troubled waters) on the right. The bottom verse praises his support during the revolt, and his device is copied in the verse. The *Coat of Arms* thus expresses the political system that Zeeland had acquired after 1577.

[114] Heyning, 2007, p. 77.
[115] Heyning, 2007, p 72. Only later on would this become the symbol for the constant battle of the Zeeuwen against the water.
[116] The placement of these city-weapons is strictly hierarchical: first is Middelburg, followed by Zierikzee, Goes, Tholen, Vlissingen and Veere.

Conclusion

While the *Coat of Arms* shows the political system of Zeeland, the other tapestries demonstrate the naval strength that this small region was capable of having. The inscriptions that accompany the images also state clearly that the Spaniards were beaten due to the fearlessness of the Zeeuwen, who are even placed in one line with the legendary tribe of the "Mattiaken". In addition, the grandeur of the tapestries also indicate that Zeeland wanted to profile itself as a legitimate power that was able to welcome various international diplomats and statesmen. Zeeland might have joined the Republic of the Seven Provinces in 1579; its government and culture were still predominantly self-centred, and the nature of this commission clearly reflects that.

In terms of realism, Vroom faced the obvious problem that, unlike the method of oil painting, tapestries were (and still are) not a suitable medium to attain life-like qualities. Besides, Vroom was responsible for the design, meaning that he was dependent on the capabilities of the weavers for the final appearance of the tapestries. Nevertheless, Vroom did take the trouble to talk to eyewitnesses and to visit the locations where the battles had taken place. This preparation seems to be more thorough than the one for his design of the Armada tapestries, for which Vroom had only used Lord Howard's personal account and a set of charts that were drawn by cartographer Robert Adams. Although the appearance of warships and the silhouette of the Zeeland cities were more likely to represent the situation of the 1590's, we must yet conclude that the tapestries give a surprisingly accurate historical account of the battles that took place on the Zeeland waters.

Chapter 3

Case Study II: Van Wieringen's "Battle of the Gibraltar, April 25, 1607"

On April 25, 1607, the Republic's first, and most successful, overseas military achievement against the Spaniards took place during the battle of Gibraltar. The admiral on Dutch side was Jacob van Heemskerck (1567-1607). This admiral had already claimed his undaunted reputation with his survival on Nova Zembla with Willem Barentsz. Van Heemskerck was sent off with an armada of twenty-six military vessels, and four supply ships, to put militarily pressure on the Spaniards. He expected to face the Spanish fleet in Lisbon, but when he did not encounter them there, he set sail further south. The Spanish fleet, as it turned out, anchored in the bay of the fortified Spanish city Gibraltar. The Spanish ships were bigger in size and had more gun power. Besides, the canons from the vesting provided the ships with an extra defence. Because of this material disadvantage, every Spanish ship had to be attacked by at least two Dutch ones while a quick entering on the Spanish ships had to be forced. This resulted in a bloody encounter with a man-to-man fight. Joris van Spilbergen was one of the officers on the Dutch side. He wrote an eyewitness account that was spread through the Netherlands several weeks after his arrival back in Holland.[117] The events during the battle were also well documented by Emanuel Van Meteren (1532-1612).[118] About a hundred Dutch men died in the battle, including Van Heemskerk, who was killed at the beginning of the action when a canon ball severed his leg. The Spaniards also lost their admiral, Don Juan Alvares d'Avilla, together with almost four thousand men (according to the Dutch) and twelve Spanish ships that were either sunk or burned.[119] The battle was a major blow for the Spanish military because Dutch ships, without any external help, had not attacked them in their own waters before. It was therefore also a signal for the Spaniards to start negotiating for peace, finally resulting in the Twelve Years Truce (1609-1621).

By the time the Twelve Years Truce came to an end, the Admiralty of Amsterdam desired to present Prince Maurice, the commander-in-chief of the armed forces in the United Provenances, a gift that would depict this important battle. Maurice had just enlarged his wing in the palace in The Hague, thereby creating enough room for a monumental piece of art. The Admiralty of West Friesland and the Noorderkwartier offered the *Battle of the Zuiderzee*

[117] Spilbergen, J., Van, *Copye van een Brief, geschreven door Joris van Spelbergh, Commijs generael […] onder 't beleydt van […] Jacob van Heemskerke […] tracterende van 't veroveren der Spaensche aramade. Wt onse armade by Capo St. Vincent, in dato 9 Mey, 1607*. (Held at University Library Gent).
[118] Meteren, E., Van, *Historie der Neder-landscher ende haerder Na-buren oorlogen ende geschiedenissen, tot den iare M.VI. C. XII*, Amsterdam, 1614.
[119] Daalder, R., 2011, p. 21.

(1573) by Hendrik Vroom to Maurice, a battle that had been of major importance for the region of West Friesland.[120] The Admiralty of Amsterdam, not wanting to be left behind by its sister Admiralty, made plans to donate Maurice with an even bigger gift, and they desired Vroom to paint it.

The "Memorialen en Notulen" of the Admiralty of Amsterdam show a well documented insight in the way a commission in the seventeenth century came into being.[121] Claes Woutersz, one of the members of the Admiralty, invited Vroom to discuss the matters concerning the decoration in the new palace of His Excellence.[122] On July 11, the minutes state that Vroom, acting rudely, had left the room after the board had asked him what price he wanted to paint the picture.[123] In a letter addressed to His Excellence, dated on June 11, the reason for Vroom's sudden departure is explained in more detail for he had asked a price of 6000 guilders; a price that the Admiralty was not willing to pay.[124] With the approval of His Excellency, they had to find another painter whose talent in marine painting was just as equal and striking as Vroom's. Otherwise, if His Excellence preferred so, they could also present him a gift from a battle on the land, just as equal in size.[125]

Maurice must have favoured a maritime subject because on July the 3rd, the board decided that Nicolaes Woutersz. van der Meer and Willem van Waermondt would travel to Haarlem to see the work of Vroom and that of another master in maritime subjects.[126] Van Waermondt was the representative from Leiden in the Amsterdam Admiralty. Van der Meer was a more distinguished person and must have stood in higher regard in the organisation. He was probably born in Delft around 1574 but was further raised in Haarlem. He owned the De Leeuw brewery from 1607 until his death in 1637.[127] Starting in 1607, he served repeatedly in the Haarlem town council. From 1619 until 1622, he served as magistrate and alderman in the Amsterdam Admiralty. Between 1622-24 and 1625-27 he worked as a delegate to the States General. Apart from these functions, he was also appointed as mayor of Haarlem several times between the years 1618 and 1635. Van der Meer must have also had close affinities

[120] Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, W., 1928, p. 52. This painting is now probaly lost.
[121] Bredius, A., *Künstler-Inventare, Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländische Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*. VII Parts, The Hague, 1915-1922. Part II, pp. 641-679.
[122] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 675, no. 1.
[123] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 675, no. 2. Based on the chronological order of the minutes, this date should probably be June 11.
[124] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 676, no. 3.
[125] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 676, no. 3.
[126] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 676, no. 4.
[127] For more information about Van der Meer, see: Thierry de Bye Dolleman, B., "De Haarlemse burgemeester Nicolaas Wouterszn. van der Meer (ca 1574-1637)". In: *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, part 29, The Hague 1975, pp. 46-60.

with the arts because Frans Hals painted a double portrait of him and his wife Cornelia Claesdr. Voocht in 1631.[128]

The next minute, dating July 9, shows that Nicolaes Woutersz. van der Meer and Willem van Waermondt had travelled to Haarlem to visit the painters Hendrick Vroom and Cornelis Claesz Van Wieringen (1577-1633) in their studios.[129] Van der Meer and Van Waermondt reported that both artists were approved to be good enough to carry out the commission, but that they preferred to hand out the commission to Van Wieringen. It seems that the obvious financial motives must have played an important role in this decision-making. This minute suggests that Vroom was still a serious candidate for the commission. But why would he be after he ran off in such fury the first time? There are also no signs that any kind of renegotiations took place to see if Vroom was perhaps more willing to settle for a price below 6000 guilders. But visiting Vroom and Van Wieringen must have been interesting for Van der Meer and Waermondt because it allowed them to make a thorough comparison between the two artists. It is interesting to wonder what pictures of marines the two gentlemen from the Admiralty might have seen which could make them even consider giving the important commission to Van Wieringen.

There are only minor biographical facts about the life of Cornelis Claesz van Wieringen. The first time his name appears in the archives is in 1579, when he registers himself in the Haarlem guild of St. Luke.[130] Van Mander writes in 1604 that Van Wieringen used to be a sailor, but the he had left the business of seafaring to become a draughtsman and painter of ships.[131] He was supposedly trained by Vroom, but there is hardly any evidence, not even by Van Mander, to support that claim. Mostly based on the many drawings by Van Wieringen, both Ron Brand and George S. Keyes suggest that Hendrick Goltzius trained him.[132] Furthermore, Van Wieringen and Goltzius were often seen in the same inn, accompanied by Willem Heda and Pieter de Grebber. Van Wieringen rarely dated or signed his works, and that makes it very difficult to give a chronological overview of his oeuvre. The earliest known painting that he signed, and dated, originates from 1616 and it measures 88 by 166 cm.[133] The circumstances under which the painting came into being are unknown. It shows an encounter between a Dutch fluyt and an English privateer in front of the coast of La Rochelle. The painting is accompanied by the text: “Met volle last . bootman . niet past / op .

[128] Frans Hals Museum, Haarlem. Inv. No. OS-I-117 and OS-I-118.
[129] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, pp. 676- 677, no 5.
[130] Brand, R., 1996, p. 99.
[131] Van Mander, K., 1604, fol. 300 r.
[132] Brand, R., 1995, p. 195. And Keyes, G. S., 1979, p. 1.
[133] Greenwich, National Maritime Museum, inv. no. BHC0723.

seerover . fel, / d'urees goodts staet vast . sulx onverrast / vaert d'boot ñA Rossel". Roughly translated this means that with a fully loaded ship, the seaman should have no fear of the pirate, and that with the help of God he would safely bring the ship to the harbour of La Rochelle. There is no evidence that this confrontation actually took place, and the painting should therefore probably be seen as a reminder about the many dangers at sea.

Two years before Van Wieringen came into contact with the Amsterdam Admiralty, he supposedly painted his first *Battle of Gibraltar* (**Fig. 15**). There is still a debate about the authorship of this painting. The Greenwich museum has attributed the painting to Van Wieringen, while the RKD sustains an authorship to De Verwer.[134] The year 1619 is written in the flag of the Spanish ship on the left (while any kind of signature is absent). The composition is atypical for several reasons. First, Dutch Vessels trace the Spanish ones in a movement from right to left. There exists no account of this chase for most of (if not all) the Spanish ships lay anchored. Also peculiar is the absence of the characteristic Rock of Gibraltar as a clear landmark of the geographical location. In Van Wieringens other depictions of the battle, this rock is always present.

It is reasonable to assume that Van Wieringen made more maritime pictures before 1621; otherwise Van der Meer and Van Maerwondt would have never paid him a visit. In any case, Van Wieringen did not get the assignment that quick. Before Van Wieringen got the green light, he had to prove that he was capable of producing such a grand and important picture by making a trial piece of 5 by 8 foot (141,5 by 226,5 cm) with two ships.[135] Willem Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, the director of the Scheepvaart museum in the 1920's, has discovered that this trial piece is probably now in the Rijksmuseum (**Fig. 16**).[136] The painting shows an exploding Spanish vessel after a direct hit from a Dutch canon. Pieces of debris, and even people, are flying through the air. The painting measures a size of 137 by 188 cm, which is slightly smaller than the demanded 141,5 by 226,5 cm.

After the trial piece was finished, and both the Admiralty and Maurice had approved its quality, Van Wieringen was asked to make a *modello* of the final design (**Fig. 17**).[137] Woutersz. Waermondt and Jacob de Vrije, also members of the Amsterdam Admiralty, visited Van Wieringen in Haarlem before any of these four independent gentlemen did.[138] They reported that Van Wieringen said that if he did his utmost best for the final picture, he

[134] Gascke, J. (edit.), Brand, R., 2008, p. 176. &
https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/record?query=abraham+de+verwer&start=2
[135] One Amsterdam foot corresponds to 28,31 cm.
[136] Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, W., 1928, p. 52-60.
[137] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 677, no. 8.
[138] Either Nicolaes Woutersz van der Meer or Claes Woutersz.

should receive a price of 3000 guilders.[139] At the end of this meeting, both parties again agreed to value the price once it was finished. Four independent men, two of whom picked by the board, and two of whom picked by Van Wieringen, would do this taxation.

The painting was finished around December 1622. Van Wieringen came to the Raadskamer to invite the Admiralty to see the work, either in Amsterdam or in Haarlem. The Admiralty replied, almost a month later, that the Heeren Coedyck, Trom and Oosterzee would go to Haarlem and see the finished painting.[140] After their return they had taxed the work at 2400 guilders.[141] Strangely enough we do not know whom Van Wieringen picked to value his painting, for all of the above-mentioned names were members of the Amsterdam Admiralty. This casts some doubts on their "independent" judgement.

Van Wieringen ended up receiving a total sum of 2450 guilders, the highest price that was then paid for a maritime painting so far. The extra 50 guilders that he received were to compensate for the transportation expenses of the painting from Haarlem to The Hague.[142] The Admiralty was even willing to pay Vroom 70 guilders for the efforts that he had had to make one-and-a-half year earlier when he was asked to make the painting after Vroom had deliberately asked for this.

The finished painting by Van Wieringen shows an overview of the battle, with in the background the city of Gibraltar and its characteristic rock (**Fig. 14**). The ships are arranged in several smaller groups. This representation corresponds with the tactics of Van Heemskerk, who had ordered his captains to attack each Spanish vessel with two smaller Dutch ones. On the left we see the ship of the Spanish vice-admiral, the *Nostra Senora de la Vega*, who is battling the ships of Symon Jansen and Cornelis Madder. Because the rules of warfare at sea dictate that ships with equal ranks should attack each other, the Spanish vice-admiral was supposed to be attacked by *De Roode Leeuw*, the flagship of the Dutch vice-admiral Laurens Jacobsz Alteras. When entering the bay, Altaras had caught an adverse wind from the land that made him drift away from his target. In the painting, *De Roode Leeuw* is shown most prominently in the foreground and, indeed, the ship sails away from the action. *De Gouden Leeuw*, the ship of Captain Pau, approaches the battling group of the Spanish vice-admiral from the right. One of Pau's men has already climbed over another Dutch boat and succeeds in taking down the Spanish commando flag, an effort that Van Heemskerck promised to

[139] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 678, no. 10.
[140] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 678, no. 12.
[141] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 678, no. 13.
[142] Bredius, A., 1915-1922, p. 679, no. 17.

reward with 50 realen.[143] In the middle, behind *De Roode Leeuw*, the battle between the admirals Jacob van Heemskerkand D'Avilla takes place. The ship of Mooy Lambert backs up Van Heemskerk, who was killed early in action. On the right, we see an Enkhuizer merchant ship; with its city's maiden that decorates the bow. While entering the bay, the Dutch encountered merchant vessels from Lübeck (one), France (four) and Holland (one from Rotterdam and two from Enkhuizen) that were captured by the Spanish and manned by Spanish soldiers.

These elements in the painting are historically very accurate and show that Van Wieringen was well informed in his representation of the battle. There is, however, one "mistake" that seems to contradict this statement, although it must be said that Van Wieringen deliberately made this mistake to delight his patrons and Maurice. The historical inaccuracy consists of the presence of a yacht in the foreground with the weapons of Prince Maurice and the Amsterdam Admiralty, both of whom were not present during the battle. Moreover, Maurice's coat of arms dates from 1622 and represents that of the Prince of Orange, a title that Maurice was not allowed to wear in 1607. In the *modello*, the yacht is placed far more to the left.[144] This implies that the Admiralty, after seeing the *modello*, demanded of Van Wieringen to put the yacht more in the centre. The woodwork on the stern is different from that in the final painting but a crowned escutcheon is still present. In both the *modello* and the final version, a man balances on the front right anchor to pick up a Dutch flag from the water. It seems no coincidence that this detail is present on this particular yacht because it forms an appropriate metaphor of saving the nation from the crisis that it was in at the time the painting was ordered in 1621.

The military success at the battle of Gibraltar contributed significantly to the formation of the twelve-year's truce. It is important to keep in mind that one of the main aspects of this truce was that during these years, the Republic was recognized as a legitimate state by its enemies.[145] This means that when the truce would come to an end, so would this recognition. Being recognized as a legitimate state was of major importance for Maurice. At first, he was even against the truce because this recognition would only be temporary. Besides, a protracted ceasefire might weaken the alertness and unity that the Dutch so desperately needed in their fight. Maurice turned out to be right because during the truce the military of the Dutch decreased significantly. In 1609, the state army was reduced with

[143] Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, W., 1928, p. 55. Realen were silver Spanish coins.
[144] Ron Brand has suggested that the ship on the left in the *modello* is that of captain Adriaan Roest. See: Brand, R., 1996, p. 108.
[145] Nimwegen, Van, O., & Prud'homme van Reine, R., 2013. pp. 255-256.

20.000 men to only 30.000.[146] The Dutch armada had also decreased from 80 warships and 12 yachts in 1607, to 16 war ships and 9 yachts during the truce. The armada's main task was to protect the merchant shipping, mostly from pirates.[147] Maurice was also afraid that by the time the truce would come to an end, the Spaniards would resume the war more fiercely.[148] He therefore pleaded for an advanced ending of the truce, before the military could decrease even more. His Lands advocate, Johan Van Oldebarneveld (1547-1619), was strongly opposed to this because he still saw the possibility to come to a definite piece with the Spaniards. To make matters worse, Maurice and Van Oldebarneveld got involved in a religious quarrel between the remonstrants and counter-remonstrants, which caused a dichotomy in the Republic and the head of Van Oldebarnevelt.

Apparently, Maurice did not have to be reminded by the Admiralty that the military needed additional financial support because this already seemed to be his top priority. Any intended messages of offering the gift to Maurice could then only indicate that the prince should not overlook its naval forces while re-enlarging his military. Right after the ending of the truce in 1621, the Dutch West India Company (WIC) was established to operate on the Atlantic sea and Caribbean's. Although the WIC was officially a trade-company, the circumstances asked for military support as well. As it turned out, the WIC became more hostile and aggressive than the VOC. Its main activities were privateering, colonization and trade. The areas in the Caribbean were the backbone of the Spanish/Portuguese economy and attacking them would not only mean a severe loss for the financing of the Spanish military, but also a significant increase for the Dutch treasure chest, most notably by Piet Hein's capturing of the Silver Fleet in 1628.[149]

Conclusion

The minutes from the Amsterdam Admiralty give a rare insight into the process of decision-making in the seventeenth century for the commissioning of a painting. The exorbitant amount of 6.000 guilders that Vroom had requested for painting the work turned out to be an unexpected setback for the Admiralty. The fact that Maurice was immediately informed about Vroom's recalcitrant attitude indicates that Maurice had possibly expressed his preference for Vroom whose now lost *Battle of the Zuiderzee* was already in his possession, as it was the

[146] Nimwegen, Van, O., and Prud'homme van Reine, R., 2013, p. 256.
[147] The truce also made sure that the VOC would stop the hostilities against the Portuguese in Asia, and that there would be no company for the western part of the indies (WIC). See Nimwegen, Van, O., and Prud'homme van Reine, 2013, p. 256.
[148] Nimwegen, Van, O., and Prud'homme van Reine, 2013, p. 258.
[149] Sigmond P., & Kloek, W., 2007, p. 45.

aforementioned gift from the Admiralty of West Friesland and the Noorderkwartier. Fortunately for the Amsterdam Admiralty, Maurice did not accept their offer to present him a painting of a battle on land instead; otherwise the Admiralty would have passed their goal quite a bit.

This "goal" seems to be closely related to the approaching end of the Twelve Year's Truce. Since the military resources in the Dutch Republic had fallen into decline, the Admiralties sought for ways to bring this issue under the attention of their governors. Given the political division in the Netherlands about the continuation of the war, the Admiralties found their ideal spokesman in the person of Maurice, who was more than willing to accept their monumental gifts in the form of marine paintings. The paintings that the two Admiralties had each offered separately to Maurice seem to indicate that it was their initial purpose to protect their own interest in the first place. It therefore remains unclear on whether the Admiralties of Amsterdam and West Friesland cooperated together, or if they were in fact competing with each other.

While working on the painting, Van Wieringen made good use of the written sources that had described the battle in great detail. The ship that is most prominently shown, *De Roode Leeuw,* which was under the command of Laurens Jacobsz Alteras, had clearly made a mistake by missing its direct opponent, the *Nostra Señora de la Vega*. Based on the conclusion that the painting served a clear purpose for propaganda, it is surprising to see that this mistake is being shown so prominently. Apparently, the historical accuracy was considered to be more important than the reputation of the naval fleet. This makes the inclusion of the yacht of Maurice all the more remarkable, since the prince had not been present during the battle at all.

Epilogue

Maurice could not enjoy Van Wieringen's painting very long because he died three years later in 1625. An inventory from the palace in The Hague, dating 1634, mentions a *Battle of Gibraltar* by Abraham De Verwer.[150] This inventory does not mention anything about Van Wieringen and the battle that Maurice had received about twelve years earlier. Dr. Hofstede de Groot explains this mysterious note by saying that the maker of this inventory list simply made a mistake by attributing the work to De Verwer.[151] But Van Gelder rightly points out that this seems unlikely since the painting was merely twelve years old, meaning that it should be relatively fresh in anyone's memory, especially because of the monumental size of it.[152] Three minutes, however, from the Amsterdam Admiralty make matters even more complicated.[153]

These minutes state that on May 11, 1628 (early in the afternoon), Abraham de Verwer announced to the Amsterdam Admiralty that they had ordered him several years earlier to paint a picture from the *Battle of Gibraltar* to honour His Excellence Maurice. De Verwer complains that the same commission was also given to Van Wieringen, and since De Verwer had finished the painting, he demanded to get a reasonable price for it. The lords Lanschot, Van Neck and Schoonenburch went to see De Verwer's painting that same day in his studio in Amsterdam. They reported that the painting was executed well, and that a lot of effort was put into it. De Verwer was then paid a price of 2400 guilders, the same amount that Van Wieringen had received for his commission. Who were these three gentlemen and why did the Admiralty give in that easily when so much money was at stake?

The index of the "Holland Members of the Amsterdam Admiralty Board" does indeed show that a certain Gerard van Lanschot and Jacob Cornelisz van Neck were in function during the year 1628.[154] There is no record of man named Schoonenburch and we must therefore assume that he was an assistant who happened to come long. But the most noteworthy name is that of Jacob Cornelisz van Neck, whose function in the administration was that of magistrate and aldermen (the same functions that Van der Meer fulfilled for the Admiralty in 1622). Interestingly enough, Van Neck had had a long career as a Dutch naval officer and explorer, and he had led the Second Dutch Expedition to Java (1598 to 1599)

[150] This inventory is published in: Drossaers, S.W.A., *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken, 1567-1795*, The Hague, 1974-76.
[151] Drossaers, S.W.A., 1974-76. Note by Hofstede de Groot concerning inv. no. 179.
[152] Van Gelder, H.E., 1947, pp. 211-212.
[153] The minutes are published in: Van Gelder, H.E., *Abraham de Verwer levert een schilderij van den slag bij Gibraltar*. In: Oud Holland, Vol. 62 No. 6, 1947, pp. 211-213.
[154] Brandon, P., 2015, pp. 332-33.

together with Jacob van Heemskerk, the admiral during the Battle of Gibraltar. Personal motives about the subject of the painting, in which Van Heemskerk died, may have therefore been a factor regarding the willingness of the Admiralty to pay the equal sum of 2400 guilders for a painting that was in essence obsolete because the gift to Maurice had already been given away a couple of years before, and Maurice had died in the meantime. We do, however, not know what happened with the De Verwer painting because no further records of it exist.[155]

[155] In 1639, the VOC had asked De Verwer to brush up a "Gibraltar" that they had previously acquired from the painter, so this cannot be the one mentioned in the catalogue (see: Kramm, C., *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters, van den vroegste tijd tot op onzen tijd*. Amsterdam, 1857-1864, pp. 160-161), and neither his presumed other *Battle of Gibraltar* (National Maritime Museum Greenwich, inv. no. 33-27) because that one is dated 1619. The exact whereabouts of the Van Wieringen painting in 1632 are also unknown. If it was not recorded in the inventory of 1632 it could not have stayed very long in its intended place. After Maurice's death, the painting was therefore probably transferred to the House of German royals of whom the Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam had bought it from in 1928. See: Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, W., 1928, p. 54.

Part 2

Commissions after the Dutch Revolt

The Netherlands around 1648

Although the Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, there had been several attempts for peace negotiations from 1629 onwards.[156] The unexpected siege of 's-Hertogenbosch in 1629 had caused a shockwave in Madrid, meaning that the Spanish king was willing to negotiate for peace.[157] Any form of peace negotiations, however, could hardly make any advancement because the Dutch provinces were divided too strongly in their political visions.[158] In the following years, the war continued to carry on without any significant results while both parties celebrated minor victories from time to time. Internal problems on the Iberian Peninsula had caused a sudden change to the position of the Spanish. Apart from the war in the Netherlands, the Spanish were also fighting in the Franco-Spanish war (1635-1659) and the draining Thirty-Year's War (1618-1648) that raged throughout Europe. Of course, these wars posed a great demand on the Spanish Royal treasury that had to be supplemented with the necessarily additional taxes. In May 1640, the people of Catalonia revolted against the extra taxes to support these wars. When the Portuguese were asked to supress the Catalan revolt, they started to rebel as well. This unexpected turn of events forced the Spanish to offer peace to its hostile nations, provided that they would not intervene with the Catalan and Portuguese rebellions.[159]

But the opinions among the Dutch provinces about peace continued to be divided. It would eventually be until January 1646 that a Dutch delegation would travel to Münster to negotiate with a Spanish delegation. Throughout the negotiations, it was the province of Zeeland that took the hardest stand when they refused to sign a concept text for a truce of twenty years in which the Dutch Republic was recognized by Spain as a legitimate state, and the Spanish would even accept the closure of the Scheldt.[160] Throughout the rest of the negotiations, the States of Zeeland would keep their "Zeeuwse Stubborness". Despite Zeeland's continuous resistance that was supported by the Orange partisans, the official rectification was signed in the Krameramthaus in Münster on May the 15th 1648, thereby

[156] Sigmond & Kloek, 2008, p. 78.
[157] Prak, 2002, p. 49.
[158] Prak, 2002, p. 49.
[159] Prak, 2002, p. 50.
[160] Prak, 2002, p. 50.

putting a final end to the war.[161] The most significant outcome of the Peace of Westphalia granted the United Provinces of the Low Countries as an independent and sovereign state and that foreign governments should treat the newly formed Republic as such.[162]

Now that the war with the Spaniards was finally over (the hostilities at sea with Spain had already come to an end with the fall of Dunkirk in 1646), the English began to lurk to put a stop on the growing expansion of the Dutch international trade.[163] The English and the Dutch were debating the free right of passages throughout the English Channel.[164] At stake was the issue of the *mare liberum*. Hugo de Groot (or Grotius) formulated the idea of the *mare liberum* in 1609 as an attempt to justify the right that belonged to the Dutch to participate in the East India trade. In a broader context, the *mare liberum* means that the sea is free to all and that no one had the right to deny others access to it. The Englishman John Selden argued this view of Hugo de Groot in his publication of *mare clausum seu Dominum Maris* (1635), which meant that the English declared their sovereignty in the seas surrounding their land.[165] To reinforce Selden's position, Lord Cromwell introduced the Act of Navigation in 1651.[166] This law prohibited foreign fishery in front of the English coast. It also stated that the English had the right to search cargo-ships from other nations, and that foreign vessels were forced to salute English ships by stroking their flag first during an encounter at sea.[167] Several incidents in which Dutch ships refused to salute the English increased the tension between the two countries and this led to several attempts of the English to blockade the entire Dutch coastline.[168] War became inevitable and between 1652 and 1654 the first of three Anglo-Dutch wars were fought at sea.[169] Seen from a patriotic point of view, it was the first time that the Dutch Republic was fighting a war as a legitimate state.

[161] Boxer, 1965, p. 28. The province of Zeeland was in need of adequate state support for the WIC in Brasil and the Orange partisans had a desire to retain the French alliance together with strengthening the Stadtholders dynastic interest by conquering the Southern Netherlands.
[162] Prak, 2002, p. 51; Manzano Baena, 2007, p. 618.
[163] Prudhomme van Reine, 2001, p. 135.
[164] Sigmond & Kloek, 2008, p. 79.
[165] Boxer, 1974, p. 16.
[166] Sigmond & Kloek, 2008, p. 79.
[167] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, pp. 135-136.
[168] Sigmond & Kloek, 2008, p. 79.
[169] There is even a fourth Anglo-Dutch War that was fought at sea, but this war took place between 1780-1784 and has little to do with the circumstances a century earlier.

Chapter 4

Case Study III: A Series of Four Pen Paintings for the Tromp Family

The Anglo-Dutch wars led to a surprising upheaval of depictions from naval battles in the field of marine paining.[170] What seems significant for this renewed popularity is that these wars were fought solely at sea. The two Willem van de Veldes, father and son, became the leading exponents of the genre.[171] Willem van de Velde the Elder can best be described as a draughtsman of ships and only during his final years in England did he take oil painting more seriously.[172] He was an expert in the art of pen painting, a technique in which a pen makes an image on top of a layer of lead white and oil, with either a panel or canvas as a carrier. As it was a common practice among marine painters to get acquainted with diverse weather conditions and the appearances of ships, Willem the Elder too was no stranger to the life at sea. Arnold Houbraken, while referring to the *Lives* of Van Mander and Van Hoogstraten on how different paths and coincidences could lead to a profession in the arts, uses the commonplace that Van de Velde the Elder had started his career in seafaring and that this had led him to become a marine artist.[173] Van de Velde the Elder's father, Willem Willemsz Van de Velde, had indeed been a boatman on inland waters, but there exists no proof that Willem the Elder had participated in his father's profession during his younger years.[174] Willem the Younger, on the other hand, spent his formative years on land in the studio of Simon de Vlieger.[175] In 1651, after finishing his education by De Vlieger, Willem the younger went on to collaborate with his father.[176] In their workshop, they had a strict division of labour in which the elder Van de Velde made accurate drawings of ships that his son would turn into oil paintings.[177]

If we were to focus on the depiction of battles at sea alone from the collective hands of father and son, then it is interesting to notice that they, for the most part, made images of contemporary battles, more specifically the three Anglo-Dutch wars. From the total of seventy paintings (of which twenty-one have unclear attributions) and eighteen pen paintings (grisailles) from the battles at sea that Michael S. Robinson makes account of in his oeuvre-catalogue of the Van de Veldes, there are only two pen paintings in which the subject dates

[170] Bol, 1973, p. 297; Daalder, 2008, p. 17.
[171] Daalder, 2008, p. 17.
[172] Lammertse, 1997, pp. 411-412.
[173] Houbraken, I, 1718, pp. 354. Daalder, 2013, p. 45.
[174] Daalder, 2013, p. 40; p. 47.
[175] Houbraken, II, 1719, p. 325.
[176] Daalder, 2013, p. 85.
[177] Daalder, 2016, p. 69.

back to the Dutch revolt.[178] These two pen paintings are now in the Rijksmuseum in Amsterdam and were made by Willem van de Velde the Elder, meaning that his son did not make a single 'historical' artwork with a scene from the Dutch Revolt. These two pictures show *The Battle of Dunkirk (8-18 February 1639)* (**Fig. 18**) and *The Battle of the Dows (11-21 October 1639)* (**Fig. 19**) and are both dated 1659. A lot has been written and speculated in the past about the origins of these two works.[179] Both pictures are accounted as part of a series of four pen paintings that were owned, and supposedly commissioned, by members of the Tromp family. A first glance at the overall subject matter immediately explains why the Tromp family had an interest in the paintings. Three paintings show important sea battles in which Maerten Tromp had fought, i.e. *The battles of Dunkirk*, *The battle of the Downs* and *The Battle of Ter Heide* (**Fig. 20**), while the fourth painting celebrates the heroic deeds of Maerten's son Cornelis in the *Battle of Leghorn* (**Fig. 22**). Since the commissioning of these paintings probably originated from private circumstances, we can provisionally conclude that the Van de Veldes were not given (or did not accept) any public commissions to commemorate the nation's achievements during the Dutch Revolt.

As we shall see in this chapter, the two battles from 1639 proved to be popular subjects among other marine artist as well, especially *The Battle of the Downs* which had caused the Spaniards a serious blow. The military successes at sea from 1639 took place under the commandership of the charismatic and popular Lieutenant-admiral Maerten Tromp. In order to obtain a better understanding regarding the commissioning of the aforementioned battles around 1657, I will first give a brief account about the way the persona of Maerten Tromp was honoured and criticized in Dutch society during his life and after his death. This will lead us to the second part of this chapter where Van de Velde the Elder plays a central role, or more specifically, his relation to the patrons from whom he possibly received the commission for the "Tromp-ensemble" that is now in the Rijksmuseum.

The Glorification of Maerten Tromp

Maerten Tromp's promotion as Lieutenant-admiral of the "'s Lands Vloot" in 1637 was a remarkable change in attitude for the navy because members of the Dutch nobility mostly

[178] Robinson, 1990. Eleven of these pen paintings were most likely made my Cornelis Pietersz. Mooij. Robinson has excluded drawings on parchment for unknown reasons, and an inventory of Van de Velde's pen paintings on parchment has never been made.

[179] See the polemic between Wouter Kloek and Ronald Prud'homme van Reine in the *Bulletin of the Rijksmuseum*. Kloek, 2003; Prud'homme, 2004).

took prominent positions such as these.[180] The appointment of Piet Hein (1577-1629) as Lieutenant-admiral in 1629 had been the only exception to the rule but, because of Hein's early death, he could not make a lasting impression in this occupation as such.[181] Hein's successor, and Tromp's predecessor, was the nobleman Philips van Dorp, who was generally regarded as an incompetent leader.[182] The character of Tromp, on the other hand, is often described as being charismatic with a strong and inventive insight into naval war fighting.[183]

During the first months after his appointment as Lieutenant-admiral, Tromp was mostly occupied with the Dunkirk privateers. Under the guise of Spanish letters of marque, the Dunkirk privateers had operated in front of the Flemish coast while costing the Dutch merchant ships a great deal of damage. Between 1627 and 1646, they had captured around 229 ships on an annual basis, and at least half of them came from Dutch origins.[184] The harbour of Dunkirk was also of great strategic importance for the Habsburg Empire to sustain a continuous transportation of men and material to the warfronts in the Southern Netherlands. After the French had cut off the allocation through land during the Thirty-Year's War (1618-1648), the Spanish were forced to use a different route over the Atlantic Sea and the English Channel.[185]

Tromps first success as admiral took place in 1639 during the battle of Dunkirk. Tromp had been ordered to block the port of Dunkirk where the Spanish fleet, with supposedly fourteen warships, seven merchants ships and six thousand men, was preparing to set sail to Galicia in order to fight the French.[186] On February the 18th, right after the morning fog had cleared, twenty-two Spanish ships, one more than Tromp had anticipated for, got into action and approached the twelve Dutch ships that were blocking the harbour. The battle was attended from the shore by a large amount of people. Among them was the governor of Dunkirk, Count de Fuentes, who was expecting to witness a dominating victory for his men. But after four hours of fighting, the defeated privateers were forced to return to the harbour of Dunkirk.

Although the Dutch were seen as the victors of the battle, their losses had been severe and the blockade had lost it strength. This allowed the Spaniards to break through on March

[180] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 55.
[181] Hein's most notable achievement, the capturing of the Silverfleet, occurred in 1628.
[182] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 55.
[183] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 60.
[184] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 57.
[185] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 58.
[186] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 67.

the 12th.[187] During Tromp's meeting in the States General on February 24th, Tromp was assured that his home country would give him honour and credit for his service.[188] As recognition for his military actions, Tromp received a golden medal from the States General that was worth 2000 guilders. In addition, the province of Holland also gifted Tromp with a medal, even though it was worth only half the price that the States-General had offered their admiral. There were also obeisances from France because King Louis XIII was grateful that Tromp managed to postpone the reinforcements of troops to Northern-Spain, where the French had achieved some military successes.[189] Because of this, the French King decided to honour Tromp with the knighthood of St. Michel, and the French minister, Cardinal Richelieu, offered him a costly medal that contained a portrait of Richelieu himself. But the loot of the battle provided Tromp with the most earnings. From the total sum of 80.000 guilders that was captured, Tromp had received 3525 guilders.[190]

The medals of honours that Maerten Tromp had received unmistakeably show in which national and international respect the Dutch Lieutenant-admiral came to be. But an even greater victory for Tromp took place on October 21, 1639 during the battle of the Downs. This battle was, as it were, a continuation to the battle of Dunkirk earlier that year. The Spanish army had sent an armada to fight against the French. In response, Tromp had crossed the channel with his men in order to intercept this armada. When Tromp had the armada in his sight, he forced them to turn to the anchorage of the Downs, which was on neutral English territory. The English had every right to defend the neutrality of their anchorage, but admiral Pennington thought that it was interesting to see the Spanish dangling a bit.[191] Besides, it would have been too much of a risk for the English to interfere in the violence because loose canon shots and drifting burners could have easily caused great damage to their ships. The English therefore decided to take advantage of the situation by trying to sell highly overpriced gunpowder to the Spanish, whom were almost through their supply. Since the Spaniards could not, or refused, to pay the high price for the gunpowder, the status quo remained. At first, this was all in favour of Tromp whose fleet was reinforced with the arrival of a few dozen additional ships. But when Tromp got tired of waiting for the armada to set sail, he had his captains deliver round timber so that the broken Spanish masts

[187] Sigmond & Kloek, 2007, p. 73.
[188] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 68: "Het landt sulcx tot dienst ende hem tot eeren en reputatie soude strecken"
[189] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 69.
[190] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 69.
[191] Sigmond & Kloek, 2007, p. 76.

that were damaged during the earlier chasing could be repaired.[192] Tromp even offered his enemy free gunpowder from his own barrels, hoping that the inevitable encounter could finally take place. The Spaniards declined this generous offer by demanding that their wounded soldiers would get a free passage to Dunkirk; a demand that the Dutch were unwilling to follow. Nevertheless, such incidents give a good impression about the way the war was fought between the nations and that Tromp wanted to give the impression, at least to the outside world, to make it a fair fight where perhaps his personal honour was at stake.

When the wind had settled favourably on October 21st, Tromp decided to take the attack with his fleet of 95 warships and 11 burners.[193] The battle resulted into a resounding victory for the Dutch. On the Spanish side, only twelve ships remained in operation while the rest of the armada was captured, destroyed or drifted away to the English beach. The burning of the Spanish/Portuguese sea castle the Santa Teresa was considered to be the highlight of the action.[194] Tromp wrote in his journal that he had commanded "this Portuguese Goliath, this horrible monster, to be put in ashes".[195] The losses on the Dutch side were significantly less. The only real setback occurred when Dutch burners accidently destroyed the ship of Captain Musch. Apart from this unfortunate incident, about a hundred Dutch men had lost their life. The English, who participated in the battle with their canons from the shore, more or less as a formality, only lost one horse that was shot in the head by a loose canon ball. The Spaniards, on the other hand, lost approximately 7000 men, of which a large part was made prisoners of war.[196] The objective of the Spaniards was nevertheless achieved since almost half of their army and cargo had arrived in Dunkirk. Admiral Antonio de Oquendo is for this reason still honoured in his hometown San Sebastián as a great admiral who was considered to be invincible by his enemies (although soon after his return to La Coruña in 1640, he died from his injuries).[197]

After the battle at the Downs was won, the fame of Tromp was rapidly increased. His exact earnings from the overall loot of 134.469 guilders have permanently been kept secret, but it has always been assumed that his stake was considerable.[198] Crispijn de Passe de Jonge painted a portrait of Tromp in December 1639 (**Fig. 23**). This portrait became popular as a print, and in January 1640, the Admiralty of Amsterdam had even bought seventeen copies of

[192] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 83.
[193] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 84.
[194] Sigmond & Kloek, 2007, p. 78.
[195] Sigmond & Kloek, 2007, p. 78.
[196] Prud'homme, 2001, pp. 85-86.
[197] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 86.
[198] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, pp. 88-89.

it.[199] Apart from the memorial medals, there were also many festivities. On the evening of November the 9th, numerous bonfires and thanksgiving prayers where held throughout the country to celebrate the battle victory. During a fireworks show in The Hague, a model of the Santa Teresa was set on fire on the Hofvijver. These celebrations, that were often accompanied with praiseworthily pamphlets and poems, clearly show how popular the persona of Tromp came to be for the people in The Netherlands, and his growing image as a folk hero. In a print from 1639, for example, Tromp is represented as a God of the Seas (**Fig. 24**). Floating on a triumphal carriage, he is pulled by two white horses while Triton, the son of Poseidon, blows his horn. In the background, the battle of the Downs takes place. A direct line is drawn from this victory to the military heroism of Maerten van Heemskerck and Piet Hein by showing their achievements in the two upper corners. A painting with a similar message by Abraham Casteleyn shows Tromp, seated on a throne, as the ruler of the sea (**Fig. 25**). Several Gods from the Greek/Roman mythology either admire Tromp, or feel subdued by him. The painting was known under the title "Zeetriomf van Admiraal Tromp" and during the 1640's it was displayed in the Sint Jorisdoelen on the Haagse Veer in Rotterdam.[200] According to the RKD, the painting was made after Tromp's death in 1653, but a pamphlet from the 1640's already makes a notion of the painting.[201] The appearance of Trump has indeed more in common with his portrait made by Michiel van Miereveld from 1640, than the old and wrinkled face of Tromps portrait by Jan Lievens from 1652.

Apart from the personal glorification of Tromp, there were also several prints on the market that represented the battles of 1639 in a more general way. Of course, the proud Admiralties were eager buyers of such prints. Already on October the 11th 1639, the Admiralty of Amsterdam had bought sixteen prints by Balthasar Floriszoon van Berckenrode for 2 guilders a piece. The Admiralty of Rotterdam had bought fourteen copies of the same print by the artist's wife for a total sum of 90 guilders (which would probably have been a luxurious edition). On a print by Salomon Savery, a combat is shown between the *Aemilia* and the *Santa Teresa* that never took place in reality. The number of paintings representing the battles of 1639, however, turned out to be small. Savery had produced his print after a painting by Abraham de Verwer, but this painting has been lost. The only thing that we know about this painting is that De Verwer had sold it to the Admiralty of Amsterdam on April the

[199] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 87.
[200] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 94.
[201] https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/54062; Prud'hommes, 2001, p. 96; Pamphlet *Collyrium ofte costelijcke ooghensalve, gehecomponeert door Mr. Jan Brilleman*, Cat. Knuttel, 5591, p. 7-8. The pamphlet describes a fictitious dialogue between two men who mock the pretentious way in which Tromp is portrayed.

3rd 1649, for the sum of 1550 guilders.[202] The Admiralty, in turn, donated the picture to Willem II and it was put in his palace at the Honselerdijk. Unfortunately, no furthers records from the painting are known today after it was sold in a later time.[203]

After the battles in 1639, Tromp continued to perform his military duties during the remaining years of the Eighty Year's War. His main tasks consisted of blockading and intercepting the Dunkirk privateers, and escorting Dutch trade vessels through the English Channel. When the Dunkirk privateers had finally surrendered in 1646, Tromp was greatly rewarded by the French commander in chief Enghien with a jewel that was worth 24.000 guilders.[204] In Holland, Tromp was confronted with a smear campaign that was probably indulged by his jealous vice-Admiral Witte de With.[205] In the pamphlet *Collyrium ofte costelijke ooghensalve* from 1647, a personal attack is made on Tromp after he is being accused of calling himself "the God of the Sea". His luxurious lifestyle in his home at the Korte Voorhout and his marriage with Cornelia Teding van Berkhout, an orphan from a distinguished regents family, was also welcomed ammunition for his opponents to spread the impression that he lived beyond what his actual wealth would allow.

J.E. Elias wrote down in his *Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van ons Zeewezen* that Tromp was a fierce supporter of the House of Orange, meaning that it is no coincidence that most of his criticism came from the Dutch States Party (de Staatsgezinden).[206] Although this may be true for his relation with Frederik Hendrik (1584-1647), Tromp's connection with Frederik's successor Willem II (1626-1650) was less close. According to the pamphlet *Een praatje van den Ouden en Nieuwen Admiraal* from 1653, Tromp had even disapproved the coup that Willem II had carried out in 1650.[207] Still, Tromp's passive attitude during several encounters with the English admiral Blake in 1652 bought him in discredit with the States General, who were run by the Dutch State Party at the time.[208] In reality, bad weather conditions and heavy storms had caused both parties to avoid a fight. Besides, Tromp was still

[202] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 93; NA, AA, 1404, d.d. 3-4, 4-6, 5-10 en 6-10-1649.
[203] Three other paintings from the *Battle of the Downs* that were made after 1648 are: Arnoldus van Anthonissen *Battle of the Downs*, dated 1660-1703 (his active years as a painter) (private collection E. K. W. Brandt) and Jacob Feyt de Vries or Pieter Cornelisz. van Soest. *Battle of the Downs,* dated 1640-1660 (Sothebys's London, England 30-10-2008, lot no. 47). Reinier Nooms' (called Zeeman) portrait of the Amelia, the flagship of Maerten Tromp, that sails towards the battle of the Downs is dated 1639, but this seems hardly likely since Nooms was around the age of 15 in 1639. An exact dating is yet unknown, so no conclusions can be drawn on whether or not is was made after 1648 (London, National Maritime Museum, BHC 3189).
[204] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 119.
[205] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 120.
[206] Elias, 1916-1930, III, p. 30.
[207] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 130; Pamphlet Cat. Knuttel (The Hague, Koninklijke Bibliotheek), 1653, p. 24, no. 7443.
[208] Prud'homme van Reine, pp. 141-142.

under the impression that a war with England could have been avoided. In any case, Tromp was temporarily released from his function as Lieutenant-admiral for several months while his rival Witte de With took charge of the naval fleet.

When the war with the English had finally broken loose (but before Tromp had convincingly proved his innocence to the States General in the affair regarding admiral Blake), Tromp was assigned as Commander in Chief of the Dutch navy. The Zeeuw Evertsen was placed second in rank while De With, De Ruyter and Pieter Floriszoon would all serve below Tromp.[209] The inadequate talents of Witte de With during Tromps absence must have also played a role in that decision-making.[210] Despite the many warnings of Tromp to strengthen the Dutch naval fleet, the States General would never fully fulfil his request. During several encounters with the English at sea, the fleet of Tromp was hardly capable of defending themselves against the English force majeure. Although Tromp always managed to limit the damage, he could not withstand the English during the battle of Ter Heide that took place on 31 July 1653.

After the battle of Ter Heide had finished, Willem van de Velde the Elder wrote a letter to the States General in which he gave an account about the material losses on the English side.[211] Although the material losses on the Dutch side were more substantial than the English losses, the death of admiral Maerten Tromp was considered to be the greatest defeat of the battle.[212] Ever since the death of admiral Maerten van Heemskerk during the battle of Gibraltar, it became a tradition for admirals who died in battle to have a state funeral and a honourable sepulchre. The States General paid for Tromp's sepulchre that was made after a design by the sculptor Rombout Verhulst (**Fig. 26**).[213] Willem van de Velde the Elder made a design for the relief that was executed by Willem de Keyser on the pedestal of the tomb. This tomb, which is located on the north side of the choir in the Oude Kerk in Delft, shows the laying admiral in full armour. His head rests on the barrel of a canon, which is a clever reference to the literal meaning of the name "Tromp" in Old Dutch. Above the statue of Tromp stand two putti that hold on to the coats of armour from the States General and the province of Holland. These coats of armour represent Tromps service for his country and Holland.

[209] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 157.
[210] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 156.
[211] Robinson, 1990 I, p. 19.
[212] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 190.
[213] Sigmond & Kloek, 2008, p. 80.

As the tomb monument of Maerten Tromp is still in its original place today and being visited by many tourists in Delft, the seventeenth interior scenes by Hendrick Cornelisz van Vliet from the Oude Kerk show us that nothing much has changed in the past four hundred years.[214] In one of his paintings from 1658, a small group of people is standing in front of the monument while they visibly look up to Tromp (**Fig. 27**). In another painting by Van Vliet, one in which the monument of Tromp is less prominently in the foreground of the picture, a similar group of people is again gathered around the monument of Tromp (**Fig. 28**). Van Vliet had also painted the interior of the Nieuwe Kerk in Delft showing a memorial sign that was dedicated to Tromp's influential father-in-law, Adriaen Teding van Berckhout.[215] Van Vliet made this picture as a commission for Adriaen's son (and Tromp's brother-in-law), Paulus Teding van Berckhout, meaning that Van Vliet had close ties with Tromp's family.[216] Interior scenes of churches from other artists also have people stand around the tomb-monuments of prominent deceased people, as can be seen in pictures that show the tombs of William of Orange, or Piet Hein (**Fig. 29**).[217] Since Tromp can also be added to this list, these paintings show that he stood almost on equal feet as the Father of the Nation.

Poets like Joost van den Vondel and Jan Six celebrated Tromps heroic deeds in numerous of praises and poems. J.Z. Baron and Heyman Dullaert even refer to Tromp as the "Vader des Vaderlants", a title that seemed to be reserved solely for William of Orange.[218] But from the numerous of praises we can deduce that the contemporary writers acknowledged the importance of Tromp. And indeed, the groundwork of Tromp had proved to be essential in professionalizing the Dutch navy. Unfortunately for Tromp, he could not reap the benefits from this foundation. During the second and third Anglo-Dutch wars, Michiel de Ruyter became very successful as the navy's leading admiral. This may explain why during later times, De Ruyter has always been considered to be the most conspicuous Dutch naval hero, with a culmination of his heroic status in the nineteenth century. Perhaps Maertens son Cornelis, who also went on to pursue a military career in the Dutch navy, had intended this role for himself. As we shall see in the commission and ownership of the four pen paintings by Willem van de Velde the Elder, the offspring of Maerten was keen to keep the memory of their father alive.

---

[214] Giltaij, 1991, p. 215.
[215] Delft, Prinsenhof.
[216] https://www.verenigingrembrandt.nl/705/de-kunst/de-verrijking/6-maart-2015:-museum-prinsenhof-verwerft-een-17de-eeuws-kerkinterieur-van-hendrick-van-vliet/.
[217] Another example is: Emanuelle de Witte, *Oude Kerk Delft with tomb of Piet Hein*, after 1642, St Petersburg, Hermitage, inv/cat nr. 955.
[218] Scheurleer, D. F., I, 1912- 1915 p. 422 and p. 436.

The Commission to Willem van de Velde the Elder

Although the four pen paintings were originally decorated with identical appliques and the coat of arms from Maerten Tromp that he had received from the French King after the Battle of the Downs in 1639, the series of four were not likely to be intended as a whole.[219] The reason for this assumption is that the paintings differ in their formats, the profiling of their black ebony frames, and the carrier on which they were made. Three pictures are made on canvas, while The *Battle of Leghorn* is made on panel. The similar appliques on the frames, however, do suggest that the four works were brought together as a series at a very early stage.[220] *The Battle of Dunkirk*, and *The Battle of the Downs* do not have any of the aforementioned differences, and may have therefore been indented as counterparts to each other from the beginning.

Until quite recently, there has been a disagreement on which of Maertens sons commissioned the works by Van de Velde. It had been assumed for a long time that Cornelis gave the commission for all the four pen paintings to Van de Velde.[221] Friso Lammertse rejected this assumption by stating that Cornelis Tromp's brother Harpert had commissioned three of the four pen paintings. Lammertse based his hypothesis on an inventory list that was made after Harpert's death in 1691, which showed Harpert's belongings from his house "Dirxvelt" in Rijswijk. The inventory shows that Harpert owned three "teijckeningh[en]" from Van de Velde with the battles of *Ter Heide* ("Een zeeslach van adm. Maerten Tromp daerinne deselve gebleven is sijnde een teijckenigh van Van de Velde"), *Dunkirk* ("Een van slach van Mardijck van deselve") and *The Dunes* ("Een dito van slach in Duijns van deselve").[222] Cornelis, as Lammertse believes, can only be accounted for owning the *Battle of Leghorn*.[223] This may explain why the *Battle of Leghorn* is the only pen painting in the series that is executed on panel, and in which a battle with Cornelis takes place. After Cornelis and Harpert both died in 1691, and with Cornelis dying childless, the brothers' combined inheritance came into possession of Harpert's children. Lammertse believes that at this point,

[219] Van Thiel & Klops, 1984, pp. 191-193; Lammertse, 1996, p. 421; Prud'homme, 2001, p. 226; Sigmond & Kloek, 2007, p. 73.
[220] The appliques on *The Battle of Ter Heide* and *The Battle of Leghorn* are restored and placed back on the frames. The appliques on the other two paintings are damaged too much to be currently displayed. Although the appliques are different in the use of the trophies, they all share the same seize. See: Van Thiel & Klops, 1984, pp. 191-193.
[221] Lammertse, 1997, p. 421.
[222] Lammertse, 1997, pp. 421-423, note 4; Gemeentearchief Delft, Notarieel Archief, 2291 (notary W. van Ruyven), act. No. 56, November, 15, 1691.
[223] Lammertse, 1997, p. 421.

the four pen paintings were put together for the first time since they were all provided with the identical appliques.[224]

Ronald Prud'homme van Reine gives a different history for the commission of the four pen paintings. According to Prud'homme van Reine, *The Battle of Leghorn* was the first of the four pen paintings that was made and the initial commission was not from any of the Tromp family members, but from the Amsterdam Admiralty.[225] In 1654, Willem van de Velde was working for the Amsterdam Admiralty on a "schetse" (sketch) of the *Battle of Leghorn* that would function as a design for the relief on the tomb monument of admiral Jan Van Galen, whom had died from his injuries during this battle.[226] Because the minute mentions the word "schetse", it has always been assumed that Van de Velde was working on a drawing, and not a pen painting.[227] An unpublished minute of the Amsterdam Admiralty of June 12, however, mentions the term "grootte teyckeninge" in relation to the design of the relief, which is, according to Prud'homme van Reine, a Dutch seventeenth-century expression for a pen painting.[228] The minute from June 12 further says that Van de Velde did not accept an offer of 100 guilders because it had caused him a great effort (groote moeyten) to produce.[229] The next day, the Admiralty had even offered 200 guilders, on the condition that Van de Velde would review the "teyckeninge" with the sculptor Willem de Keyser. In addition, Van de Velde was asked to provide a frame in order to have his work displayed in the Raedkamer of the Admiralty.[230] These minutes are difficult to read and numerous of pages have been lost due to a fire in the nineteenth century. Still, we may assume that Van de Velde did also neglect this offer since no evidence is found that the framed pen painting was present in the Amsterdam Raedkamer at any time. Given the large sum of 200 guilders that the Admiralty was willing to pay and their wish to have it framed and displayed in their Raedkamer, Prud'homme van Reine states that the artefact in question is the pen painting in the Rijksmuseum and not a drawing on paper as was previously assumed.[231]

If the pen painting functioned as a design for the relief underneath the tombstone of Jan van Galen, then we cannot help but notice that a great amount of detail from the pen painting has been lost in the relief. Usually, the detail in execution between design and final product is the other way around. In the pen painting, the sails of the combatting ships appear

[224] Lammertse, 1997, p. 421.
[225] Prud'homme van Reine, 2004, p. 336.
[226] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 225; NA, AA, 1408, d.d. 19/05/1654.
[227] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 225.
[228] Prudhomme van Reine, 2001, p. 225.
[229] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 225; NA, AA, 1408, d.d. 12/06/1654.
[230] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, p. 225; NA, AA, 1408, d.d. 13/06/1654.
[231] Prud'homme van Reine, 2001, pp. 225-226.

to be shattered from the flying debris from the battle. On the relief, these sails seem to be completely intact. Another difference is that the flags in the relief lack any form of distinction, thereby letting the ships to fight under white anonymous flags. The contrast between the detailed drawn pen painting and the sculpted relief makes one wonder why Van de Velde would even bother to make his design in such a fine way if he knew that this amount of detail could never be achieved in the final relief on the tombstone. Besides, the pen painting is executed on panel, and this too seems to be quite pretentious if its initial purpose was to be a design. Dendrochronological research on the panel by the Rijksmuseum does not exclude that the panel was made in 1654, but a date around 1657 seems more likely.[232] Remmelt Daalder rightfully asks the question whether a drawing on paper with the same size as the relief would not have been as good, or even more helpful, for Willem de Keyser to work with.[233] A drawing like that would indeed also qualify as a "groote teyckening", and not merely a pen painting as Prud'homme van Reine suggests.[234] It therefore seems that the pen painting was intended as a saleable work of art, instead of merely a design for a marble relief.

The compositions on both the pen painting and the relief on Van Galen's tombstone are centred on the *Maan*, the ship of Cornelis Tromp.[235] In this way, all the honour that Van Galen should receive on his tombstone is now being taken away by Cornelis. Van de Velde was not present during the battle of Leghorn. He therefore needed to talk to an eyewitness, in this case probably Cornelis Tromp, about the exact events that occurred during the battle.[236] Since Cornelis could have only remembered his own fight, it would seem logical that this combat serves as the main focus of the composition. Another element that puts the attention on Cornelis is the inclusion of the English ship the *Phoenix*. The English had recaptured this ship from Cornelis in the neutral harbour of Leghorn (after Cornelis had captured the ship from the English), and this violation of international law had caused the outbreak of the battle. The battle of Leghorn, however, gave Cornelis the opportunity to avenge his blunder from losing the ship.

But the prominent place that Tromp occupies in the pen painting does seem to suggest that Cornelis Tromp must have been the actual client. In order to please his patrons, Van de Velde is known to place their ships central in the composition.[237] In 1678, Christopher Gunman wrote a letter to Sir Joseph Williamson in which he added an incomplete list of the

[232] Daalder, 2016, p. 90, note 19.
[233] Daalder, 2016, p. 90.
[234] Robinson, 1958, p. 6, claims that the drawings for the *Battle of Leghorn* have been lost.
[235] The ship is also referred to as: *Halve Maan.*
[236] Prud'homme, 2004, p. 336.
[237] Baard, 1942, p. 21.

pen paintings and drawings in pencil and wash that Van de Velde told him he had made. About the *Battle of Leghorn* it says: "The fight before Leghorn between ye Dutch and ye English ye former commanded by Johan van Gaellen and ye English by Bodloy, *made for Tromp* and severall lords at Venice [my italics]".[238] This list clearly shows that Van de Velde made the picture for Tromp. The list also suggests that Van de Velde had never sold the pen painting to the Amsterdam Admiralty for the 200 guilders, or otherwise he would have mentioned the name of this prestigious patron in his list. It therefore seems likely that Van de Velde had made the pen painting for Tromp, and that the Amsterdam Admiralty, after seeing it, had asked Van de Velde to turn the pen painting into a design for the tombstone of Van Galen. Van de Velde also mentions "severall lords at Venice" in his letter. As far as we know, the picture in the Rijksmuseum is the only version that Van de Velde made from The Battle at Leghorn, meaning that the painting that went to Venice is lost by now.[239]

In 1655, preparations were made for the monument of Maerten Tromp in the Oude Kerk in Delft. Just like the Van Galen monument, the sculptor of the relief was Willem de Keyser. A pen painting from the *Battle of Ter Heide* with a close resemblance to the tombstone is now in Greenwich (**Fig. 30**).[240] The Greenwich pen painting, which is made on panel and has the same measurements as the *Battle of Leghorn*, is loosely based on the right side of a drawing in the Rijksmuseum (**Fig. 21**).[241] The drawing, as well as both of the pen paintings in the Rijksmuseum and Greenwich, has an almost iconic detail in which the artist draws sketches from a boat in the midst of all the action. This time, Van de Velde had witnessed the battle himself, meaning that he was not forced to rely on the account from other eyewitnesses. By presenting himself as a spectator of the battle, Willem van de Velde the Elder must have wanted to send a clear message to his audience that his representation is true to life. In the marble relief, however, this ship is omitted. Again we see that the pen painting is executed with much more detail than the relief on the tombstone, although it must be said that De Keyser had really outdone himself this time. The flags, for instance, are being carved out with more texture making them recognizable as flags from either Holland or England. But if we assume that this pen painting also functioned as a design for a relief on a tombstone, then again we see that Van de Velde made a "design" that was initially intended as a work of art in itself.

---

[238] Robinson, 1990, I, p. xxii.
[239] Daalder, 2016, p. 116.
[240] Robinson, I, cat no. 329, pp. 12-15. The Greenwich painting should not be confused with the pen painting in the "Tromp-ensemble" from the same battle that is now in the Rijksmuseum, and that was made a couple of years later.
[241] Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Cat no. FMH-2074[a].

The "Van de Velde's list of pictures" in the letter of Christopher Gunman to Sir Joshua Williamson has also two references to the pen paintings for the battles of Dunkirk and the Downs. About the Battle of Dunkirk, Van de Velde is quoted as saying: "The fight before Mardycke near Dunkirke between 12 Dutch men of warr commanded by old Ad: tromp and 22 Spanish shippsof which were taken, & severall stranded which I have made for France, *for Tromp when at Leghorn* [my italics]".[242] In 1659, Cornelis Tromp was stationed at Leghorn where he must have gotten the idea to complement his collection of the two pen paintings that were probably in his collection by then (i.e. The *Battle of Leghorn* and the *Battle of Ter Heide*) with an additional two, making it a tetralogy. It is unclear if Van de Velde was also present at Leghorn in 1659. Prud'hommes van Reine seems convinced that Van de Velde made a trip to Italy in 1659 where he got into contact with several dignitaries from Tuscany, Genoa and Venice for whom he had made several paintings.[243] Prud'homme van Reine lacks to support this proposition with any contemporary documents, and as far as we know, there is no proof that Van de Velde the Elder has ever made a trip to Italy.[244] It seems therefore more likely that Van de Velde had close contacts within the Italian community in Amsterdam, where many merchants from Genoa, Venice and Leghorn had settled for their trade.[245]

About the battle at the Downs, the list shows: "The fight in ye Downes of ye Dutch under ye command of ye said Tromp against ye Spanish fleet, made for France as likewise for Sueden".[246] In contrast to the description for the *Battle of Dunkrik*, Tromp's name is now not mentioned. The omission of Tromp's name seems very odd since both pictures were manufactured in the same year, are both equal in size and have a complementary subject. It would therefore be reasonable to assume to one patron, in this case Cornelis Tromp, would have bought both pen paintings. Van de Velde wrote that he made the two paintings, or perhaps another version of them, "for France". A Swedish patron is mentioned in relation to the *Battle of the Downs*. Unfortunately, just like the pen painting for the "severall lords in Venice" that are named as patrons for the *Battle at Leghorn*, no further records of other pen paintings are known that represent either one of these three battles, but it does give some indication that Van de Veldes work was wanted by foreign nations as well. As we have seen, France was the most pleased with the outcome of the battle of the Downs and may have therefore been interested in a representation of this battle. All in all, Gunman's letter to Sir

[242] Robinson, 1990, p. xxii.
[243] Prud'homme van Reine, 2009, p. 150.
[244] Daalder, 2013, p. 109 and p. 137.
[245] Daalder, 2013, p. 138.
[246] Robinson, 1990, p. xxii.

Joshua Williamson from 1678 confirms the presumption that Cornelis ordered the *Battle of Dunkirk* (and possibly the *Battle of the Downs*) directly by Van de Velde. But the letter also raises more questions regarding the commission of the other versions of pen paintings from the aforementioned battles that may have been lost.

When Van de Velde was working on the paintings in 1659, the battles had taken place twenty years earlier. It was not uncommon for marine painters in the seventeenth century to work on a specific battle years after it had taken place. But for Van de Velde, who preferred to observe his subject matter on first hand, this could be troublesome. During the Anglo-Dutch wars, Van de Velde had travelled numerous times with the Dutch fleet to make sketches from the battles. Van de Velde would later transform these sketches into pen paintings. One must be cautious with stating that these pen paintings were candid shot of the war, because it was a synthesis of sketches that resulted into a picture that was composed and created in the artist's studio. Most of his pen paintings show different actions that took place in the course of several hours and that are compressed into one image. In the case of *The Battle at Leghorn*, Van de Velde could not witness the action himself, but we assume that he relied on the first-hand account of Cornelis Tromp. But how did Van de Velde prepare himself to make a convincing image from the battles of 1639?

As it turns out, in 1639, Van de Velde was not far away from Maerten Tromp's fleet when it lay ashore in the area of Dunkirk, and later that year near the Downs on the English coast.[247] In 1640, an etch after Van de Velde's drawing of Tromp's flagship the *Aemilia* was published together with six prints on which Van de Velde had cooperated that showed scenes from the two battles of 1639.[248] It is even possible, yet not proven, that Van de Velde stood in the middle of the audience on the shore when the battles took place. This may have been a factor why Van de Velde accepted the offer to make a pen painting from the two battles, and might explain why these are the only battles from the Dutch revolt that Van de Velde has made.

As far as we know, no documents have been found that show that Cornelis had owned the four paintings.[249] They are not mentioned in the inventory from his inheritance that was made in 1692. However, in April 1689, before the death of Cornelis, the four paintings are mentioned in the inventory of Cornelis' widowed sister-in-law, Anna Kievit, who was

[247] Robinson, 1990, p. x.
[248] Daalder, 2013, pp. 51-52.
[249] Daalder, 2013, p. 109.

married to Johan Tromp (1633-1673).[250] This means that the four pen paintings were already put together in an earlier stage than was previously thought and that the patronage of the pen paintings of a third son, Johan Tromp, should not be excluded. Johan had shown no interest to the life at sea and became a merchant in Amsterdam. Because of his talent in business, Johan arranged the financial affairs of his widowed stepmother Cornelia, who owned a large capital from both her deceased husband Maerten, and her wealthy parents.[251] It is also known that Johan arranged the financial affairs of Cornelis when his brother was on a military expedition abroad.[252] It is therefore very well possible that Johan, perhaps in consolation with his brothers and otherwise with his stepmother Cornelia, had commissioned and/or bought the paintings by Van de Velde. Of the three brothers, Johan seems to have had the best financial resources to acquire such costly paintings. The four paintings were probably displayed in the elderly home on the Korte Voorhout in The Hague, where there must have been enough space to put the works in display. The house on the Korte Voorstraat was also Cornelis' official residence in 1659, until he moved to another address a couple of years later. It is not likely that the pen paintings left the house until the death of Cornelia. After the death of Johan's widowed wife Anna Kievit in 1689, three of the four paintings went to Harpert while Cornelis received his glorious *Battle of Leghorn*. When Harpert and Cornelis died both in the year 1691, the children of Harpert inherited the paintings. The pen paintings remained in the possession of Harpert's offspring until 1788, after they were auctioned in Amsterdam and bought by Caspar van Kinschot.[253] In 1865, the Rijksarchief bought the four pen paintings for 2000 guilders and from here they eventually reached the collection of what is now the Rijksmuseum.[254]

Conclusion

The commission of the four pen paintings have a complicated history that leave many issues unanswered. The sources that we have to our disposal seem to constantly contradict each other, meaning that no ambiguity can arise with regard to the history of their origins. Since the paintings were most likely to be displayed for the first time in the family house on the Korte Voorhout in The Hague, it seems plausible that the Tromp family had ordered the works in consolidation with each other, while the youngest brother Johan functioned as a

[250] Daalder, 2013, p. 110.
[251] Prud'homme, 2001, p. 196.
[252] Prud'homme, 2001, p. 197.
[253] Robinson van Reine, 1990, pp. 3-4.
[254] Thorbecke, J.R., *Letter to De Heer D. van der Kellen Jr.*, February 4, 1865. Documentation Folder Rijksmuseum Amsterdam, folder. A 1362, no. 132.

spokesman in Amsterdam between the Tromps and Van de Velde. The role that the Amsterdam Admiralty has played remains unclear. From the four pen paintings, they were mainly involved in the commissioning of the design for the relief on the tomb monuments of Jan van Galen; a design that bears the mark of Cornelis Tromp and that seems to have been intended as a saleable work of art in the first place. The two paintings that show the battles from 1639 also seem to be more commemorative on the achievements of Maerten Tromp, than on the war that was fought against the Spanish. But despite the admiration that Maerten Tromp had received during his lifetime in the forms of poems, prints and even a state funeral with a tomb monument in the Oude Kerk in Delft, it is somewhat bitter, or sad, to conclude that the Tromp family had ordered the prestigious pen paintings for themselves to honour their husband's and father's legacy, only to have it displayed in their own houses.

The documentary nature in the works of Van de Velde the Elder forms an interesting example in the debate of realism in Dutch art. As for battles of Dunkirk and the Downs, these are the only battles dating from the Dutch Revolt that Van de Velde had turned into grisailles, even though he made them nearly twenty years after the events had taken place. While there is no proof that Van de Velde had witnessed the fights, he was likely to be near the Dutch fleet, for he made drawings of the *Aemilia* and collaborated on a series of prints that were published in 1640, depicting the two battles.

Van de Velde the Elder distinguished himself on the competitive Dutch art market with his style of exceptional precision. Since all of his pen paintings were executed with this great care for detail, it seems not likely that some of these paintings had functioned as merely a design for the marble reliefs on the tomb stones of Jan van Galen and Maerten Tromp, whereas they could just as easily have been sold as individual pieces of art on their own (which was probably the case). While portraying himself during the battle of Ter Heide, Van de Velde wanted his audience to know that he had witnessed the battle from up-close, thereby making his pen painting to appear as a reliable source. Of course, the pen painting itself was not made on the spot but later in his studio and it consisted of a synthesis of various sketches that Van de Velde had made during this battle. This means that some sort of artificial interference between the pen paining and the actual reality should always be taken into account.

Chapter 5
Blankerhoff's "Battle of the Zuiderzee"

Introduction

On December 12, 1663, the Alkmaar painter Albert Jansz. visited the College of the "Gecommitteerde Raden van Westfriesland and the Noorderkwartier" in Hoorn to act as a representative for his colleague painter Jan Theunisz. Blanckerhoff (1628-1669).[255] During this meeting, it was decided that Blanckerhoff would receive 800 guilders to paint the *Battle of the Zuiderzee* (**Fig. 3**), which had taken place ninety years earlier near the anchorage of Hoorn. The College of Westfriesland and the Noorderkwartier that ordered the battle had come into existence more or less due to the positive outcome of this engagement in 1573.[256] Earlier that year, Haarlem was sieged and conquered by Spanish troops, while Amsterdam continued to be loyal to Spain. The growing separation between the north and the south of Holland demanded the formation of a separate College in the north.[257] This new College, that would become the *Gecommitteerde Raden* (Board of Delegate Councillors) of West Friesland and the Northern Quarter in 1589, took care of the daily executive tasks in the northern part of Holland and consisted of a delegation of the seven most prominent cities of the area, i.e. Medemblik, Edam, Hoorn, Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, Monnikendam and Purmerend.[258] The cities in West-Friesland had gained a strong position in the international trade during the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century. While the Golden Age gradually continued in Amsterdam and other Dutch cities, the development in West-Friesland came into a slow decline from the 1650's onwards. During this period of slow decline, the College of the Northern Quarter decided to hand out a prestigious commission to commemorate the military achievement that had caused the wake of their prosperity.

This chapter will discuss the situation of the Northern Quarter in 1663 when the commission of the painting was made. How did the College of the Northern Quarter relate itself with the rest of the Dutch Republic, and to what extent did they still feel the urge to have a form of autonomy in the region that was slowly taken over by the powerful Amsterdam? To answer this question, I will first discuss two authors from Hoorn, namely Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575) and Theordorus Velius (1572-1630), who wrote about the city

[255] RNH, Resoluties van Gecommitteerde Raden Noorderkwartier (1641-1664). Inv. 6, fol 241v, 242r.
[256] Lammertse, 1996, p. 302.
[257] Persman, 1973, p. 142.
[258] Persman, 1973, p. 144.

and region's history in its relation to the rest of Holland. Did their writings have any influence on the image making of the Northern region of Holland and their cultural identity in the 1660's, and how did this effect the commission of the painting to Blanckerhoff?

Junius' *Batavia* and Velius' *Hoorn*

The classical scholar Hadrianus Junius was born in Hoorn but went to the Latin school in Haarlem. After studying medicine and philosophy in Louvain, Milan, Bologna, Paris and London, Junius travelled back to Holland where he made a name as a writer and a poet. His most important work is the *Batavia*. The book was initially intended as a preliminary study for a history of Holland, but Junius would never come to write this due to his unexpected death in 1675.[259] Apart from being a history of Holland, the *Batavia* is also a plea to settle with a number of prejudices about Holland, mostly about the population and their unsophisticated manners. The assignment to write a history of Holland came from the Staten van Holland in 1565, three years before the outbreak of the revolt. Although the motives behind the assignment were never expressed openly, it is often assumed that the book was supposed to play a part in the resistance against the Habsburg centralization politics.[260] In any case, it is certain that William of Orange initiated the appointment of Junius.[261]

The *Batavia* describes the 'island of Holland', which was the ancient territory of the legendary Batavians who were a Germanic tribe. The interest for this topic had been invoked by the discovery of Tacitus' *Germania* (written around 98 AD), which was a historical and ethnographical work on the Germanic tribes outside the Roman Empire. Tacitus, who found that the Roman Civilization had fallen into disrepair, was surprisingly optimistic in his opinion about the Germanic tribes. About the Batavi, Tacitus wrote that they were one of the most courageous tribes in the area.[262] The discovery of this text, which took place around 1450, had caused a sense of community among all former Germanic people, and during the war, the Batavian revolt against the Roman Empire was also seen as a justification of the present revolt against the Spanish.[263]

The first problem that Junius needed to solve was to establish which area belonged to the old territory of the Batavi. According to Junius, this area was located in-between the

[259] Glas, 2011, p. 12.
[260] Glas, de., 2011, p. 18.
[261] Glas, de., 2011, p. 18.
[262] Tacitus, 98 AD, p. XXIX.
[263] Glas, de., 2011, p. 18 & p. 26.

North Sea, Maas, Waal, Rijn, IJsel and Zuiderzee.[264] But Junius was also keen to prove that the people from West Friesland descended from the Batavi.[265] While discussing the writings of Divaeus, he criticizes the author for suggesting that Friesland is solely located on the eastern side of the Zuiderzee.[266] Junius, on the other hand, had made a clear separation between Groot-Friesland, which on the east side of the Zuiderzee, and Small-Friesland, which is more commonly known as West-Friesland.[267] Junius further states that the West-Frisii, whom he calls Cisrhenani, or 'Binnenrijnse Friezen', were separated from the Caninefaten, a tribe that had no relation with the Batavi,[268] by the river Kinheim near Alkmaar, and lived in the area of Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Medemblik and Schagen.[269] By making this distinction between the Western and Eastern Friezen, Junius hoped to clarify that the Binnenrijnse Friezen were in fact part of Batavia.[270] That Junius had successfully created this image of Hoorn becomes clear when we read his name in an overview of poets who wrote in Greek that was published in Naples a hundred years after his death: "Hadrianus Junius, Born in 1512 in Hoorn, *a region of the Batavi* [my italics]".[271]

But Junius was careful with any excessive worship of Hoorn because he thought it was "a bad habit of people to make themselves popular in their hometown with lies and deceit".[272] That he is reticent about Hoorn and other cities in West-Friesland also comes forth in the fact that he treats these cities in a different section from the "six main cities of Holland".[273] Remarkable enough, Junius writes nothing about the Battle of the Zuiderzee. On top of that, Junius seems to be surprised about the battle horn in the city's coat of arms because "Hoorn is at the end of the world and is far removed from the battlefields".[274] Apparently, Junius did not have the time to adjust this statement in the two years that were between the Battle of the Zuiderzee and his death in 1575. Contemporary events, however, did find its way in Junius' account of the city of Haarlem, where the siege took place when he was actually present

[264] Glas, de, 2011, p. 7.
[265] Glas, de, 2011, p. 84, note 28.
[266] Junius, 1588, p. 19.
[267] Junius, 1588, p. 26.
[268] Junius, 1588, p. 23.
[269] Junius, 1588, p. 19.
[270] Junius, 1588, p. 24.
[271] Glas, de N., 2011, p. 12: Crasso*, Istroria de 'poeti greci e di que'che'n Greca lingua han poetato*, Napels, 1678.
[272] Junius, 1588, p. 279.
[273] These main cities were: Dordrecht, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Amsterdam and Gouda.
[274] Junius, 1588, p. 280.

there.[275] Nevertheless, it seems highly unlikely that Junius was not informed about the Battle of the Zuiderzee.

Although Junius was admired during his lifetime, his fame soon faded after his death. In 1588, the *Batavia* was published posthumously for the first time in Leiden, with the second edition being printed in 1652.[276] De Glas comes up with three reasons why Junius was not very well known after his death. First, Junius wrote in Latin, meaning that only a small part of the Dutch people could read it.[277] Second, Junius seems to think that everything in the present that has no link to antiquity is more or less meaningless. Although the importance of antiquity has kept its prominent place among humanistic scholars until the eighteenth century, the excess and unstructured use of Junius' classical reminiscences had quickly became out of fashion by both the scholars as the general public.[278] The third reason why Junius was soon forgotten is because he describes a "Habsburg Holland", which image had to be altered after the beginning of the Revolt. Although Junius had never been outspoken about his religious and political believes, and he had always been loyal to the government, the Holland that he described would soon to be found to be politically incorrect because the insurgents needed a powerful black and white image to defend their actions.[279] And because his writings were too objective in a sense, Junius would never be embraced as the ideal spokesman for the rebellious states.

The life and career of Theodorus Velius shows interesting resemblances with that of Junius. Both men are from Hoorn, attended the Latin school, studied Medicine in Italy and became city doctors in respectively Hoorn and Middelburg, but reached their fame as authors who wrote the history about either their city or homeland. Whereas Junius wrote in Latin for an educated audience, Velius' wrote in Dutch, which was much more accessible to read. Another difference between the two scholars is that Velius did not appear to be interested in the Batavian myth. He starts his history of Hoorn from the year 1316 onwards, thereby neglecting any questions to which part of the old Germania the area of West-Friesland belonged. In his introduction, Velius explains his motivations for writing the city's chronicle. First, he finds it most curious that we seem to know everything about the origins and development of Rome, Athens, Venice and other foreign city-states, but that we neglect the

[275] Junius, 1588, pp. 259-260.
[276] Glas, de., 2011, p. 12.
[277] Glas, de., 2011, p. 13.
[278] Glas, de., 2011, pp. 14-15.
[279] Glas, de., 2011, p. 17.

history of our fatherland completely.[280] In addition to this first thought, Velius writes that he hopes to serve his reader and his fatherland by bringing them this knowledge through which they learn how the city ultimately reached its prosperity.[281]

Velius' Chronicle of Hoorn also describes the Battle of the Zuiderzee in full detail, and this might have been of great help for Blanckerhoff as a source for his painting. In May 1573, the Sea Beggars, with the help of the West Frisians, made several attempts to blockade the trade in front of the harbour of Amsterdam, which had chosen the side of the Spanish until 1578.[282] These attempts, however, came to a failure because the Sea Beggars probably did not have enough experience with tactically sinking their ships to form a blockade.[283] Admiral Bossu, who also functioned as the Spanish Stadtholder of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, was ordered by Alva to clear the Zuiderzee form the Sea Beggars. The first real skirmishes took place on October 5th and continued till the next day.[284] But the actual battle did not take place until a few days later, on Sunday October 11. The wind had set favourably for the Beggars and this gave them the opportunity to sail right to the enemy and to enter their ships.[285] The Beggars sailed under the command of Cornelis Dircksz van Monnickendam, but when he got injured, the command was taken over by Jan Floor. Jan Haring became the real hero of the battle because he managed to grab the Admiral's flag from the mast of Bossu's ship; a heroic act that, coincidentally, cost him his life.[286] Bossu, together with a mixture of 200 Spanish, German and Walloon soldiers were kept prison.[287] The victory for the Sea Beggars meant the definitive end of the Spanish fleet in the northern region.

Although the chronicle of Hoorn is focussed on the history of the city, the second edition, which was printed in 1617, ends with a poem about *Westfrisia*. This poem was not included in the first edition from 1605. Velius had originally written this poem in Latin, but the lawyer I. de Groot had made a Dutch translation of it for the third edition of 1648.[288] As the name of the poem suggests, the *Westfrisia* is a praise of the birth region of Velius. The love for the 'fatherland' seems therefore to be strictly limited to this region instead of the seven United Provinces.

[280] Velius, 1630, fol. 3r-v.
[281] Velius, 1630, fol. 3r-v.
[282] Velius, 1648, II p. 211; Sigmond & Kloek, 2007, pp. 16-17.
[283] Persman, 1973, p. 143.
[284] Velius, 1648, II p. 219.
[285] Velius, 1648, II p. 221.
[286] Velius, 1648, II p. 222.
[287] Velius, 1648, II p. 225.
[288] Resoort, 2007, pp. 44-45.

Earlier on in this chapter, I briefly discussed three arguments why the influence of Junius in Holland was soon forgotten. In comparison to the more popular Velius, at least in the area of West-Friesland, I might add one more reason why Junius was forgotten. Junius tried to include West Friesland in the old country of the Batavi, thereby hoping to create a form of unity among the people in Holland. It is, however, arguable whether West Friesland wanted to be included in this unity. During the first years of the revolt, West Friesland had acquired a reasonable degree of autonomy within the province of Holland, and the West Frisians had a strong feeling that their region was entitled to independence.[289] They based themselves on this idea because Floris V had been directly in charge of this area during the subjugation of 1289,[290] an event with which Velius starts his chronicle.[291] Their desire for autonomy even went so far that West Friesland decided to introduce their own currency in 1586 with an image of the West Frisian coat of arms on it.[292] The Staten van Holland disapproved a West Frisian coin because the gulden that was made in Dordrecht was sufficient.[293] Although the region of West Friesland gradually merged with the rest of Holland during the first half of the seventeenth century, it is not entirely inconceivable that during the stagnation, which took place after 1650, feelings of independence started to prevail again. The writings of Theodorus Velius were therefore likely to be more appealing to the people from Hoorn and West Friesland from the 1650's onwards.

The Commissioning

When the Committed College of West Friesland and the Noorderkwartier was founded in the summer of 1573, it was their initial responsibility to take care of the military affairs, which included the formation of new companies that could be added to the regiment of North Holland in the Dutch State army.[294] It soon became clear that the work encompassed more than just the military aspects. Within five years, the College was also involved in the collection of the regional taxes, the department of justice, the department of water management, and the organization of the Admiralty of West Friesland.[295] In this way, the College managed to attract a lot of power to them in a relatively short amount of time. The College consisted of seven chairmen, and each chairman represented a delegate of Alkmaar,

[289] Persman, 1973, p. 147.
[290] Persman, 1973, p. 147.
[291] Velius, 1648, pp. 1-2.
[292] Persman, 1973, pp. 148-149.
[293] Persman, 1973, p. 149. It was not until 1796 before the coin of West Friesland was converted into the Dutch one.
[294] Brozius, J,. 2016, p. 19.
[295] Brozius, J., 2016, p. 19.

Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Edam, Medemblik, Monnickendam and Purmerend. The most important function within the College was that of secretary, a function that was held for life.[296] Between 1584 and 1717, members of the family Van Foreest, a Regents family that came from Alkmaar and Hoorn, had kept this position. The secretary functioned as chairman and was always in charge of the agenda. In 1663, when the *The Battle of the Zuiderzee* was commissioned, the position of secretary was officially in the hands of Dirk van Foreest (1614-1679) from 1638 till 1679.[297] Dirk van Foreest may therefore possibly be the initiator of the assignment to Blanckerhoff. Little is known about the life of Dirk van Foreest. His name is mentioned in the *Batavia Illustrata* by Simon van Leeuwen (ca. 1625-1682).[298] In this publication that partly revived the old Batavia myth, all the kings and noblemen are mentioned that lived on the Island of Batavia from antiquity till 1685 (when the book was published). About Dirk van Foreest we can read that he was "secretary in his father's place", and that he was married to Hester van Foreest.[299] Unfortunately, no portrait is known that reveals anything about Dirk's appearance, which is most remarkable for a man of his stature.[300]

The immediate reason for the commission of *The Battle of the Zuiderzee* was the renovation of the dining hall in the State Lodging, for which the College desired a suitable decoration above the fireplace.[301] The State Lodging is located on the Nieuwstraat in Hoorn and is an expansion of the former Cecilia convent.[302] The building was the first meeting place of the College, until they moved to the building of the *Statencollege* in 1632, which is the current accommodation of the Westfries Museum. The State Lodging kept its function as housing for the members of the College when they travelled for their meetings to Hoorn.

Unfortunately, little is known about how the choice to carry out the assignment ultimately fell on Blanckerhoff. The minutes, in which Blanckerhoff is called by his

---

[296] The other board members were replaced each year, except the chair of Purmerend, who got replaced every other year.
[297] Kooijmans, L., 1985, p. 313.
[298] Leeuwen, van, S., *Batavia Illustrata, Ofte Verhandelinge vanden Oorspronk, Voortgank, Zeden, Eere, Staat en Godtsdienst van Oud Batavien, Mitsgarders Van den Adel en Regeringe van Hollandt*, The Hague, 1685. P. 967.
[299] Leeuwen, van S., 1685, II, p. 967. (The marriage with Hester took place on January 8, 1640 in Hoorn.
[300] His wife Hester was portrayed in 1700 when Dirk had already passed away. Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv. no. 27006. Dirk's son and successor Jacob van Foreest had a double portrait made by Jan de Bean Stedelijk Museum Alkmaar, inv. no. 27040.
[301] RNH, Resoluties van Gecommitteerde Raden Noorderkwartier (1641-1664). Inv. 6, fol 241v, 242r. It was probably not the first time that a large commission was issued from the Westfriesland region to paint the *Battle of the Zuiderzee*. It is assumed that the Admiralty of the Northern Quarter commissioned *The Battle of the Zuiderzee* by Abraham de Verwer in 1621 (Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Inv nr. SK-A-603), but no further documents or backgrounds behind this commission are known.
[302] Berg, van den, H. M., 1955, p. 121.

Bentveughel nickname, speak of "eene Jan Maet" (a certain Jan Maet).[303] The private minutes of Jacob van Foreest, the son of Dirk, also speaks of a "seker schilder geneamt Jan Maet" (a certain painter called Jan Maet).[304] Based on this vague use of language, we can conclude that the College in Hoorn was not very familiar with the work of Blanckerhoff. In retrospect, the commission could just as easily have been given to the talented painter Ludolf Bakhuizen (1630-1708). From 1662 till May 1663, Bakhuizen had rented a house in Hoorn on the Luiendyck to study the Dutch coastline.[305] On his marriage certificate from 1660 he calls himself a draughtsman, but Bakhuizen had made some oil paintings that are dated before 1664 that already show his qualities as a painter.[306] In November 1663, Bakhuizen had registered himself as "painter" in the Amsterdam guild of St. Luke, meaning that he had left Hoorn before the commission was handed out in December of that year.[307] Although Blanckerhoff's North Holland's origins may have also influenced the decision of the West Frisian College, it is not unlikely to think that Bakhuizen, who had probably met Blanckerhoff in Amsterdam in 1660, advised to the College to contact Blanckerhoff.[308]

Blanckerhoff was born in Alkmaar in 1628 where he was registered at the guild of St. Luke at the age of 22. According to Houbraken, Blackherhoff studied under Arent Teerling, Pieter Schaeyenborgh, Gerrit de Jong and Ceasar van Everdingen.[309] Van Everdingen must have encouraged Blanckerhoff to travel south shortly after he became an independent master in 1649.[310] While in Rome, he became a member of the Bentveughels, where he gained the nickname Jan Maet. Blackerhoff initially painted landscapes but began to focus on seascapes while he was in Italy.[311] According to Houbraken, Blanckerhoff painted in two different styles, i.e. a loose one and a neat one.[312] The seventeenth-century art critic was keen about his loose style, while the general public preferred his polished style.[313] The polished style in which *The Battle of the Zuiderzee* is painted thus shows that Blanckerhoff did not take his patrons of the College for sophisticated connoisseurs of art.

[303] RNH, Resoluties van Gecommitteerde Raden Noorderkwartier (1641-1664). Inv. 6, fol 241v, 242r.
[304] RNH, Particuliere notulen gehouden door mr. Jacob van Foreest. Inv. No. 62, fol. 88r. and 88v.
[305] Beer, de, G., 2002, p. 18.
[306] Bol., L.J., 1973, p. 301; Beer, de, G., 2002, pp. 34-57.
[307] Beer, de, G., 2002, p. 18
[308] Beer, de, G., 2002, p. 186. Blanckerhoff is also seen as an imitator of the style of Bakhuizen and their works are often confused in attributions.
[309] Houbraken, A., 1719, II, p. 198.
[310] Houbraken, A., 1719, II, p. 199.
[311] Houbraken, A., 1719, II, p. 199.
[312] Houbraken, A., 1719, II, p. 199.
[313] Houbraken, A., 1719, II, p. 199.

Before Blanckerhoff could start working, he was asked by the College to make a small trial piece that the college had to approve (**Fig. 32**).[314] This "schetse van sijne concept" is now in the collection of the Leger Galleries in London/Brussels.[315] The subject and composition of the trial piece has remained virtually unchanged in the final work. Both paintings show an overall view of the battle at the moment when three Dutch ships are entering the *Inquisitie*, the flagship of Bossu. This group of four combating ships, which is placed in the centre of the picture, is built up in a triangular composition that rises above the horizon line. Surrounding this central group, are smaller vessels and sloops that are likewise engaged in several skirmishes. The background shows a forest of Dutch and Spanish sailing masts and the silhouette of Hoorn on the left. The colours in the painting are predominantly unsaturated, with the exception of two red flags on the bows of the *Inquisitie* and the small vessel in the left foreground. The foreground is kept dark, except for a ray of sunlight that shines on the water just above it, thereby creating horizontal patches of light and dark areas that generate a stark contrast. The group of ships in the middle is situated in one of the darkened areas of the water, yet the attention is focused on them because of the light that shines through on its white sails. The overall light and, not unimportant, the direction of the wind, come from the left. This corresponds to the situation in the dining room of the State Loge where the windows are located on the left side of the painting, meaning that Blanckerhoff took the location where the painting would eventually be put on display into good consideration.

The entering of the *Inquisitie* seems to follow the description of Velius very closely. It should also be noted, however, that Velius' publication of 1648 is provided with a print by the monogrammist PCH, which already seems to be a blueprint for the work of Blanckerhoff and served as a useful indication about the appearance of ships in 1573 that had open galleries on the stern (**Fig. 33**)[316]. In front of the *Inquisitie* we see the three-master of Cornelis Dircksz. When Cornelis Dirksz approached Bossu, the Spanish Admiral tried to drop his anchor to prevent his ship from drifting away to the shore once it was entered by the Dutch.[317] The Dutch Admiral, however, clamped his ship on Bossu's bow, thereby stopping the anchor during its lowering. Velius also mentions that the Dutch Admiral's ship was higher than the Spanish, which worked in favour of Cornelis' men during the entry.[318] The *Inquisitie* is

[314] RNH, Resoluties van Gecommitteerde Raden Noorderkwartier (1641-1664). Inv. 6, fol 241v, 242r. "des the beter de ware geschapenheijt ende gelegenheijt der custen en schepen mach werden getroffen en int net gebracht tot contentement van haer Ed: Mog".
[315] https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/35345
[316] Lammertse, F., 1996, p. 304.
[317] Velius, 1648, p. 221.
[318] Velius, 1648, pp. 221-222.

further accosted on the port and starboard side by the ships of the Hoorn captain Pieter Back, and the Enkhuizer captain Jacob Tryntges.[319] The small Dutch ships that sails behind the *Inquisitie* is that of captain Boer from Schellinkhout. His attempt to enter failed because Bossu fiercely attacked his ship, but any damage is hardly visible in the painting. Blanckerhoff has probably neglected to paint the beloved episode about the courageous Jan Haringh, who lost his life while capturing Bossu's flag from the topmast, because that would have contradicted the logical continuity of the moment that is represented. After all, Haringh could not have already been in Bossu's mast at the moment when the entering is about to take place.

Now that the similarities between the trial piece and the final work have been discussed, I would like to go a little deeper into one notable difference between the two paintings. This difference relates in particular to the troublesome relation between Amsterdam and West Friesland and may help us to find an underlying intention from the commissioners for ordering the painting. In the final painting, a small vessel with an Amsterdam flag is added in the foreground.[320] The College had probably initiated this adjustment after seeing the trial piece. Adding this flag to the painting should be considered as a painful reminder for Amsterdam that they had stayed loyal to Spain until 1578. But why would West Friesland remind Amsterdam of that after 90 years? It appears that there were economic motives for this. The economy of West Friesland, which grew significantly around the end of the sixteenth century onwards with a chamber of the VOC that was altering between Hoorn and Enkhuizen, became threatened by the more powerful Amsterdam and its central position in the international and regional trade.[321] Table 2 shows the yields of the convoys from the several admiralties in the Dutch Republic.[322]

[319] Velius, 1648, p. 222.
[320] Friso Lammertse also mentions the addition of an Amsterdam galley that is being overrun in the left background. I do, however, not see any clear sign that this galley belongs to Amsterdam. See: Lammertse, F., 1996, p. 304.
[321] Vries, de J., 1968, p. 43.
[322] Westerman, J.C., 1948, p. 15.

Admiralty	Average Earnings 1624/'25 (x1000)	Average Earnings 1641'50 (x1000)	Average Earnings 1651/'60 (x1000)	Average Earnings 1661/'70 (x1000)
Amsterdam	829 (47%)	1237 (48%)	911 (53%)	845 (54%)
West Friesland	139 (8%)	168 (7%)	138 (8%)	111 (7%)
Friesland	78 (4%)	60 (2%)	40 (2%)	39 (3%)
Maze	396 (23%)	535 (21%)	329 (19%)	319 (20%)
Zeeland	320 (18%)	584 (23%)	315 (18%)	251 (16%)

Table 2. Average earnings of the Admiralties. (Source: Westerman, 1948, p. 15)

While the participation share of the West Friesland admiralties remained the same, the hegemony of Amsterdam continued to grow. In the period between 1651 and 1660, which coincides with the Anglo-Dutch wars, we see a general decline in profits for all admiralties, but the reduction of the share of Zeeland comes mostly in favour of Amsterdam. Although table 2 shows a relative stable position for the Admiralty of West Friesland, the period of decline in West Friesland had irreversibly began to take place around the middle of the seventeenth century.[323] Where in 1632, the city of Hoorn had counted 14.000 citizens, this number had dropped to 12.000 in 1730 while the population of Amsterdam had more than doubled its seize during that period.[324]

In 1660, two remarkable incidents occurred between the Admiralties of Amsterdam and the Noorderkwartier that are illustrative of their competitive attitude towards each other. When the Amsterdam Admiralty had tried to clear out the cargo from a ship that carried Swedish iron (they suspected that it belonged to Swedish merchants), the Admiralty of the Noorderkwartier sent soldiers to the Swedish ship to prevent this from happening.[325] This incident caused tension between the two Admiralties because they both felt that the foreign ship was their jurisdiction. The resentment continued that same year when Amsterdam did not tolerate that the goods coming from and going to Italy were licenced to the office in Noord-

[323] Kooijmans, L, 1985, p. 17.
[324] Kooijmans, L., 1985, p. 17. Kooijmans also mentions that the population in Hoorn had probably reached its top around 1650, although any official count is never made nor reconstructed.
[325] Abbing, 1841-1842, I, p. V74.

Holland instead of Amsterdam.[326] Because of such incidents, both Admiralties were at odds with each other for some time and this bad relationship may have been expressed in the painting.

The unity of the cities in the West Friesland is also reflected in the wooden frame that was made by Johan Kinnema (1620-1673), a Frisian cabinet-maker who had his workshop in Alkmaar (**Fig. 31**).[327] On December 9, 1666, Jan van Neijenburgh, a chairman in the College and the mayor of Alkmaar, reported to the college that he had given the commission to Kinnema for the amount of 400 guilders.[328] Like Blanckerhoff, Kinnema too had to make a design first. This design, which was probably a drawing, is now lost, meaning that we cannot identity any possible changes if they were proposed by the College. The quality of the final result turned out to be above any expectations and this made the college decide to give Kinnema a bonus of 100 guilders.[329] Since Kinnema had also made some extra expenses of 75 guilders, he eventually received 575 guilders.[330]

Most of the objects on the frame are made on true scale, partly in high relief and partly as freestanding sculptures that are attached to the frame. Among the objects are items of weaponry, vanitas symbols and attributes of seafaring, such as a compass, a sounding lead, a Jacob's staff and a globe. At the top, the coat of arms of West Friesland is placed in the middle. At the bottom, the coats arms of the seven cities of West Friesland in the following order from left to right: Medemblik, Edam, Hoorn, Alkmaar, Enkhuizen, Monnikendam and Purmerend. Alkmaar is thus placed in the middle and its city's coat of arms is mounted in a laurel wreath. Perhaps Hoorn and Enkhuizen would have also wanted this central place of honour, but to preserve the good peace between the two major cities of West Friesland, it is likely that the College had chosen Alkmaar to be put on that position. In any case, the skilfully made frame exudes a unity between the cities in West Friesland that they would need to strengthen their position in relation to Amsterdam.

[326] Abbing, 1841-1842, I, p. V74.
[327] Thiel, van , P.J.J. & Bruyn Kops, de, C.J., 1984, p. 231.
[328] RNH, Resoluties van Gecommitteerde Raden Noorderkwartier (1665-1671) Inv. 7, fol 92r and v. No further biographical data is known about Jan van Neijenburgh.
[329] Obreen, F.D.O., VI, 1884/87, p. 295.
[330] Lammertse, 1996, p. 308.

Conclusion

The local character in the writings of Velius seems to be in line with the commission for *The Battle of the Zuiderzee*. In addition, the unity between the cities in West Friesland, which is clearly expressed in the frame by Kinnema, was likely to be intensified because of their weakened economic position in relation to Amsterdam. The two incidents between the colleges of both admiralties are also illustrative for their bad relationship around 1660. This bad relationship is thereby expressed in the painting by letting Amsterdam to fight on the enemy's side. Given the relatively closed location in the dining hall of the State Lodgement in which the painting came to be put on display, it seems unlikely that Amsterdam was much aware it. In any case, it is not known if Amsterdam has ever made a formal objection to the painting.

From an artistic point of view, Blanckerhoff must have wanted to create a representation of the battle that was faithful to the historical event that took place in 1573. For a painter who had not witnessed the event, it was undoubtedly hard to achieve a correct notion of realism. While painting the entering of the *Inquisitie*, Blanckerhoff followed the description of Velius, and also the accompanying print, very closely by placing the three ships that attacked the *Inquisitie* in the correct positions. The print must have also helped him to obtain a good idea about the appearance of ships in 1573. Yet, it must be noted that the overall appearance of the painting comes across as a staged setting with the use of the pyramid composition and the dramatic effects that the light plays. In Blanckerhoffs defence, little is known about the way the clouds were shaped that day, meaning that the painter could grant himself some artistic freedom on this point. Besides, artificial interventions, like the play of light and dark, proved to be useful instruments for underlining the heroic status of the battle, and this should have therefore been favoured over the pursuit of a "realistic" image that may have not been as visually pleasing.

Conclusion

This research has focused on the motives behind the Dutch seventeenth-century large-scale commissions of representations of battles at sea that the Dutch had fought against their Spanish ruler, and the extent to which these commissions contributed to the cultural identity in the Dutch Republic. Obviously, the sea turned out to be an ideal battle stage for the Dutch. The Dutch culture seemed to be interwoven with the sea and the young bustling Holland had thanked most of its welfare to its overseas trade. But seafaring was also a source of inspiration for the Dutch seventeenth-century painters. I came to the conclusion that "marine painting" and "seascapes" should be regarded as two different genres in the sense that marine art mostly deals with historical events, and the seascape is a branch of landscape painting. Of course, the marines and seascapes have in common that the setting takes place on the water and that an accurate portrayal of ships is a key factor in becoming successful in either one of the genres. Since Hendrick Vroom was the first to take up the art of ship portraiture seriously, he is rightfully regarded as the father of both genres. But because of his many travels through the south of Europe in his younger years, and the inspiration he gained there, the start of the development in sea painting should not solely be regarded as something that is typically Dutch.

There are a few points that I like to address from the four case studies that I have examined. As I have mentioned before in the introduction, the seeming realism in Dutch painting can often be deceiving. The reason for including the issue of realism in this research is connected to the intended purpose of the paintings because it relates to their function as either propaganda material or historical sources of marine warfare. Of course, not every artist was present during the battles to make accurate sketches that could later be transformed into their final works. Willem van de Velde the Elder forms an exception to this, but even he was forced to rely on eyewitness accounts from time to time. From the works of the other artists we can also conclude that they took the effort on researching their subject for the sake of historical accuracy. Vroom had talked to eyewitnesses and took several boat trips to study the Zeeland coastline and Blanckerhoff did not make the same mistake as Abraham Storck by painting modern ships in a battle that had occurred ninety years before. Van Wieringen seems to have worked very accurately in his correct portrayal of the movements of the battling ships, but he also deliberately pleased his commissioners by placing the yacht of Maurice in the bay of Gibraltar while this ship had never been there. This all indicates that the paintings and tapestries would serve as interesting conversational pieces in which the intended spectators of

the artworks, who were likely to be well informed about naval warfare, could discuss the presence and movement of particular ships in close details with each other.

In a way, I have searched for roots of "nationalism", but this term should be handled with great caution when one writes about periods in history that took place before the nineteenth century. During my research I found that when the "fatherland" is mentioned, it particularly refers the local province or region instead of the newly formed Dutch Republic as a whole. Although the tapestries in Middelburg are concluded with a portrait of William of Orange on top of the *Coat of Arms*, their political system was still predominantly self-centred. The tapestries, with their accompanying Latin inscriptions, also indicate that the battles were won thanks to the efforts of the courageous Zeeuwen. The tendency to glorify the local history is also evident in the commission for the *Battle of the Zuiderzee*. While in the frame the unity of the cities in West Friesland is expressed, the painting subtly reminds Amsterdam that they had chosen the "wrong" side at the time the battle took place. The fact that Amsterdam had to be reminded of this after ninety years probably had to do with their economic dominance, which gradually came at the expense of the cities in West Friesland.

It also appears that the collaboration between the different Admiralties did not run very well. In the case of the commission for the *Battle of Gibraltar*, the Admiralties shared a common cause to remind Maurice on the importance of a strong naval fleet that could not be cut back due to the costs of an expensive army on the land. Instead of cooperating together, there even seems to have been some competition between the Admiralties of Amsterdam and the Noorderkwartier on who could please Maurice the most with a painting. Amsterdam even inexplicitly made a double order for the *Battle of Gibraltar* by two different painters, thereby paying a considerable sum of money twice.

Yet, there seems to be one thing that has provided for fraternization and unity within the Dutch Republic, and that is the worship for the naval war heroes. The pen paintings by Willem van de Velde might have been on display in the private houses of the Tromp family, the order arose form two public commissions that were meant for the tombstone of Jan van Galen and Maerten Tromp. Although Tromp had also received a lot of criticism from the Dutch States Party, the many pamphlets and praises show that the actions of Tromp were followed closely and even celebrated throughout the Netherlands. The worship for the fallen naval heroes thus seemed to have transcended any regional character.

To answer my research question, the commissions served a clear purpose to fuel the pride of the commissioners. It is therefore not surprising to mention that, except for the *Battle of Ter Heide*, the Dutch had achieved a dominating victory in all the battles that were

commissioned. Furthermore, these victories turned out to be decisive in the revolt against Spain, thereby creating the pave way for independence. But there was still little unity within the Dutch Republic because the separate regions were still mostly focussed on themselves, and the backgrounds of the commissions that I have discussed clearly reflects that.

Further Research

The commissions that I have examined in this thesis all celebrated the Dutch victories in the war against Spain. A logical step for further research might therefore be to compare the motives behind the commissions during the war against Spain with the commissions that were made during the trade wars against the English. Do these commissions already show more signs of unification within the Dutch Republic, or does the regional character still dominate? It would also be interesting to study the Anglo-Dutch war commissions in the light of the realism debate, for it became a common practice among marine painters to circulate around the naval forces in order to make life-like sketches during the battles. Did their presence increase the truthfulness of the paintings as maritime-historical sources, or were the artists still inclined to please their patrons with idealistic images of the battles?

Another topic for further research might include the patronage of other naval organizations within the Dutch Republic. As we have seen, the organisation of the Dutch fleet was a very complex matter because it consisted of several independent fleets. The fleet of the States General, for example, was put together from five fleets that came from the Admiralties of Amsterdam, Zeeland, West Friesland, De Maze and Friesland. Together they were in charge of defending the interests of the Dutch Republic on the European waters. Since the battles against Spain occurred on these waters, much emphasis of the commissioning parties is laid on the provinces and their Admiralties. But what can we say about the patronage of the other naval organizations, such as the VOC and the WIC? These overseas companies reflect the dark side of the Dutch sea fare, in which slavery and oppression of people had played the upper hand. Nowadays, this violent history is often discussed in the public debate. The Rijksmuseum, for example, has planned a major exhibition on the history of Dutch Slavery for the year 2020. Little is known, however, about the way in which these companies took over the role of commissioner in the arts. What kind of artworks did they commission and which artists went on board with them? Is the violence of these companies reflected in any way in those works of art, or did the artists, so to say, only have an eye for the foreign coastlines that they visited? Researching the topic of marine painting from this perspective

will also contribute to the study of global art history, which forms one of the pillars in present-day art-historical research.

List of abbreviations used in the footnotes

AA	Admiraliteitsarchieven
NA	Nationaal Archief
RNH	Rijksarchief voor de Provincie Noord-Holland, Haarlem

Bibliography

Archival Documents

Gunman, C., *Letter to Sir Joseph Williamsson, secreraty of State, 21 jan, 1677*. London, National Archives, State Papers, SP 29/400.

Foreest, van , J., *Particuliere notulen gehouden*. Rijksarchief voor de Provincie Noord-Holland, Haarlem , inv. no. 62, fol. 88r. and 88v.

(Author unknown), *Admiraliteitsarchieven*. Nationaal Archief, The Hague, no. 1408, d.d. 12/05/1654 - 19/05/1654.

(Author unknown), *Resoluties van Gecommitteerde Raden Noorderkwartier (1641-1664)*. Rijksarchief voor de Provincie Noord-Holland, Haarlem, inv. 6, fol 241v, 242r.

(Author unknown), *Resoluties van Gecommitteerde Raden Noorderkwartier (1665-1671)*. Rijksarchief voor de Provincie Noord-Holland, Haarlem, inv. 7, fol 92r and v.

Publications of Archival Documents

Bredius, A., *Künstler-Inventare, Urkunden zur Geschichte der holländische Kunst des XVIten, XVIIten und XVIIIten Jahrhunderts*. VII Parts, The Hague, 1915-1922. Part II, pp. 641-679.

Ysselsteyn, G. T. Van., *Geschiedenis der Tapijtweverijen in de Noordelijke Nederlanden* (2 parts). Leiden, 1936.

Primary Sources

Houbraken, A., *De groote Schouburgh der Nederlantsche konstschilders en schilderessen*, 3 parts, Amsterdam, 1718-1721.

Junius, H., *Batavia,* Leiden, 1588.

Mander, K., Van, *Het Schilder-Boeck,* Haarlem 1604 and Amsterdam 1618.

Meteren, E., Van, *Historie der Neder-landscher ende haerder Na-buren oorlogen ende geschiedenissen, tot den iare M.VI. C. XII*, Amsterdam, 1614.

Tacitus, P.B., *De origine et situ Germanorum*, (Place Unknown), 98 AD.

Thorbecke, J.R., *Letter to De Heer D. van der Kellen Jr*., February 4, 1865. Documentation Folder Rijksmuseum Amsterdam No. A 1362, No. 132.

Velius, Th., *Kroniek van Hoorn* (2 parts), Hoorn, 1648.

(unknown author) *Waerachtighe geschiedenisse gheschiedt in Seelandt betreffende den schipcrijch die d'onse met den alghemeyen vyant ghehadt heeft ende ghenadighe troostelicke overwinninghe de welke God ons barmhartighen Vader sonder onse verdienste ende gheweldt ghegheven heeft,* Dordecht 1574.

(unkown author)*De waerachtige geschiedenisse des schipcrijchs ende het innemen der stadt Middelborch geschiet in Zeelandt*, Dordrecht 1574.

Secondary Sources

Abbing, C.A., *Geschiedenis der stad Hoorn, hoofdstad van West-Friesland, gedurende het grootste gedeelte der XVII en XVIII eeuw, of Vervolg op Velius chronyk, beginnende met het jaar 1630, voortgezet tot op het jaar 1773*. 2 parts. Hoorn, 1841-1842.

Baard, H. P., *Willem van de Velde de Oude Willem van de Velde de Jonge*, Amsterdam, 1942.

Beer, G., *Ludolf Backhuysen, Sein Leben und Werk*. Zwolle, 2002.

Berg, Van den, H. M., *De Nederlandse Monumenten van Geschiedenis en Kunst. Deel VIII. De Provincie Noordholland. Tweede Stuk: Westfriesland, Tessel en Wieringen.* The Hague, 1955.

Boer, M. G. de, *Tromp en de Armada van 1639*. Amsterdam, 1941.

Bol, L. J., *Die Holländische Marinemalerei des 17. Jahrhunderts*, Braunschweig, 1973.

Boxer, C. R., *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800*. London, 1965.

Boxer, C.R., *De Ruyter en de Engelse oorlogen in de Gouden Eeuw*, London, 1974.

Brand, R., "Bedreven in de konst van schepen ende see. De marineschilderkunst van Cornelis Claesz. Van Wieringen". In: *Antiek*, December 1995, nr. 5. pp. 194-208.

Brand. R., "Cornelis Claesz. Van Wieringen", in: *Lof der Zeevaart. De Hollandse zeeschilders van de 17e eeuw,* exh. cat. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam/ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1996. pp. 99-112.

Brandon, P., *War Capital and the Dutch State (1588-1795)*, Leiden, 2015.

Brozius, J.R., *Op de rede van Hoorn. De geschiedenis van de Hoornse zeeschilderkunst in de Gouden Eeuw*. Hoorn, 2002.

Brozius J.R., (and others), *Jan Albertsz Rotius, Meesterschilder van Hoorn*. exh. cat. Jan Albertsz Rotius, Meesterschilder van Hoorn, September 23-18, 2016. Hoorn, 2016.

Butters, S.B., "Contrasting Priorities: Ferdinando I de'Medici, Cardinal and Grand Duke". In: *The Possessions of a Cardinal. Politics, Piety and Art 1450-1700*. Pennsylvania State University, 2010.

Callender, G., *Catalogue of an exhibition of Marine Art*, exh. cat. Burlington Fine Arts Club, London, 1927.

Daalder, R., "Zeegeschiedenis op schilderijen, marines als historische born". In: *Lof der Zeevaart. De Hollandse zeeschilders van de 17e eeuw.* exh. cat. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam/ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1996. pp. 37-44.

Daalder, R., "Modello voor een schilderij van de Zeeslag bij Gibraltar, 25 april 1607". In: *Bulletin Vereninging Rembrandt*. 2011. Jaargang 21, issue 3. pp. 20-23.

Daalder, R., *Van de Velde & Zoon. Zeeschilders*. Amsterdam, 2013.

Daalder, R., *Van de Velde & Zoon. Zeeschilders*. Amsterdam, 2016.

Drossaers, S.W.A., *Inventarissen van de inboedels in de verblijven van de Oranjes en daarmede gelijk te stellen stukken, 1567-1795*, The Hague, 1974-76.

Elias, J.E., *Schetsen uit de geschiedenis van ons zeewezen*. VI parts, The Hague, 1916-1930.

Emmens, J.A*., Rembrandt en de regels van de kunst*. Utrecht, 1968.

Franits, W., 'Introduction', in: *Looking at Dutch Seventeenth-Century Art: Realism Reconsidered*, Cambridge, 1997.

Gascke, J. (edit.), Brand, R.,*Turmoil and Tranquillity. The sea through the eyes of Dutch and Flemish masters, 1550-1700*. Exh. Cat. National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, London, 2008.

Gelder, H.E., Van, "Abraham de Verwer levert een schilderij van den slag bij Gibraltar". In: *Oud Holland*, Vol. 62 No. 6, 1947, pp. 211-213.

Giltaij, J., Jansen, G., *Perspectiven: Saenrendam en de architectuurschilders van de 17e eeuw*. exh. cat. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam, 1991.

Giltaij, J., J. Kelch a.o., *Lof der Zeevaart. De Hollandse zeeschilders van de 17e eeuw.* exh. cat. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam/ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1996.

Glas, de, N., *Holland is een eiland. De Batavia van Hadrianus Junius*. Hilversum, 2011.

Goedde, L.O., *Tempest and Shipwreck in Dutch and Flemish Art*. Pennsylvania State University, 1989.

Haak, B., *The Golden Age. Dutch Painters of the Seventeenth Century*, New York, 1984.

Hecht, P., “Dutch seventeenth-century genre painting: a reassessment of some current hypotheses”. In: Frantis, W. a.o. *Looking at Dutch Seventeenth-Century Art: Realism Reconsidered*, Cambridge, 1997.

Heyning, K., *De Tapijten van Zeeland*. Middelburg, 2007.

Heyning, K., “Een schoon schip van oorloghe”. In: *Tijdschrijft voor Zeegeschiedenis*, Vol 30, 2011, pp. 3-20.

Jensen, L., *Vieren van Vrede. Het onstaan van de Nederlandse identiteit, 1648-1815.* Nijmegen, 2016.

Keyes, G. S., “Cornelis Claesz. Van Wieringen”, In: *Oud Holland*, Vol. 93 No. 1, 1979, pp. 1-46.

Keyes, G.S., *Mirror of Empire. Dutch marine art of the seventeenth century*, exh. cat. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, Minneapolis 1990.

Kloek, W., “De Trots van Tromp.” In: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, Issue 50, nr. 3, 2002, pp. 419-423.

Kloek, W., “Nogmaals, de Trots van Tromp.” In: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, Issue 51, nr. 4, 2003, pp. 369-371.

Kooijmans, L., *Onder regenten. De elite in een Hollandse stad Hoorn 1700-1780*. The Hague, 1985.

Kramm, C., *De levens en werken der Hollandsche en Vlaamsche kunstschilders, beeldhouwers, graveurs en bouwmeesters, van den vroegste tijd tot op onzen tijd*. Amsterdam, 1857-1864.

Lammertse, F., “Jan Theunisz. Blanckerhoff”. In: *Lof der Zeevaart. De Hollandse zeeschilders van de 17e eeuw.* exh. cat. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam/ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1996. pp. 301-308.

Lammertse, F., “Willem van de Velde de Oude” In: *Lof der Zeevaart. De Hollandse zeeschilders van de 17e eeuw.* exh. cat. Museum Boijmans van Beuningen, Rotterdam/ Staatliche Museen zu Berlin 1996. pp. 411-428.

Manzano Baena, L., 'Negotiating Sovereignty: the Peace Treaty of Münster, 1648', In: *History of Political Thought*, vol. 28, no. 4, pp. 617-641.

Martin, W., *De Hollandse Schilderkunst in de 17e eeuw: Frans Hals en zijn tijd (Two parts, part I)*, Amstertdam, 1935.

Montias, J.M., *Artists and Artisans in Delft in the Seventeenth Century: A Socio-Economic Study of the Seventeenth Century*, Princeton, 1982.

Nimwegen, Van, O., and Prud’homme van Reine, R, Groen, P. (editor), *De Tachtigjarige Oorlog. Van Opstand naar geregelde oorlog 1568-1648*. Amsterdam, 2013.

Obreen, F.D.O., *Archief voor Nederlandsche Kunstgeschiedenis*. VI. Rotterdam, 1884/87, p. 295

Persman, J.R., "De bestuursorganisatie in West-Friesland en het Noorderkwartier vanaf de eerste vergadering van de Staten van Noord-Holland in 1573 tot en met 1795", in *West-Frieslands oud en nieuw*, no. 40, 1973, pp. 136-160

Prud'homme van Reine, R., *Schittering en Schandaal. De Biografie van Maerten en Cornelis Tromp*. Amsterdam, 2001.

Prud'homme van Reine, R., "Nog één keer de trots van Tromp." In: *Bulletin van het Rijksmuseum*, Issue 52, nr. 3-4, 2004, pp. 335-337.

Prud'homme van Reine, R., *Opkomst en ondergang van Nederlands Gouden Vloot. Door de ogen van de zeeschilders Willem van de Velde de Oude en de Jonge*. Amsterdam, 2009.

Resoort, R., "Ten Geleide", in: *Th. Velius Kroniek van Hoorn, I*, Hoorn, 2007.

Robinson, M.S., *Van de Velde Drawings. A Catalogue of Drawings in the National Maritime Museum made by the Elder and the Younger Willem van de Velde*. Cambridge, 1958.

Robinson, M.S., *The Paintings of the Willem van de Veldes* (2 parts). Greenwich, 1990.

Rubin, P., *Giorgio Vasari. Art and History*. New Haven & London, 1995.

Russell, M., *Jan van de Capelle 1624/1679*, London, 1974.

Rusell, M., *Visions of the Sea. Hendrick C. Vroom and the origins of Dutch marine painting*. Leiden, 1983.

Scheurleer, D.F., *Onze mannen ter zee in dicht en in beeld. Gedichten, portretten, penningen en grafmonumenten door tijdgenoten, 1572-1795*. 3 parts, The Hague, 1912-1915.

Sigmond P., & Kloek, W., *Zeeslagen en Zeehelden in de Gouden Eeuw*. Amsterdam, 2007.

Slive, S., *Dutch Art and Architecture: 1600 to 1800*. Kingsport, 1979.

Spilbergen, J., Van, *Copye van een Brief, geschreven door Joris van Spelbergh, Commijs generael […] onder 't beleydt van […] Jacob van Heemskerke […] tracterende van 't veroveren der Spaensche aramade. Wt onse armade by Capo St. Vincent, in dato 9 Mey, 1607*. Place unknown (Held at University Library Gent).

Stechow, W., *Dutch Landscape of the Seventeenth Century,* London 1966.

Sutton, P.C., a.o., *Masters of 17th-Century Dutch Landscape Painting*, exh. Cat. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam/ Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, Boston/ Philadelphia Museum of Art, Philadelphia, 1987-1988.

Swigchem, D.C., *Zes unieke wandtapijten. Strijd op de Zeeuwse stormen 1572-1576*. Zwolle, 1991.

Thiel, P.J.J. van & Bruyn Kops, de, C.J. de, *Prijst de Lijst. De Hollandse Schilderlijst in de zeventiende eeuw*. The Hague, 1984.

Thierry de Bye Dolleman, B., "De Haarlemse burgemeester Nicolaas Wouterszn. van der Meer (ca 1574-1637)". In: *Jaarboek Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie*, part 29, The Hague 1975, pp. 46-60.

Voorbeijtel Cannenburg, W., "De zeeslag bij Gibraltar door Corn. Claesz. v. Wieringen". In: *Jaarverslag Scheepvaartmuseum Amsterdam (1928)*, Amsterdam, 1929, Appendix B, pp. 52-60.

Vries, de, J., *De Economische Achteruitgang der Republiek in de Achttiende eeuw*. Leiden, 1968.

Westerman, J.C., "Statistische gegevens over den handel van Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw", In: *Tijdschrift v. Geschiedenis*, 1948. pp. 3-15.

Willis, F.C., *Die Niederländische Marinemalerei*. Leipzig, 1911.

Ysselsteyn, G. T. Van., *Noordnederlandsche Tapijten en hun Ontwerpers. Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Kunstnijverheid.* Leiden, 1935.

Internet Recourses

https://armada.parliament.uk/history.html
(Visited on 29/01/2018).

https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/record?query=abraham+de+verwer&start=2
(Visited on 29/01/2018)

https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/artists/82222
(Visited on 20/01/2018)

https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/35345
(Visited on 01/06/2018)

https://rkd.nl/nl/explore/images/54062
(Visited on 4/05/2018)

https://rkd.nl/explore/artists/75652
(Visted on 3/07/2018

https://www.verenigingrembrandt.nl/705/de-kunst/de-verrijking/6-maart-2015:-museum-prinsenhof-verwerft-een-17de-eeuws-kerkinterieur-van-hendrick-van-vliet/
(Visited on 20/04/2018)

Appendix Table 1

Battle	Inscription (Translated from Dutch by I.J.R. Vogeslsang)	Mythological Scene
Bergen op Zoom	Behold of the Spanish people the memorable grave In which the vast Schelde drops its waters in the sea Where the glory of the Mattiaken reaches for the stars There is restored the Freedom, Religion and Homeland.[331]	Hercules and Cacus.
Rammekens	While the Spanish fleet illusions their safety by means of force and majeure And security of the Zeeburg Fortress Despises the Zeeuw the force and majeure and the fortress And sets the fleet on fire.[332]	Portrait of Bellona, the personification of War and sister of Mars.
Lillo	While the Spaniards, intoxicated by their victories, builds their fleet by Lillo By which they hope to defeat the Mattiaken He gets defeated in his supremacy, by an unexpected deception A ravin he becomes, returned to ashes, till death becomes.[333]	Mercury defeats the unsuspecting Argus.
Veere (two parts)	To relief Middelburg from the heavy siege Comes to the Walcheren coast the Spanish fleet. The Zeeuw stand firm and ignites the ships, Captures one, deceives the Spanish fleet.[334]	Portrait of Bellona, the personification of War and sister of Mars.
Zierikzee	The Spaniards had sailed off from the port and town of Zierikzee With ships, stakes, fortifications, and men. Breaking through those ships, stakes, fortifications, and men, The men of Zeeland captured two.[335]	Hercules vanquishes the many-headed monster Hydra of Lerna.
Coat of Arms	Under the command of Orange, calm in the midst of stormy waters Has He led me in my fears and His hand kept me standing I struggle and rise from the current of perilous events Not without the Help of the almighty God.[336]	None

[331] ADSPICITE HISPANAE BVSTVM MEMORABILE GENTIS
QVA RAPIDVS SCALDIS IN MARE VOLVIT AQVAS
GLORIA MATTIACVM QVO SESE AD SYDERA TOLLIT
SARTA EST LIBERTAS, RELLIGIO ET PATRIA

[332] DVM TVTAM SESE NVMEROQ[UE] ET ROBERE ET ARCIS
ZEBVURGI AVXILLO CLASSIS IBERA PVTAT
ZELANDI CONTRA NVMERVMQ[UE] ET ROBVR ET ARCEM
DESPICIVNT CLASSI SVBYCIVNTQ[UE] FACES

[333]DVM STRVIT AD LILLOO CLASSEM SPE VICTOR IBERVS
QVA SE MATTIACOS VINCERE POSSE RATVS
ILLE FEROX IPSIS INOPINA VINCITVR ARTE
PRAEDE FIT IN CINEREM VERSA REPENTE PERIT

[334] VT MEDIOBVRGVM SOLVAT DVRA OBSIDIONE
WALLACHRIAE AD LUTTVS CLASSIS IBERIA VENI[T]
INCENSIS OBSTAT ZELANDVS NAVIBVS; VNAM
VI CAPIT & CLASSEM SPARGIT IBERIACAM

[335] CLAVSERAT HISPANVS PORTVMQVE VRBEMQVE ZYRINGI
NAVIBVS & PALIS, ARCIBVS, ATQVE VIRIS;
PER MEDIAS NAVES, PALOS, ARCESQVE VIROSQVE
ZELANDVS RVMPENS; SVSTVLIT INDE DVAS

[336] AVRAICO DVCE [QUI] SAEVIS TRANQUILLUS IN UNDIS
ME REXIT TREPIDVM SVSTINVITQUE MANV.
LVCTOR ET EMERGO DVRARVM EX GVRGITE RERVM
NON SINE DIVINI NVMINIS AVSPICIO.

Illustrations

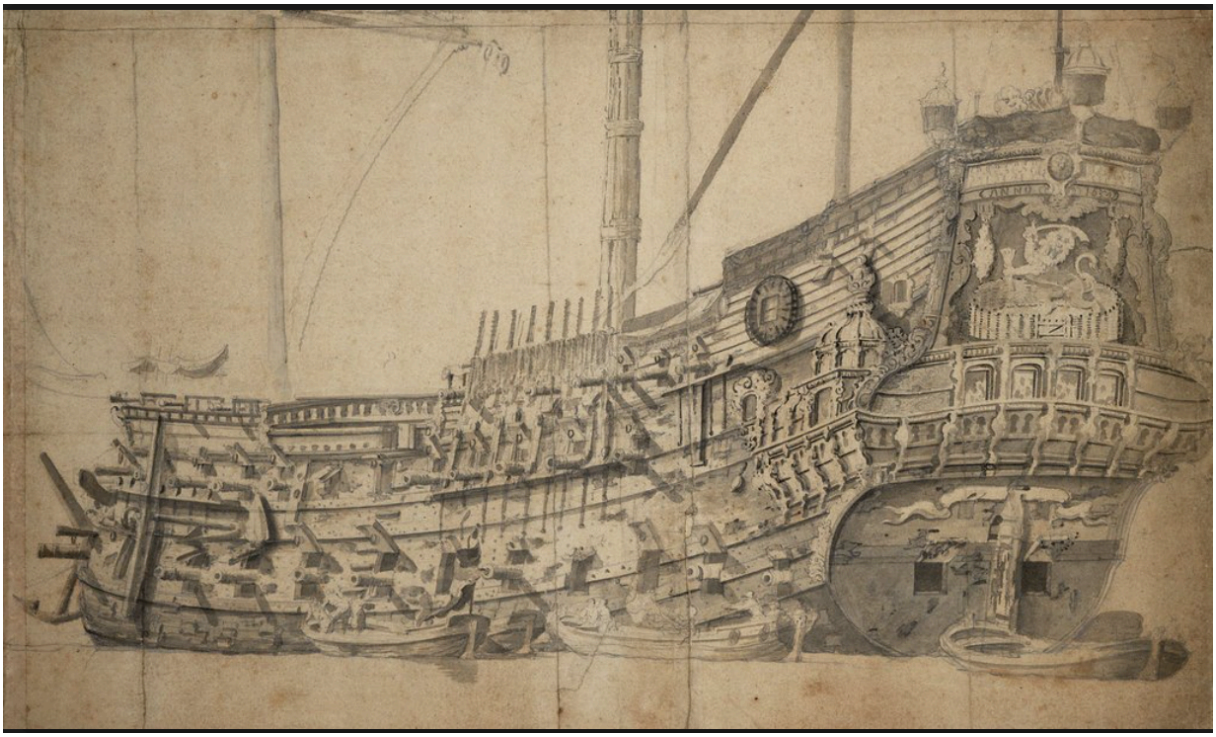
1. Ludolf Bakhuizen, *View of Amsterdam with ships on the IJ*, 1666, oil on canvas, 128 x 221 cm, Musée de Louvre, Paris, inv. no. 988.

2. Abraham de Verwer, *Battle of the Zuiderzee, October 6, 1573*, 1621, oil on canvas. 153 x 340 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-603.

3. Jan Theunisz. Blanckerhoff, *Battle of the Zuiderzee in front of the Anchorage of Hoorn*, 1666, oil on canvas, 229 x 271,5 cm, State Lodging, Hoorn (in the collection of the Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, The Hague), inv. no. A 3235.

4. Abraham Storck (attributed to), *Battle of the Zuiderzee on 11 October 1573*, oil on canvas, 85,3 x 114 cm, Deutsches Historisches Museum, Berlin.

5. Ludolf Bakhuizen, *The Eendracht and a fleet of Dutch Men-of-war*, 1670-75, oil on canvas, 75,5 x 105,5 cm, National Gallery, London, inv. no. NG223.



6. Willem van de Velde the Elder, *The Eendracht*, ink on paper, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich.

7. John Pine, Plate I: *The Spanish Fleet Coming up the Channel*, 1739, engraving, House of Lords Library, London.

8. Richard Burchett, *The English Fleet Pursuing the Spanish Fleet against Fowey*, c. 1860, oil and gold leaf on canvas, Parliamentary Art Collection, London, inv. no. WOA 2954.

9. Hendrick Vroom (design), Francois Spierinck (weaver), *The Battle of Bergen op Zoom*, 1593, tapestry, 391 x 742 cm, Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg.

10. Hendrick Vroom (design), Jan de Maecht (weaver), *Battle of Rammekens*, 1596, tapestry, 399 x 726 cm, Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg.

11. Hendrick Vroom (design), Hendrik de Maecht (weaver), *Battle of Veere (left side)*, 1599, tapestry, 402 x 319 cm Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg.

12. Hendrick Vroom (design), Hendrik de Maecht (weaver), *Battle of Zierikzee*, 1599, tapestry, 390 x 385 cm, Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg.

13. Karel van Mander (design), Hendrik de Maecht (weaver), *Coat of Arms*, 1602-1603, tapestry, 266 x 276 cm, Zeeuws Museum, Middelburg.

14. Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen, *Battle of Gibraltar, April 25, 1607*, 1622, oil on canvas, 180 x 490 cm, Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 724.

15. Abraham de Verwer (?), *Heemskerk's defeat of the Spaniards at Gibraltar, 25 April 1607*, 1619, oil on canvas, 183 x 293 cm, Maritime Museum, Greenwich, inv. no. BHC-0265.

16. Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen, *The explosion of the Spanish Admiral's ship during* the *Battle of Gibraltar, April 25, 1607,* 1622 (?), oil on canvas, 137,5 x 188 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. A 2163.

17. Cornelis Claesz. van Wieringen, *Modello for the Battle of Gibraltar, April 25, 1607*, 1622, oil on panel, 49 x 115 cm, Nederlands Scheepvaartmuseum, Amsterdam.

18. Willem van de Velde the Elder, *The Battle of Dunkirk, February 18, 1639,* 1659, ink on canvas, 123 x 185 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-1362.

19. Willem van de Velde the Elder, *The Battle of the Downs, October 21, 1639,* 1659, ink on canvas, 124 x 190 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-1363.

20. Willem van de Velde the Elder, *The Battle of Ter Heide, August 10, 1653,* 1657, ink on canvas, 170 x 289 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-1365.

21. Willem van de Velde the Elder, The Battle of Ter Heide (right sheet), 1653, ink and pencil on paper, 35 x 63 cm (three sheets), Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. FMH-2074-[a].

22. Willem van de Velde the Elder, *The Battle at Leghorn March 14, 1653,* c. 1659, ink on canvas, 114 x 160 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. SK-A-1364.

23. Crispijn de Passe de Jonge, *Portrait of Maerten Tromp*, 1639, print, Atlas van Stork, Rotterdam.

24. Salomon Savery, *Maerten Tromp depicted as a Sea God after his victory in Dunkirk in 1639*, 1639, engraving, 47,8 x 72,4 cm, Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, inv. no. RP-P-OB-47.494.

25. Abraham Casteleyn, *Zeetriomf van Admiraal Tromp*, c. 1639, oil on canvas, 111 x 158 cm, Nederlands Scheepvaart Museum, Amsterdam, inv. no. 1991.0214.

26. Jacob van Campen, Rombout Verhulst, Willem de Keyser, Willem van de Velde the Elder, *Sepulchre of Maerten Tromp*, Finished in 1658, Oude Kerk, Delft.

27. Hendrick van Vliet, *Interior of the Old Church in Delft with the tomb of Admiral Maerten Tromp*, 1658, oil on canvas, Toledo Museum of Art, Toledo.

28. Hendrick van Vliet, *Interior of the Old Church in Delft*, 1659, oil on canvas, Leipzich, Museum der Bildenden Künste.

29. Gerard Houckgeest, *Interior of the New Church in Delft with the tomb of Willem van Oranje*, 1650, oil on panel, 126 x 89 cm, Kunsthalle Hamburg, Hamburg, inv. no. 342.

30. Willem van de Velde the Elder, *The Battle of Ter Heide, August 10, 1653,* 1655, ink on canvas, 114 x 156 cm, National Maritime Museum, Greenwich, inv. no. BHC0277.

31. Jan Theunisz. Blanckerhoff, *Battle of the Zuiderzee in front of the Anchorage of Hoorn*, 1666, oil on canvas, 229 x 271,5 cm. Wooden frame by Johannes Kinnema, 1668, State Lodging, Hoorn (in the collection of the Dienst Verspreide Rijkscollecties, The Hague), inv. no. A 3235.

32. Jan Theunisz. Blanckerhoff, *Model for the Battle of the Zuiderzee in front of the Anchorage of Hoorn*, c. 1664, oil on canvas, 66 x 85 cm, Leger Gallery (?), London/Brussels.

33. Monogrammist PCH, *The Battle of the Zuiderzee, 1573,* c. 1648, engraving, 17,5 x 25,5 cm. Illustrated in: "Th. Velius Chronicle of Hoorn" (1648), Rotterdam, Atlas van Stolk.