

## THE PROTESTANT REFORMATION IN THE LOW COUNTRIES: DEVELOPMENTS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY HISTORIOGRAPHY\*

Wim Janse

Extraordinary Professor of Reformation History, Vrije Universiteit, De Boelelaan 1105  
1081 HV Amsterdam; Lecturer in the History of Christianity,  
Leiden University Faculty of Theology, PO Box 9515,  
NL-2300 RA Leiden, The Netherlands  
w.janse@let.leidenuniv.nl

### Abstract

The twentieth-century historiography of the Protestant Reformation in the Netherlands (1520–1620) reflects four major shifts in approach: from a partisan or compartmentalized to a neutral and from a chiefly theological to an integrated approach, from a national to an international perspective, and from a focus on the national to one on the local and regional level. Moreover, the increasing multi-disciplinarity within the field has resulted in a broadening of the range of sources and a discussion on the academic position of church history. These shifts mirror contemporary socio-cultural changes, such as depillarization, ecumenism, and internationalization. The concept developed by Juliaan Woltjer (1962) of a large and heterogeneous middle group of ‘Protestantizing’ Catholics between small groups of fervent Protestants and conservative Catholics caused a watershed in the research. These moderate Catholics proved a significant factor in local politics, depending on the extent to which they were loyal to the church leaders or allowed themselves to be driven into the arms of the Protestants by the

\* This contribution first appeared in Dutch, under the title ‘De protestantse reformatie in de Nederlanden: Wendingen in de twintigste-eeuwse historiografie’, in Jack de Mooij and Ineke Smit (eds.), *Balans van een eeuw: Wendingen in de historiografie van het christendom 1901–2001* (Heerenveen: Groen, 2002), pp. 33-49. A French version appeared in *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 80/1 (2004), pp. 76-92. The present translation in English is from Ineke Smit (Leiden) and was made possible by a grant from the Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences (Vertaalfonds KNAW/Stichting Reprorecht). The following references are not exhaustive; if applicable, only the most recent edition and the first place of publication are given.

unbending authorities. Woltjer initiated ongoing research into the interaction between church and state and into the fundamental multiformity and the 'fourth stream' in the Dutch Reformation: the amalgam of spiritualist objectors to institutionalized religiosity.

### Introduction

Just as twentieth-century Dutch historiography<sup>1</sup> reflects contemporary socio-cultural developments, such as depillarization, individualization, and internationalization, the historiography of the sixteenth-century Reformation in the Low Countries<sup>2</sup> offers a similar mirror. For instance, the adjective 'Protestant' in the title of this essay paradoxically enough reflects the deconfessionalization

1. Surveys in Jan Romein, 'Een halve eeuw geschiedwetenschap in Nederland', in *idem* (ed.), *Tussen vrees en vrijheid: Vijftien historische verhandelingen* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1950), pp. 242-53; Hans van der Hoeven, 'Dertigjaar Noordnederlandse geschiedschrijving 1945-1975', *Ons Erfdeel: Cultureel tijdschrift voor Zuidvlaamse werking in Vlaams-Nederlands-Suidafrikaanse samenwerking* 19 (1976), pp. 9-24; Pieter A.M. Geurts and Antoon E.M. Janssen, 'Beknopte beredeneerde bibliografie van de Noordnederlandse historiografie', in *idem* (eds.), *Geschiedschrijving in Nederland: Studies over de historiografie van de Nieuwe Tijd. II. Geschiedbeoefening* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 249-75; Wijnand W. Mijnhardt (ed.), *Kantelend geschiedbeeld: Nederlandse historiografie sinds 1945* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1983). See also the annotated bibliographies in *Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* (15 vols.; Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 1977-83); Arie Th. van Deursen, 'De Vrije Universiteit en de geschiedwetenschappen', in Michiel van Os and Wiert J. Wieringa (eds.), *Wetenschap en rekenschap, 1880-1980: Een eeuw wetenschapsbeoefening en wetenschapsbeschouwing aan de Vrije Universiteit. Gedenkboek bij het honderdjarig bestaan van de Vrije Universiteit te Amsterdam* (Kampen: Kok, 1980), pp. 360-400; the general surveys published under the umbrella of the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research (NWO) priority programme *Nederlandse cultuur in Europese context* (5 vols.; Den Haag: Sdu Uitgevers, 1999-2001).

2. Historiographic surveys on the Reformation in general: Arthur G. Dickens and John Tonkin, with the assistance of Kenneth Powell, *The Reformation in Historical Thought* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1985); Steven E. Ozment (ed.), *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research* (St Louis, MO: Center for Reformation Research, 1982); William S. Maltby (ed.), *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research, II* (St Louis, MO: Center for Reformation Research, 1992); cf. Hans J. Hillerbrand, 'Reference works', in Hillerbrand *et al.* (eds.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation* (4 vols.; New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), III, pp. 391-92; John Tonkin, 'Reformation studies', in Hillerbrand *et al.* (eds.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, III, pp. 398-410; on the Reformation in the Low Countries: Doede Nauta, 'De reformatie in Nederland in de historiografie', in Geurts and Janssen (eds.), *Geschiedbeoefening*, pp. 206-27; M.E.H. Nicolette Mout, 'Reformation, Revolt and Civil Wars: The Historiographic Traditions of France and the Netherlands', in Philip Benedict *et al.* (eds.), *Reformation, Revolt and Civil War in France and the Netherlands 1555-1585* (Amsterdam: Royal Netherlands Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1999), pp. 23-34; see also n. 68.

that has entered the discipline. Whereas hardly fifty years ago a confessionally segregated church historiography spoke of the century that witnessed the birth of Protestantism as ‘the century of *the* Reformation’,<sup>3</sup> more recently a delta of Reformation streams have come to be distinguished,<sup>4</sup> so that the subject is referred to in the plural as ‘the Reformations’.<sup>5</sup> Here, the addition ‘Protestant’<sup>6</sup> serves to distinguish the movement from the Catholic Reformation as an independent historical phenomenon.<sup>7</sup> ‘Reformation’ is no longer an exclusively Protestant concept; ‘the’ Reformation has never existed. The present contribution sets out to draw attention to a number of shifts in the twentieth-century historiography of the Protestant Reformation movements in the Low Countries between roughly 1520 and 1620, and opens with an observation from 1942.

### From a Pillarized to a Neutral Approach

In 1942, the Leiden church historian Jan Bakhuizen van den Brink and his Groningen colleague, the Leiden alumnus Johannes Lindeboom, published a *Guide for the Study of Church History* that set out to ‘provide a preliminary orientation (...) by emphasizing the main points, often difficult to recognize for students of theology, who usually have little knowledge of general history’.<sup>8</sup> Among these main points of the Protestant Reformation Lindeboom—the author of the paragraph in question—included the fact that this not only carried the stamp of Luther, Calvin, and Zwingli, but first and foremost also that of the reformer ‘alongside the reformers’, Erasmus. The Reformation of which he had been the ‘main representative and most powerful driving force’ gave to the Dutch movement its own ‘initially national biblical-humanist

3. Jan N. Bakhuizen van den Brink and Johannes Lindeboom, *Leidraad bij de studie der Kerkgeschiedenis* (Amsterdam: H. Meulenhoff, 1942), p. 96 (reproduced from Gerardus van der Leeuw [ed.], *De Godsdiensten der Wereld*, II [Amsterdam: H. Meulenhoff, 1941; 3rd edn 1956]): ‘Is de vijftiende eeuw de eeuw van verlerlei *reformatio*, de zestiende is die van de Reformatie’.

4. Cf. Mark U. Edwards, Jr, ‘Reformation’, in Hillerbrand *et al.* (eds.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, III, pp. 396–98.

5. See, for instance, Carter H. Lindberg, *The European Reformations* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1996).

6. See, for instance, Lewis W. Spitz, *The Protestant Reformation, 1517–1559* (New York: Harper & Row, 1985).

7. A good summary of the terminology can be found in John W. O’Malley, *Trent and all that: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2000).

8. Bakhuizen and Lindeboom, *Leidraad*, p. 5.

character'. It was in the Low Countries that biblical humanism had blossomed most, 'on spiritual soil that had been prepared by the *devotio moderna*, by the mysticism focused on the imitation of Christ (...), and by an affinity with the simple Christianity of apostolic times'.<sup>9</sup> Because of such 'Erasmians' as Joannes Anastasius Veluanus,

'who in his *Der Leecken Weghwyser (Guide for Laymen)*, even more unconfessionally scriptural than Zwingli, taught the universality of salvation and rejected predestination and the killing of heretics (...), these ideas were preserved in an originally national reform movement, which by way of anti-confessional representatives at the end of the sixteenth century—among whom for instance the religious humanist and "Catholic" Coornhert, Castellio's counterpart—became prominent in the Remonstrant movement at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Grotius has remained a typical representative of this stream: biblicist, pacifist, Catholic, and erudite humanist all rolled into one. The Dordrecht Synod tried to banish the national reform movement from the official church, but only partially succeeded. This is why the religious life of the church retained its colorfulness and rich spirituality during our Golden Age'.<sup>10</sup>

The influence of biblical humanism was 'mitigating, pacifying, broadening, a corrective on both sides against barbarism, formalism, and the objectivization of faith by ceremonies or creeds, inquisition or puritanism'. Thus, 'the latitudinarian spirit of our national Protestantism' prevented the realization of the Synod's desire for a church 'based on truly Reformatory principles'. Only in the seventeenth century did biblical humanism come into its own 'as a component of a neo-Protestantism'.<sup>11</sup>

With his sketch of an original, national-Reformed movement of which, after Wessel Gansfort, he considered Erasmus, Veluanus, Coornhert, and Grotius the venerable representatives, Lindeboom<sup>12</sup> actually showed himself still

9. Bakhuizen and Lindeboom, *Leidraad*, pp. 96-97.

10. Bakhuizen and Lindeboom, *Leidraad*, pp. 99-100.

11. Bakhuizen and Lindeboom, *Leidraad*, pp. 98, 116-17.

12. Johannes Lindeboom, *Erasmus: Onderzoek naar zijne theologie en zijn godsdienstig gemoedsbestaan* (Leiden: Adriani, 1909); Johannes Lindeboom, *Het Bijbelsch Humanisme in Nederland* (Leiden: Adriani, 1913), reprinted as *Het bijbels humanisme in Nederland: Erasmus en de vroege reformatie, ingeleid door C. Augustijn* (Leeuwarden: Dykstra, 1982); Johannes Reitsma and Johannes Lindeboom, *Geschiedenis van de Hervorming en de Hervormde Kerk der Nederlanden* (Utrecht: Kemink, 4th edn, 1933; 's-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 5th edn, 1949); cf. Johannes Lindeboom, *De confessioneele ontwikkeling der reformatie in de Nederlanden* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1946). In the same spirit also Johannes W. Pont, *Geschiedenis van het Lutheranisme in de Nederlanden tot 1618* (Haarlem: Bohn, 1911) and Wilhelmus J. Kühler, *Geschiedenis der Nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de zestiende eeuw* (Haarlem: Tjeenk Willink, 1932). Criticism came from Maarten van Rhijn, *Wessel Gansfort* ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1917) and *Studiën*

echoing the Remonstrant voice of Johannes Uytenbogaert (1647) and Hugo de Groot (1613) in the debate with orthodox-Reformed historiography on the primogeniture of Calvinism or Remonstrantism, a voice that had come down via the Groningen school represented by Annaeus Ypey and Isaac Johannes Dermout (1819) and Geeraert Brandt (1671). In this he followed his Leiden tutor Frederik Pijper, who as late as 1919 wrote in a Remonstrant commemorative volume: ‘In his defense of the Remonstrant position against the Calvinists, Joannes Utenbogaert maintained that “we were there before you”. And he was right. (...) The most influential movement at the time was what may be called the national Dutch Reformed school. In its adherents, Utenbogaert discerned his own forerunners’.<sup>13</sup>

A 1904 note in the minute book of S.S.S., the Leiden Church History Society,<sup>14</sup> illustrates the apologetic nature of this view, which incidentally is not wholly incorrect. To Lindeboom’s (then a 22-year old student) question whether Remonstrantism should be considered ‘something new’, Pijper had answered that on the contrary, it was Calvinism that was ‘something new’ at the time. In an earlier S.S.S. meeting Pijper had already pointed to the ‘attempts by the Vrije Universiteit [of Amsterdam] people to put as early a date as possible to the establishment [of Calvinism]’.<sup>15</sup> Apparently he was referring to his Vrije Universiteit colleague Frederik Lodewijk Rutgers, who

*over Luther’s rechtvaardigingsleer: Met een nawoord over nieuwere Erasmus-waardeering* (Amsterdam: Paris, 1921). A synthesis was attempted by Laurentius Knappert, *Het ontstaan en de vestiging van het Protestantisme in de Nederlanden* (Utrecht: Oosthoek, 1924). H.A. Enno van Gelder, *The Two Reformations in the Sixteenth Century: A Study of the Religious Aspects and Consequences of Renaissance and Humanism* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 2nd edn, 1961) distinguished between a major Reformation of the Christian humanist Erasmus and a minor one of Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin.

13. Frederik Pijper, ‘Geestelijke stroomingen in Nederland vóór de opkomst van het Remonstrantisme’, in Gerrit J. Heering (ed.), *De Remonstranten: Gedenkboek bij het 300-jarig bestaan der Remonstrantsche Broederschap* (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1919), pp. 37–60 (37). Cf. Frederik Pijper, ‘Erasmus en de Nederlandsche Reformatie’, *Handelingen en Mededelingen van de Maatschappij der Nederlandsche Letterkunde te Leiden* (1906–1907), pp. 36–62, published also separately (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1907).

14. On S.S.S., see Jack de Mooij and Ineke Smit, *Rond kled en kistje: Honderd jaar Kerkhistorisch Gezelschap S.S.S. 1901–2001* (Leiden: Kerkhistorisch Gezelschap S.S.S, 2001); De Mooij and Smit, ‘Semper Sit Secretum. Het Kerkhistorisch Gezelschap S.S.S. 1901–2001’, in *idem* (eds.), *Balans van een eeuw*, pp. 11–32.

15. Recounted by Bart Jan Spruyt, ‘Pleidooi voor de omweg. Christenhistorici en het beeld van de vroege Reformatie in de Nederlanden’, *Transparant: Orgaan van de Vereniging van Christen-Historici* 8 (1997), pp. 22–29 (23); cf. S.S.S. Minute Book 1, 28 and 103, in *Archief S.S.S.*, Faculty of Theology, Leiden University.

around the turn of the century had devoted an inaugural lecture to ‘Calvin’s influence on the Reformation in the Netherlands’, and had concluded: ‘The characteristic feature of the Dutch Reformation, in as far as we may speak of one, is neither the religious superficiality of Humanism, nor the sober rationality of the so-called Zwinglianism, nor the slowness of ecclesiastical Conservatism, nor the lawlessness or profligacy of Anabaptism or Libertinism, but rather the principle that at an early stage has already conquered all, the principle embodied in Calvinism, in the profound, broad sense of that word’.<sup>16</sup>

These not uncontroversial positions, aiming at the annexation of the early Reformation for one’s own denomination, have long been abandoned.<sup>17</sup> In 1954, the Roman Catholic mediaevalist, Reinier Post, corrected the view that Protestantism—thus antedated—should be seen as the natural continuation of the spirit of the *devotio moderna*.<sup>18</sup> The depillarization that started in the 1960s made a greater distance to one’s own past possible, was accompanied by interconfessional and ecumenical historiographic initiatives,<sup>19</sup> and eventually resulted in a deconfessionalization of church historiography.<sup>20</sup> New research by Cees Augustijn, Alastair Duke, A.G. Johnston, Johannes Trapman, and Bart Jan Spruyt traced back the stream of the early Reformation in the Low Coun-

16. Frederik L. Rutgers, *Calvijns invloed op de reformatie in de Nederlanden, voor zoveel die door hemzelf is uitgeoefend* (Leeuwarden: De Tille, 3rd edn, 1980), pp. 34-35, also quoted in Nauta, ‘Reformatie’, p. 221.

17. See Nauta, ‘Reformatie’; Alastair C. Duke and Coenraad A. Tamse (eds.), *Clio’s Mirror: Historiography in Britain and the Netherlands* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1985); Johan C.H. Blom and Carly J. Misset, “‘Een onvervalschte Nederlandsche geest’. Enkele historiografische kanttekeningen bij het concept van een nationaal-gereformeerde richting’, in Elidius K. Grootes and J. den Haan (eds.), *Geschiedenis, godsdienst, letterkunde: Opstellen aangeboden aan dr. S.B.J. Zilverberg ter gelegenheid van zijn afscheid van de Universiteit van Amsterdam* (Roden: Nehalennia, 1989), pp. 221-32; Spruyt, ‘Pleidooi’. J. Juliaan Woltjer, *Friesland in Hervormingstijd* (Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1962), pp. 102-103, has shown that the reformational movements prior to 1566 were neither ‘reformed’ nor ‘national’.

18. Regnerus R. Post, *Kerkelijke verhoudingen in Nederland vóór de Reformatie van ± 1500 tot ± 1580* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 1954).

19. See, for instance, joint Catholic and Protestant publication Antonius G. Weiler, Otto J. de Jong and Ludovicus J. Rogier, *Geschiedenis van de Kerk in Nederland* (Utrecht: Het Spectrum, 2nd edn, 1963). Cf. Jan Y.H.A. Jacobs, ‘Over herinnering en verzoening. Enkele verkenningen ten dienste van een oecumenische kerkgeschiedenis’, in Karl-Wilhelm Merks and Nicolaas F.M. Schreurs (eds.), *De passie van een grensganger: Theologie aan de vooravond van het derde millennium* (Baarn: Ten Have, 1997), pp. 113-27.

20. See, for instance, Otto J. de Jong’s textbook *Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* (Nijkerk: Callenbach, 3rd edn, 1986).

tries to the three sources of international late-mediaeval dissentism, biblical humanism, and the writings of Luther.<sup>21</sup> In his dissertation on the tract written by the Hague lawyer Cornelis Hoen against the doctrine of transubstantiation (1525), Spruyt has shown that Hoen's most characteristic views were not of specifically Dutch origin, but derived from mediaeval heretic traditions of which Berengarius, the Cathars, Wyclif, Hus, and Bohemian radicals were the exponents.<sup>22</sup> If the multi-coloured 'evangelical movement' in

21. Cornelis Augustijn, *Erasmus en de Reformatie: Een onderzoek naar de houding die Erasmus ten opzichte van de Reformatie heeft ingenomen* (Amsterdam: Paris, 1962); Augustijn, 'Godsdienst in de zestiende eeuw', in Paulus P.W.M. Dirkse, *Ketters en papen onder Filips II: Het godsdienstig leven in de tweede helft van de 16e eeuw* (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, 1986), pp. 26-40; Augustijn, 'Sacramentariërs en Doopsgezinden', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 15 (1989), pp. 121-27; Augustijn, 'Die Ketzerverfolgungen in den Niederlanden von 1520 bis 1545', in Silvana Seidel Menchi (ed.), *Ketzerverfolgung im 16. und frühen 17. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, 1992), pp. 49-63; Augustijn, 'Verba valent usu: was ist Erasmianismus?', in M.E.H. Nicolette Mout *et al.* (eds.), *Erasmianism: Idea and Reality* (Amsterdam: North-Holland, 1997), pp. 5-14; Alastair C. Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990; paperback 2003); A.G. Johnston, 'The Sermons of Nicolaes Peeters: Partially Unmasked', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 64 (1984), pp. 123-43; Johnston, 'Lutheranism in Disguise: The *Corte instructie* of Cornelis vander Heyden', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 68 (1988), pp. 23-29; Johnston, *The Eclectic Reformation: Vernacular Evangelical Pamphlet Literature in the Dutch-speaking Low Countries, 1520-1565* (unpublished PhD dissertation, Southampton, 1986); Johnston, 'L'imprimerie et la Réforme aux Pays-Bas 1520-c.1555', in Jean-François Gilmont (ed.), *La réforme et le livre: l'Europe de l'imprimé (1517-v. 1570)* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1990), pp. 155-86; Johannes Trapman, *De summa der Godliker Schrifturen (1523)* (Leiden: NRP, 1978); Trapman, 'Le rôle des "sacramentaires" des origines de la réforme jusqu'en 1530 aux Pays-Bas', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 63 (1983), pp. 1-24; Trapman, 'Ioannis Sartorius (ca. 1510-1557), gymnasiarch te Amsterdam en Noordwijk, als erasmiaan en spiritualist', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 70 (1990), pp. 30-51; Trapman, '"Erasmianism" in the Early Reformation in the Netherlands', in Mout *et al.* (eds.), *Erasmianism*, pp. 169-76; Bart J. Spruyt, 'Humanisme, Evangelisme en Reformatie in de Nederlanden. 1520-1530', in Wulfert de Greef and M. van Campen (eds.), *Reformatie in meervoud: Congresbundel 1990* (Kampen: De Groot Goudriaan, 1991), pp. 26-54; Spruyt, 'Listrius lutherizans: His *Epistola theologica aduersus Dominicanos suollenses*', *Sixteenth Century Journal* 22 (1991), pp. 727-51; Spruyt, 'Laat-middeleeuwse ketterijen en vroege hervorming in de Nederlanden', *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 19 (1993), pp. 18-28; Spruyt, *Cornelius Henrici Hoen [Honijs] and His Epistle on the Eucharist (1525): Medieval Heresy, Erasmian Humanism and Reform in the Early Sixteenth-Century Low Countries* (Houten: [s.n.], 1996); Spruyt, *Ketter aan het Binnenhof: Cornelis Hoen en zijn tractaat tegen de transsubstantiatieleer (1525)* (Heerenveen: Groen, 1997); see also Casper Ch.G. Visser, *Luther's geschriften in de Nederlanden tot 1546* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1969).

22. Spruyt, *Hoen*.

the Low Countries did have a character of its own, this consisted in its own specific reception of what had already been formulated on the other side of the border.<sup>23</sup> The Dutch Reformation was ‘an “international” event *par excellence*’.<sup>24</sup>

### From a Theological to a Multidisciplinary Approach

A comparison of Bakhuizen’s and Lindeboom’s *Guide* (1942) with recent surveys<sup>25</sup> reveals significant differences. Whereas previously, theologically trained Dutch church and dogma historians reigned supreme, the field of research is now explored by predominantly general historians, some of whom are foreign, and often write in languages other than Dutch. Their work is no longer confessionally determined and is characterized by an interdisciplinary,<sup>26</sup> strongly socio-historical and also increasingly comparative<sup>27</sup> approach that sets

23. Peter J.A. Nissen, ‘De Nederlanden en de vroege Reformatie in Europees perspectief. Transport, transformatie en diffusie’, *Trajecta: Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis van het katholiek leven in de Nederlanden* 1 (1992), pp. 217-32. Only compare, for instance, Jacques V. Pollet, *Martin Bucer: Études sur les relations de Bucer avec les Pays-Bas, l’Électorat de Cologne et l’Allemagne du nord. Avec de nombreux textes inédits* (2 vols.; Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1985).

24. Wiebe Bergsma, ‘The Low Countries’, in Bob (R.) W. Scribner, Roy S. Porter and Mikuláš Teich (eds.), *The Reformation in National Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 67-79 (67).

25. Dirkse, *Ketters en papen*; Anton Schindling and Walter Ziegler (eds.), *Die Territorien des Reichs im Zeitalter der Reformation und Konfessionalisierung: Land und Konfession 1500–1650*. III. *Der Nordwesten* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1991), pp. 200-35: ‘Niederlande, Lüttich’; Alastair C. Duke, ‘The Netherlands’, in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Early Reformation in Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), pp. 142-65; Bergsma, ‘Low Countries’; Cornelis Augustijn, ‘Niederlande’, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 24 (1994), pp. 474-502 (Dutch translation: ‘Het Nederlandse protestantisme in vogelvlucht’, in Augustijn *et al.* [eds.], *Reformatiorica: Teksten uit de geschiedenis van het Nederlandse protestantisme* [Zoetermeer: Meinema, 1996], pp. 25-43); J. Juliaan Woltjer and M.E.H. Nicolette Mout, ‘Settlements: The Netherlands’, in Thomas A. Brady, Jr, Heiko A. Oberman and James D. Tracy (eds.), *Handbook of European History 1400–1600: Late Middle Ages, Renaissance and Reformation*. II. *Visions, Programs and Outcomes* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1995), pp. 385-415; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995; paperback 1998), esp. pp. 41-54, 74-105, 361-98; James D. Tracy, ‘Netherlands’, in Hillerbrand *et al.* (eds.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, III, pp. 136-42; Guido Marnef, ‘The Netherlands’, in Andrew Pettegree (ed.), *The Reformation World* (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 344-64.

26. Cf. Joke W. Spaans, ‘Zeventiende-eeuwse kerkgeschiedenis en interdisciplinariteit’, *De zeventiende eeuw: Cultuur in de Nederlanden in interdisciplinair perspectief: Tijdschrift van de Werkgroep Zeventiende Eeuw* 14 (1998), pp. 206-17.

27. See, for instance, Heinz Schilling, ‘Reformierte Kirchenzucht als Sozialdisziplinierung?: Die Tätigkeit des Emders Presbyteriums in den Jahren 1557–1562 (Mit vergleichenden

out to do justice to social, political-military, economic, demographic, and international aspects.<sup>28</sup> In a much-quoted article from 1981, Willem Frijhoff drew attention to the rejuvenating effect of the attention paid by the French *Annales* school to the ‘histoire événementielle’ besides the ‘histoire structurelle’, and to the ‘history of mentality’.<sup>29</sup> The debt since the 1960s of general and church historiography to sociology and anthropology is an uncontested fact.<sup>30</sup> Where Frijhoff noted a shift ‘from church history to religious history’, more recently Joke Spaans characterized the new church historiography as ‘bottom-up integral church historiography’, which does still discuss theology and church institutions, ‘but mainly as part of the question in how far these determined the lives, customs, and ideas of those who were excluded from positions of power and authority’. ‘In this way, country folk and townspeople, women and children, paupers and criminals, witches and heretics found a place in church history’.<sup>31</sup> Conversely, new ‘top-down’ church historiography was defined by Spaans as the combination of the ‘old’ research perspective—based on the theme of ‘power’ of individuals and institutions—and the new

Betrachtungen über die Kirchenräte in Groningen und Leiden sowie mit einem Ausblick ins 17. Jahrhundert’, in Wilfried Ehbrecht and Heinz Schilling (eds.), *Niederlande und Nordwestdeutschland: Studien zur Regional- und Stadtgeschichte Nordwestkontinentaleuropas im Mittelalter und in der Neuzeit, Franz Petri zum 80. Geburtstag* (Köln: Böhlau, 1983), pp. 261-327; Schilling, *Religion, Political Culture, and the Emergence of Early Modern Society: Essays in German and Dutch History* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1992); Scribner *et al.* (eds.), *Reformation*; Wiebe Bergsma, ‘Church, state and people’, in Karel (C.) A. Davids and Jan M.W.G. Lucassen (eds.), *A Miracle Mirrored: The Dutch Republic in European Perspective* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp. 196-228; Andrew Pettegree, ‘The Politics of Toleration in the Free Netherlands, 1572–1620’, in Ole P. Grell and Bob (R.) W. Scribner (eds.), *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 182-98; Benedict *et al.* (eds.), *Reformation*.

28. Model publications are Brady, Oberman, and Tracy (eds.), *Handbook*, and Hillerbrand *et al.* (eds.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, the latter containing over 100 entries in the category ‘Social History’ and over 30 under ‘Popular Religion’.

29. Willem T.M. Frijhoff, ‘Van “Histoire de l’Eglise” naar “Histoire religieuse”’: De invloed van de “Annales”-groep op de ontwikkeling van de kerkgeschiedenis in Frankrijk en de perspectieven daarvan voor Nederland’, *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis* 61 (1981), pp. 113-53. See also Frijhoff, ‘Problèmes spécifiques d’une approche de la “religion populaire” dans un pays de confession mixte: Le Cas des Provinces-Unies’, in *La Religion populaire: Paris, 17–19 octobre 1977* (Paris: Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, 1979), pp. 35-43.

30. Cf. Peer H.H. Vries, ‘De relatie tussen geschiedenis en sociale wetenschappen: Een beknopt historisch overzicht’ (1988), in Leo Noordegraaf (ed.), *Ideeën en ideologieën: Studies over economische en sociale historiografie in Nederland 1894–1991* (2 vols.; Amsterdam: Historisch Seminarium van de Universiteit van Amsterdam, 1991), pp. 590-613.

31. Spaans, ‘Interdisciplinariteit’, p. 207.

local outlook, in the form of an investigation into the local power structures confronting protestantization.<sup>32</sup>

A good specimen of the new historiography is Henk van Nierop's socio-historical investigation into the iconoclastic fury and civil resistance against the municipal government in Amsterdam in 1566 and 1567.<sup>33</sup> With its interweaving of politics (*libertatis ergo*), religion (*religionis ergo*) and economics,<sup>34</sup> the Dutch Revolt of course lent itself pre-eminently to an integrally historical approach. Traditionally, its historiography had always shown a wide range of ideological interpretations.<sup>35</sup> In an attempt to avoid simplifying, monocausal explanations of the origin of the Revolt, Van Nierop investigated the social make-up of the group that in 1566 destroyed images and a year later rose up against the municipal government. To this end he collected data on property, professional and class structures, political status, age distribution, as well as the (religious,

32. Spaans, 'Interdisciplinariteit', p. 208. Examples of such power structures could be 'various echelons of the town elites vying for power; the influence of the supra-local levels of emperor, territorial princes and the church hierarchy; the role of local church officials, of both a reformatory and a more traditional signature' (p. 208).

33. Henk F.K. van Nierop, *Beeldenstorm en burgerlijk verzet in Amsterdam 1566–1567* (Nijmegen: Socialistiese Uitgeverij Nijmegen, 1978). On the iconoclasm in general, see: Jozef Scheerder, *De Beeldenstorm* (Haarlem: Fibula-Van Dishoeck, 2nd edn, 1978); Otto J. de Jong, *Beeldenstormen in de Nederlanden* (Groningen: Wolters, 1964); Phyllis Mack Crew, *Calvinist Preaching and Iconoclasm in the Netherlands, 1544–1569* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978); Solange Deyon and Alain Lottin, *Les casseurs de l'été 1566: L'iconoclasme dans le Nord* (Lille: Presses Universitaires de Lille/Westhoek, 2nd edn, 1986).

34. Cf. H. van der Wee, 'De economie als factor bij het begin van de Opstand in de Zuidelijke Nederlanden', *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 83 (1969), pp. 15-32; Hugo Soly, 'Economische vernieuwing en sociale weerstand: De betekenis en aspiraties der Antwerpse middenklasse in de zestiende eeuw', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 83 (1970), pp. 521-35.

35. See Jan Romein, 'Spiegel Historiae van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog' (1941), in Cornelis B. Wels *et al.* (eds.), *Vaderlands Verleden in Veelvoud: Opstellen over de Nederlandse geschiedenis na 1500* (Den Haag: Nijhoff, 2nd edn, 1980), pp. 105-40; J.W. Smit, 'The Present Position of Studies Regarding the Revolt of the Netherlands' (1960), in Geurts and Janssen (eds.), *Geschiedbeoefening*, pp. 42-54; Rolf H. Bremmer, 'De calvinistisch-orangistische traditie in de vaderlandse geschiedschrijving', *Kerk en Theologie* 21 (1970), pp. 360-74; Simon Groenveld, 'Beeldvorming en realiteit: Geschiedschrijving en achtergronden van de Nederlandse Opstand tegen Filips II', in Geurts and Janssen (eds.), *Geschiedbeoefening*, pp. 55-84; Pieter van Hees, 'Enige nieuwe literatuur over de Opstand in de Nederlanden', *Kleio: Tijdschrift van de Vereniging van Geschiedenisleraren in Nederland* 20 (1979), pp. 105-10; Guido de Bruin, 'De geschiedschrijving over de Nederlandse Opstand', in Mijnhardt (ed.), *Geschiedbeeld*, pp. 48-82; Jo Tollebeek, *De ijkmeesters* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 1994), pp. 92-117; Mout, 'Reformation'.

political, and military) roles and sentences of those involved, those summoned for trial, and those convicted.<sup>36</sup> On the basis of the overall picture of the opposition—which proved to consist of supporters of the Reformation, plus an intermediary group that was not in favour of the new religion, but did oppose religious persecution and initially tried to mediate between the Protestants and the magistrates, who were intolerant in religious matters—Van Nierop had to conclude that there was a diversity of interests and motivations. The Protestant leaders did not organize the iconoclasm, but did profit from it; their anti-Catholic propaganda was the spark in an existing powder keg of discontent. Nor was the iconoclasm a proletarian revolution stage-managed by the bourgeoisie.<sup>37</sup> Not until the second fury did looting of food stores take place. The political stance of the middle party, represented in the citizens' militia, proved crucial to the course of events in 1567: the joint armed resistance against the municipal magistrates served the shared purpose of preventing occupation by the central government; this goal was more important than Protestant 'party interest'.<sup>38</sup>

The concept, important in Van Nierop's study, of a numerically and (church-) politically significant middle group between small groups of fervent Protestants and conservative Catholics, had been developed by Juliaan Woltjer in his influential, by now classic study, *Friesland in the Reformation period* (1962).<sup>39</sup> He discovered *in loco et tempore* a gliding scale of groups of 'counter-reformers', traditional Catholics, 'Protestantizing' Catholics, and Protestants (Anabaptists and Calvinists). The large but heterogeneous middle party of moderate Catholics who sympathized with the Reformation and, although remaining in the Mother Church, thought that a milder religious policy would benefit church and state, proved a significant factor in local politics, depending on the extent to which they were loyal to the Catholic leaders or allowed themselves to be driven into the arms of the Protestants by the unbending authorities.<sup>40</sup>

36. Van Nierop, *Beeldenstorm*, pp. 69-82, 102-47.

37. Erich Kuttner, *Het hongerjaar 1566* (met een inleiding van Jan Romein [1949]); Amsterdam: Querido, 4th edn, 1994); German translation: Maximilian Ingenthron (ed.), *Das Hungerjahr 1566: Eine Studie zur Geschichte des niederländischen Frühproletariats und seiner Revolution* (Mannheim: Palatium Verlag, 1997); cf. M. Jansen, 'Marxistische visies op de Nederlandse Opstand', *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 2 (1975), pp. 3-16.

38. Van Nierop, *Beeldenstorm*, pp. 83-84.

39. Woltjer, *Friesland*.

40. Woltjer further developed this theme in 'De politieke betekenis van de Synode van Emden' (1971) and 'De Vredemakers' (1976), in Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog: Over de Nederlandse Opstand 1555-1580* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1994), pp. 89-120 and

Woltjer opened many eyes to the fundamental multiformity of the Dutch Reformation. Where for a long time the picture had been that of protestantization taking effect over successive humanist, Lutheran, and (from 1530) Anabaptist stages, culminating in the Calvinism<sup>41</sup> that played a pioneering role during the Revolt and was afterwards to dominate the religious life of the Republic,<sup>42</sup> new insights into the lasting religious plurality and numerical relationships within the religious landscape made it necessary to adapt or revise it. The course of the Reformation was anything but neatly phased; Lutheranism, Anabaptism, and Calvinism were no monolithic entities;<sup>43</sup> a cacophony of religious voices was heard, in the 1620s no less than during and after the Revolt.<sup>44</sup> Calvinism, too—even though during the Republic it

64-88, resp.; Woltjer, 'Het beeld vergruisd?' (1972), in Wels *et al.* (eds.), *Vaderlands Verleden*, pp. 172-81; Woltjer, 'Van katholiek tot protestant', in Wiebe J. Formsma *et al.* (eds.), *Historie van Groningen, stad en land* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 2nd edn, 1981), pp. 207-32; Woltjer, 'De plaats van de calvinisten in de Nederlandse samenleving', *De zeventiende eeuw: Cultuur in de Nederlanden in interdisciplinair perspectief: Tijdschrift van de Werkgroep Zeventiende Eeuw* 10 (1994), pp. 3-23; Woltjer, "'De zuivering der leer". Over protestantiserende katholieken en protestanten in Groningen in 1556', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 78 (1998), pp. 1-17; Woltjer, 'Political Moderates and Religious Moderates in the Revolt of the Netherlands', in Benedict *et al.* (eds.), *Reformation*, pp. 185-200.

41. Lindeboom, *Confessioneele ontwikkeling; Algemene Geschiedenis der Nederlanden. V. De tachtigjarige oorlog 1567-1609* (eds. J.A. van Houtte *et al.*; Utrecht: De Haan, 1952), pp. 328-29.

42. Arie Th. van Deursen, 'Het ontstaan van de gereformeerde (hervormde) kerk in Nederland (1572-1620)', *Kerktijd: Contactblad van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 9/3 (1997), pp. 11-18.

43. With respect to the (historiography of the) Anabaptist movement a reference to the recent, extensive survey by Samme Zijlstra will suffice: *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden: Geschiedenis van de dopersen in de Nederlanden 1531-1675* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000). In his monograph Zijlstra discusses the historiography, the development of theory, and the Anabaptist identity (pp. 14-32) and offers an important contribution to the escape from a religiously compartmentalized historiography.

44. Cornelis Augustijn, 'Godsdienst'; Augustijn, 'Sacramentariers'; Augustijn, 'Ijckpunt 1550. Naar godsdienstige pluraliteit', in Augustijn Honée and Eugène M.V.M. Honée (eds.), *Vervreemding en verzoening: De relatie tussen katholieken en protestanten in Nederland 1550-2000* (Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers, 1998), pp. 17-34; Wiebe Bergsma, 'Zestiende-eeuwse godsdienstige pluriformiteit: Overwegingen naar aanleiding van Abel Eppens', in Marten G. Buist *et al.* (eds.), *Historisch bewogen: Opstellen over de radicale reformatie in de 16e eeuw en 17e eeuw, aangeboden aan prof. dr. A.F. Mellink bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar in de sociaal-religieuze geschiedenis aan de Rijksuniversiteit te Groningen* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff/Bouma's Boekhuis, 1984), pp. 9-30; Alastair C. Duke, 'The Face of Popular Religious Dissent in the Low Countries, 1520-30' (1975), in *idem*, *Reformation*, pp. 29-59; Duke, 'Nonconformity among the Kleyne Luyden in the Low Countries before the Revolt', in *idem*, *Reformation*, pp. 101-24;

evolved into a public, privileged church<sup>45</sup>—was and remained diverse and multiform: its following included both irenics and intolerants, moderate as well as orthodox believers, members and sympathizers (in Dutch, *liefhebbers* or ‘lovers’), it underwent influences from France, England, East-Friesland, Switzerland, and the Rhineland-Palatinate, and recognized variant doctrines on the subjects of the sacraments, the relationship with the government, soteriology and eschatology.<sup>46</sup> Moreover, besides Calvinism, Catholicism, Anabaptism (and occasionally ‘atheism’) there still was the ‘fourth stream’ in the Dutch Reformation, long neglected by scholarship: the amalgam of libertines, freethinkers, neutralists, and other spiritualist objectors to institutionalized religiosity. To this last category belonged the Schwenckfeldians, Franckists, Jorists, followers of Castellio, Familists, Loists, Hiëlists, and loners such as Aggaeus van Albada and Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert.<sup>47</sup> In short, the

Wim Janse, ‘Reformhumanistische kritiek op dopers radicalisme in de zestiende eeuw’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 2 (1998), pp. 3-9; Janse, ‘Facettenreichtum niederländischer Religiosität’, in Ans Schapendonk, *Die widerspenstigen Niederlande: Frühneuzeitlicher Niederländischer Buchbestand der Universitätsbibliothek Marburg* (Marburg: Universitätsbibliothek, 1998), pp. XXXII-XLIII; J. Juliaan Woltjer, ‘De religieuze situatie in de eerste jaren van de Republiek’, in Dirkse, *Ketters en papen*, pp. 94-106; Woltjer, ‘Plaats’.

45. Cornelis Augustijn, ‘De opmars van de calvinistische beweging in de Nederlanden’, *Theoretische Geschiedenis* 20 (1993), pp. 424-38; Andrew Pettegree, ‘Coming to terms with victory: The upbuilding of a Calvinist Church in Holland, 1572–1590’, in Andrew Pettegree, Alastair C. Duke and Gillian Lewis (eds.), *Calvinism in Europe, 1540–1620* (repr., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), pp. 160-80.

46. Basic surveys are the following: Willem Nijenhuis, ‘Variants of Dutch Calvinism in the Sixteenth Century’ (1976), in *idem, Ecclesia Reformata: Studies on the Reformation*, II (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), pp. 163-82; Arie Th. van Deursen, *Bavianen en Slijkgeuzen: Kerk en ker volk ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Franeker: Van Wijnen, 3rd edn, 1998); Woltjer, ‘Religieuze situatie’; Woltjer, ‘Plaats’. See also Tanja G. Kootte (ed.), *Rekkelijk of precies: Remonstranten en Contraremonstranten ten tijde van Maurits en Oldenbarnevelt* (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent, 1994).

47. See especially: Benjamin Kaplan, ‘“Remnants of the Papal Yoke”: Apathy and Opposition in the Dutch Reformation’, *Sixteenth Century Journal* 25 (1994), pp. 653-69; Cornelis Augustijn, ‘Die Reformierte Kirche in den Niederlanden und der Libertinismus in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts’, in Michael Erbe *et al.* (eds.), *Querdenken: Dissens und Toleranz im Wandel der Geschichte. Festschrift zum 65. Geburtstag von Hans R. Guggisberg* (Mannheim: Palatium Verlag, 1996), pp. 107-21; M.E.H. Nicolette Mout, ‘Spiritualisten in de Nederlandse reformatie van de zestiende eeuw’, *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 111 (1996), pp. 297-313. Also: Cornelis Augustijn and Theo Parmentier, ‘Sebastian Franck in den nördlichen Niederlanden 1550 bis 1600’, in Jan-Dirk Müller (ed.), *Sebastian Franck (1499–1542)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), pp. 303-18; Samme Zijlstra, *Nicolaas Meyndertsz. van Blesdijk: Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het*

Republic included ‘besides the Catholics, Calvinists, Anabaptists, and Lutherans organized into churches, also the non-confessionally linked, undecided, neutralists, “speculators” and “stagnants” (in Dutch, *stilstaanders*), spiritualists of varying stamp, chiliasts, antitrinitarians, libertines, “stepchildren of Christendom”, “reformators”, and other believers such as the Jews (...) [and people] who had not made a choice for a particular church, among whom the indifferents and the doubters’.<sup>48</sup>

In fact, the number of Protestants that had actually started to organize themselves into congregations (Anabaptists and Calvinists) around the end of the sixteenth century constituted only a small percentage of the population; in spite of this, the figure of ten percent mentioned in relation to the Calvinists in recent literature should be approached with caution.<sup>49</sup> The available figures

*Davidjorisme* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1983); on David Joris there are numerous publications by Gary K. Waite, among which *David Joris and Dutch Anabaptism 1524–1543* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 1990) and ‘From David Joris to Balthasar Bekker?: The Radical Reformation and Scepticism towards the Devil in the Early Modern Netherlands (1540–1700)’, *Fides et Historia: Publication of Conference on Faith and History* 28 (1996), pp. 5–26; Alastair Hamilton, ‘Hiël and the Hiëlists: The Doctrine and Followers of Hendrik Jansen van Barrefelt’, *Quaerendo: A Quarterly Journal from the Low Countries Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books* 7 (1977), pp. 243–86; Hamilton, *The Family of Love* (Cambridge: James Clarke, 1981); M.E.H. Nicolette Mout, ‘The Family of Love (*Huis der Liefde*) and the Dutch Revolt’, in Alastair C. Duke and Coenraad A. Tamse (eds.), *Church and State since the Reformation: Papers delivered to the seventh Anglo-Dutch Historical Conference* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1981), pp. 75–93; Wiebe Bergsma, *Aggaeus van Albada (c. 1525–1587): Schwencfeldiaan, staatsman en strijder voor verdraagzaamheid* (Groningen: [s.n.], 1983); Henk Bongers et al. (eds.), *Dirck Volckertszoon Coornhert: Dwars maar recht* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1989); P. Gerrit Voogt, *Constraint on Trial: Dirck Volckertsz Coornhert and Religious Freedom* (Kirkville, MO: Truman State University Press, 2000); Mirjam G.K. van Veen, *Verschooninghe van de roomsche afgoderye: De polemiek van Calvinijn met de nicodemieten, in het bijzonder met Coornhert* (’t Goy-Houten: HES and De Graaf Publishers, 2001).

48. Wiebe Bergsma, ‘Calvinisten en libertijnen’, *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* 22 (1996), pp. 209–27 (210).

49. Van Deursen, ‘Ontstaan’, p. 14: ‘The scientific basis of this ten percent, quoted over and over again, [is] an irritated remark in a dispute. However, it has become irradicable because [in 1587 a] Dutch magistrate unfortunately mentioned a figure. Our fascination with numbers has led us to turn this into a quantitative fact, which has now assumed everlasting life. (...) It would be best if we forgot that 10 %’. Incidentally, the president of the High Court of Holland referred to was speaking of ‘not even’ ten percent. Cf. Israel, *Dutch Republic*, pp. 361–98; Wiebe Bergsma, *Tussen Gideonsbende en publieke kerk: Een studie over het gereformeerd protestantisme in Friesland, 1580–1650* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), pp. 96–150; Johannes A. de Kok, *Nederland op de breuklijn Rome-Reformatie: Numerieke aspecten van Protestantisering en Katholieke Herleving in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1580–1880* (Assen: Van

and the noted multiformity in any case ‘pulverized’ the so-called ‘protestantization thesis’—presented by Pieter Geyl and further developed by the Roman Catholic historian Louis Rogier—according to which the rapid protestantization of the Low Countries was due to the systematic preferential treatment of the Calvinist Church by the authorities, in areas such as poor relief and education, and by the exclusion of non-Calvinists from public offices.<sup>50</sup> However, more extensive research into the Reformation at the local level—see the section below—has shown that the cooperation between church and secular authorities varied from town to town and from region to region, and that moreover this was not without tension, as a result of the ambivalent nature of the public church. Although as a ‘continuation’ of the Catholic Church, Calvinism pretended to be a national church, it nevertheless aimed at keeping the church pure by means of church discipline, whereas what the national and local elite usually had in mind was the ideal of a broad, national ‘church for all’, maintained by the government under whose jurisdiction the church logically was placed.<sup>51</sup> The over-accentuation of the antagonism between magistrates and clergy (by Enno van Gelder) contrasts sharply with

Gorcum, 1964); Hans Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart van Nederland: Omvang en geografische spreiding van de godsdienstige gezindten vanaf de Reformatie tot heden* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1992), pp. 9–22.

50. Pieter Geyl, ‘De Protestantisering van Noord-Nederland’ (1930), in Wels *et al.* (eds.), *Vaderlands Verleden*, pp. 209–21; Ludovicus J. Rogier, *Geschiedenis van het Katholicisme in Noord-Nederland in de 16de en 17de eeuw*, I–III (Amsterdam: Elsevier, 3rd edn, 1964), pp. 320–75 (326–34); H.A. Enno van Gelder, ‘Nederland geprotestantiseerd?’, *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 81 (1968), pp. 445–64; Jan Romein, ‘Het vergruisde beeld’ (1939), in *idem*, *Historische lijnen en patronen: Een keuze uit de essays* (Amsterdam: Querido, 1976), pp. 147–62; Woltjer, ‘Het beeld vergruisd?’. For a survey see Dick (T.H.M.) Akerboom, ‘Geschiedenis spreekt niet voor zich: De protestantiseringstheorie tegen het licht gehouden’, in Merks and Schreurs (eds.), *Grensganger*, pp. 128–45.

51. Cf. Alastair C. Duke, ‘The Ambivalent Face of Calvinism in the Netherlands, 1561–1618’ (1985), in Duke, *Reformation*, pp. 269–93; Pettegree, ‘Coming to terms’; James D. Tracy, ‘Public Church, Gemeente Christi, or Volkskerk: Holland’s Reformed Church in Civil and Ecclesiastical Perspective’, in Hans R. Guggisberg and Gottfried G. Krodel (eds.), *Die Reformation in Deutschland und Europa: Interpretationen und Debatten: Beiträge zur gemeinsamen Konferenz der Society for Reformation Research und des Vereins für Reformationsgeschichte, 25.–30. September 1990, im Deutschen Historischen Institut, Washington, D.C.* (Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus, 1993), pp. 487–510; Derk Visser, ‘Establishing the Reformed Church: Clergy and Magistrates in the Low Countries 1572–1620’, in W. Fred Graham (ed.), *Later Calvinism: International Perspectives* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994), pp. 389–407; cf. Enno Conring, *Kirche und Staat nach der Lehre der niederländischen Calvinisten in der ersten Hälfte des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag des Erziehungsvereins, 1965).

Spaans' plea not to see the church and the political elite too much as two different *actores*, each with their own agenda: eventually, both valued civil peace and unity.<sup>52</sup>

### From a National to a Local-Regional Perspective

The shift in perspective from 'national' to 'local', observable in Reformation research from around 1970, should not be isolated from the rise of historical demography and the more quantitative socio-economic historiography in the 1960s. In order to obtain a clear picture of the diversity of the social and economic developments in the towns and countryside of the Republic, a regional approach has proved crucial.<sup>53</sup> Thus, in the field of political and church history a regional study such as Woltjer's was found eminently suitable to highlight not only the religious multiformity and the significance of the middle groups, but also the part played by the authorities and the interaction between church and state. Woltjer's monograph was the first in a long line of publications on Flanders, the classis Dordrecht, the classis Delft and Delfland, the Northern part of the province of Holland, Zeeland, Drenthe and, again, Friesland.<sup>54</sup> The

52. Enno van Gelder, 'Nederland geprotestantiseerd?'; Spaans, 'Interdisciplinariteit', p. 211. See also Christiane M.G. Berkvens-Stevelinck *et al.* (eds.), *The Emergence of Tolerance in the Dutch Republic* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1997).

53. Petrus B.M. Blaas, 'Nederlandse geschiedschrijving na 1945', in Mijnhardt (ed.), *Geschiedbeeld*, pp. 9-47 (18-23).

54. Johan Decavele, *De dageraad van de Reformatie in Vlaanderen (1520-1565)* (2 vols.; Brussel: Paleis der Academiën, 1975); John P. Elliott, 'Protestantization in the Northern Netherlands: A Case Study: The Classis of Dordrecht, 1572-1640' (unpublished PhD dissertation, Columbia University, New York, 1990) (from a church-organizational perspective: Cornelis A. Tukker, *De classis Dordrecht van 1573 tot 1609: Bijdrage tot de kennis van in- en extern leven van de Gereformeerde kerk in de periode van haar organisering* [Leiden: Universitaire Pers, 1965]); Antonius Ph.F. Wouters and Paul H.A.M. Abels, *Nieuw en ongezien: Kerk en samenleving in de classis Delft en Delfland 1572-1621*. I. *De nieuwe kerk*; II. *De nieuwe samenleving* (Delft: Eburon, 1994); James D. Tracy, 'Lords, Peasants, and the Introduction of Calvinist Preaching in Holland's Noorder-kwartier', in Malcolm R. Thorp and Arthur J. Slavin (eds.), *Politics, Religion, and Diplomacy in Early Modern Europe: Essays in Honor of De Lamar Jensen* (Kirkville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1994), pp. 53-66; Henk F.K. van Nierop, *Het verraad van het Noorderkwartier: Oorlog, terreur en recht in de Nederlandse Opstand* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 1999); Clasina M. Rooze-Stouthamer, *Hervorming in Zeeland (ca. 1520-1572)* (Goes: De Koperen Tuin, 1996); Michiel A.W. Gerding *et al.* (eds.), *In alle onwetenschap, bijsterije und wildicheyt: De Reformatie in Drenthe in de zestiende en zeventiende eeuw* (Delft: Eburon, 1998), see here esp. the contribution by Wiebe Bergsma, 'Zij preekten voor doven: De Reformatie in Drenthe', pp. 111-69 (reissued under identical title [Assen: Koninklijke Van Gorcum, 2002]) Bergsma, *Gideonsbende*. See also the annual series 'Verzameling

German church historian Bernd Moeller<sup>55</sup> initiated the new historiographic genre of the ‘town Reformation’. In those cases where the Dutch Reformation had already been described at town level—for instance, Delft, Tournai, and Amsterdam—attention usually focused on the persecution of dissenters or the establishment of the Calvinist Church.<sup>56</sup> The new approach expressly studied the religious revolutions in their urban context and (in varying degrees) drew attention to the interweaving of church and politics, and to the effects of Reformation and de-catholization on the various religious groups and society in general.<sup>57</sup> Meanwhile, studies have appeared on Culemborg, Breda, Maastricht, Gouda, Tournai, Mechelen, Rotterdam, Haarlem, Kampen, Emden, Antwerp, Lille, Nijmegen, Utrecht, Bergen op Zoom, and Leiden.<sup>58</sup> The

bijdragen van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis’ (Delft 1989–), on, among other regions, Zeeland (1991), Noord-Brabant (1993 and 2001), Zuid-Holland (1994), Overijssel (1995), Friesland (1996), Limburg (1997) and the Gelderland river area (1999).

55. Bernd Moeller, *Reichsstadt und Reformation* (Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 2nd edn, 1987); Moeller, *Imperial Cities and the Reformation: Three Essays* (ed. and trans. H.C. Erik Midelfort and Mark U. Edwards, Jr; Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1972). General survey articles: Berndt Hamm, ‘The Urban Reformation in the Holy Roman Empire’, in Brady, Oberman and Tracy (eds.), *Handbook*, II, pp. 193–227; Peter G. Wallace, ‘Cities’, in Hillerbrand *et al.* (eds.), *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Reformation*, I, pp. 354–60.

56. Joke W. Spaans, ‘De Reformatie in de Nederlandse steden’, *Kerktijd: Contactblad van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 2/3 (1990), pp. 1–8, 4; Hendrikus J. Jaanus, *Hervormd Delft ten tijde van Arent Cornelisz (1573–1605)* (Amsterdam: Nordemann, 1950); Gérard Moreau, *Histoire du Protestantisme à Tournai jusqu’à la veille de la Révolution des Pays-Bas* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1962); Rudolf B. Evenhuis, *Ook dat was Amsterdam. I–II. De kerk der Hervorming in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: W. ten Have, 1965–67).

57. Spaans, ‘Reformatie’, pp. 3, 6; J. Juliaan Woltjer, ‘Stadt und Reformation in den Niederlanden’, in Frans Petri (eds.), *Kirche und gesellschaftlicher Wandel in deutschen und niederländischen Städten der werdenden Neuzeit* (Köln: Böhlau, 1980), pp. 155–67, Dutch translation in Woltjer, *Vrijheidsstrijd*, pp. 121–30; Heinz Schilling, *Civic Calvinism in Northwestern Germany and the Netherlands: Sixteenth to Nineteenth Centuries* (Kirksville, MO: Sixteenth Century Journal Publishers, 1991).

58. Otto J. de Jong, *De Reformatie in Culemborg* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1957); Antonius J.M. Beenakker, *Breda in de eerste storm van de Opstand: Van ketterij tot beeldenstorm 1545–1569* (Tilburg: Stichting Zuidelijk Historisch Contact, 1971); Petrus J.H. Ubachs, *Twee heren twee confessies: De verhouding van staat en kerk te Maastricht, 1632–1673* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1975); C.C. Hibben, *Gouda in revolt: Particularism and Pacifism in the Revolt of the Netherlands 1572–1588* (Utrecht: HES, 1983); see also Paul H.A.M. Abels *et al.* (eds.), *In en om de Sint-Jan: Bijdragen tot de Goudse Kerkgeschiedenis* (Delft: Eburon, 1989); Charlie R. Steen, *A Chronicle of Conflict: Tournai, 1559–1567* (Utrecht: HES, 1985); Guido Marnef, *Het Calvinistisch bewind te Mechelen 1580–1585* (Kortrijk-Heule: UGA, 1987); Hendrik ten Boom, *De Reformatie in Rotterdam 1530–1585* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1987); Joke W. Spaans, *Haarlem na de Reformatie: Stedelijke cultuur en kerkelijk leven 1577–1620* (’s-Gravenhage: Stichting Hol-

interaction between politics, religion and social order in Kampen proved different again from that in Dordrecht or Utrecht: whereas in the IJssel town the city magistrates managed during the Reformation to further strengthen their hold on the church by assuming authority even in doctrinal matters, the Dordrecht magistrates gave the theocratic pretensions of the church more leeway, and Utrecht for a long time accommodated a broad, open popular church alongside a strict public church.<sup>59</sup>

A popular field of study became that of the process commonly labeled ‘disciplinization’ and ‘confessionalization’, terms used in the international technical jargon.<sup>60</sup> The regulation of personal and social life by a church that—in the Republic due to its public status—was able to put its stamp on society by means of education, poor relief,<sup>61</sup> and its censoring of morals via church

landse Historische Reeks, 1989); Frank van der Pol, *De reformatie te Kampen in de zestiende eeuw* (Kampen: Kok, 1990); Andrew Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt: Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Guido Marnef, *Antwerpen in de tijd van de Reformatie: Ondergronds protestantisme in een handelsmetropool 1550–1577* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff, 1996) (diss. Catholic University of Louvain 1991), English translation by John C. Grayson: *Antwerp in the Age of Reformation: Underground Protestantism in a Commercial Metropolis, 1550–1577* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996); see also Paul Estié, *Het vluchtige bestaan van de eerste Nederlandse Lutherse gemeente: Antwerpen 1566–1567* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1986); Robert S. DuPlessis, *Lille in the Dutch Revolt: Urban Stability in an Era of Revolution, 1500–1582* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Mathieu P.G. Spiertz, *Reformatie en herleving van het katholicisme in Nijmegen (1591–1623): Rogier herzien en herdacht* (Nijmegen: Katholieke Universiteit Nijmegen, 1993); Benjamin J. Kaplan, *Calvinists and Libertines: Confession and Community in Utrecht, 1578–1620* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); Henk ten Boom *et al.* (eds.), *Utrechters entre-deux: Stad en Sticht in de eeuw van de Reformatie 1520–1620* (Delft: Eburon, 1992); Charles C.M. de Mooij, *Geloof kan bergen verzetten: Reformatie en katholieke herleving te Bergen op Zoom 1577–1795* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999); Christine Kooi, *Liberty and Religion: Church and State in Leiden’s Reformation, 1572–1620* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2000).

59. As regards Utrecht, cf. Wiebe Bergsma’s criticism of Kaplan’s qualifying all those not confessionally bound as ‘libertines’ (see nn. 47 and 58): Bergsma, ‘Calvinisten en libertijnen’.

60. Olaf Mörke, “‘Konfessionalisierung’ als politisch-soziales Strukturprinzip?: Das Verhältnis von Religion und Staatsbildung in der Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert’, *Tijdschrift voor Sociale Geschiedenis* 16 (1990), pp. 31–60; Heinz Schilling, ‘Confessional Europe’, in Brady, Oberman, and Tracy (eds.), *Handbook II*, pp. 641–81 (with extensive bibliography).

61. See for instance Charles H. Parker, *The Reformation of Community: Social Welfare and Calvinist Charity in Holland, 1572–1620* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Joke W. Spaans, *Armenzorg in Friesland, 1500–1800: Publieke zorg en particuliere liefdadigheid in zes Friese steden: Leeuwarden, Bolsward, Franeker, Sneek, Dokkum en Harlingen* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1997); Timothy G. Fehler, *Poor Relief and Protestantism: The Evolution of Social Welfare in Sixteenth-Century Emden* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

discipline and its role in baptisms, marriages, and funerals.<sup>62</sup> At the same time, and keeping pace with the individualization processes in society, there was an increase of interest in the ideas and daily life of the common man,<sup>63</sup> the role of women,<sup>64</sup> the preacher as an individual,<sup>65</sup> and the fortunes of the lower nobility.<sup>66</sup>

62. See, e.g., Heinz Schilling, 'Religion und Gesellschaft in der Calvinistischen Republik der Vereinigten Niederlande: "Öffentlichkeit" und Säkularisation; Ehe und Hebammenwesen; Presbyterien und politische Partizipation', in Petri (ed.), *Kirche*, pp. 197-250; Mathieu G. Spiertz, 'Die Ausübung der Zucht in der IJsselstadt Deventer in den Jahren 1592-1619 im Vergleich zu den Untersuchungen im Languedoc und in der Kurpfalz', *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 49 (1985), pp. 139-72; Petra van Boheemen *et al.* (eds.), *'Kent, en versint, Eer datje mint': Vrijen en trouwen 1500-1800* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1989); Herman W. Roodenburg, *Onder censuur: De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578-1700* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990); Manon (M.P.C.) van der Heijden, *Huwelijk in Holland: Stedelijke rechtspraak en kerkelijke tucht, 1550-1700* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 1998); N. Scott Amos *et al.* (eds.), *The Education of a Christian Society: Humanism and Reformation in Britain and the Netherlands* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999).

63. On the enormous expansion of the research into the followers of Anabaptism, often from the lower social classes, see Zijlstra, *Om de ware gemeente*. See also, in addition to Arie Th. van Deursen's classic *Mensen van klein vermogen: Het kopergeld van de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: Ooievaar, 4th edn, 1999) for instance: Van Deursen and Gerrit J. Schutte, *Geleefd geloven: Geschiedenis van de protestantse vroomheid in Nederland* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1996) and Leonardus Laeyendecker *et al.* (eds.), *Experiences and Explanations: Historical and Sociological Essays on Religion in Everyday Life* (Ljouwert [Leeuwarden]: Fryske Akademy, 1990).

64. Cf. Sherrin Marshall, 'Women and Religious Choices in the Sixteenth-Century Netherlands', *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History* 75 (1984), pp. 276-89; Marshall, 'Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Women in the Early Modern Netherlands', in *idem* (ed.), *Women in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe: Public and Private Worlds* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989), pp. 102-39; Merry E. Wiesner, *Women in the Sixteenth Century: A Bibliography* (St Louis, MO: Center for Reformation Research, 1983); C. Arnold Snyder and Linda A. Huebert Hecht (eds.), *Profiles of Anabaptist Women: Sixteenth-Century Reforming Pioneers* (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 3rd edn, 1998).

65. Fred A. van Lieburg, *Profeten en hun vaderland: De geografische herkomst van de gereformeerde predikanten in Nederland van 1572 tot 1816* (Zoetermeer: Boekencentrum, 1996); Van Lieburg, *Repertorium van Nederlandse hervormde predikanten tot 1816. I. Predikanten* (Dordrecht: Van Lieburg, 1996); Jurjen (G.N.M.) Vis and J. Juliaan Woltjer, 'De predikanten in Holland in 1566', *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 80 (2000), pp. 20-45; cf. also Paul H.A.M. Abels, *De broederen van Twente: Een studie van de eerste Twentse dominees (1597-1678)* (Hengelo: Broekhuis; Twents-Gelderse Uitgeverij Witkam, 1984); Gerrit Groenhuis, *De Predikanten: De sociale positie van de gereformeerde predikanten in de Republiek der Verenigde Nederlanden voor ± 1700* (Groningen: Wolters-Noordhoff, 1977).

66. Sherrin Marshall, *The Dutch Gentry, 1500-1650: Family, Faith, and Fortune* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1987).

### A Broadening Range of Usable Sources

The developments noted above went hand in hand with a shift in sources used. Not only did more (traditional, ecclesiastical-theological) sources become available, it was especially sources of a different kind that were employed. On the one hand, more archives were unlocked, via estate inventories;<sup>67</sup> more biographical and bibliographical tools<sup>68</sup> and more editions of sources appeared: consistorial,<sup>69</sup> classical, and synodal acts,<sup>70</sup> documents related to Anabaptists

67. One only needs to look at the *Gidsen voor kerkhistorisch onderzoek*, III-VI (Utrecht: Rijksarchief Utrecht, 1986–92), a continuation of: Johannes P. van Dooren and Mathieu G. Spiertz (eds.), *Kerkelijke archieven: Gidsen voor kerkhistorisch onderzoek*, I-II ('s-Gravenhage: Archiefdienst Nederlandse Hervormde Kerk, 1982–83); Jan G.J. van Booma, *Onderzoek in protestantse kerkelijke archieven in Nederland: Handleiding, tevens beknopte gegevens over de geschiedenis van de kerkelijke instellingen, over het kerkelijk archiefrecht en het kerkelijk archiefbeheer* ('s-Gravenhage: Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 1994).

68. For instance, Doede Nauta et al. (eds.), *Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme*, I– (Kampen: Kok, 1978–); Peter G. Bietenholz and Thomas B. Deutscher (eds.), *Contemporaries of Erasmus: A Biographical Register of the Renaissance and Reformation*, I–III (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985–87); Hans J. Hillerbrand, *Anabaptist Bibliography, 1520–1630* (St Louis, MO: Center for Reformation Research, 3rd edn, 1991); annual bibliographies in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History, Beiheft: Literaturbericht*; formerly also in *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*, in *Trajecta: Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis van het katholiek leven in de Nederlanden* and, until 1997, in *Kerktijdschrift: Contactblad van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis/Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis*; Wim Janse, 'Beknopte bibliografie, 1975–2000', in *idem*, 'Vroeg-reformatorische bewegingen in de Nederlanden onder Karel V', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 3 (2000), pp. 59–71, 66–71.

69. Among these Heinz Schilling (ed.), *Die Kirchenratsprotokolle der Reformierten Gemeinde Emden, 1557–1620*, bearbeitet von Heinz Schilling and Klaus-Dieter Schreiber, 1–2 (Köln: Böhlau, 1989–92); Jan G.J. van Booma and Jacobus L. van der Gouw (eds.), *Communio et mater fidelium: Acta des Konsistoriums der niederländischen reformierten Flüchtlingsgemeinde in Wesel, 1573–1582* (Köln: Rheinland Verlag, 1991); Auke J. Jelsma and Owe Boersma (eds.), *Acta van het consistorie van de Nederlandse gemeente te Londen, 1569–1585* ('s-Gravenhage: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1993).

70. Among these Johannes P. van Dooren et al. (eds.), *Classicale Acta 1573–1620*, I– ('s-Gravenhage: Nijhoff, 1980–); Johann F.G. Goeters (ed.), *Die Akten der Synode der niederländischen Kirchen zu Emden vom 4.–13. Oktober 1571: Im lateinischen Grundtext mitsamt den alten niederländischen, französischen und deutschen Übersetzungen* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1971); Willem van 't Spijker (ed.), 'Acta Synode van Dordrecht 1578', in Doede Nauta and Johannes P. van Dooren (eds.), *De Nationale Synode van Dordrecht 1578: Gereformeerden uit de Noordelijke en Zuidelijke Nederlanden bijeen* (Amsterdam: Buijten & Schipperheijn, 1978), pp. 142–84; for more editions, see Van Booma, *Onderzoek*, p. 107–108.

and Mennonites,<sup>71</sup> text editions and source books.<sup>72</sup> Increasingly, sources became available on microfilm<sup>73</sup> and digitally via CD-Rom and the Internet;<sup>74</sup> new journals of church history were born.<sup>75</sup> On the other hand, the broadening of the range of useful sources was the logical consequence of the increasing multidisciplinary within the field. Data from the various (literary, book, social, political, cultural and art) historical sub-disciplines proved relevant to church history: for instance, printer's catalogues presented a new picture of the spread of dissentism;<sup>76</sup> in popular drama heterodox views were aired;<sup>77</sup> lotteries were a channel for religious propaganda: the poems sent in by ticket

71. For instance *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1975–); *Classics of the Radical Reformation: English Language Series of Anabaptist and Free Church Documents*, I– (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 1973–), in which *The Anabaptist Writings of David Joris, 1535–1543* (ed. and trans. Gary K. Waite; Waterloo, ON: Herald Press, 1994).

72. *Calvinism in Europe 1540–1610: A Collection of Documents* (sel., trans. and ed. Alastair C. Duke et al.; Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), pp. 129–99; intended to complement Jan N. Bakhuizen van den Brink et al. (eds.), *Documenta Reformatoria: Teksten uit de geschiedenis van kerk en theologie in de Nederlanden sedert de Hervorming* (2 vols.; Kampen: Kok, 1960–62): Augustijn et al. (eds.), *Reformatiorica*, pp. 45–130 (p. 23: 'The number of strictly theological texts has been reduced, in addition to solemn utterances the reader will now also find quotations from non-theologians or non-preachers'); Carter H. Lindberg, *The European Reformations Sourcebook* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 2000), pp. 204–16.

73. Cf. IDC Publishers, *Catalogue of Catalogues Theology/Religion 2002–2003* (Leiden: IDC, 2001).

74. See Jacob van Sluis, 'Kerkgeschiedenis op internet, mogelijkheden en beperkingen', *Nederlands Theologisch Tijdschrift* 54 (2000), pp. 238–48; Van Sluis, 'Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis op het internet', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 4 (2001), pp. 48–52.

75. *Doopsgezinde Bijdragen* (1975–); *Trajecta: Tijdschrift voor de geschiedenis van het katholiek leven in de Nederlanden* (1992–, a continuation of *Archief voor de Geschiedenis van de Katholieke Kerk in Nederland*); *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* (1998–, formerly *Kerktijd: Contactblad van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis*, 1989–97). Cf. Aart de Groot, 'Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis in tijdschriften', *Kerktijd: Contactblad van de Vereniging voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 4/1 (1992), pp. 1–5.

76. A survey of literature in Janse, 'Beknopte bibliografie', *sub voce* 'Drukkers, Biblica'. See especially Paul Valkema Blouw, *Typographia Batava 1541–1600: A Repertorium of Books Printed in the Northern Netherlands between 1541 and 1600. In ordinem digessit A.C. Schuytvlot* (2 vols.; Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1998) and the numerous contributions he made to *Quaerendo: A Quarterly Journal from the Low Countries Devoted to Manuscripts and Printed Books*.

77. Fabianus C. van Boheemen and Theodorus C.J. van der Heijden, *Met minnen versaemt: De Hollandse rederijders vanaf de middeleeuwen tot het begin van de achttiende eeuw: Bronnen en bronnenstudies* (Delft: Eburon, 1999); Gary K. Waite, *Reformers on Stage: Popular Drama and Religious Propaganda in the Low Countries of Charles V, 1515–1556* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).

buyers, recited at the draw, could have a virulently anti-Catholic tone;<sup>78</sup> quantitative data from the history of law resulted in a demythologizing of the role of the (Spanish) inquisition.<sup>79</sup> Also, a large number of material sources now came onto the scene—etchings, paintings, stained glass, topographic townscapes, church interiors as represented on paintings, liturgical objects<sup>80</sup>—and with these, new forms of (iconographic) religious polemics.<sup>81</sup> With the genre of ‘ego documents’ another, almost inexhaustible historical source was opened.<sup>82</sup> That personal letters, diaries, memoirs, and autobiographies may

78. Anneke Huisman and Johannes M. Koppenol, *Daer compt de Lotery met trommels en trompetten!: Loterijen in de Nederlanden tot 1726* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1991).

79. Cf. Johan van der Wiele, ‘De Inquisitierechtbank van Pieter Titelmans in de zestiende eeuw in Vlaanderen’, *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 97 (1982), pp. 19-63; W. Thomas, ‘De mythe van de Spaanse inquisitie in de Nederlanden van de zestiende eeuw’, *Bijdragen en Mededelingen betreffende de Geschiedenis der Nederlanden* 105 (1990), pp. 325-53; Fred E. Beemon, ‘The Myth of the Spanish Inquisition and the Preconditions for the Dutch Revolt’, *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte/Archive for Reformation History* 85 (1994), pp. 246-64; Alastair C. Duke, ‘A legend in the making: News of the “Spanish Inquisition” in the Low Countries in German evangelical pamphlets, 1546-1550’, *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 77 (1997), pp. 125-44.

80. See, e.g., exhibition catalogues, for instance those of the National Museum Het Catharijneconvent Utrecht; publications of the foundation Stichting Fonds Goudse Glazen; cf. also Zsuzsanna van Ruyven-Zeman, *The stained-glass windows in the Sint Janskerk at Gouda 1556-1604* (Amsterdam: Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, 2000); Ton Dekker et al. (eds.), *Volkscultuur: Een inleiding in de Nederlandse etnologie* (Nijmegen: SUN, 2000); Sergiusz Michalski, *The Reformation and the Visual Arts: The Protestant Image Question in Western and Eastern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1993), and, although published in 2003: Arie L. Molendijk (ed.), *Materieel christendom: Religie en materiële cultuur in West-Europa* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2003).

81. Bart A. Rosier, ‘Katholieke propaganda en protestantse polemieken in zestiende-eeuwse bijbelillustraties’, *Nederlands Archief voor Kerkgeschiedenis/Dutch Review of Church History* 72 (1992), pp. 129-48; cf. Rosier, *The Bible in Print: Netherlandish Bible Illustration in the Sixteenth Century* (2 vols.; Leiden: Folio, 1997); Wim Janse, *De grootsheid van de ootmoed, de kleinheid van de hoogmoed. Godsdienschtig leven in Holland gespiegeld in drie Goudse Glazen van na de hervorming (1595-1601)* (Gouda: Stichting Fonds Goudse Glazen, 1998); Paul H.A.M. Abels, *Vensters des hemels en vensters op de wereld: De ‘protestantse glazen’ als politiek manifest* (Gouda: Stichting Fonds Goudse Glazen, 1999).

82. *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 83/2 (1971): Special issue *Ego-Documenten: Een bijzonder genre van historische bronnen*; Ruud Lindeman et al., *Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw: Een chronologische lijst* (Rotterdam: Erasmus Universiteit, 1993); Lindeman et al., *Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw: Een chronologische lijst* (Haarlem: Stichting Egodocument, 1994); Lia van der Heijden and Aries P.B. van Meeteren, *Registers behorende bij Egodocumenten van Noord-Nederlanders van*

offer broader perspectives than the exclusively microhistoric, was shown by, as one of many, Judith Pollmann in her study on the religious development of the sixteenth-century lawyer Aernout van Buchell: by presenting the story behind his talent to combine ecclesiastical intolerance with personal tolerance of dissenters, she opened a window on an accepted *modus vivendi* within the extremely varied religiosity in the Republic.<sup>83</sup>

### Conclusion

In the twentieth-century historiography of the Protestant Reformation in the Low Countries we have noted shifts from religious compartmentalization to a neutral approach, from a strictly theological to a multidisciplinary and from a national to an international perspective, from a focus on the national to one on the local level, and from written to ‘digital’ sources. Inescapably, these shifts also led to a discussion on the specific character and academic position of church history as a specialism of historiography.<sup>84</sup> Is it still a wholly theological discipline, practiced at the Faculty of Theology, is it actually a part of the general historical research accommodated in the Faculty of Arts, or is it located at the interface of the two? The discussion—until now featuring rather predictable contributions,<sup>85</sup>—has only just begun and deserves to be continued on

*de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw: Een chronologische lijst en Reisverslagen van Noord-Nederlanders van de zestiende tot begin negentiende eeuw: Een chronologische lijst* (Haarlem: Stichting Egodocument, 1997); Rudolf M. Dekker, *Bibliografie egodocumenten en geschiedenis* (Haarlem: Stichting Egodocument, 1998).

83. Judith S. Pollmann, *Religious Choice in the Dutch Republic: The Reformation of Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), Dutch translation: *Een andere weg naar God: De reformatie van Arnoldus Buchelius (1565–1641)* (Amsterdam: Bakker, 2000).

84. An early and marked position in Willem Nijenhuis, ‘Kerkgeschiedenis als theologische discipline’, *Rondom het Woord: Theologische etherleergang* 16 (1974), pp. 56–80; for an instructive theory of science view (and an appeal to church historians to adopt the same approach), see J. van der Dussen, ‘Kerkgeschiedenis en “profane” geschiedenis: Een theoretische konfrontatie’, *Vox Theologica: Interacademiaal theologisch tijdschrift* 46 (1976), pp. 67–84; see also Frijhoff, “‘Histoire religieuse’”.

85. Whereas Jan Y.H.A. Jacobs, ‘Kerkgeschiedenis op het snijvlak van theologie en geschiedenis’, in Jan M.N.E. Jans (ed.), *Bewogen theologie: Theologie in beweging: Symposium bij het afscheid van Mgr. H.C.A. Ernst en ter verwelkoming van Mgr. Dr. M.P.M. Muskens, bisschop van Breda, aan de Theologische Faculteit Tilburg, 9 maart 1995* (Tilburg: Theologische Faculteit Tilburg, 1995), pp. 30–38, opts for an approach rooted in theology, and Willem J. van Asselt, ‘Kerkgeschiedenis als theologische discipline’, *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 3 (2000), pp. 72–73, pleads for the traditional positioning of church history within the

a higher level, i.e., that of the theory of historiography.<sup>86</sup> Inevitably, both the discussion and historiography itself will, as always, take place within the contemporary context. Church historiography, too, reflects contemporary history. Just as inevitably, this essay on historiographical shifts in the twentieth century is both a reflection on the subject, and a source in itself.

encyclopedia of theology, Van Deursen, 'Ontstaan', p. 12, would want 'a little more theology' as a 'useful counterweight' in the research by 'regular historians, who are oriented more towards the social sciences than towards theology'. To Auke J. Jelsma, 'Verschuivingen in de Nederlandse kerkgeschiedschrijving' (1991), in Jelsma, *De briefbezorger: Een keuze uit het werk van Auke Jelsma met commentaar bij zijn afscheid als hoogleraar kerkgeschiedenis van de Theologische Universiteit Kampen* (Kampen: Kok, 1998), pp. 149-59, the fact that church history is both a theological and a historical discipline makes it the perfect intermediary between the two fields. Taking her cue from Spaans' plea for a closer affiliation with the specialisms of other faculties (in 'Interdisciplinariteit'), Mirjam de Baar, 'Nieuwe perspectieven voor de Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 3 (2000), pp. 87-97, considers interdisciplinary collaboration across the boundaries of departments and faculties enriching, while at the same time preserving the institutional roots of church history in the Faculty of Theology.

86. Jan Willem Buisman, 'De nieuwe Nederlandse kerkgeschiedenis verdient een hoger en nog breder perspectief', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 4 (2001), pp. 53-54, and Freek R.J. Knetsch, 'Vragen over perspectieven', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Kerkgeschiedenis* 4 (2001), pp. 55-56.

Copyright of Reformation & Renaissance Review: Journal of the Society for Reformation Studies is the property of Equinox Publishing and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.

Copyright of Reformation & Renaissance Review: Journal of the Society for Reformation Studies is the property of Equinox Publishing and its content may not be copied or emailed to multiple sites or posted to a listserv without the copyright holder's express written permission. However, users may print, download, or email articles for individual use.