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Marisa Anne Bass

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The countermonument in early modern Antwerp

MARISA ANNE BASS

Abstract Artists and critics since at least the 1980s have employed the word “countermonument” to describe works created in opposition to the history and ideology of monuments that precede them. This article argues that the concept of the countermonument had currency already in the early modern Iberian world, when political upheaval inspired new modes of resistance across media. The range of responses to a particularly infamous public monument created in the sixteenth-century Netherlands offers a case in point. The statue of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, erected on the citadel of Antwerp in 1571, was destroyed within six years of its installation, but it continued to serve as a powerful rallying cry in the history of the Dutch Revolt against Spanish imperial rule. The iconoclastic responses that the statue elicited in print are well known. The examples examined here, which span the genres of the commemorative medal, the friendship album, and the manuscript poem, reveal a range of approaches not just to critiquing a monument but also in countering its power. The significance of the statue’s materiality is given particular consideration as a demonstration of the inextricable link between monuments and war.

Keywords countermonument; Duke of Alba; cannon; Dutch Revolt

On May 19, 1571, the citizens of Antwerp confronted a harsh reminder that they were living in an Iberian world. For decades, the cities and provinces of the Low Countries had managed to retain a degree of self-governance under Spanish–Habsburg dominion, despite their belonging to a larger empire. Any semblance of freedom, however, was erased in 1567 when King Philip II of Spain sent an army under the command of Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, to curb the spread of the Protestant faith and the mounting resistance to imperial authority in the region. Alba’s arrival brought arrests and executions, siege, and economic unrest. Although the general had expected to curb the uprising in a matter of months, his “reign of terror” marked instead the beginning of a conflict that would endure for eighty years to come.¹ What, then, made the spring of 1571 so significant within the larger arc of the Dutch Revolt against Spanish rule? The answer was not another battle or edict, but a monument that acted as both.

The bronze statue of himself that Alba ordered to be installed on the Antwerp citadel, looming over the city and its harbor, was at once traditional and exceptional (figure 1). Inspired by classical models, the monument represented the general larger than life, in a posture of imperial triumph, trampling beneath his feet two prostrated male figures meant to signify the rebellious provinces.² In their hands, various attributes including a broken hammer, an ax, and a flaming torch alluded to the Protestant insurgency and political insurrection, which, Alba asserted—with the gesture of his own extended right hand—he had now successfully quelled. The reliefs on the pedestal emphasized Alba’s alleged virtues as a bringer of peace and a pious servant to the Spanish crown.

Whether read as an expression of pacification or domination, the statue’s claims were an affront. As a work of art, the monument was equally offensive. Designed by the Spanish

humanist Benito Arias Montano, sculpted by the Netherlandish artist Jacques Jonghelinck, and cast from cannons that Alba’s troops had captured from the Netherlandish army, the bronze effigy consolidated materials and expertise that instantiated the power of empire in the heart of the Low Countries.³ This point was made explicit through an inscription at Alba’s feet, which declared the statue “the work of Jonghelinck, [made] from captured bronze.”⁴ The text insists on a recognition that arms were both integral to the statue’s makeup and part of its calculated effect. The sensible choice in wartime was to melt down ordnance in order to make new ordnance.⁵ Alba’s appropriation of the cannons for a work of self-promotion thus amounted to a preemptive declaration of victory. The resulting message, so out of tune with its circumstance, all but ensured the monument’s destruction. And within six years of its installation, destroyed it was.

Although Alba’s monument has long figured in the historiography of the Dutch Revolt, its place in the larger history of creative action against monuments remains unrecognized. The responses that the statue inspired in both word and image were monumental in their own right, and they extended well beyond the brief life of the offending work. This article draws on the modern notion of a “countermonument” to situate Alba’s statue as a catalyst for a series of critical productions designed not only to condemn the monument but also to keep it alive as a rallying point in the enduring fight for liberty. Alba’s attempt to commemorate a victory he had not achieved inspired an approach to expressing dissent against Spanish imperial domination that proved definitional to the articulation of Dutch memory culture and political identity for at least a century to follow.⁶



Figure 1. Anon., *The Statue of the Duke of Alba*, seventeenth century. Engraving. 30.0 × 18.8 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-79.156.

Monuments against monuments

Resistance to monuments has existed for as long as there have been monuments to resist. Nonetheless, to speak of countermonumental production in the context of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries requires some explanation. My embrace of this strategic anachronism is grounded on two premises: first, that words tend to follow (rather than produce) the categories of invention and action they describe; and second, that there is historical value in thinking with the category of “countermonument” prior to the moment when the word itself gained currency. Doing so allows for a distinction to be made between the broad category of propaganda and the specific category of works made in critical dialogue either with individual monuments or with monument-making as a practice. It also allows for a distinction between propaganda, which tends to be programmatic by design, and works that

express dissent in ways that are more open-ended, personal, or prospective.

The term “countermonument” (*Gegendenkmal*) was first popularized in the 1980s as a way to describe a series of post-war projects in Germany designed to confront the nation’s fraught legacy of Fascist rule.⁷ One such project was a memorial explicitly titled *Monument against Fascism*, created by Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz in 1986, which embodied this oppositional stance in three ways (figure 2). First, the artists erected their twelve-foot-tall aluminum column devoid of representation or ornament in an “uglyish” suburb of Hamburg rather than in the placid park initially offered to them. Second, they encouraged members of the public to efface the column by scraping and scrawling their names onto its surface. Lastly, they engineered the column to be lowered into the ground a little each year, so that by 1996—one decade after its unveiling—it had completely disappeared. All these choices were calculated forms of resistance to the hegemony, longevity, and ascendance associated with the classical monument—a resistance punctuated by the work’s clear debt to monumental precedents such as Trajan’s Column and the ancient Egyptian obelisks. The Gerzs’ countermonument was still a monument, one that challenged the “preconceived enduring forms” of the genre but did not wholly disengage from them.⁸

Monument against Fascism itself would have been unthinkable without the subversive approaches to monumental form that had emerged already in the 1960s with works such as Barnett Newman’s *Broken Obelisk* and especially with the fantastical drawings for “colossal” monuments by Claes Oldenburg (figure 3).⁹ The latter’s proposals included replacing Nelson’s Column in London with a giant working gear shift and the National Monument in Washington DC with a gargantuan pair of moving scissors. In each case, the substitution of “movement for monumentality,” as Oldenburg put it, took the form of a supersized instrument that recalled the form of the original monument it was imagined to replace.¹⁰ The resulting combination of resonance and dissonance with monumental tradition was part of the point. The true radicality of Oldenburg’s proposed monuments, however, was that they were neither meant to be built nor actually feasible to build. The insight of his early drawings was that every countermonument risked becoming, upon its realization, the very thing that it set out to critique.

As Wu Hung has observed in the context of contemporary Chinese art, a countermonument differs from the adjacent category of the “anti-monument” precisely in this way. The anti-monument, as he puts it, “rejects any form of monumental expression and gains its significance from erasing such expression.”¹¹ It is a category defined more by ephemeral performances and happenings than by built or erected things. In principle at least, countermonuments reengage monumental



Figure 2. Jochen Gerz and Esther Shalev-Gerz, *Monument against Fascism*, 1986. Galvanized steel with a fine lead mantle. 1200 × 100 × 100 cm. Hamburg, Germany. Photo: Gerz Studio.

expression as a means to resist what particular monuments stand for, or what monuments in general have traditionally stood for. Anti-monuments, by Hung's account, wholly disavow the kind of references—both formal and conceptual—upon which a work like the Gerzs' column depends.¹²

This distinction underlies my choice of “countermonument” rather than “anti-monument” as a productive term to think with in the early modern Netherlands. There were certainly many ephemeral monuments produced in earnest during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, most notably, temporary triumphal arches and tableaux for the public procession of rulers into cities across the region.¹³ These constructions may have been short-lived, but they were affirmative rather than critical of the monument's power. The notion of the ephemeral as expressing a position of negation or erasure is a distinctly modern concept. The notion that a monument might be created with the purpose of expressing resistance—including an awareness of its own physical and memorial transience—is not.¹⁴

The conditions for countermonumental production—conflict, resistance, and a population primed to exert creative energy against established commemorative forms—were all present during the period of the Dutch Revolt. One of the by-products of the war was the rise of a particularly inventive approach to political propaganda, which was supported by both the press and the mint. The Netherlands already had a thriving print publishing industry prior to the onset of the conflict with Spain, as well as active mints for producing currency and commemorative medals alike. It had an equally long tradition of embracing satire and subversion in the realms of art and letters. Desiderius Erasmus wrote in his *Praise of Folly* (1511) that “nothing is so foolish” as a man who seeks veneration through office, dreaming that he will one day be honored with triumphs and will “end up cast in bronze in the public square.”¹⁵ Such a pronouncement aligned with the sentiment surrounding Alba's statue among the Netherlandish populace and also laid the groundwork for the stream of anti-Spanish responses to Alba's prideful “reign” in the Low Countries and to his monument in particular.

No less significantly, the Revolt spurred a turn to manuscripts, personalized poems, drawings, and dedications as platforms for intimate exchange and quiet expressions of dissent among members of the Netherlandish republic of letters. Faced with intensified spiritual oppression, the creative and intellectual community of the Low Countries was dispersed to England and across Europe and the English Channel, artists, and scholars emigrated to escape persecution or in search of opportunities no longer available in their war-torn homeland.¹⁶ The manuscript genre of the friendship album or *album amicorum* provided a space of refuge for this community.¹⁷ Circles of friends and colleagues who shared and inscribed such albums did so under the conditions of war and exile, and with the conviction that their pursuit of artistic and literary expression outside the public sphere was both revolutionary and restorative. Many of the same perspectives expressed in propaganda prints surfaced in these more private arenas, but they were tailored to a particular rather than a general audience, and were often eccentric reflections of their makers. Here too the statue of the Spanish general left its mark.

Yet above all, it was the foreignness of Alba's monument within the Low Countries—both in its form and subject—that catalyzed creative dissent against it.¹⁸ The fifteenth-century counts of Holland and Flanders, including the dukes of Burgundy, were represented through statues that adorned the facades of town halls from Bruges to Amsterdam, but they did not erect permanent freestanding statues of themselves in public spaces.¹⁹ The town hall facades represented them in a genealogy of local lords connected to larger structures of governance, not as individuals glorified in their own right. Philip II's father, Charles V, who was born in the Low Countries, likewise understood that erecting permanent monuments of himself would have been incendiary in a region where



Figure 3. Claes Oldenburg, *Proposed Colossal Monument to Replace Nelson[s] Column in Trafalgar Square—Gearshift in Motion*, 1966. Crayon, watercolor, and paper collage on paper. 40.0 × 57.8 cm. New York, Museum of Modern Art., 122.2002.

individual cities and towns maintained a strong sense of self-determination.²⁰ This is precisely what Alba failed to understand, and what ensured both his statue's demise and the ferocity of its condemnation.

The catalyst

Alba's monument was a bad idea. A statue of a nobleman erected on enemy land was bound to offend. Yet it was not just another example of pride and hubris, or of ego gone awry. It was a monument at once subtle and brash, artful and violent. A great deal of thought and ingenuity went into its realization. The larger principle at work in this case is that the more powerful a monument's status as a work of art, the harder it is to dismantle the ideology behind it. Tearing down Alba's statue was the easy part. Countering its message required more than a hammer and an ax: it required an equally powerful alternative.

The statue installed in May 1571 represented the culmination of a propaganda campaign intended to assert Alba's authority as representative of the Spanish crown.²¹ The general had already issued a celebratory medal after his victory against the rebel troops in 1568.²² He had bestowed his own name on four bastions of Antwerp's newly built citadel, which was constructed under his guidance as a means to control and

contain the city's population (figure 4).²³ The statue followed and far exceeded these previous efforts, in part by capitalizing upon them. Not only was the monument placed at the center of the citadel; it was also cast from the cannons captured in the same battle that Alba's medal commemorated. The dedication inscribed on the statue's base made explicit the finality of its intended message:

To Fernando Álvarez de Toledo, Duke of Alba, Philip II of Spain's commander among the Netherlanders, who extinguished sedition, drove off the rebels, restored religion, cultivated justice, and secured peace within the provinces. To him, the most faithful minister of the best king, [this statue] was erected.²⁴

Few of the claims in this dedication were accurate, however much the statue's materiality and design aimed to reinforce them. Alba had neither curbed the rebellion nor brought peace to the region. The monument's false aggrandizement of Alba's success only fueled the denunciations that the work promptly received both in the Low Countries and in the general's native Spain.²⁵ These responses ranged from written critiques to satirical prints (*spotprenten*) that exploit the monument's imagery as a vehicle for condemning Alba's cruelty and hubris.²⁶ Given that the statue was created by a Netherlandish artist—indeed the only artist then active in the

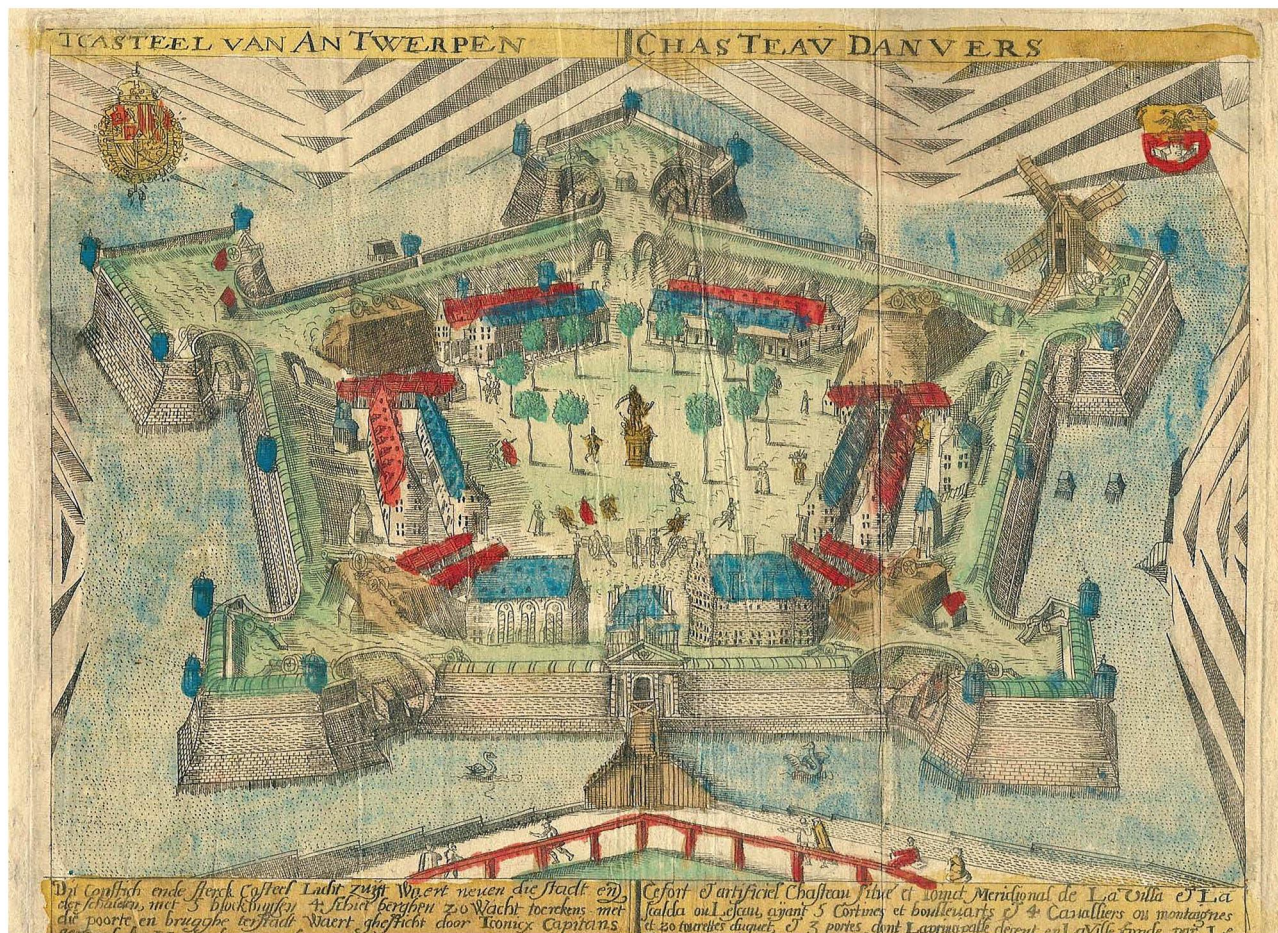


Figure 4. Anon., after Frans Hogenberg, *The Citadel of Antwerp*, c.1569. Hand-colored etching, 21.5 × 28 cm. Antwerp, private collection.

Low Countries with the skill to cast life-size bronze figures—attacks issued from the “rebel” side tended to sidestep the image itself and focus on the general’s assertion of power through it. This attempt to distinguish between statue and subject nonetheless had its limits.

One *spotprint*, plausibly dated to around 1572, depicts members of the Netherlandish nobility rescuing the eviscerated hearts of the local populace from the statue’s base, while Alba himself is shown trampling Justice, Truth, and personifications of the innocent and disenfranchised: Widowhood and Orphanhood (figure 5).²⁷ The anxiety of the image is evident in the volume of text that accompanies it—the insistence on making clear that the monument stands for the very opposite of what its commissioner claimed. The print, like the statue that it condemns, is heavy-handed. It is limited in its critique by its recourse to the monument’s own iconography, and perhaps most significantly, by its re-presentation of its target. In other words, the print is critical but not yet countermonumental, because it makes no attempt to counteract the

monument’s power and presence as a physical object. The print upholds the statue even as it condemns its message.

It took an order from Philip II to get the monument out of sight.²⁸ On June 9, 1574, just over three years after its erection, Alba’s statue was removed by his successor, Luis de Requesens, and placed in storage within the walls of the citadel itself. By then, Philip had already received ample report that both the general and his monument had become a liability to the Spanish cause. In late 1576 or early 1577, the statue was sent to a forge in Mechelen so that its costly material could be melted down and reused once again for artillery.

Yet following the logic of *damnatio memoriae*, myths soon arose about its afterlife, the most prominent of which held that the statue had been torn to pieces by the people of Antwerp during the dismantling of the Spanish citadel in 1577.²⁹ This legend endured well into the seventeenth century. Writers such as P. C. Hooft and Joost van den Vondel took inspiration from Alba’s thumb, supposedly dismembered from the statue, to pun on the monument’s legacy as an embodiment of the general’s demise (figure 6).³⁰ As the



Figure 5. Anon., *Satirical Print of the Statue of Alba*, 1571–73. Etching. 34.8 × 48.0 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-79.166.

Italian chronicler Famiano Strada wrote, “it was wonderfull to see with how general a Hatred and Envy this Statue was looked upon—the Low-countrimen inwardly fretting, as if they were daily conquered in that Monument, and their Nation daily triumpht over.”³¹ Strada conveys his astonishment at the statue’s impact, a wonder at its horrific power. The monumentality of the responses that the statue generated was greater than the monumentality of the statue itself, and those responses continued even in its physical absence.

In short, the dismemberment of Alba’s statue at the hands of Antwerp’s citizens is the stuff of legend, but the iconoclastic actions and reactions that the statue elicited were real. Looking beyond the realm of print reveals as much. In contemporary drawings and manuscript poems, the statue emerged as an “interpretable object,” one that mattered to the groups of individuals who engaged with it not so much because of the monument’s intrinsic qualities but instead because of their shared conviction about what it represented.³² These groups of colleagues, no matter how divided by religious and political circumstance, found common

ground in their exchanges over Alba’s infamous effigy.³³ If it is the prerogative of those in power to manipulate and shape the physical sites over which they rule, it is the nature of personal and collective memories to crystalize around those physical sites, and to reimagine them in their own terms. The networks of responders to Alba’s statue reveal that iconoclasm, even in its milder forms, is always a kind of collective action.

A false idol

Netherlandish scholars united during the war over more than irenic expressions of hope for peace. One strategy they employed was to zoom out from the specific historical event and appeal to a universal lesson borne out by the larger course of human history: false idols prove their falseness in the end. Alba’s statue, by this account, was not a *fait accompli*; like all prideful monuments, it was bound to fall. The exercise of employing rhetoric and allusion to express that lesson was both cathartic and affirmative of the discourse they shared.



Figure 6. Anon., *The Thumb of the Statue of the Duke of Alba*, 1717–19. Engraving with typeset text. 7.0 × 9.5 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-79.162.

One of the most vehement literary responses to Alba's monument came from the pen of the Bonaventura Vulcanius, and it is exemplary of this approach.³⁴ After studying in Leuven, Vulcanius took up his first post in 1559 as librarian to the Bishop of Burgos, at a time when mercantile and intellectual exchanges between Spain and the Low Countries still thrived. When he returned to the Netherlands in 1571, he found his homeland under the shadow of war. Unable to secure employment, he left for Cologne, where he settled temporarily and converted to the Protestant faith. In 1577, he returned to the Netherlands to become secretary to the statesman Philip of Marnix in Antwerp and employed his Spanish language skills to help decrypt messages from the enemy camp.³⁵ A visit to Leiden with Marnix helped him attain a position as Professor of Greek and Latin at Leiden University, which he held from 1581 until his death in 1614.

During his pivotal years in Germany, Vulcanius composed a lengthy poem that takes on the statue on the Antwerp citadel directly. Dated August 27, 1573, its earliest known draft appears in a manuscript now preserved in the Leiden University Library.³⁶ The draft is marked by frequent editorial revisions, which indicate that this was a manuscript for personal use. Vulcanius titled his poem "Flanders at War" (*Flandria bellis*) and refers in the margin beside its first lines to another poem that seems to have inspired him directly: a Latin translation of Pierre de Ronsard's "Call for Peace."³⁷ Vulcanius draws on this recent example of anti-war poetry, a response to the near-contemporary religious conflict in France, in framing his own polemic. He begins with a general lament over the suffering of the southern Netherlands under the yoke of Spain:

How long will the fierce enemy advance thus without punishment,

Laying low us and ours as its spoils?
Mixing justice and injustice with no distinction,
Will Spain break the free necks of the Belgians?³⁸

He goes on to detail the suffering of mothers, children, and the thousands forced into exile. He evokes the Black Legend, comparing the violence of the Revolt to the cruelties inflicted by the Spanish in the colonization of the Americas.³⁹ Vulcanius does all this in fewer than twenty lines before arriving at Alba's statue, the consummate sign of Spanish tyranny, which, he pleads, must be recognized as such:

You should be ashamed that this Alba reviles your ruins
And installs a perpetual dishonor upon your only homeland.
For is there any more telltale portrait of a tyrant than a mass
That he says "he erected for himself from captured bronze"?
Indeed, you know that after leveling the city walls
He built a citadel at the expense of our commonwealth,
Where he placed the arms of the King, and then his troops;
But then he erected a huge effigy in the middle of the citadel
As a model of himself and a new folly, which shows him
Trampling beneath his feet the nobles and the States
General,
And as if bearing the spoils of a defeated enemy.⁴⁰

These verses are a calculated condemnation of an enemy monument, as venomous as they are restrained. By deliberately misquoting the inscription on the plinth and erasing all mention of Jonghelinck's name, Vulcanius makes the general the monument's sole agent. The inscription may as well say that Alba erected the statue *for himself* from captured bronze. Moreover, when Alba robbed the coffers of the Low Countries to build a citadel in the name of his king, he had only self-promotion in mind. Just look at where he placed the statue! All this leads Vulcanius to dub the monument Alba's latest "folly" (*stultitia*), a bitter Erasmian slur.

For Vulcanius, however, the hubris of the Antwerp monument was of secondary concern to his fears about the war that it represented. The physical page of his manuscript draft, mottled with the blots of ink, deletions, and reinforced words, signals a creative frenzy that is entirely lost in transcription (figure 7).⁴¹ Also lost are the markings in the upper left margin of this page, where Vulcanius drew a circle and inscribed within it an anagram that reveals in A-L-B-A the name of Baal: the pagan god synonymous with idol worship in the Old Testament, and closely associated in the New Testament with the devil himself.⁴² Here we learn what Vulcanius really thought: the danger of Alba's statue was not only his tyranny but also the evil that follows from it. The greatest threat of Spanish rule by force was that the boundary between "justice and injustice"—right and wrong—might be blurred beyond distinction. Such is the corruption of a false god.

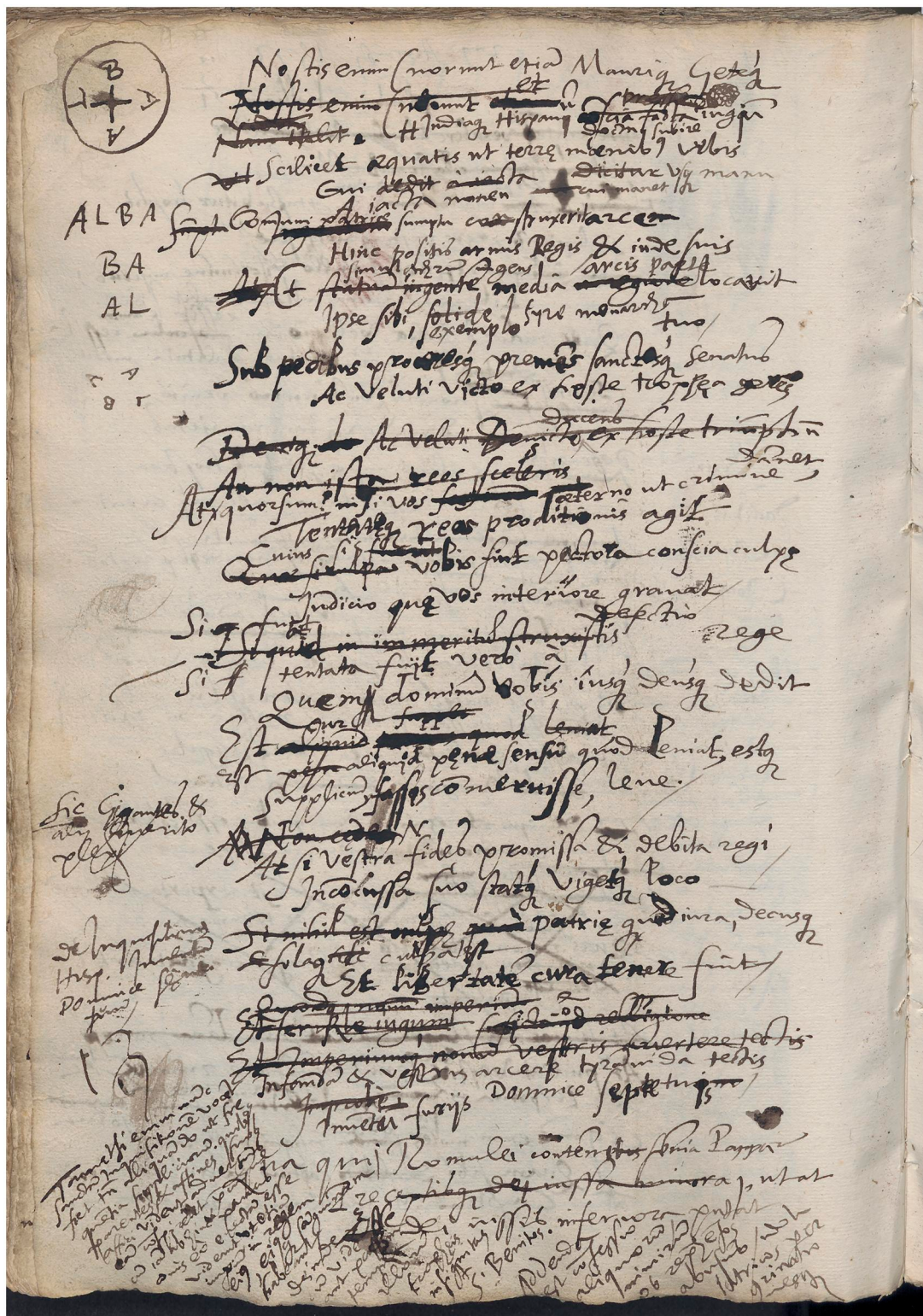


Figure 7. Bonaventura Vulcanius, page from his manuscript papers. Leiden University Library, VUL 36.



Figure 8. Anon., *Medal Commemorating the Destruction of the Duke of Alba's Statue*, 1574-77. Bronze. 3.9 cm diam. Cambridge, MA, Harvard Art Museums, NG-VG-1-399.



Figure 9. Detail of figure 8. Photo: author.

What is Vulcanius's marginal drawing if not a countermonument? However small and quickly sketched, it is more than a record of private fury. The anagram reduces to its essence the notion that destroying a monument requires exposing the power within it. Only then do we see the idol hidden behind the ideal, and that what appears to be one thing is really another. The doodle's form might call to mind a compass, a coin, or a Eucharistic wafer, but perhaps most of all, it is a

play on the ultimate counter-symbol of Christianity: the inverted cross. Although Vulcanius experimented with two other compositions in the margin, he seems to have settled on this cruciform design as the most effective—no doubt because it compels reading “Baal” first (clockwise from cardinal point north) before reading backwards to “Alba.” The inescapable message is that there is nothing more sinister than the performance of false piety and might. Both the general's wickedness and ultimate fate are plain to see. It's all there in the letters of his name.

The urge to flip Alba's statue on its head continued even after it was removed from the citadel in 1574. One rare bronze medal, which was struck to commemorate the monument's deinstallation, is resonant with Vulcanius's verses in its allusions to Alba's foolish pride and godlessness (figure 8).⁴³ More uniquely still, the object capitalizes on a subversion of the original statue's monumentality and materiality. One side of the medal juxtaposes the statue's fall with the mythical fall of Icarus, the other with the fall of Satan from heaven. But the devil really lies in a detail: an upside-down cannon positioned above a depiction of the statue on the medal's obverse. The cannon is firing at the last word in a New Testament parable inscribed sideways around the monument itself, which fittingly declares that “he who exalts himself will be humbled” (figure 9).⁴⁴ At the root of the verb “humble” (*humiliabitur*) is the Latin word *humus* for ground. Each time one rotates the medal to read the inscription, the statue crashes down into the line of the cannon's fire—an idol laid low by the very weapon from which it was created.⁴⁵

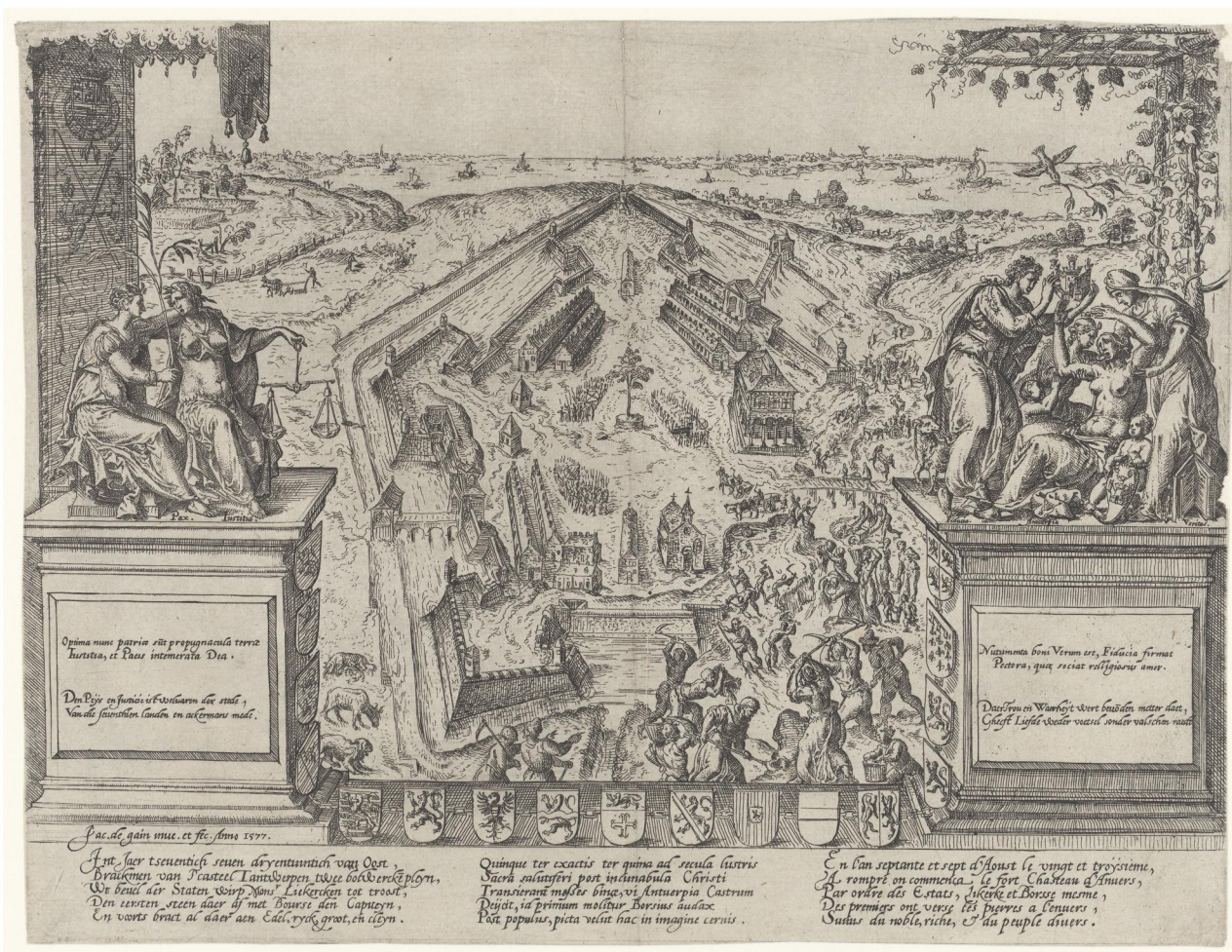


Figure 10. Jacques de Gheyn (I), *Allegory of the Breaking of the Antwerp Citadel*, 1577. Etching. 21.8 × 28.4 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-76.864.

The anonymous medal depicting the statue's fall was produced in multiple, but it is fair to assume that its circulation was limited. Very few examples of the medal survive, and the density of its imagery and its Latin texts suggest that it was tailored to an educated and elite local audience. One example of the medal now preserved in the Rijksmuseum was struck in silver and then gilded, which gives the object a prestige beyond its commemorative value.⁴⁶ As a countermonument, both its small scale and intimate reception made it all the more effective. For those who turned the medal over in their hands, the performance of Alba's fall as akin to the falls of both Satan and Icarus could be reenacted over and again without the danger of reifying the statue's monumental presence. Unlike the *spotprenten*, the medal directly addressed the monument's imagery and also its offensive materials. To hold a bronze or silver gilt exemplum of the medal was to take back what Alba had taken to produce his statue in the first place.

Given their polemical nature, it is unlikely that Vulcanius ever intended his own verses for broader circulation. However, evidence within the Leiden manuscript suggests that he may have polished them to share with close friends in more finished manuscript form, perhaps again through private correspondence. On the last folio that contains traces of the poem, Vulcanius incorporated his revisions and re-inscribed the opening lines in much clearer handwriting, as if preparing the verses for this kind of intimate presentation.⁴⁷ Another surviving manuscript of the poem, much cleaner than the first, shows that he saw his work to a state of still greater finish.⁴⁸

Who among Vulcanius's circle of friends and sympathizers would not have concurred with his clever condemnatory anagram? A good example of the reception he may have sought for it can be found in the surviving correspondence of the Antwerp cartographer and humanist Abraham Ortelius. In a 1595 letter from his friend Gerardus Corcquius, Ortelius received an anagrammatic poem as well as a litany of



Figure 11. Hans van Schille, dedication in the *Album amicorum* of Johannes Vivianus, July 17, 1577. The Hague, Royal Library, 74 F 19.

chronographic verses that Corcquius penned on significant years in the history of the Revolt.⁴⁹ Corcquius ostensibly wrote to ask Ortelius's opinion on his work, and provided him with a key to the chronograms, indicating that only certain letters should be counted when reckoning the hidden dates within the lines.⁵⁰ At the same time, it is clear that Corcquius was simply eager to show them to *someone*, as sharing these kinds of encrypted literary forms with an appreciative

audience was part of the pleasure and purpose behind composing them. Corcquius's verses were an antidote to the external events of the war that inspired them—a vehicle for instilling a sense of intellectual community. They serve both as demonstrations of wit and as prompts for further conversation between friends. Take Corcquius's verses on the partial demolition of Antwerp's citadel in 1577:



Figure 12. Gillis Coignet, dedication in the *Album amicorum* of Johannes Vivianus, October 14, 1571. The Hague, Royal Library, 74 F 19.

Alas in vain, good city, you tear down the walls of your citadel!
 May you gather together (if fate thus allows) to build other [walls].
 Ah frustra muros bone Civis deicis Arcis!
 Cogaris (si ita fors) aedificare alios.⁵¹

Corcquius managed in just two lines to offer a concise interpretive angle on this major event in Antwerp's history. His interpretation was not tethered to a specific political viewpoint; instead, it had a universal message. The humanist *civitas* was not realized by tearing things down but only through

collective acts of putting together. Destruction might feel cathartic in the moment, but the only way forward was its inverse.

The turn of fortune

Inversion is an essential strategy in the making of countermoments.⁵² The phase of response to Alba's statue that began mostly concretely in 1577 with the Antwerp citadel's demolition and renovation saw the adoption of this strategy in more intimate contexts as well. Alba's public act of self-glorification provided fodder for alternate forms of personal and collective



Figure 13. Guillaume Paludanus, dedication in the *Album amicorum* of Johannes Vivianus, July 16, 1603. The Hague, Royal Library, 74 F 19.

memorialization that involved rebuilding a sense of community. Friendship albums were key to the latter effort. Although the genre served many kinds of early modern users, the albums created during the Revolt by individuals such as Vulcanius and Ortelius became sites in which to express belonging with an emerging counterpublic defined in oppositional relationship to hegemonic power.⁵³

The citadel's renovation signaled a tangible restoration of liberty from the years of Spanish military presence in Antwerp. The first step was to dismantle two of Alba's bastions in order to enfold the remainder into the walls of the city, and thereby to reclaim the site for Antwerp's citizens.⁵⁴ In the lower right of an etching made in 1577 to commemorate the event, men and women wielding axes and other common tools work together to hack away at the walls (figure 10).⁵⁵ A tree has been planted at center where Alba's statue once stood, and the allegorical figures on plinths framing the scene embody the restoration of peace and justice to the liberated city. At the same time, the print makes a point of

showing that the greater part of the original citadel—in fact, three of its five bastions—was left unscathed. The partial preservation of the monument was a practical choice, and a symbolic one. This was a renovation project premised both on the power and efficacy of the original, and on a careful coopting of that power by the opposing side.

It is salient to compare this transformation of Antwerp's physical environment to the expressions of individual transformation found in the *album amicorum* of Johannes Vivianus.⁵⁶ A poet, merchant, and antiquarian who hailed from Valenciennes, Vivianus came to Antwerp to earn his livelihood in 1571, and there fostered a friendship with artists and scholars alike. He remained during Antwerp's period of Calvinist rule, and occupied a lucrative position in the city government, but fled for Aachen in 1585 when the region again fell under Catholic control. Among those who inscribed his album was Hans van Schille, an Antwerp-born engineer, surveyor, and designer who was directly involved with the citadel's reconstruction.⁵⁷ Already in 1567, Vivianus was accused of printing dissenting images against Spain, none of which is known to survive; his contribution to Vivianus's album suggests that they would have been biting.

Van Schille's dedication to Vivianus, dated precisely to July 17, 1577 and signed "engineer and geographer," is on one level a double self-portrait (figure 11).⁵⁸ Van Schille appears as a head atop a globe in the upper half of the page, encircled by the *ouroboros*, the ancient emblem of eternity.⁵⁹ Two winged hands entangled in the twin snakes of the *ouroboros* stand for day (the bird's wing) and night (the bat's wing), evoking the cycle of life and death. The circle that appears on van Schille's forehead may be a reference to the emblem of *omnia*, or the eternal and all-seeing eye.⁶⁰ In the lower half of the page, van Schille represents himself again, this time naked and falling backwards into the Scheldt River. Despite the precarity of his position, he manages at the last moment to take hold of Fortune's hair, causing her to do what Fortune never does: turn back from her course. Fortune's ribbon (a classic emblematic attribute of *occasio*) encircles van Schille's upper body and catches under his right arm, at once breaking his fall and echoing the image of eternity above. As the inscription reads below, "He whom Fortune helps to see, can with time and labor, find himself misfortune free."⁶¹ Or as van Schille puts it still more succinctly with the French motto that flutters around the *ouroboros*, "he who wishes, can."⁶²

The force of van Schille's message depends both on the internal coherence of his dedication and on its relation to the rest of the manuscript. One striking feature exemplified by Vivianus's album is the way in which imagery recurs and builds across its pages. When given a friendship album to inscribe, the first thing an individual would do, we can readily surmise, was flip through the manuscript to see who had

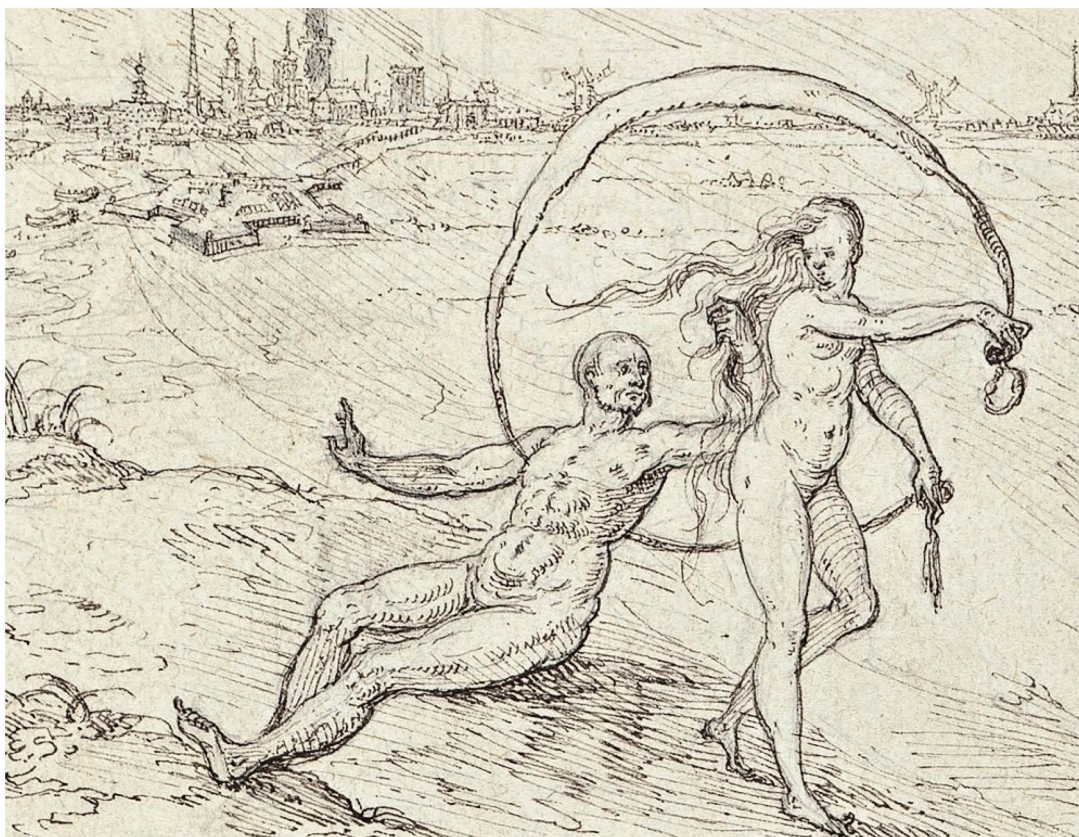


Figure 14. Detail of figure 11.

already contributed and what they had left there. An earlier dedication by the Brussels artist Gillis Coignet dated 1571, which van Schille would have seen when he made his own, visualizes the instability brought by war through a figure flailing on a bed amidst the explosive ruins of a war-torn city (figure 12).⁶³ A later dedication reprises the emblem of the *ouroboros* and its link to fortune (figure 13).⁶⁴ These comparative examples make clear that van Schille's drawing was part of a collective conversation, but at the same time, unique. In sixteenth-century *alba amicorum*, emblems and dates are common, but site-specific landscapes are rare.

The landscape in van Schille's dedication is not only crucial to his self-representation; it is also the lynchpin that connects the drawing's universal message about the course of life and the turning of fate to a precise time and place. Beyond the figures of van Schille and Fortune on the shore unfurls a profile view of Antwerp that demonstrates the artist's experience as a land surveyor. He captures the curve of the Scheldt River and renders with clarity specific monuments within the city itself, including the tower of Our Lady's Cathedral and the spire of Antwerp's great town hall. Most prominent of all, however, is

the citadel as renovated under Alba's command in the middle distance, and the small but unmistakable silhouette of the monument that the general had erected at its center (figure 14). This inclusion is significant given that the statue had been melted down, and the Spanish citadel partially dismantled by July 1577, when this drawing was made. Schille sets his imagined encounter with Fortune both in relation to the recent past and to an anticipated future that can only be understood in relation to the monument's former presence.

Van Schille revived the monument in miniature in order to articulate two countermonumental claims. The first was to justify the most significant public commission of his career: the Antwerp citadel's renovation as reclamation. The second and stronger claim was to convey the importance of remembering the affront of Alba's statue even after its removal. It is no accident that Fortune's arms in the foreground, especially her extended right hand, are deliberate allusions to Alba's gesture in the original monument, and that van Schille's own flailing posture recalls the stance of the figures beneath the general's feet. As Fortune turns around, the tables are turned for van Schille, his community, and the Netherlands at large.



Figure 15. Cannon known as “Het Roode Paert,” outside the Town Hall in Enkhuizen in December 2023. Photo: author.

Appreciating that shift in fortune, van Schille reminds his drawing’s viewers, depended on recollection of what preceded it. Alba’s statue was gone, but its lesson could not be forgotten.

Cannon recaptured

I want to conclude by briefly considering how countermonumental production changed in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, as the Dutch Republic emerged against the backdrop of continued war with Spain. The examples discussed above—the medal commemorating the statue’s fall,

Vulcanius’s marginal doodle, and van Schille’s drawing—function effectively as countermonuments in part because they are opposed in their intimate context and scale to the original statue on Antwerp’s citadel. Countermonuments created on a larger scale and for public space require more explicit signposting to distinguish them from traditional monuments. Techniques of instantiating this difference include not just the subversion of standard forms and iconographies but also the direct appropriation of an offending monument as a material source.



Figure 16. Simon Frisius, *The Statue of the Duke of Alba*, 1613–15. Etching. 13.6 × 16.0 cm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-79.161.

Still extant in the town of Enkhuizen is a countermonument that answers the material offense inherent to Alba's statue as a work cast from a captured cannon (figure 15). According to the town's seventeenth-century chronicler, a cannon from a ship of privateers, fighting in the service of the Spanish crown, catapulted into the air during a battle in 1622 and landed on a Dutch ship nearby.⁶⁵ The victorious vessel, under the command of a captain from Enkhuizen, brought the cannon home and installed it before the assembly hall of the local admiralty, where it was christened *Het Roode Paert*, or "the Red Horse." To this day, the Spanish cannon, which bears the Habsburg arms, stands before Enkhuizen's town hall accompanied by a commemorative plaque, inscribed with two poems by Joost van den Vondel that explain the installation. In the second of Vondel's two poems, the cannon speaks in the first person to its own positionality:

When my master was shot into the heavens,
I chose the ship of the enemy as a refuge.
Let the Greeks despise every Pegasus.
The Red Horse of which heroes' poets tell
Brought forth a spring in widely famed Enkhuizen.
There flourishes the Parnassus that the ancient Greeks
lost.⁶⁶

Vondel engages classical references to frame the Red Horse as a cannon turned countermonument. First, the poet associates the cannon with Pegasus, creator of the mythical font atop Mount Parnassus, from which all creative inspiration flowed. Pegasus was born of violence, the progeny of the sea god Neptune and the gorgon Medusa, said to have sprung from the latter's bleeding corpse after her beheading by the hero Perseus. Vondel's verses model the myth in showing how a military instrument can become an inspirational source. Second, the allusion to the Trojan Horse embedded in the line about the Greeks despising "every Pegasus" affirms Enkhuizen's decision to preserve the cannon rather than melt it down. The Red Horse was not a false gift but a willing defector. By enshrining the cannon together with Vondel's poem, Enkhuizen suspended its function as ordnance and eschewed the intrinsic value of its metal; the cannon's form was retained in order to memorialize this enemy weapon as both a spoil of war and an emblem of dissent.

The account of the Red Horse in the chronicle of Enkhuizen makes no direct association between the history of the cannon and the history of Alba's statue in Antwerp, but the long afterlife of the latter monument suggests that such an association is not off the mark. An etching by the Dutch

printmaker Simon Frisius, published during the period of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609–21), revives the monument decades after the fact to remind its viewers of the fundamental connection between the statue and the arms of war (figure 16). The monument is depicted obliquely in a way that obscures the offending gesture of the general's outstretched right hand. As a result, Alba's effigy seems to embody weariness and defeat rather than victory and domination. Yet two cannons behind the monument, pointing over the citadel's ramparts, simultaneously suggest that the general's campaign of domination was ongoing in another form. The statue was still out there on the battlefield, revived as cannon or cannonball blasting at the enemy. The efficacy of the Red Horse, as contextualized through Vondel's accompanying poems, lay precisely in its assertion that this cycle of violence had come to an end. There was no longer a need to melt down and repurpose its bronze, let alone to confine polemical poetry to the pages of a manuscript album.

The Red Horse's installation exemplifies the unique contribution that countermonuments made to the imaging of history and the construction of memory in the early modern Netherlands. Only recently has the study of memory culture during and after the Dutch Revolt begun to move beyond a focus on textual sources to address the role of material culture in the process of reckoning with the trials of the historical past.⁶⁷ The instances of countermonumental production examined in this article show how important visual expressions of resistance were to the creation of a new collective identity; they had an affective power that words alone do not. The offensive art of Alba's statue on the Antwerp citadel reverberated over the eighty years of war with Spain as a model not to follow, and at the same time, as one to work against. Countermonuments, then and now, are not merely critical or negating. They are premised on the assumption that history is always being made anew.

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NOTES

1– On the historical context, see J. J. Woltjer, *Tussen vrijheidsstrijd en burgeroorlog: over de Nederlandse opstand, 1555–1580* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Balans, 1994), *passim*; Jonathan I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), 155–68; Peter J. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of*

the Dutch Revolt (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008), 166–211; and Anton van der Lem, *Revolt in the Netherlands: The Eighty Years War, 1568–1648* (London: Reaktion, 2018), 69–94. For Alba's biography, see Henry Kamen, *The Duke of Alba* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2004).

2– For the most thorough previous discussions of the statue, its iconography, and its influence, see Marisa Anne Bass, *The Monument's End: Public Art and the Modern Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2024), esp. 15–69; as well as Luc Smolderen, *La statue du duc d'Albe à Anvers per Jacques Jonghelinck, 1571* (Brussels: Palais des Académies, 1972), *passim*; *ibid.*, *Jacques Jonghelinck: sculpteur, médailleur et graveur de sceaux (1530–1606)* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Département d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art, 1996), 117–44; and Jochen Becker, "Hochmut kommt vor dem Fall. Zum Standbild Albas in der Zitadelle von Antwerpen, 1571–1574," *Simiolus* 5, nos. 1–2 (1971): 75–115.

3– For Montano's design scheme, see Jacobo Fitz-James Stuart y Falcó, Duke of Alba and Berwick, *Discursos leídos ante la Real Academia de la Historia* (Madrid: de Blass, 1919), 128–30. For material analysis of Jonghelinck's bronze sculptures and casting technique, see Arie Pappot and Lisa Wiersma, "Jacques Jonghelinck, Bronze Sculptor of the Low Countries in the Sixteenth Century," *Sculpture Journal* 26, no. 1 (2017): 69–82, at 76.

4– "Jungelingi opus ex aere captivo."

5– On the shortage of metal with which to produce ordnance at this juncture of the Revolt, see Carlo M. Cipolla, *Guns, Sails and Empires: Technological Innovation and the Early Phases of European Expansion, 1400–1700* (New York: Pantheon, 1965), 46–51.

6– I build here on important studies of memory culture in the early modern Low Countries, including Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500–1800* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Marianne Eekhout, "Material Memories of the Dutch Revolt: The Urban Memory Landscape in the Low Countries, 1566–1700," Ph.D. dissertation (Leiden: Leiden University, 2014); and Marianne Eekhout, *Memorabilia van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog: De rol van voorwerpen in de oorlogsherinnering, 1566–1750* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2020).

7– James E. Young, "The Counter-Monument: Memory against Itself in Germany Today," *Critical Inquiry* 18, no. 2 (1992): 267–96; *idem.*, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1993), 27–48. See further Corinna Tomberger, *Das Gedenkmal: Avantgardekunst, Geschichtspolitik und Geschlecht in der bundesdeutschen Erinnerungskultur* (Bielefeld: transcript, 2007), *passim*.

8– I borrow this phrase from Robert Morris, "Anti Form," *Artforum* 6, no. 8 (1968): 33–35, at 35.

9– Stephen Polcari, "Barnett Newman's Broken Obelisk," *Art Journal* 53, no. 4 (1994), 48–55; Ellen Tepfer, "The Spaces of Everyday Life: Claes Oldenburg, 1959–1969," Ph.D. dissertation (New York: The City University of New York), 148–202; Julian Rose, "Objects in the Cluttered Field: Claes Oldenburg's Proposed Monuments," *October* 140 (2012): 113–38.

10– Claes Oldenburg, "Scissors," in *Claes Oldenburg: Object into Monument* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie, 1971), 59.

11– Wu Hung, "Mapping Contemporaneity in Asia-Pacific Art," in *Asia-Pacific Triennial of Contemporary Art* (South Brisbane: Queensland Art Gallery, 2002), 18–27, at 20.

12– See also Wu Hung, "Counter-Monument," in *Transience: Chinese Experimental Art at the End of the Twentieth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 31–34.

13– For an overview, see D. P. Snoep, *Praal en propaganda: triumfalia in de Noordelijke Nederlanden in de 16de en 17de eeuw* (Alphen aan den Rijn: Canaletto, 1975), *passim*.

14– For an interesting application of the term “countermonument” to late medieval manuscripts, see also Adrian Armstrong, “Literary Countermonuments of the Late Middle Ages,” in *The Aura of the Word in the Early Age of Print (1450–1600)*, ed. Jessica Buskirk and Samuel Mareel (Abingdon: Routledge, 2016), 180–99, at 183.

15– Desiderius Erasmus, *Moriae encomium id est Stultitiae laus*, ed. Clarence Miller, *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi*, 9 vols in 58 tomes (Leiden: Brill, 1979–), 4.3: 102, ll. 545–48: “Quid enim stultius, inquit, quam [...] aeneum in foro stare?”

16– There was no outright Spanish inquisition in the Netherlands, but the circumstances were described as such by contemporary commentators; Alastair 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* 77, no. 2 (1997): 125–44. On emigration during the Revolt, see Heinz Schilling, *Niederländische Exulanten im 16. Jahrhundert; ihre Stellung im Sozialgefüge und im religiösen Leben deutscher und englischer Städte* (Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1972); J. G. C. A. Briels, *De Zuidnederlandse immigratie in Amsterdam en Haarlem omstreeks 1572–1630*, Ph.D. dissertation (Utrecht: Utrecht University, 1976); Geerte H. Janssen, *The Dutch Revolt and Catholic Exile in Reformation Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014); and Johannes Müller, *Exile Memories and the Dutch Revolt: The Narrated Diaspora, 1550–1750* (Leiden: Brill, 2016).

17– Marisa Anne Bass, *Insect Artifice: Nature and Art in the Dutch Revolt* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2019), esp. 82–108; Tine Luk Meganck, *Erudite Eyes: Friendship, Art and Erudition in the Network of Abraham Ortelius (1527–1598)* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 198–213.

18– For further discussion, see Bass, *Monument’s End*, esp. 15–69.

19– R. van Luttervelt, “Bijdragen tot de iconographie van de graven van Holland, naar aanleiding van de beelden uit de Amsterdamse vierschaar,” *Oud Holland* 72 (1957): 73–91.

20– Bass, *Monument’s End*, 36.

21– See especially Judith Pollmann and Monica Stensland, “Alba’s Reputation in the Early Modern Low Countries,” in *Alba: General and Servant to the Crown*, ed. Maurits Ebben, Margriet Lacy-Brujijn, and Rolof van Hövell tot Westerflier (Rotterdam: Karwansaray, 2013), 308–25; and Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots*, 198–209.

22– Smolderen, *Jacques Jonghelinck*, 315–16, no. 77.

23– On the larger history of this approach to the conquering of cities in the Netherlands, see Peter Arnade, “The City Defeated and Defended: Civism as Political Identity in the Habsburg–Burgundian Netherlands,” in *Networks, Regions and Nations: Shaping Identities in the Low Countries, 1300–1650*, ed. Robert Stein and Judith Pollmann (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 195–216, at 209–10.

24– “Ferdinando Alvares a Toledo Albae duc[i], Philippi II Hisp[aniae] apud Belgas praefec[to], quod extincta sedit[i]one, rebellib[us] pulsus, relig[i]one procur[ata], iustit[i]a culta provinc[iarum] pacem firmar[it], regis opt[imi] ministro fideliss[imo] positum.”

25– For the Spanish perspective on the monument, see Luis Morales Oliver, *Arias Montano y la política de Felipe II en Flandes* (Madrid: Voluntad, 1927), 141; Smolderen, *Statue du duc d’Albe*, 41–43; and *ibid.*, *Jacques Jonghelinck*, 136–39. This response to the statue was in contrast to the praise that Alba’s military campaign in the Netherlands inspired from the pens of Spanish authors. For this perspective, see Yolanda Rodríguez Pérez, *The Dutch Revolt through Spanish Eyes: Self and Other in Historical and Literary Texts of Golden Age Spain (c. 1548–1673)* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2008).

26– See especially Daniel Horst, *De Opstand in zwart-wit: propagandaprenten uit de Nederlandse Opstand, 1566–1584* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2003); *ibid.*, “The Duke of Alba: The Ideal Enemy,” *Arte Nuevo: Revista de estudios áureos* 1 (2014): 130–54; and James Tanis and Daniel Horst, *Images of Discord: A Graphic Interpretation of the Opening Decades of the Eighty*

Years’ War (Bryn Mawr: Bryn Mawr College Library, 1993). And for a specific case study, see A. C. Sawyer, “The *Tyranny of Alba*: The Creation and Development of a Dutch Patriotic Image,” *De zeventiende eeuw* 19 (2003): 181–211.

27– See further Horst, *De Opstand*, 130–35.

28– The best account of this episode remains Smolderen, *Statue du duc d’Albe*, 41–55.

29– Luc Smolderen, “La statue du duc d’Albe a-t-elle été mise en pièces par la population anversoise en 1577?,” *Jaarboek van het Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten te Antwerpen* (1980): 113–36.

30– Becker, “Hochmut kommt vor dem Fall,” 109–12; and for an extensive discussion, see Bass, *Monument’s End*, 47–54.

31– Famiano Strada, *De bello Belgico: The History of the Low-Country Warres* (London: for Humphrey Moseley, 1650), Bk. 7, 64.

32– Miguel Tamen, *Friends of Interpretable Objects* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), esp. 3–4, *passim*.

33– For the emerging “patriotism” in the Netherlands during the early years of the Revolt, see Alastair Duke, “In Defense of the Common Fatherland: Patriotism and Liberty in the Low Countries, 1555–1576,” in Stein and Pollman *Networks, Regions and Nations*, 217–40.

34– On Vulcanius, see Hélène Cazes, ed., *Bonaventura Vulcanius, Works and Networks: Bruges 1538–Leiden 1614* (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

35– See especially Anton van der Lem, “Bonaventura Vulcanius, forgeron de la Révolte,” in Cazes, *Bonaventura Vulcanius*, 215–22.

36– Leiden University Library, VUL 36, ff. 133^r–36^r. The transcriptions below are taken from an edition of the poem based on a later manuscript version, as published in Eduardo del Pino, “El poema en borrador de Bonaventura Vulcanius sobre la Inquisición Española: ¿motivos solo formales o también ideológicos para su corrección?,” *Ágora. Estudios Clásicos en Debate* 23 (2021): 249–80.

37– Pierre de Ronsard and Franciscus Thorius, *P. Ronsardi ad pacem exhortatio* (Paris: apud Andream Wechelum, 1558); see also Philip Ford, “Erasmian Irenism in the Poetry of Pierre de Ronsard,” in *The Reception of Erasmus in the Early Modern Period*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 163–78.

38– Del Pino, “El poema,” 252, ll. 1–4: “Ergo ferox dudum impune grassabitur hostis/Subiciens praedae nostraeque suae?/Et fas atque nefas nullo discrimine miscens/Libera Belgarum colla domabit Iber?”

39– On this point, see K. W. Swart, “The Black Legend during the Eighty Years War,” in *Britain and the Netherlands: Some Political Mythologies*, ed. J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossman (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 1975), 36–57; and Margaret R. Greer, Walter D. Mignolo, and Maureen Quilligan, eds, *Rereading the Black Legend: The Discourses of Religious and Racial Difference in the Renaissance Empires* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2008).

40– Del Pino, “El poema,” 253, ll. 17–28: “At pudeat vestrae Albanum insultare ruinae, et/perpetua in patrium figere probra solum./Ecquid enim moles vultum insignita tyranni/quam ‘sibi captivo ex aere locauit’ ait?/Nostis enim, aequatis ut terrae moenibus urbis,/a iacta nomen cui manet usque manu,/communi patriae sumtu construxerit arcem,/hinc positus armis Regis, et inde suis;/at simulacrum ingens media arcis parte locavit,/ipse sibi exemplo stultitiaeque nova:/sub pedibus proceresque premens sanctosque Senatus/ac veluti victo ex hoste trophaea gerens.”

41– Leiden University Library, VUL 36, f. 133^v.

42– For instance, Matthew 12:24.

43– Gerard van Loon, *Beschryving der Nederlandsche historienpenningen*, 4 vols (’s Gravenhage: Christiaan van Lom, Isaac Vaillant, Pieter Gosse, Rutger Alberts, and Pieter de Hondt, 1723), 1: 178–79; Wilhelmus Hermanus Vroom and Gijs van der Ham, *Willem van Oranje: om vrijheid van geweten* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum, 1984), 63–64.

- 44– Luke 14:11: “Omnis qui se exaltat humiliabitur.”
- 45– Various nineteenth-century historians even speculated that this medal was made from broken fragments of Alba’s statue; Smolderen, *Statue du duc d’Albe*, 26, 61, n. 175.
- 46– Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-VG-1-399.
- 47– Leiden University Library, VUL 36, f. 136^r.
- 48– Again, see del Pino, “El poema.”
- 49– Abraham Ortelius, *Abrahami Ortelii ... Epistulae* (Osnabrück: Otto Zeller, 1969), 634–51, no. 270 (Gerardus Suberinus Corcuius to Abraham Ortelius, Brussels, April 27, 1595). For Corcuius’s anagrammatic dedication to Ortelius in the latter’s friendship album, see also Abraham Ortelius, *Album amicorum*. Pembroke College, University of Cambridge, inv. no. MS LC.2.113, f. 102^r.
- 50– Ortelius, *Epistulae*, 637: “Adverte Lector: D, d, Y, y, litteras, inter numeros hic non censer. At has tantum: M, m, C, c, L, l, X, x, V, u, I, I, sive maiusculae eae sint, sive minutae.” The chronogram had a long life in the early modern Netherlands, especially when it came to the commemoration of historical events; Hugo van der Velden, “The Quatrain of ‘The Ghent Altarpiece,’” *Simiolus* 35, nos. 1–2 (2011): 5–40.
- 51– Ortelius, *Epistulae*, 645 (added emphasis).
- 52– On inversion as a broader political strategy in this period, see also Natalie Zemon Davis, “The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth-Century France,” *Past & Present* 50, no. 1 (1971): 41–75; and Henk van Nierop, “Edelman, bedelman: De verkeerde wereld van het Compromis der Edelen,” *BMGN: Low Countries Historical Review* 107 (1992): 1–27.
- 53– Michael Warner, “Publics and Counterpublics,” *Public Culture* 14, no. 1 (2002): 49–90.
- 54– See further Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, & Civic Patriots*, 263–72, with discussion of other citadels in the Low Countries that met a similar fate. For a comparable example of a Spanish citadel outside Siena that incited revolt and was partly dismantled in the mid-sixteenth century, see Simon Pepper and Nicholas Adams, *Firearms & Fortifications: Military Architecture and Siege Warfare in Sixteenth-Century Siena* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), 68–69.
- 55– Horst, *De Opstand*, 233–34.
- 56– *Album amicorum of Johannes Vivianus*. The Hague, Royal Library, inv. no. KB 74 F 19. On Vivianus, see the biography in K. Bostoen, C. A. Binnerts-Kluyver, C. J. E. J. Hattink, and A. M. van Lynden-de Bruïne, *Album Joannis Rotarii (Johan Rademaker)*, https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/rade004albu01_01/index.php (accessed on June 29, 2025); see also Bass, *Insect Artifice*, esp. 95–96, 98–102.
- 57– Abraham Ortelius and Johannes Vivianus, *Itinerarium per nonnullas Galliae Belgicae partes* (Antwerp: ex officina Christophori Plantini, 1584). On van Schille, see further Arjan van Dixhoorn, “Monumentalizing van een festival. Het Antwerpse landjuweel van 1561 als historische gebeurtenis,” in *Menich constich gheest: het Antwerpse Landjuweel van 1561 anders bekeken*, ed. Jeroen Vandommele and Ruud Ryckaert (Ghent: Jaarboek, 2014), 33–39; and Pieter Martens, “Van Schille, Hans,” in *Architectura: architectura, textes et images en France, XVI–XVII^e siècles*, <http://architectura.cesr.univ-tours.fr/traite/Notice/VanSchille1573a.asp?param=en> (accessed on June 29, 2025).
- 58– *Album amicorum of Johannes Vivianus*, KB 74 F 19, f. 52^r: “In Antwerpen Den 17. Julius 1577 [...] Ter Eeren sijnen vriendt Joannes Vivianus, bij Hans van Schille, ingenieur et geographe.”
- 59– For instance, see Piero Valeriano, *Hieroglyphica sive de sacris Aegyptiorum literis commentarii* (Basel: Michael Isengrin, 1556), f. 104^v (“mundi moles”).
- 60– By way of comparison, see Juan de Borja, *Empresas morales* (Brussels: Francisco Foppens 1680), 58–59.
- 61– “Die hulpe crijcht duer der fortunten om ‘kijken/Can met tijt, Arbeijt, sijn ongeluck som ‘wijcken.”
- 62– “Qui veult.”
- 63– *Album amicorum of Johannes Vivianus*, inv. no. KB 74 F 19, f. 23^r.
- 64– Ibid., f. 30^r.
- 65– Gerard Brandt, “Beschryving en lof der stadt Enkhuisen,” in *Historie der vermaerde zee-en koop-stadt Enkhuisen, vervaetende haere herkomste, en voortgangh, mitsgaders verscheide gedenkwaerdige geschiedenissen, aldaer voorgevallen* (Enkhuisen: bij Egbert van den Hoof, 1666), 3.
- 66– Ibid., 4: “Mijn meester quam ten hemel opgevlogen./Toen koos ik ‘t schip des vijandts tot een wijk./Laet Grieken met Pegazen elk verguizen./Het Roode Paert dat heldendichters teelt,/Verwekt een bron in ‘t wijdt befaemde Enkhuisen./Daer bloeit Parnas. Oudt Grieken sit misdeeldt.”
- 67– Eekhout, “Material Memories”; Eekhout, *Memorabilia van de Tachtigjarige Oorlog*.