



Beastly Condemnation: The Representation of Oldenbarnevelt's Twenty-Four Judges as Animals

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A donkey with a black hat, white ruff and expensive fur-trimmed cloak; an ostrich with a horseshoe in its beak wearing top boots; a boar dressed in a grey cloak and a white cap holding a bottle of brandy in its trotters. These weirdly garbed animals are examples of the colourful menagerie we encounter in a remarkable album bound in calfskin with the title *Regtspleging van Oldenbarnevelt* (The Trial of Oldenbarnevelt) on the spine.¹ It is held in the Rijksmuseum and contains a collection of thirty-eight watercolour drawings on parchment with explanatory notes written on paper, made in the first half of the eighteenth century, probably between 1710 and 1720.²

The drawings recall a black page in the history of the Netherlands. On 12 May 1619, in what was later described as a political show trial, Land's Advocate Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619) was condemned to death by a specially appointed court.³ The following day the elder statesman was beheaded in the Binnenhof in The Hague. This execution was the culmination of a conflict between Oldenbarnevelt and the stadholder Prince Maurice (1567-1625) that had been dragging on for a very long time. In this struggle, which had a religious component, Oldenbarnevelt had sided with the Remonstrants (Arminians) known as the 'moderates', while Maurice aligned

< Detail of fig. 1t, p. 328.

himself with the Gomarists or Counter-Remonstrants (the 'strict'). Orthodox Calvinism prevailed at the Synod of Dordrecht (1618-19) and the Remonstrant clergy were removed from office. The conflict between the Land's Advocate and the stadholder was also or, more accurately, predominantly about the relationship between church and state, foreign policy and the question of where sovereignty in the Republic lay: with the States (Oldenbarnevelt) or with the stadholder (Maurice) as the representative of the Generality.

At the heart of the collection are cartoons of the twenty-four judges (figs. 1a to 1x), the two fiscals and the provost who were involved in the trial – all in the guise of animals. The other drawings, with one exception, are based on well-known pamphlets that appeared after the execution, including an illustration of Oldenbarnevelt's beheading in the Binnenhof by Claes Jansz Visscher (1587-1652) and famous cartoons such as *The Arminian Funeral* (1619) and *The Arminian Serpent* (1623) (figs. 2, 3).⁴

Although it is an expensive collection – the fact that the drawings are painted on parchment in itself attests to this – remarkably, the album in the Rijksmuseum is not unique. At least two very similar collections have survived and in all likelihood there were various other, now unknown, versions in circulation. This raises

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Figs. 1a t/m x

ANONYMOUS,
Twenty-Four Judges,
first half of the
18th century.
Watercolour and
ink on parchment,
235 x 190 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. NG-1983-5-3
to 26.



a: inv. no. NG-1983-5-3



b: inv. no. NG-1983-5-4



c: inv. no. NG-1983-5-5



d: inv. no. NG-1983-5-6



e: inv. no. NG-1983-5-7



f: inv. no. NG-1983-5-8



g: inv. no. NG-1983-5-9



h: inv. no. NG-1983-5-10



i: inv. no. NG-1983-5-11



j: inv. no. NG-1983-5-12



k: inv. no. NG-1983-5-13



l: inv. no. NG-1983-5-14



m: inv. no. NG-1983-5-15



n: inv. no. NG-1983-5-16



o: inv. no. NG-1983-5-17



p: inv. no. NG-1983-5-18



q: inv. no. NG-1983-5-19



r: inv. no. NG-1983-5-20



s: inv. no. NG-1983-5-21



t: inv. no. NG-1983-5-22



u: inv. no. NG-1983-5-23



v: inv. no. NG-1983-5-23



w: inv. no. NG-1983-5-25



x: inv. no. NG-1983-5-26

Fig. 2

ANONYMOUS,
*The Arminian
 Serpent*, first half
 of the 18th century.
 Watercolour and
 ink on parchment,
 235 x 190 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. NG-1983-5-34.



the specific question as to why, more than a century after the execution of the Land's Advocate, the judges who pronounced the fatal verdict still worked so strongly on the public imagination that they were remembered in albums like this. Following a detailed description of the Amsterdam album and the broader eighteenth-century album tradition in which these albums must be placed in terms of both content and form, we begin by reflecting

on the enduring public interest in Oldenbarnevelt's judges that existed from the time of his execution. We then place the satirical depiction of the judges as animals in the wider tradition of animal allegories as a vehicle for political criticism. Finally, we return to the question as to the circles in which the eighteenth-century album probably circulated and how it was used: for whom and how did it function within the remembrance culture at the time?



Fig. 3 ANONYMOUS, The Arminian Serpent with the Conspirators against Maurice, 1623. Etching with text in letterpress, 456 x 303 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-OB-81.017: The serpent's body contains the portraits of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and the conspirators against Maurice arrested in 1623. In the centre is the broken Arminian tree and the flourishing Orange tree protected by the personification of Religion and Justice and God's shining light. There is a rod at the end of the serpent's tail.

An Eighteenth-Century Album Tradition

As we have said, the nucleus of the Rijksmuseum album is made up of satirical images of the twenty-four judges who pronounced sentence on Oldenbarnevelt. The design of the images is very similar in each case. One of the subjects is depicted in the guise of an animal, surrounded by a garland and usually accompanied by some significant attributes.

The subject's name is revealed in a cartouche below the drawing. For some members of the court – such as Reinier Pauw (1564-1636), whose name means peacock – the association with a specific animal is present in their name, but the connection between judge and animal is usually less obvious. Once or twice the animal representation harks back to familiar prints in emblem books, as in the cases of Rink Aitsma (c. 1575-c. 1625), who is



shown as an ostrich with a horseshoe in its beak (fig. 1t), and Volkert Sloot (?-c. 1625), who appears in the shape of a skeleton on a crocodile (figs. 4, 5).⁵ The rich pamphlet tradition seems to have been another source of inspiration. For instance, we find the sword-carrying dog, the bespectacled donkey and the cap-wearing tiger in a political cartoon dating from around 1656 on the subject of the Northern War (fig. 6). In most cases, however, we have not been able to discover any direct iconographic examples for the animal judges.

The textual notes to the cartoons always have the same structure: the name of the subject and a brief sketch of his position are followed by a concise elucidation of the image, in which the association between animal and judge and the significance of the attributes are explained. The text relating to the delegate to the States of Holland, Geraard Beukels van Santen (1575-1635), for instance, tells us that he is portrayed as a 'Calvarian boar', fattened on brandy (fig. 1j). The tusks refer (figuratively?) to the large teeth with which he was apparently blessed ('this is why he was



Fig. 4
ANONYMOUS,
*Volkert Sloot as
Death on a Crocodile*,
first half of the
18th century.
Watercolour and ink
on parchment,
235 x 190 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum,
inv. no. NG-1983-5-23.

Fig. 5
Skeleton on a crocodile,
from Jacob Cats,
*Protevs ofte Minne-
beelden verandert
in Sinne-beelden*,
Rotterdam 1627,
p. 272.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum Research
Library, 327 J 14.



Fig. 6
 ATTRIBUTED TO
 SIMON DE PASSE II,
*The High Court of
 Themis, Goddess
 of Justice*, [1656].
 Etching and
 engraving,
 205 x 258 mm
 (illustration).
 London, British
 Museum, inv. no.
 1885,1114.138.
 Photo: ©
 The Trustees of
 The British Museum.

popularly known as the man with the teeth') and his waistcoat had 'a red Prince inquisition lining'.⁶ The swine sits up in front of Maurice, begging for a drink, which also explains the bottle of liquor in his trotter.

The last section of the notes always recounts the fate that befell the 'shirkers' after sentence had been pronounced – entertaining tales that add weight to the satirical nature of the collection. In Beukels van Santen's case, for example, it states that he had to pay dearly for the blood money he got for his seat on the bench (the judges each received a fee of 2,400 guilders). Rumour had it that he was so plagued by his constantly nagging conscience that he eventually tried to drown himself. Although he was narrowly saved from a watery grave, the pneumonia he contracted as a result

ultimately proved fatal. Not for a moment could he succumb to his deathbed, because he imagined that Oldenbarnevelt's executioner would come and behead him. Things did not turn out much better for the Dordrecht sheriff Hugo Muys van Holy (1565-1626) (fig. 1h). It states in the album that he wears a hat of 'Maurice's inquisition' with an orange plume. He has drawn the sword that is the symbol of his position as bailiff and dike grave, ready to 'chastise the Arminian peasants'. Muys van Holy had to pay heavily for his misdeeds: he 'died from such wretched diseases that the worms crawled out of his suppurating body in countless numbers when he was still warm'.⁷

As far as the relationship between text and image in the album is concerned, it has to be said that this is

relatively arbitrary. In most cases, there is little if any explanation as to why the chosen animal applies to the specific judge. Now and then, there is a fairly general negative description of the beast – a bleating sheep, a lout or a perfumed goat – but that is about the sum of it. The text then turns to the clothes and the attributes, which do have a very specific political, anti-Orangist connotation. Even in the cases of the ostrich and the crocodile, which owe their appearance to the emblem books, there is no reference to the complex symbolic interpretation in these works. Not a word about the horseshoe in the ostrich's beak – a reference to the belief that that these creatures could eat iron, which in the emblem books was cause to associate the bird with perseverance, resistive force or the virtue that overcomes all difficulties (fig. 1t). The ignoring of this emblem tradition in the text is even more blatant in the depiction of Volkert Sloot: a very unambiguous and striking image of a crocodile ridden by a skeleton holding an hourglass and the dart of death (see figs. 4, 5). In his very popular *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (1627), Jacob Cats explains that this reptile continues to grow throughout its life until death alone puts an end to it. To Cats, the animal stands for ever-strengthening love or growing virtue, but he also refers to ambitious and avaricious folk who always want more and never have enough. The accompanying note in the album says no more than that the picture shows death on a 'man-devouring' crocodile. The author simply makes the connection with a rhyme that was going the rounds: 'Volkert Sloot leikt de magere dood' (Volkert Sloot is like emaciated death).

There are at least two surviving albums that follow the same pattern. Rotterdam City Archives holds a manuscript with thirty-four loose watercolour drawings on parchment. The collection dates from the first

quarter of the eighteenth century and may have been created in the circle of the Remonstrant minister Cornelis van Arckel (1670-1724).⁸ In the National Library collection in The Hague, there is an interleaved manuscript, bound in a dark brown leather binding with gold stamping, which contains thirty-seven watercolour and pen-and-ink drawings of the trial and was probably compiled between 1740 and 1750.⁹ This copy may have been commissioned by descendants of Arent Meindertsz Fabricius (1547-1624), one of the judges. Be that as it may, the album was still in the family in the nineteenth century. An owner's note dated 3 February 1887 reads 'Property of Clara Anna Elisabeth Fabricius v Heukelum' (1853-1927).¹⁰

At first sight, the great similarity of the collections is what strikes one. For instance, the Amsterdam burgomaster Reinier Pauw is pictured in all three collections as a gaudy peacock proudly flaunting its feathers (figs. 7a-c). The differences are confined to the presentation: where in the Rotterdam and Hague versions the image is contained in a simple circle with a sober cartouche, in the Amsterdam album it is placed in an elaborate garland. The judge's name is also spelled differently in each one (Amsterdam: 'Reynier Pauw'; Rotterdam: 'Rynier Pauw' and The Hague: 'Reynier Pavw'). Aside from spelling variants, the written notes are identical in the three albums.

Despite this obvious connection, it is not evident that any of the surviving albums served as a direct example for the others. The albums differ from one another particularly in the extent and composition of the additions (see Appendix). Aside from the portraits of Oldenbarnevelt and Maurice and *The Arminian Serpent*, the additional drawings in the Rijksmuseum album are missing from the Rotterdam and Hague versions. All the additional images in the Rotterdam collection are, though, present in the Hague album. The latter also has three more

- > *Figs. 7a-c*
Reinier Pauw depicted in
- a) Rijksmuseum album, Amsterdam (NG-1983-5-14);
 - b) Rotterdam City Archives album, Rotterdam (33.01/2018-18);
 - c) National Library of the Netherlands album, The Hague (I35 A 26-41).

- > *Figs. 8a-c*
Hugo Muys van Holy depicted in
- a) Rijksmuseum album, Amsterdam (NG-1983-5-10);
 - b) Rotterdam City Archives album, Rotterdam (33.01/2018-14);
 - c) National Library of the Netherlands album, The Hague (I35 A 26-41).



supplementary drawings that were most probably made especially for the album and (so far) have not been found anywhere else. The divergent nature of the Rijksmuseum album is confirmed in some of the representations of the judges. The poses of Albrecht Bruyincq and Arent Meindertsz Fabricius are not the same, and a different animal altogether was chosen for the picture of Hugo Muys van Holy. While the Dordrecht regent is portrayed in the Rotterdam and Hague albums as a spaniel, in the Rijksmuseum album he is a mouse (figs. 8a-c). Remarkably, the accompanying text still refers to 'a noble Dordrecht spaniel'.¹¹ This metamorphosis from dog to

mouse is thus a change that was made later. As a result, we can rule out the possibility that the album in the Rijksmuseum is the first version in the series.

And yet these observations do not solve the genealogical puzzle. From other comparisons between the cartoons of fiscal Laurens de Sylla, depicted as a cat, and the aforementioned Geraard Beukels 'the boar' van Santen, it is clear that the relationship between the Rotterdam and Hague collections is less straightforward than it would appear at first sight. Although the framing and cartouche underline the kinship between the Rotterdam and Hague albums, what strikes one most in the portrayal of the animals is the





similarity between the Amsterdam and Hague albums (figs. 9a-c, 10a-c). It would appear that the albums cannot be directly traced back to one another, and that there must have been still more variants in circulation that may have acted as links.

Public Fascination with the Judges

It might seem remarkable that more than a century after Oldenbarnevelt's conviction, the judges who pronounced the death sentence were still the subject of a lively pictorial tradition. In fact, though, they had never been out of the public memory since that fatal day in 1619. The controversial execution of the Land's Advocate had proved

traumatic for the young Republic and caused deep divisions in the country for decades thereafter. The way the judgement was reached was a point of bitter contention. The Land's Advocate, after all, was not, as was customary, brought before the local or provincial court, but was tried by a specially constituted so-called generality court. From the outset, the legitimacy of this court was contested. Oldenbarnevelt himself said in his defence that only the Court of Holland had the sovereign power to try him. In 1620, Jan Francken (?-1664), the Land's Advocate's servant, described the trial as 'improper proceedings' and stated that Oldenbarnevelt had always regarded most of the



- < Figs. 9a-c
Laurens de Sylla depicted in
- Rijksmuseum album, Amsterdam (NG-1983-5-27);
 - Rotterdam City Archives album, Rotterdam (33.01/2018-32);
 - National Library of the Netherlands album, The Hague (135 A 26-17).

judges as his worst enemies.¹² In the flood of pamphlets that appeared after the execution, the deciding role the judges had played was increasingly criticized. Oldenbarnevelt's sympathisers described them as the puppets of Maurice, who wanted to get rid of his opponent at all costs.

One of Oldenbarnevelt's best-known and most influential defenders was the Amsterdam poet Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679). In the decades following the execution, Vondel published various satires and lampoons in which he savagely criticized Maurice and his supporters. The poet portrayed the Land's Advocate as a martyr in the cause of freedom and the innocent victim of the power-mad Maurice. It began with his allegorical tragedy *Palamedes oft vermoorde onnooselheyd* (1625). Although the play was about a classical hero who was unjustly convicted and executed, it was clear to everyone that Palamedes in fact stood for the innocent Oldenbarnevelt, who had been murdered by Maurice and his partisan judges.¹³ Its publication made Vondel both famous and notorious at a stroke. It nearly saw the poet, as he told his biographer, facing a charge at the Court of Holland, which he had no hesitation in laying at the door of the aggrieved Amsterdam pensionary Adriaan Pauw (1595-1653), son of Oldenbarnevelt's judge Reinier Pauw.¹⁴ The matter was eventually to fizzle out (albeit at a price): the poet was not summoned to The Hague, but was sentenced by a local court to pay a fine of three hundred guilders and his tragedy was banned. This only served to boost the play's popularity: thanks to all the fuss, the first edition sold out within a few days.

And in any case, Vondel did not allow himself to be muzzled. In the caustic satire 'Geuzenvesper of Ziekentroost voor de vierentwintig' (geuze vespers or comfort for the twenty-four), which was probably circulated as a pamphlet shortly after

the death of Hugo Muys van Holy in 1626, Vondel recounted how the judges, tormented by remorse and fearing for the salvation of their souls, prayed to God for forgiveness for their share in the verdict.¹⁵ In vain, wrote Vondel. God was implacable with people whose greed and cruelty had led them to stray from the path of justice. A painful and unremitting end awaited them. Vondel would never leave the judges in peace. Some twenty years later, in his famous poem 'Het stockske van Joan van Oldenbarnevelt, vader des vaderlant' (the stick belonging to Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, father of the fatherland, 1657), he lashed out again at the infamous court with devastating effect. In 1619, when 'violence dared bend the law', the peace-loving Land's Advocate became the victim of the 'bloody court's bitter vengeance'.¹⁶

In the decades that followed, Vondel's scathing verses proved to be a catalyst for growing public disgust with the judges. The sudden death of Stadholder William II (1626-1650) ushered in the First Stadholderless Era (1650-72) in which the States faction took back political control. Now that the former opposition no longer had to fear censorship, the old struggle between the Orangist and States factions flared up again. The States side started a campaign to rehabilitate the Land's Advocate. The presses of the Remonstrant publisher Johannes Naeranus (1609-1670) of Rotterdam, who had close ties to Vondel, were a major driver behind the distribution of propaganda in both word and image, with Oldenbarnevelt presented as a Republican champion and martyr for the State.¹⁷ In the late sixteen-fifties he published a series of prints in which Oldenbarnevelt's portrait was combined with a paeon to this 'States martyr' and a list of the names of the judges who had condemned him to death (fig. 11).¹⁸

In 1670 Naeranus brought out a revised and considerably enlarged

- < Figs. 10a-c
Geraart Beukels van Santen depicted in
- Rijksmuseum album, Amsterdam (NG-1983-5-12);
 - Rotterdam City Archives album, Rotterdam (33.01/2018-16);
 - National Library of the Netherlands album, The Hague (135 A 26-7).



Father of the Fatherland'.²² When the Second Stadholderless Era (1702-47) dawned at the beginning of the eighteenth century – and once again there was scope for open criticism of the Orangist party – an anonymous artist worked Oudaen's description up into a print. It was published in 1710 in the inflammatory collection of political satires and lampoons *Nederduitse en Latynse keurdigten* (fig. 12).²³ It shows a triumphant Oldenbarnevelt, freedom hat and privilege in his hand, trampling the fallen Prince Maurice and the personification of Envy underfoot. The sculpture is borne by the decapitated heads of the judges ('a wrought trestle of twenty-four heads') who, Oudaen's verses stress, were compelled to carry this heavy burden. While the printmaker reflected Oudaen's words almost literally in images, he permitted himself one significant addition: he placed the decapitated heads of the judges on square blocks showing their animal guises (fig. 13). In so doing, the anonymous printmaker reinforced Oudaen's description with another tradition that had grown up around the judges: their 'dehumanization' and portrayal as animals.

Fig. 12
ANONYMOUS,
*Allegorical Statue
for Johan van
Oldenbarnevelt,
Executed in 1619,
from Pieter van der
Goes, Nederduitse en
Latynse keurdigten,
Rotterdam 1710.*
Etching, 278 x 191 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-OB-80.897.

Fig. 13
Detail of the statue
with the heads of
the judges and their
animal guises (fig. 12).

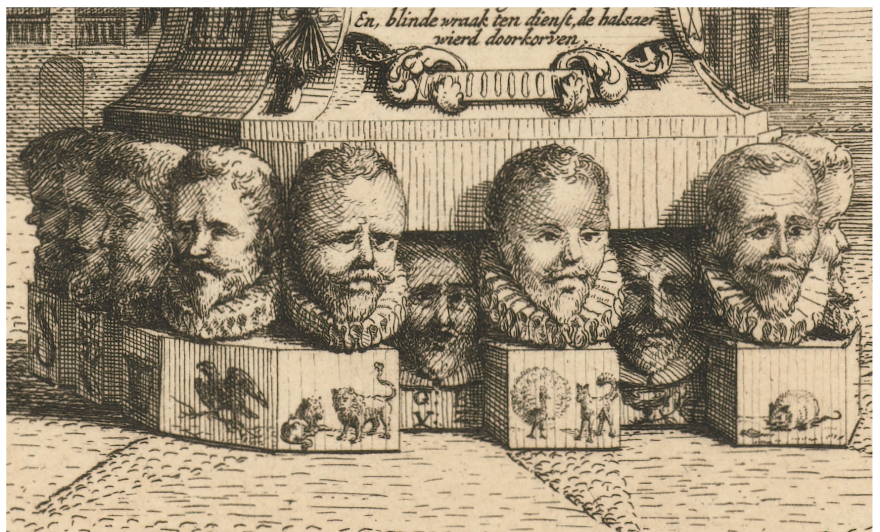




Fig. 14
ANONYMOUS,
*Symbolic Depiction
of the Synod of
Dordrecht*, 1600-50.
Oil on panel,
104 x 71 cm.
Delft, Museum
Prinsenhof,
inv. no. PDS 122.
Photo: Tom Haartsen.

The Judges as Animals

Not only had these twenty-four judges been a fixed element in the polemics around Oldenbarnevelt for nigh on a century, the way that they were depicted – as animals – also had a long history. Tales in which animals portrayed human virtues and vices were popular back in Classical Antiquity. These fables, usually in the tradition of the Greek poet Aesop, increasingly assumed a political character in the Early Modern Era.²⁴ In the sixteenth century animal allegories began increasingly to appear in politically slanted prints. During the Revolt, for instance, there were various prints in which Holland was pictured as a cow that was being milked dry by foreign rulers or as a roaring lion protecting

its court against the wild Spanish boars that were trying to lay waste to the country.²⁵ The animal associations were certainly not always erudite or sophisticated, but fell back, for example, on trite coincidences such as spelling similarities: Catholics became cats, Calvinists calves, and parsons parrots.

The earliest animal allegories in which Oldenbarnevelt figures, as Marianne Eekhout recently made clear, date from the time of the disputes during the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-21).²⁶ One of the first examples came from the Catholic side. It is a panel depicting the Synod of Dordrecht above a satirical verse by the probably fictitious Bruges priest Michael van Marisal (fig. 14). In the foreground we see Discord feeding her child beside Oldenbarnevelt's decapitated body. Surrounding them are animals and a 'rock'. All the animals, save for the rock-solid Spanish king, chatter and imitate the king of England, the Republic's most important Protestant ally.

It was in Remonstrant circles, though, that the animal satire enjoyed the greatest popularity. They saw it as an effective means in difficult times of expressing criticism (albeit somewhat veiled) of religious and political opponents. Probably as early as 1621, for instance, the painter Cornelis Saftleven (1607-1681) was commissioned by the prominent Remonstrant philologist and antiquarian Petrus Scriverius (1576-1660) to make a painting in which the delegates to the Synod negotiations were caricatured as animals. Saftleven's preliminary sketch (fig. 15) and an enclosed letter listing the identifications have survived: the owls surrounding the open book of the Synod represent delegates from the provinces and the States General; Johannes Bogerman, the president of the Synod, is the 'Cock that crows revolt and persecution'; the calf's head on the wall refers to Calvin, and the 'cat or mouser' on

Fig. 15

CORNELIS SAFTLEVEN, *Satire on the Synod of Dordrecht*, 1621. Black chalk and grey and white wash, 294 x 240 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-T-00-232(R).

Fig. 16

SALOMON SAVERY, *Allegorical Title Print for Vondel's Palamedes*, 1625. Engraving, 173 x 133 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. RP-P-2002-541; gift of J.U. Flohil-de Jong, Santpoort-Zuid.

the windowsill stands for Hugo Muys van Holy.²⁷ We do not know whether Scriverius's painting was ever actually made, but in the decades that followed, Saftleven established his reputation as a painter of animal satires and went on to paint an iconic animal satire on Oldenbarnevelt's trial later in his career.²⁸

First to appear, however, was the notorious title print of Vondel's *Palamedes*, engraved by Salomon Savery (1594-1683).²⁹ It shows the protagonist, as described in the play's last act: an honourable old man praised by Themis, the personification of justice – and looking very much like the Land's Advocate – exhausted by 'forty years of struggle' for national politics, yet defying the threat of the savage 'animal pack' with 'proud courage' (fig. 16). Vondel's biographer, Geeraert Brandt, reports that both the play itself and this title print caused a sensation among the public, who had no difficulty recognizing it as a direct reference to Oldenbarnevelt's trial.³⁰

Saftleven took his inspiration from this title print in 1663, when he made a painting of the trial of the Land's Advocate, probably again as a commission from the Remonstrant side (fig. 17).³¹ Against the background of the gates of hell, the painting, like the title print, shows an old man surrounded by a group of menacing animals. A separate portrait medalion could be hung over the greybeard's



Het ongediert begrint met open muyl, en pooten
 Manhafte onnosselheid, in't beestenperck verstoeten:
 Noch seichtse niet, hoe seer de boesheid brult, en tiert:
 Maer spreect voor't heyligh recht: dies Themis haer lauriert



Fig. 17
 CORNELIS SAFTLEVEN,
*Satire on the Trial
 of Johan van
 Oldenbarnevelt*, 1663.
 Oil on canvas,
 63 x 86 cm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. SK-A-1588;
 gift of G. de Clercq,
 Amsterdam.

Fig. 18
 ATTRIBUTED TO
 CORNELIS SAFTLEVEN,
*Portrait of Johan
 van Oldenbarnevelt*,
 in or after 1663.
 Oil on silver,
 4.7 x 3.7 x 0.4 cm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum,
 inv. no. SK-A-4204;
 gift of G. de Clercq,
 Amsterdam.



face to reveal his true identity: it was a portrait of Oldenbarnevelt (fig. 18).³² And then the significance of the animals that surround him so intimidatingly is instantly clear: they are the judges who condemned him to death. This time, it is not a pack of anonymous beasts, as it is in the title print; here each animal – and this is a significant iconographic innovation – represents a specific judge. That Saftleven was very familiar with his Classics, or rather his Vondel, is clear from the prominent graffito on the wall behind the old man: *TRUCIDATA INNOCENTIA*, the Latin translation of ‘Vermoorde onnooselheyd’ (murdered innocence), the subtitle of *Palamedes*.³³ Despite – or perhaps because of – its daring, the work went down well with the public: there are at least two surviving works that followed Saftleven’s canvas, and there may well have been others in circulation (fig. 19).

Saftleven's painting emerged at a time when debates about the political future of the Republic were raging. In 1662-63 the Orangists and the States faction engaged in a heated pamphlet war about the ideal form of government and the role of the stadholder (hereditary or otherwise) within it. The leader of the States party, Grand Pensionary Johan de Witt (1625-1672), was explicitly coupled with his predecessor Oldenbarnevelt.³⁴ This analogy became all the more pertinent in 1672, shortly after William III returned as stadholder. Johan and his brother Cornelis were arrested in The Hague, and not much later lynched, just a stone's throw from the spot where Oldenbarnevelt had been beheaded more than fifty years before. The explicit linking of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt and Johan de Witt gave a significant boost to Oldenbarnevelt's enduring popularity and the disdain for his judges, and also influenced the meaning and extent of the animal

allegories. This is amply illustrated by a tobacco box that the Rotterdam silversmith Hendrik van Beest (1680-1772) made in 1707. It is not just any little casket; it probably held one of the most controversial patriotic relics: Johan de Witt's tongue.³⁵ On the inside of the octagonal lid there is a small ivory plaque commemorating the tragic shared fate of the murdered Land's Advocate and Grand Pensionary (fig. 20). In the centre stand Oldenbarnevelt and Prince Maurice together carrying a cask bearing the image of a stork, the symbol of The Hague, the seat of government. They look at one another, it is true, but each wants to take the cask in a different direction. The scene is framed by twenty-eight medallions. The four large ones contain the likenesses of Oldenbarnevelt, Maurice, and Johan and Cornelis de Witt. The smaller ones are filled with our old friends the twenty-four animals that symbolize Oldenbarnevelt's judges. Here their import is more general:

Fig. 19
ANONYMOUS AFTER
CORNELIS SAFTLEVEN,
*Satire on the Trial
of Johan van
Oldenbarnevelt*,
after 1663.
Oil on panel,
49 x 74.5 cm.
Haarlem,
Frans Hals Museum,
inv. no. 05-1-305.
Photo: Tom Haartsen.





Fig. 20
HENDRIK VAN BEEST,
Silver Tobacco Box
with an Image of
the Murder of the
De Witt Brothers, 1707.
Silver and ivory,
2.9 x 9.2 x 11.9 cm.
The Hague,
Haags Historisch
Museum, inv. no.
1870-0001-OME.

they can be directly compared to the violent mob that lynched the De Witt brothers and thus in a way symbolize all the opponents of the States faction. This image also circulated more widely. Museum Flehite in Amersfoort has an undated variant, likewise on ivory (fig. 21).³⁶

In the second decade of the eighteenth century, the number of

publications in which the Land's Advocate featured followed hard on one another's heels. As well as the various editions of Brandts's *Historie van de rechtspleging gehouden in den jaaren 1618 en 1619*, several editions of Vondel's *Palamedes* appeared and his *Hekeldichten* were published as a collection. A group of related paintings of the judges as animals made around this time may have been connected to this renewed interest in *Palamedes*. Thematically, these paintings are very similar to Saftleven's 1663 canvas (inspired by Vondel), but they differ considerably in composition. In all probability, the paintings in this new series were based on a work that has been in the Six Collection since the eighteenth century (fig. 22). This time, the stage is a classical interior with portraits of the two protagonists, Maurice and Oldenbarnevelt, on the wall at the back. The Land's Advocate himself stands in the centre and the animals sit on a platform around the sides of the room. Saftleven's scene at the mouth of hell has made way for an



Fig. 21
ANONYMOUS,
Plaque of Maurice
and Oldenbarnevelt,
each wanting to go
his own way, c. 1700.
Ivory.
Amersfoort,
Museum Flehite,
inv. no. 0002-756.
Photo: Lydia
Edelkoort.



Fig. 22
 ANONYMOUS,
*The Trial of
 Oldenbarnevelt*,
 first half of the
 18th century.
 Oil on canvas,
 50 x 84 cm.
 Amsterdam,
 Collection Six,
 inv. no. 0100.

actual court of law, and this time the animals are tricked out in clothes, headgear and other accessories. There are also several known variants of the Six painting, as well as a number of preliminary studies for and drawings of this composition.³⁷

It would seem that, as in Saftleven's canvas, the game of concealing and revealing played a fundamental role in the painting in the Six Collection. According to a nineteenth-century estate inventory, it had a 'sliding panel'. This panel, probably with a flower still life painted on it, could be slid across in front of the courtroom scene to hide it from visitors' gaze. Only intimates would be granted a glimpse of the hidden composition.³⁸ This game of concealing and revealing acquired new depth in the context of this second type of painting. Some of the aforementioned albums containing the portraits of the judges as animals had a direct link to these works: they were made to play an active role in unlocking the scenes in these paintings.

Concealing and Revealing: The Eighteenth-Century Albums as Keys

From the outset, the popularity of the images of the judges as animals was closely associated with a game of concealment and revelation. Solving the puzzle was a light-hearted and appealing aspect of scenes like this and viewers always proved keen to identify the figures.³⁹ In a way, Vondel's *Palamedes* set the tone here, too. Very soon after the allegorical tragedy appeared, various handwritten keys or legends identifying the principal figures began to circulate.⁴⁰

A similar tradition likewise grew up around the images of the judges as animals. Saftleven's famous 1663 painting had numbers corresponding to an accompanying explanation that helped viewers identify the animals.⁴¹ Just how much the identification of animals as specific judges exercised minds is evident from the handwritten notes that several contemporary readers made on pamphlets about the judges that were circulating.



Fig. 23
ANONYMOUS,
Portrait of Johan
van Oldenbarnevelt,
with Verses on the
Portrait and the List
of the Names of the
Twenty-Four Judges,
c. 1663.
Engraving with text
in letterpress,
495 x 420 mm.
Amsterdam,
Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
RP-P-OB-77313.

DIE'S OLDENBARNEVELT; die, in den
Krijg en Vrede,
Sijn goet, en bloet, ten dienste van 't Vade-
landt bestede;
Die Hcllants eer bewaarde en voor haar vryheit sprak;
Die Spanjens dwinglandij en MAURITS hoogmoet
brak;
Die Gelt verschafte en Raadt; die zonder schuldte
moelt ineven,
En op het Hof-schavot verlaten Kop en Leven;
Verdomt, van Battaard-Raad, als was hy een verdaer;
Die Ged de wraak beval, en tierf's Staats Martelaar.

DIE'S OLDENBARNEVELT, die in den Krijg en Vrede
Sijn Snaazacht aan de greynen van schelmte list bestede;
Die met een dubb'le tong Serpente dichtfels sprak;
Die MAURITS roem bevoeld, en met een poedische wraek;
Die na 't Lans onheil dlong, die door een Beul moelt ineven,
En op het Hof-schavot verlaten Kop en Leven,
Gedoomt van 't heilig Recht voor Kerck en Lant-vernaer;
Die, met Gods wraak belalt, tierf hoogmoets Martelaar.

DIE'S OLDENBARNEVELT, die al sijn kracht bestede
Met list, ten dienste van hem, 't ontzenuwen de Vrede;
Die Hollans voem bevoedde, en haer toe wraak ontlaet;
Die Spanje minde in 'chert, en MAURITS tegenoprak;
Die loon verkreeg na werk, en op 't schavot moelt ineven,
Ten koften van sijn Goet, en ouden Kop, en Leven;
Gedoomt door 't wettig Recht voor Schelm en Lant-vernaer;
Dus tierf hy Armiants, en bleef haar Martelaar.

Namen der Vier-en-twintich gedeegeerde Rechters van Joan van Oldenbarnevelt.

- | | | |
|--|---|--|
| Henrick Effen, <i>Wogen's Hertogden Gelder.</i> | Gerard Beuckerfe, van Zanten, <i>Licentiaat, Geomitteerde</i> | Rick Aytzma, <i>Burgemeester van Leenwarden.</i> |
| Nicolaes de Voogt, <i>Burgemeester van Aerdenom.</i> | Jacob van Broeckhoven, <i>Raden.</i> | Volckert Slood, <i>Tet Vallenhoven, Geomitteert.</i> |
| Nicolaes Kromhout, <i>President van Holland, Zeelant, en Wyl-
Vrylant.</i> | Reiner Pauw, <i>Burgemeester van angsterdam.</i> | Jan van Ebersart, <i>Burgemeester tot Drenover.</i> |
| Adriaen Junius, <i>Raden van Holland, Zeelant, en Wyl-
Vrylant.</i> | Peter Janfz. Schagen, <i>Vroedschap tot Alckmaer.</i> | Goofden Schaffer, <i>Reade-hoer tot Groningen.</i> |
| Hendrick Rosa, <i>Pieter Koozenberg van Belovs, en Wyl-
Vrylant.</i> | Aelbrecht Bruyning, <i>Secretaris van Enckhuysen.</i> | Schoto Gokkinga, <i>Sindus van de Ommelanden.</i> |
| Adriaen van Siretten, <i>Radjien van Brijlant.</i> | Adriaen Mandemaker, <i>Voer de Prins sijn Zeelant.</i> | Adriaen Droyck, <i>Pijfael van Holland.</i> |
| Hago Mays van Holi, <i>Raden van Dordrecht.</i> | Jacob Schotte, <i>Burgemeester van Middelhuyf.</i> | Pieter van Leecumen, <i>Pijfael van Uytrecht.</i> |
| Arent Meynders, <i>Burgemeester van Haarlem.</i> | Adriaen Bloos, <i>van Uytrecht, Geomitteerde</i> | Silla, <i>Pijfael van Aerdenom.</i> |
| | Antfclenue Zvelmsin, <i>Perfessanus van Uytrecht.</i> | Karel Nijf, <i>Geveelge Vroesf.</i> |
| | Jan vanden Zanden, <i>Dooler in de Rechten. Van Vrylant.</i> | |

G E S P R E E K
Op het Graf van wijlen den Heer
JOAN van OLDENBARNEVELT.
VREDELIJKE NERCKEVALM.
Va. **W**ie luyfden om de vrachd eens Vreemdelings rechoeren? K. *Orren.*
Va. **W**ie hopt 't Lans Voorfprak hier den muet met diefen ftem? K. *Zem.*
Va. **M**omint! Wie koo den Landvoocht dus verfoeren? K. *Zoeren.*
Va. **Z**oo heeft by on verrack hem 't leven afgeroen? K. *Nieth.*
Va. **W**ar mill al 't Vadelandt by 't korten van dien draet? K. *Raden.*
Va. **W**ar 'om de vryheyde dan met kragt op 't hart te reiden? K. *Lant.*
Va. **E**nzack men meer dan 't Recht der vrygevochte Stobn? K. *Eldin.*
Va. **W**at haert die, no elck voelt boereef rijp doot on d'ant? K. *Haer.*
Va. **W**ie moer men doen, die met den Dwinglant famen-zweeren? K. *Woren.*
Va. **Z**ou dan hun hoogmoech haet vervecken, als hergras? K. *Rade.*
Va. **W**ezal men B a r n e v e l t, die 't juck zocht af te keeren? K. *Eeren.*
Va. **W**at wort de Dwinglandt, die 't Recht te maghtig was? K. *Zi.*

HEER JAN VAN OLDENBARNEVELT.
Bewaarden Hollandt in Eeren.

In Memoriam viri incomparabilis
J. ab OLDENBARNEVELT.
Quondam Regi Atlantici Regis comitis 23. May. 1659
Qui iacet hic? *Paterne ne porren Et gloria pridem!*
Idem. Inde Insulae mox cava venit aevi?
Ari. *Quis fuit vita Et meritis ammenfu?*
Enfi. *Infamia est hoc opus aene furor?*
Uror. *At Innoce opus jure nulla fangua?*
Angui. *Quae natus afferisse legu?*
Legis. *Causa Davi que tam permittere dicit?*
Ira. *Cui Ambros mixta crugre natat?*
At at. *Dehorret quid Co fluffi? Erant?*
Amni. *Pro meritis non fuit ergo Pater?*
Ater. *Nam Nemeffis eralich peliora tangit?*
Angit. *Fama vni quei celebranda modis?*
Odis. *Quid vivit (qua fit) in Jerdia nomen?*
Omen. *Est Jan hoc ante Leuvenen. Amica.*

There are, for example, surviving copies of the lists of names that the Rotterdam publisher Naeranus issued, on which readers had noted down which animal represented a particular judge (figs. 23, 24). In some cases, the key to one work had even been erroneously transposed to

another. In a 1652 copy of Vondel's *Palamedes*, for instance, the key to the Saffleven painting – which does not correspond – had been added beside the title print (fig. 25).⁴²

This key tradition persisted into the eighteenth century, for at least two of the three surviving albums of animal

Fig. 24
Detail of the list of names annotated with some hand-written animal names (fig. 23).

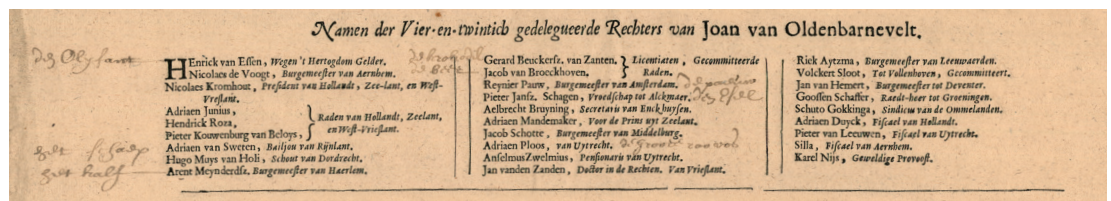




Fig. 25
 Annotated page
 in Joost van den
 Vondel, *Palamedes
 oft vermoorde
 onnosselheyd*,
 Amsterdam
 (De Wees) 1652.
 London, British
 Library, II.755.e.53.

judges had certainly been in the vicinity of one of the paintings referred to above. The Hague album contains a note by an owner in which the album was directly linked to a painting: 'Deze bovenstaande op het Schilderij berustende op het kasteel van Heukelum – geschilderd op paneel door Saftleven' (The above on the painting kept at Heukelum Castle – painted on panel by Saftleven). As well as the album, the castle also housed the painting inspired by Saftleven that is now in the Frans Hals Museum (see fig. 19). In the case of the Rijksmuseum album, the relationship between the drawings and an associated painting was even closer. In the estate sale catalogue of Willem Six's widow, Dorothea van Assendelft, in 1740, the album (no. 2) is immediately followed by a painting (no. 3) 'depicting in an entertaining way the trial of Jan van Oldenbarnevelt with twenty-four judges'.⁴³ This painting is most probably the work that is still in the Six Collection. The painting and the album were originally kept together by the Six

family and only separated later – in 1928 to be precise.

It is therefore obvious that the Rijksmuseum album also acted as a key. The animals in the Six painting correspond one-to-one with the menagerie in the album. In the centre of the painting, for instance, we see a fully dressed monkey on a throne, with a bonnet on his head, a lace collar around his neck and a trumpet in his paw (fig. 26). He is pictured in



Fig. 26
 Detail of the clothed
 monkey on the
 throne (fig. 22).

the same way in the album, and identified as the judge Hendrik van Essen (figs. 27). According to the album text, this 'ape of state' on an elevated throne was the 'first inquisitor of Maurice's bloody court'. He wears a 'Spanish jabot of gravity and a calotte of authority on his head'. In his paw he holds a trumpet 'to sound the procession'.⁴⁴ The elephant's

attributes are also explained in detail in the album. The pachyderm represents the Zeeland judge Adriaen Mandemaker. His name means basket maker and the basket around his neck contains 'secret instructions' from Maurice. In his trunk he brandishes a Prince's flag with an owl and the words 'Victory for Orange', and bestrides Zeeland like a rebellious



Fig. 27
ANONYMOUS,
Cartoon of Hendrik van Essen, first half of the 18th century. Watercolour and ink on parchment, 235 x 190 mm. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, inv. no. NG-1983-5-3.

plunderer and drives out the friends of the innocent Palamedes for his master'.⁴⁵ And in this way all the animals and their characteristic objects are accurately explained. This makes the album much more than a key to the identification of the animals – which animal refers to which judge – it also unveils the painting's iconographic programme.

A Remonstrant Tradition?

The reason why poets and painters chose to cast their message in allegorical form would seem to be self-evident. Aside from the playful element – it is fun to solve the puzzle – the prevailing political repression and censorship provide an obvious explanation for the decision not to shout one's criticism of the incumbent rulers from the rooftops. It was downright dangerous to dismiss the judicial proceedings involving Oldenbarnevelt as dishonest and prejudiced, particularly when Maurice himself was still alive – as Vondel almost found to his cost.

Yet that is not the whole story. When Saftleven painted his animal allegory in 1663, there was no longer any direct political threat. The stadholder had been sidelined and it was Oldenbarnevelt's political supporters who called the shots now, so there was no danger of persecution. And this was equally true of the paintings like the one in the Six Collection and the albums that saw the light even decades later, in the Second Stadholderless Era (1702-47). The States party regents ruling at that time placed themselves very deliberately in the tradition of Oldenbarnevelt and De Witt and would not have dreamt of banning such works. So what can have been the reason for continuing to opt for an allegorical form?

As we have seen, Saftleven played his game of concealing and revealing at different levels – as well as the

animal satires of the judges there was the separate portrait medallion of Oldenbarnevelt that could be hung over the old man's face. In other words, the game almost seems to have been a goal in itself. The same applies to the Six painting, which could be hidden behind a flower still life, and to a lesser extent also to the albums with the animal judges in their neutral bindings that were quietly unobtrusive in a bookcase until they revealed their controversial contents when they were opened.⁴⁶ The concealment itself appears to be part of the memorial culture and the group identity that existed in the Remonstrant circles in which many of these works were made and used.

The explanation for this has to be sought in the eventful history of the Remonstrants in the Low Countries. After their condemnation and banishment by the Synod of Dordrecht and the subsequent establishment of the Remonstrant Brotherhood in Antwerp in 1619, the Remonstrant community was compelled to redefine itself. It did so by strongly emphasizing moderation and tolerance on the one hand and creating a new group identity around two important themes, persecution and escape, on the other.⁴⁷ After the disastrous events of 1619, they constantly stressed in their writings how they were persecuted by their opponents in the Republic and compared this with the oppression of the early Christians, the Reformation and the Revolt.⁴⁸ There was, however, one problem with this self-identification as martyrs: apart from Eduard Poppius, who died while he was imprisoned in Loevestein Castle in 1624, no other Remonstrant clergy had actually died for their faith. The Remonstrants consequently cultivated not so much the ultimate self-sacrifice, a martyr's death, as the successful avoidance of or escape from persecution.

Fig. 28
 JOHANNES
 JELGERHUIS
 (DESIGN) AND
 GOVERT KITSEN
 (PRINTMAKER),
*Monument for
 the Remonstrants*,
 1790-1810.
 Etching and
 engraving,
 568 x 460 mm.
 Amsterdam,
 Rijksmuseum, inv. no.
 RP-P-AO-28-98.



Helped by God, the ministers, like the apostles before them, always managed to escape their oppressors in inventive ways. Hugo Grotius, who escaped Loevestein hidden in a chest of books, the five remaining ministers, who succeeded in escaping from the same castle a few years later and Dominicus Sapma, who fooled the guards in his Amsterdam prison by dressing up as his own wife, achieved a place of honour in the Remonstrants' collective memory. Great play was made of the ingenious tricks and disguises the Remonstrant clergy used to lead the authorities up the

garden path. This disguise cult culminated in the figure of Passchier de Fijne, one of the Remonstrant ministers who returned to the Republic almost immediately after he fled to Antwerp to continue his preaching in secret. De Fijne soon gained a reputation as a master of disguise. He clearly enjoyed employing clever tricks to put the authorities on the wrong track. Standing on a sledge on the frozen River Gouwe, wrapped in a blue scarf, he addressed his followers, who skated behind him. When things nevertheless got too hot for him, he

could easily escape his enemies over the ice. This earned him the nickname 'Ijsvogelke' – literally 'ice bird' – the Dutch word for kingfisher. His disguises were so effective that even the Leiden bailiff Willem de Bont, a notorious Remonstrant hunter, did not recognize him when he was sitting right in front of him. De Fijne was so bound up in his masquerades that he even got the painter Michiel van Mierevelt to make him up as a drunken old pastor so he could play a trick on his friends. De Fijne's disguises and escapes were made much of in Remonstrant literature.⁴⁹

This self-image of a minority that constantly managed to avoid persecution by clever concealment was not confined to the first decades of the Remonstrant Brotherhood, but remained part of their group identity until well into the eighteenth century. The print *Monument to the Remonstrants*, which appeared around 1800, illustrates this persistence (fig. 28). Alongside portraits of Oldenbarnevelt, Grotius and all the important Remonstrant ministers there are figurative scenes showing the oppression of the Remonstrants in the seventeenth century: their condemnation by the Synod of Dordrecht, their banishment and the persecution of the various

ministers. And on the right-hand side there are vignettes of the ingenious escapes: Hugo Grotius and his chest of books, De Fyne preaching on his sledge, Sapma's escape in women's clothes, the ministers' flight from Loevestein and so on.

This emphasis on concealment as a fundamental element of the Remonstrant identity also touches on the heart of the success of the artworks depicting the judges as animals, which mask the political message at several levels. Even though they were made at a time when the Remonstrants no longer had to fear persecution, they nevertheless referred to a still current self-image in which the themes of persecution and escape remained central. Viewing these works was a way of revealing the true meaning to like-minded people by hanging the portrait medallion, sliding aside the concealing painting or studying the albums with the satirical keys to the animal images. Their popularity did not, therefore, arise out of direct political necessity, but can be explained by the fact that they served as a vehicle for strengthening a group identity and supported an activity through which they 'unlocked' their shared past together.

ABSTRACT

The Rijksmuseum's History Department holds a remarkable early eighteenth-century album titled *Regtspleging van Oldenbarnevelt* (The Trial of Oldenbarnevelt). The album contains a collection of thirty-eight watercolour drawings on parchment with written explanations on paper and deals with the infamous trial of the Land's Advocate. At its heart are cartoons of the twenty-four judges who signed Oldenbarnevelt's death warrant, with the judges depicted as animals. The Rijksmuseum album is similar to albums in the National Library of the Netherlands and Rotterdam City Archives. In this article we show that Oldenbarnevelt's judges continued to be subjects of general interest for more than a century. We locate the satirical portrayal of the judges as animals in the broader tradition of animal allegories used as a vehicle for political criticism, and explore the function of the album. It probably served as a key to a painting – not Cornelis Saftleven's famous work *Satire op de berechting van Johan van Oldenbarnevelt* (Satire of the Trial of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt) in the Rijksmuseum, but a later composition by an anonymous artist now in the Six Collection. Finally, we come to the conclusion that the album is part of a game of concealment and revelation that is typical of the Remonstrants' memorial culture.

- * With thanks to Judith Pollmann for her feedback on an earlier version of this article, Marianne Eekhout for the informative conversations we had in the run-up to our publications and intern Samuel Nyaku, who contributed to opening up the album.
- 1 The Rijksmuseum acquired the album on 16 February 1983 at a sale at auctioneers A.L. van Gendt in Amsterdam (no. 851). It had previously been part of the collection of the Amsterdam family doctor and book collector Bob Luza. The first time the album showed up at a sale, to the best of our knowledge, was more than two centuries earlier. On 27 August 1740, part of the collection of (politically engaged) papers belonging to Dorothea van Assendelft (1671-1736), widow of Willem Six (1669-1712), went under the hammer at the premises of the Haarlem book and paper seller Jan van Lee; see *Catalogus van een Uytnemende en noyt soo een Completee by een gevonde verzameling van Nouvelles van den Jaaren 1574 tot 1700 ... Waarin mede te vinden zyn de saaken van J. Van Oldenbarneveld en J. En C. De Wit alles nagelaaten by wyle Vrouwe Dorothea van Assendelft. Wed: van de Heer en Mr: Willem Six. Dewelke verkogt zullen werden te Haarlem, ten huysen van Jan van Lee, boek en Papier Verkooper op de groote Markt| Op Zaterdag den 27 Augustus 1740 d' Morgens ten 10 uuren Precys*. Lot number 2 comprised 'Een fraye en noyt so gevonde Versameling van 39 curieuse Sinnebeeldige Watervervige Tekeningen/ en met de Pen geschrebe uytlegginge' (A fine and never thus found collection of 39 curious symbolic watercolour drawings and explanations written in pen). On the basis of the description of the individual drawings, this collection can be identified with a degree of probability bordering on certainty as the album now in the Rijksmuseum. There is just one discrepancy: as the last in the summary, the sale catalogue lists an additional drawing: 'een wonderlyke aardige begraaffenis seer fray en uytvoerig met waterverwe getekent' (a wonderfully ingenious funeral drawn very fairly and extensively in watercolour), which is currently missing. As announced in the catalogue, lot numbers 1 to 7 were sold 'in one purchase'. The whole batch went – as often happened at sales of the Six collection – to a member of the family. It was not until the twentieth century that the collection left the family. On 18 October 1928, the drawings and written explanations went under the hammer at Frederik Muller in Amsterdam as no. 343, see *Manuscripts – dessins – livres – estampes provenant de la collection-Six. Vente aux enchères publiques les 17 et 18 octobre 1928 ... Amsterdam, Frederik Muller & Cie*. They were put together in the half-calf leather portfolio – probably made later – in which they still are now ('Dans un portefeuille demi-veau, in-4.'). According to the annotated copy of the sale catalogue in the Rijksmuseum Research Library's collection, the lot number was acquired – for 525 guilders – by a certain 'Lobo' and eventually, probably by a circuitous route, came into Luza's possession.
 - 2 On the basis of the watermark (a lion enclosed in a double circle bearing the words 'Pro Patria esjusque Libertate') and the countermark ('LVG', i.e. L. van Gerrevink) in the paper on which the explanation is written, we date the collection to between 1710 and 1720. This corresponds to the historical revival in interest in Oldenbarnevelt we examine later in this article. Cf. Raymond Gaudriault, *Filigranes et autres caractéristiques des papiers fabriqués en France aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles*, Paris 1995, fig. 789 and p. 141; Henk Voorn, *De papiermolens in de provincie Noord-Holland*, Haarlem 1960 (*De geschiedenis der Nederlandse papierindustrie*, vol. 1), no. 104. The calfskin album itself is, in all probability, of later date.
 - 3 Much has been written about Oldenbarnevelt's trial; see e.g. Jan den Tex, *Oldenbarnevelt*, 5 vols., Haarlem 1960-72; Wilfried Viltterhoeve, *De zaak Oldenbarnevelt. Val, proces en executie*, Nijmegen 2019.
 - 4 The additional drawings include, among other things, drawn copies of *The Execution in the Binnenhof* (1619), *Clare Af-beeldinghe, ende T'Samen-Spreekinghe Tusschen een Boer genaemt Kees, ende syn Land-heer* (1623) and *The Arminian Serpent* (1623) and the portraits of Oldenbarnevelt and Prince Maurice. The accompanying texts are always taken virtually verbatim from the pamphlets. The album also contains some loose drawings, including triumphal arches for Maurice and Oldenbarnevelt, whose provenance we have been unable to ascertain. They may have been devised especially for the collection.
 - 5 For examples of emblems with the ostrich and horseshoe and the crocodile and skeleton see the Emblem Project Utrecht: <https://emblems.hum.uu.nl/> (consulted 30 September 2020).
 - 6 'daarom wierd hij in de wandelingen genaamd de man met de tanden'; 'een roode

- Prince inquisitie voering'. Explanatory text accompanying the drawing of Geraard Beukels van Santen, NG-1983-5-12A.
- 7 'kastyden van de Arminiaansche boeren'; 'door sülken elendigen ziekten aan zyn Eynde dat de wormen doen hynoch warm of lau was in een ontelbaar getal uyt syn versworen Lichaam kropen'. Explanatory text accompanying the drawing of Hugo Muys van Holy, NG-1983-5-10A.
- 8 Rotterdam City Archives, inv. nos. 33.01/2217 and 2218. The collection was gifted to the archives in 1882 by the then chairman of the archive committee, alderman C.E. Viruly. For a detailed description, including its location in the circles around Cornelis van Arckel, see J.G.B. Nieuwenhuis, *Catalogus van de handschriftenverzameling*, Rotterdam 1970, inv. nos. 2217, 2218. There is little that can be said with certainty about the collection and its provenance. According to Frederik Muller, the drawings were 'waarschijnlijk door J[an] Stolker te Rotterdam gemaakt' (probably made by J[an] Stolker in Rotterdam) and should be dated to around 1720, see Frederik Muller, *Beredeneerde Beschrijving van Nederlandsche Historieplaten, Zinneprenten en historische Kaarten. Supplement, Aanhangsel en Algemeen Register*, vol. 4, Amsterdam 1882, no. 1375A, pp. 401-02. This attribution is highly unlikely: Jan Stolker was not born until 1724. Heinz Hofmann has already pointed out that the location in Van Arckel's circles was posited solely by Nieuwenhuis and there is no conclusive evidence for it, see Heinz Hofmann, 'Cornelius van Arckel und sein neulateinischer Freundeskreis im Holland des ausgehenden 17. und beginnenden 18. Jahrhunderts', *Humanistica Lovaniensia: Journal of Neo-Latin Studies* 35 (1986), pp. 169-218, esp. pp. 196-97, note 68.
- 9 The Hague, National Library of the Netherlands, inv. no. 135 A 26. As well as the images of the twenty-four judges, and associates, the album contains some supplementary drawings and texts (esp. fols. 5 to 9), which were probably added later. Among these texts there is a copy of the poem that Balthazar Huydecoper wrote in 1744 to the sword with which Oldenbarnevelt was supposedly murdered and which was owned by Frans Greenwood in the seventeenth-forties. On Greenwood's album see Lieke van Deinsen and Jan de Hond, 'The Sword and the Album: Material Memories and an Eighteenth-Century Poetic Account of the Execution of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1619)', *The Rijksmuseum Bulletin* 66 (2018), no. 3, pp. 204-34, esp. p. 221. The whole thing was in all likelihood bound around 1750. The binding is attributed to a workshop with the name of convenience Pentateuch Bindery. With thanks to Jeroen Vandommele, Ad Leerintveld and Rens Top. In the collection documentation of the National Library of the Netherlands it is stated that art historian J.W. Niemeijer suggested that the drawings may be by Taco Hajo Jelgersma (1702-1795). This attribution seems unlikely on stylistic grounds. With thanks to Robert-Jan te Rijdt.
- 10 For the owner's note see [2r]. The National Library acquired the album in 1961 from A. Baron van Heeckeren van Brandenburg, a direct descendant of Clara Anna Elisabeth.
- 11 'een Dortsche Patrijs Hond van adel'.
- 12 'onbehoorlicke proceduren'; 'De viere-twintich rechtters syn meest alle myne vyanden geweest' (the twenty-four judges have almost all been my enemies). *Waarachtige historie van de ghevanckenisse, bekentnisse, leste woorden ende droevighe doot van wylen heer Iohan van Oldenbarnevelt*, Amsterdam 1620, pp. 67-68.
- 13 On the genesis, significance and reception of Vondel's *Palamedes*, see e.g. Marijke Meijer Drees, 'Hoe Vondels *Palamedes* geschiedenis heeft gemaakt', in Jan Bos and Erik Geleijns (eds.), *Boekenwijsheid. Drie eeuwen kennis en cultuur in 30 bijzondere boeken. Opstellen bij de voltooiing van de Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands*, Zutphen 2009, pp. 80-88.
- 14 G. Brandt, 'Het leven van Joost van den Vondel', in J. v. Vondels *Poëzy of Verscheide Gedichten*, Franeker 1682, pp. 3-88; on *Palamedes* in particular see pp. 20-26.
- 15 'Geuse vesper, of siecken-troost, voor de Vier-en-twintich', in Joost van den Vondel, *Poesy, ofte verscheide gedichten. Het tweede Deel*, Schiedam 1647, pp. 5-7. For an analysis of the poem and the question of its dating see P. Leendertz, 'Geuse-vesper', *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 35 (1916), pp. 11-27.
- 16 'gewelt het recht dorf buigen'; 's bloetraets bittren wrock'.
- 17 On Johannes Naeranus's list see Aafje Groustra-Werdekker, 'Het boekenbedrijf van de zeventiende-eeuwse boekdrukker en boekverkoper Joannes Naeranus (1634-1670). Handhaver van de drukpersvrijheid', *Rotterdamsch Jaarboekje* 1 (2008), no. 1, pp. 84-112.
- 18 *Historie van het leven en sterven van heer Johan van Oldenbarnevelt*, Rotterdam 1648

- (second, enlarged edition 1658). For the dating (and redating) of these prints see Maureen Warren, *Politics, Punishment, and Prestige: Images of Oldenbarnevelt and the States Party in the Dutch Republic, 1618-1672*, Evanston 2015 (unpubl. diss. Northwestern University), chapter 4. Warren makes a plausible case that these prints were not published immediately after the execution, as is often assumed, but only after 1656, during the First Stadholderless Era.
- 19 *Waarachtige historie, van 't Geslacht, Geboorte, Leven, Bedryf, Gevangnisse, Examinatie, Bekentnisse, Rechters, Brieven, laatste woorden en Dood, Van wylen den Heer J. van Olden-barnevelt*, Rotterdam 1670.
- 20 The publication went into a fourth reprint that same year.
- 21 The first edition of Brandts's *Historie* was published posthumously in 1708 by the Rotterdam printer Barent Bos. In 1710, 1721 and 1723 enlarged versions appeared (the 1723 edition was an unchanged reprint of the 1721 edition with a new title page).
- 22 'praabeeld voor den Vader des Vaderlands'.
- 23 Pieter van der Goes, *Nederduitse en Latynse Keurdigten*, 1710, [*16r-*17r]. On the *Keurdigten* and its political colour see Ton Jongenelen, 'De Keurdigten. Het levenswerk van Pieter van der Goes, boekverkooper', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman* 27 (2004), pp. 57-67.
- 24 Paul J. Smith, *Het schouwtoneel der dieren. Emblemfabels in de Nederlanden (1567-ca. 1670)*, Hilversum 2006. Animal satires obviously occurred in other genres, too; *Van den Vos Reynaerde* (The Tale of Reynard the Fox) was one of the earliest and most popular in the Low Countries.
- 25 Anne-Laure van Bruaene, 'Revolting Beasts: Animal Satire and Animal Trials in the Dutch Revolt', in Walter S. Melion, Bret Rothstein and Michel Weemans, *The Anthropomorphic Lens: Anthropomorphism, Microcosmism and Analogy in Early Modern Thought and Visual Arts*, Leiden/Boston 2015 (*Intersections*, vol. 34), pp. 23-41; Paul J. Smith, 'Zon en moeras, hanen en kikkers: nationale beeldvorming in fabel en pamflet omstreeks 1672', in Karl Enenkel, Sjaak Onderdelinden and Paul J. Smith (eds.), *'Typisch Nederlands'. De Nederlandse identiteit in de letterkunde*, Voorthuizen 1999, pp. 73-91.
- 26 Marianne Eekhout, 'Dierensatire in de zeventiende eeuw. De Synode van Dordrecht en de terechtstelling van Oldenbarnevelt op schilderijen', *Tijdschrift Holland* 50 (2018), no. 3, pp. 148-57. See also Warren 2015 (note 18), esp. chapter 4. On the picturing of the religious and political disputes more generally see Joke Spaans, 'Imagining the Synod of Dordt and the Arminian Controversy', in Aza Goudriaan and Fred van Lieburg (eds.), *Revisiting the Synod of Dordt*, Leiden 2011, pp. 335-66.
- 27 'Haan die oproer ende vervolging kraayt'. The text of this letter is reproduced in its entirety in Cornelis Hofstede de Groot, 'Een spottekening van Cornelis Saftleven op de Dordtsche Synode', *Oud Holland* 15 (1897), no. 2, pp. 121-23. For this drawing see also Wolfgang Schulz, *Cornelis Saftleven 1607-1681. Leben und Werke mit einem kritischen Katalog der Gemälde und Zeichnungen*, Berlin/New York 1978, pp. 78-79; Eekhout 2018 (note 26), p. 152. The letter, and consequently the drawing too, is dated 16 April 1621. This is problematic because Saftleven would only have been thirteen years old at the time. It has therefore been suggested in the literature that this date cannot be correct and it must be a later work.
- 28 On Saftleven as a painter of animal satires see also Ineke Wolf, 'From Fox to Donkey: A Hidden Political Satire on Oliver Cromwell by Cornelis Saftleven', *Oud Holland* 132 (2019), no. 2/3, pp. 87-100.
- 29 Brandt 1682 (note 14), pp. 22-23.
- 30 On the title print see also Hans-Joachim Raupp, "'Trucidata Innocentia": Die Verurteilung des Oldenbarnevelt bei Joost van den Vondel und Cornelis Saftleven', in Justus Müller Hofstede and Herman W.J. Vekeman (eds.), *Wort und Bild in der niederländischen Kunst und Literatur des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts*, Erfstadt 1984, pp. 209-19.
- 31 For the provenance of this canvas and the copies made of it see Schulz 1978 (note 27), no. 530.
- 32 On this portrait miniature, see Gerdien Wuestman, 'Een portretminiatuur thuisgebracht', in Edwin Buijsen, Charles Dumas and Volker Manuth (eds.), *Face Book: Studies on Dutch and Flemish Portraiture of the 16th-18th Centuries: Liber Amicorum Presented to Rudolf E.O. Ekkart on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday*, Leiden 2012, pp. 311-16.
- 33 On the relationship between Vondel's *Palamedes*, Savery's title print and Saftleven's painting see also Raupp 1984

- (note 30). Cornelis Saftleven and particularly his brother, the landscape painter Herman Saftleven, were close friends of Vondel's, see J.F.M. Sterck, 'Vondel en Herman Zachtleven', in *ibid.*, *Oud en nieuw over Joost van den Vondel. Verspreide opstellen*, Mechelen 1632, pp. 121-24.
- 34 Cf. e.g. the Orangist pamphlet *Den Verresenen Barnevelt* (1663). On the connection made between Oldenbarnevelt and Johan de Witt in visual culture see also Frans Grijzenhout, 'Between Memory and Amnesia: The Posthumous Portraits of Johan and Cornelis de Witt', *Journal of Historians of Netherlandish Art* 7 (2015), no. 1, pp. 1-15; Warren 2015 (note 18), pp. 191-96.
- 35 A note found in the box, in an eighteenth-century hand, reads 'Dees doos/ bezit het Wonder lit/ van Jan de Witt' (this box contains the wonderful tongue of Jan de Witt). On this and other patriotic relics see Wim Vroom, *Het wonderlid van Jan de Witt en andere vaderlandse relieken*, Amsterdam/Nijmegen 1997.
- 36 Warren suggests that this plaque may be the work of Clemens Nachtegaal (c. 1685-after 1729), who engraved several portraits of 17th-century politicians on similar ivory supports. Warren 2015 (note 18), p. 196.
- 37 The RKD – Netherlands Institute for Art History, The Hague, holds a photograph of a painting in private hands (Anonymous, *De rechtspleging van Oldenbarnevelt*, 18th century. Oil on panel. The Hague, private collection) and in Museum Flehite, Amersfoort, there are two preliminary studies on paper (inv. nos. 1002-866 and 1002-867).
- 38 Six Collection Inventory, inv. no. S100. See also Eekhout 2018 (note 26), p. 156.
- 39 For the popularity of rebuses and puzzles in art in the late Middle Ages and Early Modern Era see Jos Koldewey, *Rebussen, van duivels tot Bosch. 'Wat baat kaars of bril, als de uil niet kijken wil'*, Nijmegen 2019.
- 40 See e.g. the copy of *Palamedes* in the University of Amsterdam library, inv. no. Vondel 2 E 45 (4), fol. BIV.
- 41 Adding explanatory lists was not a one-off occurrence. When Saftleven's painting entered the Rijksmuseum collection in 1892, it came with a list in a 19th-century hand explaining the identities of all the animal figures (RP-P-OB-77.314).
- 42 On the annotated copies of Vondel's *Palamedes*, Alie Lassche and Arnoud Visser, 'Lezers in de marges van Vondels *Palamedes*. Een census van zeventiende-eeuwse edities', *Nederlandse Letterkunde* 24 (2019), no. 1, pp. 35-63.
- 43 'verbeeldende op een potsige manier het regtgeding van Jan van Oldenbarneveld met 24 regters'; *Catalogus 1740* (note 1). With the painting there was also a 'geschreve uytlegging' (written explanation), probably a short key to the identities of the animals.
- 44 'aap van staat'; 'eerste inquisiteur vanden Mauritiaensche bloedraad'; 'Spaansche bef van Graviteij en een kalotje van gezach op de kop'; 'om den ootchoot te bazuijnen'.
- 45 'secrete instructien'; 'Victorie voor Oranje'; 'en loopt zo als een muiltzieke plunder Zeeuw en verdrijft voor sijn meester de vrienden van den onschuldigen Palamedes'.
- 46 This is not to say that such paintings were always and only collected by supporters of the States party and the Remonstrants. The political and religious affiliations of the first owners can no longer be precisely pinned down. The painting in the Six Collection was sold at the estate sale of Dorothea van Assendelft, widow of Willem Six (see note 1) in 1740. There is no evidence as to whether they were the first owners. Nor have we been able to discover if this couple had Remonstrant sympathies. We were, though, able to establish that their granddaughter, Dorothea Albertina Six (1728-?), married Pieter Burman Jr (Petrus Burmannus Secundus), professor, poet and a known adherent of the States party and the Remonstrants. Burman staged notorious anti-stadholder gatherings at his Santhorst estate when national heroes like the De Witt brothers and Hugo Grotius were revered as martyrs for freedom. Oldenbarnevelt was also commemorated at one of these Santhorst meetings. Burman translated two of Vondel's odes to the statesman into Latin for the occasion.
- 47 Dirk Pfeifer, 'Loyalty, Bravery and Female Cleverness: Grotius's Maid-servant and Remonstrant Identity', *De Zeventiende Eeuw* 29 (2013), no. 2, pp. 176-88.
- 48 *Ibid.*; Cynthia von Bogendorf Rupprath, *Schout Willem de Bont and His Dog Tyler: Scandal, Satire, Sarcastic Songs and Painting*, Leiden 2006 (diss. Leiden University), pp. 54-55.
- 49 *Het leeven en eenig bysondere voorvallen van Passchier de Fyne, in zijn leeven predikant onder de remonstranten tot Haarlem, s.a.* [1713], esp. pp. 105-08.

APPENDIX

Overview of the Contents of the Three Surviving Albums

Subject of the Drawings
Portrait of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt
Extra portrait of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt
Portrait of Prince Maurice
24 judges in animal form
Two fiscals in animal form
The provost in animal form
The execution in the Binnenhof
Cartoon of the exodus of the Remonstrants
Cartoon showing Oldenbarnevelt's decapitated head in the clouds and caricatures of some of the judges in animal form
Cartoon 'The Arminian Serpent'
Cartoon showing seven monkeys around a donkey at the Binnenhof
Cartoon 'Conversation between Kees, the Peasant, and the Lord of the Manor'
Triumphal arch with the likeness of Maurice in armour
Cartoon 'The Crossing of Prince Maurice in Charon's Boat'
Triumphal arch with 'Dits vaderland, uw vader...' in a cartouche
Cartoon of the monkey (Bogerman) seated on the throne, shaking out a moneybag before three judges, while the lion in its cradle is lulled to sleep by a fox (Maurice)
Cartoon of the dragon from hell ridden by a furious devil (Maurice) preceded by two and followed by three dead people
Cartoon of the animals' banquet to celebrate Oldenbarnevelt's death
Cartoon of a room with the Dutch lion on a throne and a platter with Oldenbarnevelt's decapitated head on the ground in front of him
Three allegorical female figures with an eagle
Design for an ornament with a head of Medusa
Ornament print with architectural elements and coats of arms

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