



# Cultural Hybridity Reconsidered: Religious Visual Culture and the Dutch Republic

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**Abstract:** This article engages with the overriding tendency to see cultural hybridity as a progressive force in the Dutch Republic, focusing on the case of Dutch religious literature. It is a puzzling fact that in the literary realm, processes of cultural hybridity were put on hold between 1560 and 1680. In this area of cultural activity impermeable barriers between Catholic visual practices and Protestant textual traditions caused religious books to be virtually imageless. Given our current understanding of cultural hybridity and of seventeenth-century Dutch culture, why was the intermingling of textual and visual practices so unexpectedly complicated, especially in comparison to neighbouring countries where hybrid religious literary cultures emerged in spite of restrictive mechanisms such as censorship and legislation? How does the reluctance in the literary sphere relate to other cultural domains in the Dutch Republic, and to the tendency to see the Dutch Republic's culture as a historical model of cultural hybridity?

**Keywords:** Cultural Hybridity, Dutch Republic, Dutch Religious Literature, Early Modern Visual Culture

## Introduction: Cultural Hybridity and the Dutch Republic

In the last decades, historians such as Willem Frijhoff, Peter Burke and Benjamin Kaplan have focused on interconfessional encounters in friendships, marriage and trade in the Dutch Republic. They have argued that these encounters were stimulated by the freedom that emerged because the principle of freedom of conscience – understood as freedom of thought – emerged as a positive ideology during the Dutch Revolt. An extraordinary equilibrium was established because Calvinism was the dominant religion but never became the (official) state religion.<sup>1</sup> [6] This resulted in a relatively tolerant society that even served as a refuge to migrants from surrounding countries.

Newly developed and shared cultural practices have been highlighted as a form of accommodation of these interconfessional encounters. The absence of a dominant religion generated the sort of climate in which different confessional traditions appeared to intermingle and influence each other with little friction, providing an ideal setting for the integration of Catholic and Protestant religious subcultures and practices. The cultural responses to the word-image controversy between Protestants and Catholics in particular have proven to offer a key opportunity to explore when, why and to what extent people were willing to reconcile theological differences to combine elements from their own religious cultural practices with those of another, to create new practices. Protestants, despite their doubts concerning religious imagery, searched for acceptable ways of incorporating images into their religious practices

(resulting in a so-called 'Protestant visuality').<sup>2</sup> These developments were ascertained in seventeenth-century Dutch art and architecture by art historians such as Mia Mochizuki and Shelley Perlove: outspokenly Catholic subjects were assimilated to Protestant norms by painters, and newly created visual additions were found in Dutch Protestant church interiors after iconoclasm.<sup>3</sup> The art historians Larry Silver, Shelley Perlove and Mary Christine Barker consider Rembrandt van Rijn's etching *The Death of the Virgin* (1639) as an icon for the mixing processes that were presumably taking place in Dutch culture. Deathbed scenes had profoundly Catholic connotations in Rembrandt's time, for they had been painted by many Catholic artists. Rembrandt's appropriation of this Catholic tradition in a predominantly Protestant society clearly led to hybridisation. The cross and candles (elements of the Catholic iconographical tradition openly opposed by Dutch Protestants in the 1630s) were left out and Rembrandt used techniques which were familiar to Dutch Protestants to encourage acceptance of this novel approach; in doing so, he is said to have transcended 'the religious categories of his own time'.<sup>4</sup>

The little research done in the field of reception of Dutch religious literature allows for the assumption that the religious literary culture of the Dutch Republic was also hybrid in nature. Printing practices were remarkably liberal, as Rasterhoff recently concluded on the basis of existing data: 'Preventive censorship (censorship before publication) was never successfully imposed and repressive censorship (censorship after publication) was difficult to enforce due to the highly localised nature of government structure in the Dutch Republic. Implementation of censorship proved to be a difficult issue for both secular and religious authorities.'<sup>5</sup> The conclusion that official censorship was a rare occurrence is for instance based on the absence in Dutch church archives of discussions and debates on the cultural formations under scrutiny in this article. Catholic religious works were found in libraries and inventories of Dutch Reformed readers, and vice versa. In addition, religious literature produced by various denominations was kept [7] in the homes of the faithful and read during their informal gatherings.<sup>6</sup> The *Stichtelijke rijmen* (Edifying Rhymes) by the popular Remonstrant minister Dirck R. Camphuysen, for example, were sung by Remonstrants as well as Counter-Remonstrants. The fact that his poetry had total sanctification as its central issue was apparently more important than the dogmatic differences, which were in themselves not marginal: the Remonstrant Camphuysen perceived sanctification as the condition for salvation, whereas the Counter-Remonstrants were convinced that sanctification was the consequence of salvation. These differences, however, played no part in the interconfessional use of the volume.<sup>7</sup>

While not all of the existing studies into the nature of the Dutch Republic's culture employ the concept of 'cultural hybridity'<sup>8</sup>, on a conceptual level the case of the Dutch Republic has been advanced to support the argument that cultural hybridity is an indication of successful negotiations and flourishing societies, and an instrument for resolving religious conflicts. The case has been cited as an example for modern societies in need of a counterbalance for religious radicalism and acts of segregation.<sup>9</sup> It supports and reinforces the tendency to use the concept of cultural hybridity in a paradigm which links hybridity to progressiveness.

It is the aim of this article to critically discuss the validity of this widely held assertion, by pointing at the increasing evidence that the intermingling of visual and textual practices proved unexpectedly complicated in the realm of illustrated Dutch religious literature. From the 1560s onwards, Dutch Protestant Bible translations produced in the Dutch Republic were not illustrated. Moreover, the development of bi-medial genres (religious emblematics, illustrated hymn books) was extremely problematic. Even Dutch Catholics were reluctant to include illustrations in their religious literary works, testifying that the reserved attitude towards

images transcended the different confessions in the Republic.<sup>10</sup> In this article, I will present a small case that serves as an indication of how and why the advance of religious images was halted in the Dutch Republic, to put the idea of a tolerant and hybrid Dutch Republic to the test.

## Cultural Hybridity and Progressiveness

The concept of 'cultural hybridity' was introduced by Homi Bhabha to focus the attention on the cross-fertilisation of distinct cultural practices. In Bhabha's view, the mutual intermingling of cultures results in the development of something new (a 'third space') out of the existing subcultures and in the sharing of values, conventions and norms.<sup>11</sup> Ever since Bhabha introduced the concept in postcolonial theory, it has been widely used. In his *Cultural Hybridity*, Burke inventoried the four strategies found in approaches toward the mutual intermingling of cultures, being rejection and segregation (leading to conflicts and stagnation) versus adaptation and acceptance (leading to reconciliation and progress). Burke also signals the tendency to see cultural hybridity as a progressive force – he even admits to [8] having such a preference himself, even though he acknowledges that progressiveness is not inherent to Bhabha's original notion of cultural hybridity.<sup>12</sup>

This tendency is indeed found in many studies based on the conceptual framework of cultural hybridity, even if it is frequently seriously discussed. M. del Mar Rosa-Rodríguez for example critically assessed the progressive forces of hybrid religious practices in early modern Spain.<sup>13</sup> And Virinder Kalra, Raminder Kaur and John Hutnyk all introduce their study on the interdependency of hybridity and diaspora with a careful scrutiny of their assumptions. The authors state that the work on this study began in 2000, when the cultural promises of diaspora and hybridity were still a given. The events of 9/11 however urged them to reconsider their premise. Yet they maintain: 'While we are critical of the (in)adequacy of current theorizations of diaspora and hybridity, this does not mean that, given the correct organizational context and praxis, they cannot emerge as useful modes of engagement for progressive struggle. What is absolutely clear is that we are living in an era that requires a defense of diasporic Muslims/Asians [...] and a promotion of hybrid forms of collective actions'.<sup>14</sup>

In the same paradigm, cultural hybridity has also been heralded for its educational benefits, for instance by Leona M. English in her paper presented at the annual International Seminar on Religious Education and Values:

Building on the work of Bhabha (e.g. 1990, 1994), this paper stretches the conceptual toolbox of religious education to embrace questions of identity, politics and practice. A postcolonial perspective is used to move religious education beyond the binaries of us/them and religious/non-religious, and to imagine the in-between hybrid or third spaces in which we can work to create practices that are inclusive, ethical and democratic. Third space encourages us to be shape-shifters, resistance fighters, and boundary crossers, people who understand the intermingling and lack of certainty in our own identity and in our own religious allegiances, as well as in others.

With regard to the Dutch Republic, it has often been argued or tacitly assumed that religious coexistence could emerge from a process of cultural hybridity that was instrumental in leading to greater shared understanding and tolerance. The interconfessional cultural encounters in the Dutch Republic have often been framed in this progressive narrative of hybridity. The case of the Dutch Republic's imageless religious literature contradicts this narrative, and this becomes

all the more intriguing when we consider that between 1560 and 1680, religious literature produced in neighbouring countries contained far more illustrations than it did in the Dutch Republic. The intermingling of the visual and the textual started in the religious literature of other Northern European countries at a much earlier date, even in countries where Protestantism had also become dominant. Experiments with the use of illustrations were conducted in English, German, Swiss and [9] French Protestant religious books and Bibles, although censorship occasionally obstructed hybridisation.<sup>15</sup> Appealing innovations of Roman Catholics (especially Jesuits) and their increasing interest in text editions enhanced with newly developed imagery to arouse the readers' emotions and to facilitate their meditations, visualisations and memorisation stimulated these developments. Lutherans and Calvinists also contributed to the production of religious emblems, illustrated song books and Bibles in the German states, France and Switzerland, making the Dutch imageless religious literature an exception to broader European trends.<sup>16</sup>

It is significant that Dutch publishers either removed all illustrations from Dutch translations of originally lavishly illustrated English and German religious works or included far fewer illustrations than had been included in the original publications.<sup>17</sup> Attempts to change practices in the Republic's religious literature were often inspired by adaptations of Catholic models made by Protestants in Germany and England, or were based on the products of the Catholic literary traditions from the Southern Netherlands. Zacharias Heyns, who was born and raised in the Southern Netherlands, attempted to introduce the religious emblem to Protestants in the Republic by appropriating elements of Catholic iconography in his *Emblemes Chrestiennes et Morales* (Christian and Moral Emblems) dating from 1625.<sup>18</sup> The very first Dutch Reformed religious emblem book, the *Emblemata Sacra* (Sacred Emblems), was published and produced in Frankfurt by Lucas Jennis in 1631 since its author was unable to find a Dutch printer willing to publish his work.<sup>19</sup> This is even more curious considering the leading role of the Dutch Republic in Northern European book production at the time.<sup>20</sup>

In a recently published monograph *Negotiating Differences: Word, Image and Religion in the Dutch Republic* a close look at the production of illustrated religious literature in the Dutch Republic revealed how patterns of social behaviour changed in the course of the seventeenth century.<sup>21</sup> Polemics dominated in the first half of the century, with many more or less official statements condemning the Catholic use of images, and with restraints imposed on literary practices of authors of all confessions. This resulted in a climate which tolerated the existence of dissenting views, but did not encourage dialogue between them. As the century progressed, this toleration increasingly acquired the form of sharing for the Protestants such as Jan Luyken, who appropriated Catholic traditions to construct a new, enlightened Christian identity, which bore clear traces of the Catholic visual heritage. Parallel to this development, Dutch Catholics found ways to profile a literary identity which no longer grew out of a compromise with the dominant Protestant presence, but was rooted in their own visual traditions. Until 1680, the production of illustrated texts was not stopped and hampered by official forms of censorship, but by Dutch publishers, authors and engravers and buyers, who can therefore be seen as the agents who temporised the development of a hybrid literary culture from below – contrary to what is argued in Jones' *Cultures Merging*, in which readers' [10] taste and buying behaviour (and thus a culture's growth and development) are presented as individual choices.<sup>22</sup>

The series of events reconstructed in *Negotiating Differences* demonstrates that the combination of word, image and religion was, in various degrees and at various times, controversial in the Dutch Republic. Now, the question remains: why did Dutch religious

literature become imageless? A very tentative hypothesis is advanced here that the absence of images helped to create new conditions in which cultural formations were left unchallenged by contemporary disputes on the word-image issue by delaying processes of hybridisation. If this hypothesis holds true, the Dutch Republic's imageless religious literature serves as a counterbalance to the tendency to see cultural hybridity as a progressive force. In the Dutch Republic, the delay – rather than the advance – of cultural hybridity appears to be essential to the prevention of religious conflicts. 'Delaying' appears to be a fifth possible strategy in the approach toward the mutual intermingling of cultures, besides the four strategies previously inventoried by Burke.

The delay in the development of illustrated religious literature in the Republic perhaps serves as an indication that cultural hybridity was not a feature of a society which was, in comparison to its neighbouring countries, progressive in its policies and politics. The break with international conventions can be traced back to the 1560s, when Bibles intended for the Dutch Protestant were no longer printed in Antwerp, but in Emden. The historian Andrew Pettegree has argued that images were absent from the Emden publications for economic reasons, but he also notes the large number of iconoclastic tracts printed in Emden and the negative sentiments with regard to religious imagery in the Dutch chambers of rhetoric.<sup>23</sup> Pettegree's argument also does not explain why almost all Dutch religious texts remained without images even after the economically difficult decades following the Dutch Revolt and a new period of prosperity had started.

If we assume that the attitude toward illustrated religious literature was ideological rather than economic, a question of scale comes to mind. To what extent did these literary constellations reflect a broader cultural trend: did the specifics of the literary media influence other domains in Dutch religious visual culture, thus causing a more widespread sense of delay of hybridity? Were the ideas of restricted use of visual aids in the realm of literature for instance transferred from one medium to another – such as sermons, or paintings? This question is prompted by the view that the impact of the seventeenth-century imageless religious literature should not be underestimated. While nowadays illustrated Bibles for adults are published in almost every European country (including for instance an illustrated King James Version), such publications are lacking in the Netherlands. Even editions illustrated by Gustave Doré, once a success in the Netherlands and still frequently reprinted in other European countries, are absent; the last Dutch edition was printed in 1996.<sup>24</sup> [11]

## The Specifics of the Literary Media and Other Cultural Domains in the Dutch Religious Visual Culture

A large-scale investigation is needed to establish whether the imageless literary practices influenced developments in other visual media, delaying and temporising the advance of visuality in all Dutch religious practices. In this article, I will restrict myself to the analysis of one particularly telling incident that indicates that the absence of images in Dutch religious literature was not only the result of conscious efforts of publishers, authors and engravers. The advance of the religious image was also obstructed by religious and political authorities – an indication that the delay in the development of hybridity was perhaps intentional and the result of widespread sentiments.

The case concerns a letter written in 1629 by Eewout Teellinck, a strong advocate of the Dutch Reformed faith, in which the Rotterdam regent Gerard van Berckel is requested to ask

the Prince of Orange, just before his victory over the Catholic Spanish army in Den Bosch, to retrieve an 'idolatrous' stained glass window from the Kruisbroeders cathedral. Teellinck pleaded that the window be preserved and surrendered to the Protestants, to remind them of the errors of the Catholics. The window was to be carried around like a trophy, such as was done 'nae een seckere wyse, die onder Gods volck in ouden tyde gebruyckelyck was, als te zien is, Jud. 20:13, 2 Samuël 20:21' [such as was the habit among God's people in the old days]'. To demonstrate unambiguously the dominance of the Protestant view on the usability of the image in a religious cultural context, such a procession – a ritual itself deriving from Catholic traditions – would have been a public demonstration of the stadholder's support of the Dutch Reformed faith. Either the Prince of Orange was wiser than that, or Teellinck's request was never transferred to the Prince by Van Berckel; in any case, the disputed window was not removed or carried around when Den Bosch was finally conquered by the Prince's army.<sup>25</sup>

The letter is of particular interest to us because Eewout Teellinck was the brother of the theologian Willem Teellinck, one of the leaders of the so-called Second Reformation, a Pietistic movement within the Dutch Reformed Church. The letter serves as an indication that attempts were made to transfer the strict opinions on the use of religious imagery found among representatives of the Second Reformation to other realms of religious culture. Willem Teellinck's writings against the use of religious imagery in Protestant worship provided ample ammunition for Eewout's campaign against the window. In 1622, for instance, Willem had published a devotional treatise entitled *Ecce Homo, ofte ooghen-salve voor die noch sitten in blintheydt des ghemoedts* (*Ecce Homo*, or eye-salve for those who still sit in the blindness of their hearts). Teellinck admitted that his choice of title, *Ecce Homo*, called to mind Catholic artists who painted or engraved images of the suffering [12] Christ with the caption 'Ecce Homo' to evoke pious emotions in those who viewed them, but he distanced himself from these images:

In many places one finds paintings of a head crowned with thorns and covered with blood with the caption *Ecce Homo*, that is, Behold the Man. This is a human invention to present us with the inhuman passion and the deepest suffering of our Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ, and thus it also awakens merely human emotions and physical devotion.<sup>26</sup>

The living word of God alone ('alleene'), and not some image, should be the Christian's compass. God's Word is, as described in Hebrews 4:12, a doubleedged sword which penetrates the soul, exposing one's most hidden thoughts and motivations. The word 'alleene' (alone) Teellinck added to Hebrews 4:12 on his own authority to reinforce his interpretation of this biblical verse.<sup>27</sup> Images are redundant and even dangerous: they evoke human emotions and non-spiritual, physical devotion. Out of curiosity, the human eye is inclined to examine everything, and this inclination is insatiable, as Teellinck maintains elsewhere in his *Ecce Homo*.<sup>28</sup>

With his letter, Eewout appears to have hoped to stir up an existing controversy. Certainly not all stained glass windows in Catholic churches had been removed or demolished during the Protestant destruction of images at the end of the sixteenth century in the Dutch Republic – as testified by the St Jan's Church in Gouda, as well as by Mia Mochizuki's research into the Bavo Church in Haarlem. Some Protestants were even installing their own stained glass windows in their newly raised or newly confiscated churches at the beginning of the seventeenth century.<sup>29</sup> This particular window in Den Bosch, however, had given rise to animosity among Dutch Protestants even prior to the siege by the Prince of Orange, in all likelihood because of the

specifics of its visual representation. The window depicted the bishop Gisbertus Masius, torn between Jesus' blood and Mary's milk. It was modelled on a famous fifteenth-century visual tradition which had started to portray St Augustine in exactly the same position, also accompanied by the phrase 'Positus in medio, quo me vertam nescio' (Placed in the middle, I do not know where to turn).<sup>30</sup> This line expresses the dilemma St Augustine/the bishop faces: is the ultimate path to salvation in the milk of Mary or the blood of Jesus?

The window has been discussed prior to the fall of Den Bosch in 1629 in three publications printed in the 1610s. The first written by the Remonstrant minister Gerard Lievens, was given a written response by an unknown supporter of the bishop Masius who called himself 'Philomasius'. Lievens replied by publishing yet another book on the matter.<sup>31</sup> [13]



Fig. 1 Gerard Livius, *Gheschilderde onwetenheyde Gisberti Masii* (Gorinchem: Adriaan Helmichsz., 1614). Engraving on this book's title page, provisionally numbered '3' in pencil, courtesy of Amsterdam Universiteitsbibliotheek.

The Protestant Gerard Lievens was well aware of the Catholic visual tradition the portrait derived from. In his second book, *Gheschilderde onwetenheyde Gisberti Masii* (Depiction of G. Masius' Ignorance), Lievens refers to Augustine's own thought on the matter when he speculates that the Church Father ('[die] wert by ons gehouden voor een seer Godtsalich ende prysweerdich Out Leeraer der Kercke Jesu Christi' (who is considered a very pious Church Father, worthy of our praise)) would rather not have seen himself portrayed in such a manner.<sup>32</sup> For Augustine had proclaimed God's Word to be the only path to salvation, when he wrote that 'the breasts of the church are the two Testaments from which the holy milk that constitutes our salvation flows'.<sup>33</sup>

St Augustine, who is portrayed as a bishop, prominently placed between two figures, in a number of Papist churches, has never advised this kind of meditation in his own writings,

read his *Soliloquia, meditationes, &c.* [...] to verify this, and you will see that he never commissioned such a depiction, which turns him into a patron of idolatrous and insane speculations, such as created by the Minorites in Padua and also by the Bishop in Den Bosch.<sup>34</sup> [14]

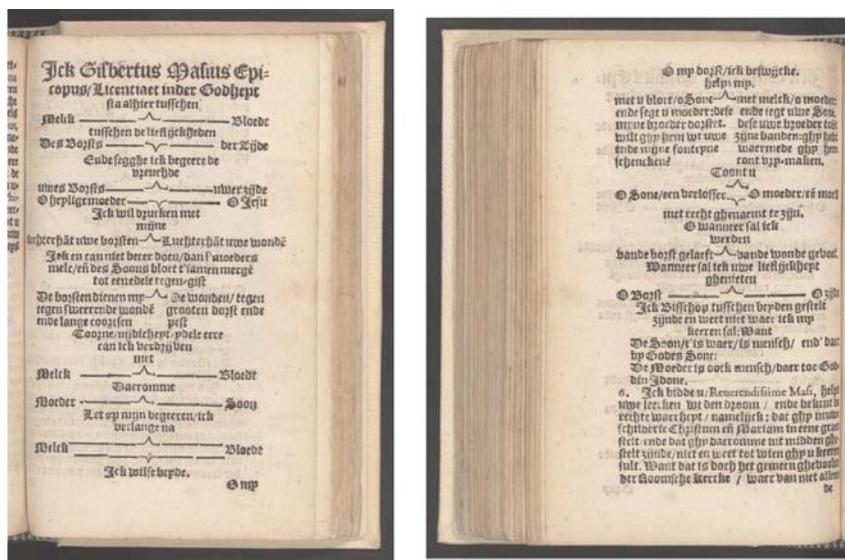


Fig. 2: 'S. Aurelius Augustinus Hipponensium Episc', Peter Overadt, c. 1601, Cologne, courtesy of Herzog August Bibliothek.

Augustine's texts, rather than the visual tradition in which he is – unwillingly – incorporated, should guide the reader, in Lievens' view.

His treatises are in fact in every aspect organised efforts to (re)direct the reader's attention to the textual. The engraving of the detested image of the bishop included in the treatise is presented as a necessary but regrettable addition: it is needed to inform readers who never saw the window with their own eyes, but it should not be perceived as an argument in favour of religious imagery. To convey his own opinion of the image to the reader, an additional line of text is included under the engraving: 'O Sot keert u tot Godt' (You fool, turn to God). Showing his preference for the word on every occasion, Lievens also includes a textual representation [15] of the dilemma depicted in the window in his treatise, as if to prove that the textual medium is much better equipped for facilitating the reasoning process that should follow the

reception of a religious artefact. The speaker in this text is the bishop Masius, who is thinking out loud about the choice he has to make.



Figs 3 and 4: G. Lievens, *Gheschilderde onwetenheyt Gisberti Masii [...]* (*Gorinchem: Adriaan Helmichsz.*, 1614), fol. E8r -v.

The arguments supporting the choice of the blood and the milk are printed in separate columns on the left and right side of the pages. At some point, the speaker summarises the argument and jumps to the next stage of his deliberations. Mary appears to be of equal status in many respects, but then Lievens, the author, intervenes: ‘Siet ghy wel, Heer Bisschop, dat ghy recht hebt met uwen, *positus in medio quo me vertam nescio?* Nochtans moet gy weten, dat het meer dan tijt is, dat ghy u sinnen eens vergadert, ende leert u keeren tot dien, die gheseyt heeft: *Keert u tot my, so wort ghy salich alle werelt eynde.* (Do you think, bishop Masius, that you are right in posing the dilemma ‘where should I turn’?. You should know that it is high time you came to your senses and turned to Him who has said: ‘Turn to me for eternal salvation?’).<sup>35</sup>

Lievens continues his treatise with a lengthy explanation of other forms of abuse of images of Jesus’ blood: he recounts how believers meditated upon this blood and assumed they could unify themselves with God through this meditation. We should instead just read the Words of the Bible about Jesus’ suffering: they will inscribe the suffering in our heart, Lievens claims. He touches upon an issue also debated by Catholics, namely the dangers inherent in the idea of using [16] the visible to perceive the invisible (God). Human sight was held in high esteem by Catholics, but they also assumed that images indulge the passions and threaten reason. Augustine suggested that one could only access the invisible through the visible by training one’s eye to see beyond the visible object. If the eye was not properly trained, it would linger on the physical object and no beneficial religious effects could be expected.<sup>36</sup>

Not only the misuse of Augustinian authority, but also the fact that the Den Bosch window was linked to Southern Netherlandish devotional traditions caused Lievens to be this outspoken and aggressive. In Lievens’ view, Masius had been led astray by a ‘Carmen’ written by Carolus Scribanus, a Jesuit from Antwerp, in 1605. In this Carmen, the speaker describes a visit to the Mary statue in Halle that made him realise that he had to choose between Jesus’ blood and Mary’s milk as the ultimate source of grace.<sup>37</sup> This ‘Carmen’ as well as the visit to Halle

described in the 'Carmen' were part of a larger development in the Mary devotion in the Southern Netherlands in Halle and Scherpenheuvel that upset Lievens even more.<sup>38</sup>

## Conclusion

The case of the Den Bosch windows reveals two important insights about the interaction between Dutch religious literary and visual culture. First, Lievens and Teellinck did indeed attempt to transfer their strict views on the use of religious imagery from the literary realm to a wider context. Their efforts entailed practices of censorship that go beyond the more well-researched official and overt forms of censorship that were so rare in the Dutch Republic. Contrary to what the absence of such official censorship suggests, however, hostile attitudes and action toward Roman Catholic visuality did obstruct the development of a hybrid religious culture in the Dutch Republic. Lievens and Teellinck foregrounded the benefits and added value of the textual medium to offer a solely Protestant alternative to forms of hybridity that were about to be developed in Den Bosch, where the highly visible window had been seen by many Protestant eyes even before the city was conquered by the Dutch army. Their attempts did not have an immediate effect on Dutch politics, for the Prince of Orange never acted upon Teellinck's request. But the window would not survive the Protestant siege very long. Unlike some of the other Roman Catholic ornaments, it was not transported to Mechelen in 1629, in order to keep it from slipping into Protestant hands.<sup>39</sup> The poet Adrianus Hofferus, who travelled to Den Bosch a year after the city had surrendered, reports a visit to the cathedral and an inspection of the window. When Hofferus returned to Den Bosch in 1635, someone had thrown a stone through the window, destroying it beyond repair. Hoffer regretted this course of events: he wished that the window had been preserved to remind the Reformed people of the errors of the 'Papist'.<sup>40</sup> Being on display like this could have been humiliating, but even in a [17] dominated form, traces of Roman Catholic visual culture were not acceptable in the eyes of those who decided that the destruction of the window needed to take place. The fact that the window remained disputed even after its removal is perhaps telling. Masius' window was again attacked by Jacobus Laurentius, a minister from Amsterdam, in his *Idolum Romanum* in 1643, and by Laurentius' colleagues Abraham Willens, Andreas Rivet and Willem Sluiter in the 1660s and 1670s.<sup>41</sup>

Further research is needed to establish whether the merits of cultural hybridity in processes of religious negotiations should be re-evaluated on the basis of the Dutch case: what are the implications of the fact that the alliance between progressiveness and hybridity appears to be absent in the literary realm of a community that was extremely successful in managing and containing religious conflicts? And how often, and on what occasions was the advance of hybridity discussed and halted? Were the differences between Catholic and Protestant literary traditions – visual versus verbal – ignored rather than reconciled, or repressed rather than celebrated in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic in order to foster peace and prosperity and should the lack of (major) religious violence in the multi-confessional Republic be explained differently from how it is done conventionally?

## Notes

1. B.J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith: Religious Conflict and the Practice of Toleration in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); P. Burke, *Cultural Hybridity* (Cambridge:

- Polity Press, 2009); P.J. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2008); W. Frijhoff, 'Was the Republic a Calvinist Community?: The State, the Confessions, and Culture in the Early Modern Netherlands', in *The Republican Alternative the Netherlands and Switzerland compared*, ed. by A. Holenstein et al. (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2008), pp. 99-122.
2. L. Gent, 'Marcus Gheeraert's Captain Thomas Lee', in *Dealing with the Visual: Art History, Aesthetics and Visual Culture*, ed. by Caroline van Eck et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), pp. 85-108.
  3. See for instance M.M. Mochizuki, *The Netherlandish Image after Iconoclasm, 1566-1672: Material Religion in the Dutch Golden Age* (Aldershot: Ashgate 2008).
  4. M.C. Barker, 'Transcending Tradition: Rembrandt's Death of the Virgin 1639: A Re-Vision', *Dutch Crossing* 34: 2 (2010), p. 138. See also S. Perlove and L. Silver, *Rembrandt's Faith: Church and Temple in the Dutch Golden Age* (Pennsylvania: University Park 2009), pp. 47-9. See for a reproduction of the etching for instance [http://open.jorum.ac.uk/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/607/Items/A207\\_6\\_section8.html](http://open.jorum.ac.uk/xmlui/bitstream/handle/123456789/607/Items/A207_6_section8.html).
  5. See C. Rasterhoff, *The Fabric of Creativity in the Dutch Republic Painting and Publishing as Cultural Industries, 1580-1800* (Utrecht; Igitur, 2012), [http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/dissertations/2012-0829-200441/Rasterhoff\\_dissertation.pdf](http://igitur-archive.library.uu.nl/dissertations/2012-0829-200441/Rasterhoff_dissertation.pdf), p. 122.
  6. See for instance B.J. Kaplan, *Divided by Faith*, p. 243. [18]
  7. See Maria A. Schenkeveld, *Dutch Literature in the Age of Rembrandt: Themes and Ideas* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1991), p. 51.
  8. This term was for instance not used by W. Frijhoff and M. Spies in their *Dutch Culture in an European Perspective. Hard-Won Unity, 1650* (Assen: Van Gorcum/Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). Their conclusions, however, subscribe to the notion of a tolerant, hybrid Dutch Republic.
  9. See for example J. Nederveen Pieterse, *Globalization and Culture. Global Mélange* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2009), chapter 5; J. Dewulf, 'In the Jungle of Amsterdam. On the Re-Invention of Dutch Identity', *Morisson Library Inaugural Addresses Series* (Berkeley: Doe Library, 2008); P. Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, pp. 73-4.
  10. On the absence of illustrated Bibles: P. van der Coelen, *De Schrift verbeeld: Oudtestamentische prenten uit renaissance en barok* (Nijmegen: SUN, 1998), *passim*; on the unillustrated hymn books: N.H.H. Veldhorst, 'Pharmacy for the Body and Soul: Dutch Songbooks in the Seventeenth Century', *Early Music History* 27 (2008), 259-60.
  11. See for instance H. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994).
  12. Burke, *Cultural Hybridity*, pp. 79-84. Burke states that cultural hybridity expands the possibilities and helps new forms to emerge.
  13. M. del Mar Rosa-Rodríguez, 'Simulation and Dissimulation: Religious Hybridity in a Morisco Fatwa', *Medieval Encounters* 16 (2010), pp. 143-82.
  14. V.S. Kalra, R. Kaur and J. Hutnyk, *Diaspora and Hybridity* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), pp. 1-7, quotation on p. 1.
  15. See for instance A. Adams, *Webs of Allusion. French Protestant Emblem Books of the Sixteenth Century* (Genève: Droz, 2003); M. Aston, 'Properties of the Page in Reformation England', in *Printed*

- Images in Early Modern England: Essays in Interpretation, ed. by M. Hunter (Aldershot; Ashgate, 2010), pp. 23-42; A. Walsham, *Charitable Hatred. Tolerance and Intolerance in England, 1500-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); B. Heal, *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Early Modern Germany. Protestant and Catholic Piety 1500-1648* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); R.L. Williams, 'Censorship and Self-Censorship in Late Sixteenth-Century English Book Illustration', in *Printed Images in Early Modern Britain*, ed. by M. Hunter (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2010), pp. 43-63; and the (forthcoming) conference volume *Illustrated Religious Texts in Northern Europe, 1500-1800* (Ashgate, 2013).
16. See D. Davis, 'Images on the Move: The Virgin, the Kalendar of Shepherds, and the Transmission of Woodcuts in Tudor England', *Journal of the Early Book Society* (2009), pp. 99-129; these continuations were first noticed in T. Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); on German illustrated religious literature, see R.W. Scribner, *For the Sake of Simple Folk. Popular Propaganda for the German Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981).
  17. E. Stronks, *Negotiating Differences: Word, Image and Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), chapter 3 and F.M. Dietz and E. Stronks, 'German Religious Emblems as Stimuli of Visual Culture in the Dutch Republic', *Church History and Religious Culture*, 91 (2011), pp. 31-57.
  18. E. Stronks, 'Literature and the Shaping of Religious Identities: The Case of the Protestant Religious Emblem in the Dutch Republic', *History of Religions* 49:3 (2010), *passim*.
  19. The German roots of the *Emblemata Sacra* are discussed in E. Stronks, 'A Publisher Seeking a Change in Religious Practices: The Case of Lucas Jennis', in 'Le livre demeure': studies [19] in book history in honour of Alison Saunders, ed. by A. Rawles and P. Ford (Geneva: Droz, 2011), pp. 275-87.
  20. J.L. van Zanden and E. Buringh, 'Charting the "Rise of the West": Manuscripts and Printed Books in Europe, a Long-Term Perspective from the Sixth through the Eighteenth Centuries', *Journal of Economic History* 69:2 (2009), p. 243.
  21. This monograph was written as a part of the NWO/FWO project 'Religious Emblems in the Low Countries', led by Marc Van Vaeck and Els Stronks.
  22. E. L. Jones, *Cultures Merging: A Historical and Economic Critique of Culture* (Princeton; Princeton University Press, 2006), p. 195.
  23. A. Pettegree, *Emden and the Dutch Revolt. Exile and the Development of Reformed Protestantism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992); A. Pettegree, *Reformation and the Culture of Persuasion* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); C. de Hamel, 'Bibles of the Protestant Reformation', in *The Book: A History of the Bible* (London: Phaedon, 2001), pp. 216-45.
  24. *De bijbel in 230 gravures van Gustave Doré: met fragmenten uit het Oude en het Nieuwe Testament en de Apokriefe Boeken* (Hoevelaken: Verba, 1996). This assessment is based on data provided by the Dutch Union Catalogue, [www.picarta.nl](http://www.picarta.nl).
  25. The letter and its background are discussed in W.J. op 't Hof, C.A. de Niet and H. Uil, *Eeuwout Teellinck in handschriften* (Kampen, De Groot Goudriaan, 1989), pp. 33-4.
  26. 'Men vint in veel plaetsen geschildert een hoofd ghekroont met Doornen, ende albebloedt, met dit opschrift: Ecce Homo, dat is, Siet de Mensche: Dits een menschen vont, om ons d'onmenschelicke passie, ende het alderbitterste lijden onses Heylandts, ende Salichmakers Iesu Christi, voor te stellen, soo verweckt het oock maer menschelicke beweginghen, ende een vleeschelicke Devotie'. Willem

Teellinck, *Ecce Homo* [...] (Middelburg: Hans van der Hellen, 1622), fol. \*1v. Translation by Els Stronks. All translations are by Els Stronks unless indicated otherwise.

27. The word 'alleene' (alone) did not occur in Dutch Bible translations (Deux Aes translation, Biestkens and Liesveldt translation) available at the time – just as it is missing from the King James version. Neither did it appear in the Statenvertaling, the Dutch States Bible, of 1637.
28. 'De menschen zijn te male seer nieuws-gierch, ende d'ooge wert niet versadight met zien, gelijk Salomon getuycht Eccles. 1.8.' ('People are simply very curious, and the eye is not satiated with seeing, as Solomon testifies in Ecclesiastes 1:8), Teellinck, *Ecce Homo*, 57. Quoted from the second edition. Teellinck gives this inclination a spiritual twist by urging his readers to have a look at 'd'alderwonderlicste dingen die de werelt niet toonen can, wonderen die de wonderlicke Godt ghewrocht heeft' (the most wonderful things the world cannot display, wonders wrought by the wondrous God), Teellinck *Ecce Homo*, 59.
29. See note 16.
30. The first painter who depicted Augustine in this manner was Francesco Francia of Bologna (1450-1517), according to J.A.F. Kronenburg, *Maria's heerlijkheid in Nederland. Geschiedkundige schets van de vereering der H. Maagd in ons vaderland, van de eerste tijden tot in onze dagen* (Amsterdam: Bekker, 1909), Volume 7, p. 244.
31. These three publications are: G. Lievens, *Bericht vande behoorlijcke ende onbehoorlijcke eere der ghelucksaligher Maghet Maria* (Treatise on the Appropriate and Inappropriate Honouring [20] of the Virgin Mary) (Nijmegen: A. Corneliszoon, 1612); Anonymous, *Cort onderwijs Christiani Philomasii voor Gerardo Livio* [...] (Short Religious Instruction by a Supporter of Masius for Gerard Livius) [s.l., 1614]; G. Lievens, *Gheschilderde onwetenheyte Gisberti Masii* (Depiction of G. Masius' Ignorance) (Gorinchem: Adriaan Helmichsz, 1614).
32. On St Augustine's role as an authority in Protestant as well as Catholic Churches, see A. S. Q. Visser, *Reading Augustine in the Reformation: The Flexibility of Intellectual Authority in Europe, 1500-1620* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).
33. 'de twee borsten der kercke welcke zijn de twee Testamenten der Godlijcker Schrifture, wt welcke der melck aller Sacramenten tot onser salicheyt gesogen wert', G. Lievens, *Gheschilderde onwetenheyte*, fol. Diii-verso.
34. *Deze Augustinus, die [...] in de papen kercke op verscheyden plaetsen afghebeeldet is op zijn Bisschops tusschen twee beeldekens pronckende, en heeft noyt yet van sodanige meditatie inde machedelijcke borsten Marie, doort aensien van een Mairen-beeldeken met melc-stralende borsten geschreven [...], ghelijck zijne meditatie daar van genoechsamen ghetuygenisse geven. Leest maer eens [...] zijne Soliloquia, meditationes, &c. [...] Doorsoeckt mede of hy erghens yemant last gegeven mochte hebben, hem also in de kercken af te schilderen, ende hem te maken tot een Patroon van waensinnighe speculatie met afgoderie vermengt, om van de Minoriten te Padua, ende vanden Bisschop ten Bosch nagevolcht te werden', G. Lievens, *Gheschilderde onwetenheyte*, fol. Div-verso.*
35. G. Lievens, *Gheschilderde onwetenheyte*, fol. F2r.
36. See B. Stock, *Augustine the Reader: Meditation, Self-Knowledge, and the Ethics of Interpretation* (Cambridge, MA and London: Belknap Press, 1996), pp. 2, 5, 18 and 284; and D. Morgan, *The Sacred Gaze. Religious Visual Culture in Theory and Practice* (Los Angeles: California UP, 2005), pp. 142 and 145.

37. This 'Carmen' was included in Scribanus' *Clari Bonarsci Amphitheatrum Honoris in quo Calvinistarum in Societatem Iesu criminationis iugulatae* (Antwerp 1605, pp. 373-4). See on Scribanus R. Bireley, 'The Counter-Reformation Prince', in: P. Schmidt (ed.), *Spanische Universalmonarchie oder "teutsche Libertet": das spanische Imperium in der Propaganda des Dreißigjährigen Krieges* (Stuttgart 2001), p. 262.
38. G. Lievens, *Gheschilderde onwetenheit*, fol. C6v. See on this development L. van Duerloo and M. Wogens, *Scherpenheuvel. Het Jeruzalem van de Lage Landen* (Leuven: Allmedia, 2002). This aspect of the case is discussed in more detail in a forthcoming article on cultural encounters between the southern regions of the Dutch Republic and the Southern Netherlands, see 'Grenzen en barrières in de tekstuele cultuur van de tolerante Republiek', forthcoming in *De zeventiende eeuw*.
39. See J.F. Foppens, *Oudheden en gestichten van de bisschoppelyke stadt en meyerre van 's Hertogenbosch* (Leiden: Willem Boot, 1749), p. 78.
40. W.J. op 't Hof, *Eeuwout Teellinck in handschriften*, p. 33.
41. See for bibliographical details J.A.F. Kronenburg, *Maria's heerlijkheid*, pp. 248-9. [21]

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