Sex and Drugs *before* Rock 'n' Roll

Youth Culture and Masculinity during Holland's Golden Age

Amsterdam University Press

Amsterdam Studies in the Dutch Golden Age

SEX AND DRUGS *BEFORE* ROCK 'N' ROLL

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Benjamin B. Roberts

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Founded in 2000 as part of the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Amsterdam (UvA), the Amsterdam Centre for Study of the Golden Age (*Amsterdams Centrum voor de Studie van de Gouden Eeuw*) aims to promote the history and culture of the Dutch Republic during the 'long' seventeenth century (c. 1560-1720). The Centre's publications provide an insight into lively diversity and continuing relevance of the Dutch Golden Age. They offer original studies on a wide variety of topics, ranging from Rembrandt to Vondel, from *Beeldenstorm* (iconoclastic fury) to *Ware Vrijheid* (True Freedom) and from Batavia to New Amsterdam. Politics, religion, culture, economics, expansion and warfare all come together in the Centre's interdisciplinary setting.

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To my grandparents
who were always young

John F. Malta Milo (1908-2000)
&
Lizette G. Malta Milo-Jansen (1913-2002)

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In the summer of 1982 I was a sixteen-year-old American teenager who backpacked across Europe on a Eurail Pass together with my eldest brother. Bright-eyed and curious, I was on a quest to discover – and witness – everything 'civilized' that European culture had to offer, as opposed to the 'uncouthness' we Americans felt about our own culture. One of our first stops from Amsterdam was to the picturesque, medieval university town of Heidelberg, which included a climb to the Gothic *alte Schoss* perched up high above the Neckar River, an afternoon at the University of Heidelberg, Germany's oldest university that was founded in 1386 and later bastion of Humanist and Reformation thought in the sixteenth century, and a visit to the university's *studentenkarzer* or student prison, where pupils that misbehaved were incarcerated for short periods of time. To my surprise, the prison walls were clad with graffiti and lewd texts. They reminded me of the drawings of oversized genitals and 'reefers', the marijuana cigarettes, and coarse inscriptions about sex, masturbation, and drugs that I enjoyed reading on the walls of my high school restroom back in the US. My initial thoughts were: 'Could it be that young men three hundred years ago were just as obsessed with the same profanities as me? And this was the "civilized culture" Americans aspired to model themselves after?' There went my first presupposition about how 'civilized' European culture was. Since then, that notion about the continuity and discontinuity of the human experience, fueled by an almost innate curiosity about the dynamics of culture has intrigued me. It has been a main theme in my historical research endeavors, including my dissertation about child-rearing practices in seventeenth and eighteenth-century Holland. For this study, that fascination is the *leitmotif* in examining how one generation of young men experienced the phase of life between sexual maturation and the age of marriage during one of Holland's most dynamic economic and cultural eras.

This work would not have been realized without the help and encouragement of many. Firstly I would like to thank Professor Willem Frijhoff, who, through our many delightful conversations, has given me countless advice, direction, and motivation from the very start of this project. His intellectual acuity and creativity have been an inspiration and his leadership qualities and emotional intelligence a role model. Professor Leendert Groenendijk, a fellow historian of early modern childhood and youth, was enthusiastic about my proposal and helped have it included as a postdoc research project, and component of the interdisciplinary research program at the Free University of Amsterdam, 'Interplay: Dutch identity as a result of the interaction of culture, art, and religion, 1400-1700'. Leendert's inspiration and perspicacity of more than 35 years in the field of historical pedagogy were welcomed gifts.

I was enriched by my colleagues at the Free University with the great wealth of knowledge and collaboration from many disciplines. Yvonne Bleyerveld, Arjan van Dixhoorn, John Exalto, Anouk Janssen, Christi Klinkert, Elmer Kolfin, Johan Koppenol, and Ilja Veldman read and commented on the manuscript at various stages. I want to thank Bianca du Mortier of the Rijksmuseum Amsterdam for her treasured insight and entertaining discussions about early modern clothing and hygiene, and Wayne Franits of Syracuse University, Chris Corley of Minnesota State University at Mankato, Joel Harrington of VanderBilt University, Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos of the Ben Gurion University at Negev, and B. Ann Tlusty of Bucknell University. I am very grateful for the staff at Amsterdam University Press, especially Sanne Sauer and Inge van der Bijl, who had to endure my persistence and sometimes stubbornness.

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Amsterdam/Heidelberg, July 2012

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PROLOGUE

PROLOGUE

On a December night in 1629, Otto Copes and two friends were completely drunk. The 18-year-old law student at the University of Groningen was 120 miles away from the watchful eye of his uncle, a magistrate in 's-Hertogenbosch, a city in the generality lands of the Dutch Republic. Earlier in the day, he and two friends had been seen drinking in a tavern. However, by nightfall, their student merrymaking had turned into an orgy of binge drinking and violent aggression. Their noisiness attracted the attention of the city's municipal guard who tried to temper their high-spiritedness. After mustering up enough courage and bravado from drinking, the three young men, armed with pistols, opened fire on the guard.[1]

Today, a drunken armed young man roaming the streets late at night would be a recipe for disaster. Contemporary authorities would impose curfews, prohibit the sale of alcohol to minors, and there would be fingerpointing at parents and schools for raising maladjusted youngsters. Politicians and moralists would use the opportunity to unleash a wave of moral panic and predict the collision course 'the youth of today' are headed for. Moreover, tax money would be spent on expensive programs to reform young people.

In the seventeenth century, the authorities in Groningen were not alarmed by the aggressive behavior of Otto Copes and his friends, nor was there much cause for moral panic in similar cases throughout the Dutch Republic in the early seventeenth century, which raises the question: Were excessive drinking and aggressive behavior typical for young men in the early modern period? Was it common for young men in the seventeenth century, or was this behavior specific to young men of Otto Copes's generation who grew up during the 1620s and 1630s?

That brings us to the first dilemma in the history of youth. Historians in general have a tendency to address history in broad sweeping strokes such as 'childhood and youth in the Middle Ages and early modern period' or 'youths in the seventeenth century'. However, we also often forget that a century in the past consisted of the same hundred years as our present era. It would be disrespectful to our ancestors to presume that change did not occur just as rapidly as it does today. If a young man born in 1980 read a history book about youths of the twentieth century and examined a youngster born in 1920, the two would not recognize each other's experiences. The young man born in 1980 who had grown up in a postmodern, affluent society with pop music, video games, and internet would not compare with the one born in 1920 whose formative years were spent during the scarcity of the economic depression of the 1930s and World War II. Economic conjunctures, demographic fluctuations, wars, famine, disease, and social unrest

during the formative years have a profound impact on how young people define themselves and perceive their future. The Dutch sociologist Henk Becker distinguishes four distinct generations of Dutch society for 60 years of the twentieth century: the Pre-War generation, born between 1910 and 1930; the Quiet Generation, born between 1930 and 1940; the Protest Generation, born between 1940 and 1955; and the Lost Generation, born between 1955 and 1970. For the demographic make-up of the United States, sociologists of the late twentieth century have specified the generation of Baby Boomers (born 1946-1964); Generation X (born 1965 through 1983); and more recently, Generation Y (also known as the New Boomers, who were born 1983 through 2001). These generations are defined according to their outlook on life and chances of succeeding in a society influenced by economic and demographic circumstances, as experienced during their formative years as a youth, usually around the age of 17 when young people are most receptive to value orientations.[2]

Just like the twentieth century, the seventeenth century experienced varying periods of economic prosperity, decline, material affluence and scarcity, and war. It would be impossible to divvy up seventeenth-century society with the same precision as demographers, population specialists, and market researchers have done for modern society. Dutch society in the seventeenth century, like most societies of the *Ancien Régime*, was structured by rank and privilege. There is little or no comparison to the economic and social democracies of Europe in the twentieth century. But we cannot disregard the fact that youths in the early modern period, and the early seventeenth century specifically, did not distinguish and manifest themselves differently from previous generations.

New approach to youth

In *Vrouw des Huizes* [Woman of the House] (2009), Els Kloek comprehensively portrays the history of the Dutch housewife, spanning the Middle Ages until modern times. By highlighting the upbringing of girls and young women, the history of the female gender suddenly becomes more illuminated. Kloek argues that while the identity of a housewife in the sixteenth century was still vague, by the seventeenth century the notion had become quite evident and had an undeniable presence. Seventeenth-century childrearing and household manuals encouraged mothers to raise daughters with the virtues of what being a good housewife entailed. Foreigners to the Dutch Republic often endorsed this view of the Dutch housewife and noted how bossy they were and how obsessed Dutch women were with cleanliness and properness.[3]

Gender, often from the perspective of women studies, has produced new focal points for historical research. In a fascinating approach to the agents of change, Mary Jo Maynes of the University of Minnesota pleads for more research into 'age as a category of historical analysis'. While historical change is often ascribed to powerful individuals, she demonstrates, based on childhood narratives, how profoundly the upbringing of girls (and children in general) affects them as agents in instigating historical change.[4]

The main object of this book is to go one step further and zoom in not only on *one* specific gender – male – but also on *one* distinctive generation of young men who experienced their formative years during the 1620s and 1630s. Consequently, their unique codes of masculinity and youth culture, idiosyncratic to their era, will become more obvious to us. Similar to the approaches of Kloek and Maynes, I will focus specifically on male adolescents and young men. Moreover, this book will also illustrate how the generation of young men from the 1620s and 1630s were important agents in advocating new ideas about clothing, drinking, violence, sexuality, and recreational habits. In order to illustrate the contrast and illuminate the uniqueness of the generation of young men from the 1620s and 1630s, comparisons will be made with the previous generation of young men whose formative years were at the end of the sixteenth century (until 1600); and the succeeding generation of youngsters who grew up in the 1640s and 1650s.

Sex and drugs *before* rock 'n' roll

According to pop culture author Eric Segalstad's well-known book, *The 27s: The Greatest Myth of Rock & Roll* (2009), the age of 27 seems to be part of a recurring pattern for contemporary pop stars: Jim Morrison, Jimi Hendrix, Kurt Cobain, and quite recently Amy Winehouse died at that age from a life of excess, including rock 'n' roll. Segalstad argues that the threshold age for moving from youth to adulthood hovered for quite some time around 25 years old, but since the 1960s it has been extended to 27: the age when young men (and women) either become adults and act like adults or if they do not, as Segalstad opines, young men and women become entangled in a state of limbo where sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll became a way of life and untimely downfall. In this realm, rock 'n' roll refers to the teen culture of the 1950s, a society of young people who grew up in affluence, with leisure time and music, exhibiting a distinctive youth culture in film, clothing, hair, motorbikes, and specific language. In contemporary society, 'Rock 'n' Roll' is a metaphor for recreation and leisure activities that can become excessive during the transition of young people from childhood to adulthood. It would be anachronistic – and historically speaking impossible – to observe the youth culture of the 1620s and 1630s in the same light as the popular youth culture of the 1960s in Western society. Nevertheless, there are some prominent parallels that cannot be ignored. The youth of the 1620s and 1630s grew up in an exceptional period of economic and demographic growth, witnessed the cultural golden years of the Dutch Golden Age, and produced a characteristic culture of leisure, as this book will argue. *Before Rock 'n' Roll* in the title of this monograph refers to the pedagogical metaphor of the upbringing of adolescents and young men that could go amuck in the transition of young people to adulthood and *not* the literal definition of rock 'n' roll.[5]

Generations of young people that grew up under the auspices of economic affluence, social mobility, and cultural growth tend to manifest a specific youth culture. In order to get a glimpse of the youth culture in the 1620s and 1630s, this study will examine a variety of sources, including paintings and engravings, conduct books, moralistic and prescriptive treatises, municipal ordi-

nances, criminal records, and entertainment books such as songbooks, to unveil how the generation of young men including Otto Copes, a generation born between 1595 and 1615, manifested a youth culture and expressed masculinity in the Dutch Republic during the 1620s and 1630s. Like all sources, they have their shortcomings and are not always representative. Nevertheless, given a diversity of sources from various disciplines including art history, history, theology, and educational sciences, the conclusions of this study will provide a more holistic image of youth culture and masculinity in the early seventeenth century. Moreover, this investigation will elaborate on pioneer studies of youths in the early modern period such Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (1994), and Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority. Formative Experiences in England, 1560-1640* (1996), which opened up the field of the history of youth and gave depth to the phase of life between childhood and adulthood which until then had been often overlooked by historians. *The Premodern Teenager. Youth in Society 1150-1650* (2002), edited by Konrad Eisenbichler, further addressed the experience of youth by scholars from various scientific disciplines and provided new insights into the experience of growing up during the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. In the Netherlands, the Dutch historian of psychology Harry Peeters uncovered in *Kind en Jeugdige in het begin van de moderne tijd (ca. 1500-ca. 1650)* [Child and Youth at the Beginning of the Modern Period (c. 1500-1650)] (1966) the psychological state of children and youths in the late Middle Ages and early modern period. While Peeters's dissertation expanded on the history of childhood, which had been brought to life by Philippe Ariès's *Centuries of Childhood* (1962), he also put the youth phase of life on the map. With the exception of Eddy Grootes, the historian of Dutch literature who was one of the first to delve into the recreational activities of the Republic's youth, it would take a couple of decades before Dutch historians would pick up where Peeters had left off.[6]

According to Peeters, early modern society recognized the phase of youth to be a period of emotional upheaval for young people. The temperament of the youth and adolescent phase of life was characterized by unbalanced, unstable, and ambivalent behavior. In his in-depth research into early modern pedagogical prescriptions, Peeters concluded that early modern pedagogues took into account when giving advice that the proportions of everything adolescents felt, thought, and did was exaggerated. Adolescents were reckless, had high expectations of themselves, were dependent and gullible, and their feelings of love and hate were unbalanced, yet they were overly self-confident.[7] Few historians of youth would dispute that mischief and tomfoolery of adolescent males and young men is reported in all eras. Yet for each period there are differences in how contemporaries perceived wayward and unruly behavior. For early modern Germany, the Harvard historian Steven Ozment argues that the three horseman of adolescence were alcohol, sex, and the theater.[8] For the Dutch Republic during its 80-year struggle for independence from the Roman Catholic Spanish monarch, it was a different story. The concerns about excessive drinking and budding sexuality were standard fare, but Dutch parents and authorities were also worried about violence and other activities that young men were prone to commit during their leisure time spent in urban surroundings. In general, during the early modern period, the follies of young men were an ambiguous matter. On the one hand, they posed a threat to public order,

while on the other hand tomfoolery was an integral part of youth culture and an expression of masculinity. In this investigation the notion of youth culture and masculinity are treated as two sides of the same coin that cannot be separated, and form two themes that thread through this study.

The phase of life recognized as 'Youth'

In order to understand male youths in the early seventeenth century, we have to recognize the fact that foolish behavior is idiosyncratic to the life phase of youth. Early modern society accepted the mischievous behavior of adolescents and young men, as long as it occurred within the parameters of youth – the phase of life from early teens until the mid-twenties or the period between budding sexuality until marriage. In the Middle Ages and early modern period, the 'ages of life' were known in the Northern Netherlands as the 'Ladder of Life' and were distinctly divided into stages or steps. In illustration 1 the portrayal of each step represented a decade in a man's life, starting with the age of 10 and continuing progressively up to the age of 90. For the first step, a boy is depicted banging a drum and a girl playing with a doll. In the next step, a 20-year-old young man is shown giving his sweetheart a flower. The 30-year-old step is represented by a young couple with a small child. For the 40-year-old step, a man is shown wearing a uniform, symbolizing that he has made a good career for himself. The highest point of the ladder is reached with the next step of 50, and then life starts to regress downwards to the age of 60 with a man portrayed with a cane, at 70 with eyeglasses, at 80 with a stool, and at 90 he can barely stand. At the bottom of the ladder he lies in a bed with a paper in his hands with the text: 100 years, my life. Behind the bed an angel points towards heaven.

In the Middle Ages and early modern period there were many versions of the Ladder of Life, with different representations, but all depicted youth as the life phase between the ages of 20 and 30. The phases of life were also symbolized in seasons of the year. Spring represented childhood and youth, summer adulthood, autumn middle age, and winter old age.[9] The Ages of Man were also correlated to the humoral theory of Galenic pathology. All matter consisted of the four elements of which each was connected to an element and quality: air (hot and moist); fire (hot and dry); earth (cold and dry); and water (cold and moist). The four elements in the human body were related to blood, yellow bile, black bile, and phlegm, which were associated with the four humors or temperaments of the body, respectively sanguine, choleric, melancholic, and phlegmatic.

According to the humoral theory, the temperament of young people was dominated by heat and moisture, which were lifegiving. Cold and dryness, on the contrary, consumed energy and were associated with old age. There was also a difference between male and female. Females were considered to have cold and dry bodies, while males were known for their heat and dryness. Based on humoral theory, the Dutch physician Levinus Lemnius (1505-1568) categorized and subcategorized the life of man into seven ages in his medical work which was first published in

Illustration 1 'Life in the early modern period was often divided into phases. The youth phase, between 20 and 30 years old, often depicted as experimental and the age of finding a marriage partner'. Frederik d Bouttats de Oude, 'Ladder of Life, the Human Rise and Fall, Is Sweet for Some and Frightening for Others' (c. 1600-1661).

Latin and later in English, *The Touchstone of Complexions* (1633). The publication laid the groundwork that embodied the traits expected of gentlemen. According to Lemnius, health and morality were the basis for the exemplary body that in turn exemplified morality.[10] Because this study will focus primarily on youths of the upper and middle echelons of Dutch and include youths of the lower ranks where sources permit, Lemnius's subcategorization of the ages of puberty, adolescence, and youth will be maintained as an elastic 'indication' of youth as opposed to a rigid definition of the age group.[11]

According to Lemnius, children and stripling (who were then about 14-15 years old) were characterized as sanguine creatures because

> their blood is pure and full of swelling spirit, are still stirring, quicke, nimble, active, wanton, unmodest, malepert, sawcy, proud, without wit, and much given to toying and playing: for wee see them as wanton as calves, that is to say, in mowing with their mouthes, in voice, gestures, beckes, clapping of hands, light songs, vaine joyfulnesse, where there is no cause, immoderate mirth, disordered fisking up and downe, and uncertaine motion and gate: all which doe signifie a shuttle wavering nature, and a minde subject to great mutability and unconstancy, proceeding and caused of the boyling of their blood within them, which boyleth up, as it were seetheth in their veines, even as new wine, ale, or beere spurgeth and worketh in the tunne.[12]

Levinus Lemnius, 'Ages of Man' in *Touchstone of Complexions* [original 1576]:[13]

Phase	*Age*
Infancy	0-7
Childhood	7-15
Puberty	15-18
Adolescence	18-25
Youth	25-35
Man's Age	35-50
Old Age	50/65+

The Dutch physician Johan van Beverwijck (1594-1647) applied the same elements and temperaments of youth in his popular household medical manual *Schat der Gesondheyt* [The Treasure of Health] (1636). Van Beverwijck considered the third phase of the seven-year period of a youth's life (age 14 to 21 years old) to be dominated by the development of his talents in science and wisdom. Especially during this age, a youth should master structured eating, drinking, and other habits. Moreover, he should be in the fresh air a lot and take plenty of physical exercise as it is important for blood and his ability to study.[14]

Rites of passage

The third phase of life on the Ladder of Manhood entailed an entire regiment of rites of passage that adolescents and young men had to endure and prove before becoming men by seventeenth-century standards. In 1960 the anthropologist Arnold van Gennep classified the rites of passage for young people from birth, through childhood, betrothal, marriage, to funerals while examining primarily non-Western societies. According to his theory, the transition to the next phase of life was characterized by physical or social rites or initiation. For the youths of the early seventeenth century, Van Gennep's model will not be strictly applied but will be kept in the background.[15] The rites of passage for youths in the 1620s and 1630s will be addressed in the realm of young people's appearance and clothing, drinking habits, use of violence, sexuality, and recreational habits. Rites of passage in this investigation will wind through each chapter, and a distinction will be made between physical and biological rites of passage and cultural and social ones.

Prodigal son

One of the most revealing methaphors from the seventeenth century that addresses the rites of passage for young men was the Biblical story of the Prodigal Son. Early modern painters, engravers, and playwrights alluded at length to the Prodigal Son or Lost Son when addressing the fool-

ish behavior of young men who were not yet considered adults. The story, which appeared in the Gospel of Luke in the New Testament of the Bible, is about the younger of two sons who asks his father to give him his share of the estate. He travels to a distant country, squanders his money on expensive garments, wine, women, and other vices. After being reduced to living among pigs, he comes to his senses and returns home where his father welcomes him with open arms. The parable is about forgiveness and redemption. In the early modern period, painters including Rembrandt symbolized the topsy-turvy transition from childhood to adulthood with this Biblical theme. The anxiety that the Prodigal Son must have represented for parents and moralists meanders through many facets of youth culture and masculinity.[16] Van Beverwijck hinted at the same concern that parents and moralists had for youths in the early modern period: the fear of leisure and need for didactic recreation. In this respect, the history of leisure and recreation in the early modern period travels the same path as the history of youth. While parents and authorities were concerned about the activities of the young, their main worry was how young people occupied their time when not engaged in mundane activities such as sleeping, eating, drinking, carrying out chores in the household, going to school, learning a trade, and working. In general, the idleness between the routine of daily life and outside the parameters of work was a cause for angst among moralists.[17]

The British economic historian Peter Mathias opines that 'the fear of leisure' was widespread in early modern Europe. Contrary to contemporary regulated working conditions and work forces, laborers in the early modern period were subject to climatic and technological conditions that brought an immediate halt to work and incurred forced idleness and leisure. Work was interrupted by the calendar as laborers had to observe religious holidays, which shortened the workweek. Laborers in the maritime and fisheries industry were more often out of work during the winter months. Ships could linger for days, up to months, while waiting for favorable winds. In the meantime the wharfingers, dockworkers, local carriers, and crews of barges remained inactive.

But there were numerous other sectors of the workforce that were affected by weather conditions. Millers were dependent on wind, construction workers and agrarians on fair weather conditions. Contrary to our era where leisure is a symbol of wealth for most working groups of people, a majority of the labor force in the early modern period experienced intense bouts of work followed by days – or even longer – of inactivity or forced leisure in the course of a year. Mathias postulates that idle laborers waiting for employment merged into a 'rootless, drifting population of beggars, peddlers, petty criminals, prostitutes, "men without masters" and others on the margins of society'.[18]

The cultural historian Peter Burke argues that the invention of leisure in the early modern period lies somewhere between Norbert Elias's 'process of civilization' and Michael Foucault's 'Discipline and Punish' theories. Burke adds that recommended recreation as a cure or prescription against idleness was instrumental in civilizing and disciplining urbanized populations at the same time.[19] In this framework, we will address how recreational activities for young people in the 1620s and 1630s were shaped by youths on the one side and by parents, moralists, and municipal authorities on the other.

Youth culture

In the historiography of youth culture, the notion of a new bourgeois urban youth culture oscillates between the research of the French cultural historian Robert Muchembled and the German historian Norbert Schindler. The former dates the onset of the concept of modern adolescence to the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in villages and towns in Northern France and Flanders when the patriarch structure of the family started to wither away and tensions between adult males and unmarried sons grew. The latter pinpoints the existence of modern youth culture emerging in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century with the advent of the nation-state and introduction of bourgeois norms and values with its middle-class culture.[20] The main reason that Holland, and to a lesser extent the Dutch Republic, will be used as a case study is because it was a young country. The country was not only a young political and geographical state, it was also a *young* republic with a large population of young people. In *The Embarrassment of Riches*, Simon Schama stresses that the Dutch Republic in the Golden Age was a Republic of Children. With its numerous immigrants and scores of youngsters, it was a republic of children with doting parents, anxious pedagogues, and a new state keen on molding obedient burghers. The notion of child – and childhood in general – was a theme that dominated the arts and letters and was often polarized between 'the ludic and the didactic, between liberty and obedience, between independence and safety'. Schama points out that to be Dutch in the early seventeenth century 'was to be imprisoned in a state of becoming: a sort of perpetual political adolescence'.[21]

Holland – heart of the Republic

This study will go one step further. Holland and the Dutch Republic did not form a Republic of Children, but rather a *Republic of Young People*. Within the Republic, the province of Holland was buzzing with energy from the young people and immigrants who had fled less prospective areas of Europe, as well as less affluent parts of the Republic. Holland attracted adolescents and young immigrants who sought employment, adventure, religious tolerance, and a new life. The principal focus of attention in this investigaton will be the cities of Holland. Within the province were located the great manufacturing and trading cities of Leiden, Haarlem, Hoorn, Enkhuizen, Dordrecht, Rotterdam, Delft, Schiedam, and Amsterdam. With its economic prosperity, cultural growth, and demographic might, Amsterdam was the center.[22] The economic boom during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century attracted numerous religious and economic refugees from the Southern Netherlands where the Revolt against the Spanish lingered on, and young men and women from the German states who fled rural communities where villages and towns were pillaged and burned during the Thirty Years' War.[23] There were also numerous young people who emigrated from the Nordic countries where there was little employment. In the expanding economy of the Republic, immigrant young men sought work as sailors, factory workers, and craftsmen while women were apt to look for employment as domestic servants or seamstresses in the growing linen industry. With large numbers of young people populating Dutch cities, especially during these two decades when there was also unprecedented wealth, an affluent culture

for young people manifested in the environs of the urbanized Dutch Republic. Although young people had no real political and economic power in the traditional sense, they were a generation of movers and shakers who helped shape the Dutch Republic during its gilded era and helped create a national identity.

The first chapter will address the 1620s and 1630s, two decades marked by incomparable economic, demographic, cultural, and intellectual growth. These decades were the *golden* decades of the Dutch Golden Age, and formative years for a generation of young men, and had a great impact on their outlook on life. According to the German historian Herbert Moller, fundamental changes in society are usually instigated by demographic growth in societies with a large youth population. Moller's essay on youth as a force in the modern world of bringing change to society was published in April 1968, one month prior to the notorious uprising of the post-war Baby Boom generation of students in Paris. Similar collective changes have occurred throughout history in societies with large youth populations. The Protestant Reformation movement in Germany during the early sixteenth century is one example. After a period of waning population growth in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in the aftermath of the Black Death, the population started to grow again, and large cohorts of young adults set up households in Germany during the first decades of the sixteenth century. Many of these young people were responsible for the Reformation, including Martin Luther, who published his notorious Ninety-Five Theses at the age of 34, and his great Reformation tracts at the age of 37. In the 1520s many of the academic staff at the University of Wittenberg were in their 20s and 30s. Aurogallus was appointed professor at the age of 30, Justin Jonas and Augustus Schiff were 27 years old, Johannes Hainpol and Melanchthon were 21 years old – even younger than most of their students. Many of these men and their students were responsible for promoting the ideas of the Reformation and implemented great change throughout Europe. Besides the Reformation, the Puritan movement in England and the French Revolution were also movements that were fueled by young people. Moller's argument is based on early modern and later examples of youth movements where 'social change is not engineered by youth, but it is most manifest in youth'.[24]

Young people are vital catalysts in implementing change in society. They are willing to take risks and more apt to use violence. However, it is usually adult and elderly men who have more seasoned ideas about change. According to the American sociologist Norman B. Ryder, the potential for change is manifested in the cohorts of youths – and not adults – for the simple reason that young adults are old enough to participate directly in the movements impelled by change but not old enough to have committed to an occupation, a residence, a family, or a way of life'.[25] Moller's theory of youth as a force can also be applied to the early modern world and possibly to the Dutch Republic which was a 'state in becoming', according to Simon Schama: it was a country rebelling for independence while at the same time desperately searching to form its own identity. In the early days of the Revolt, the Dutch Republic was still a union confederation of seven provinces that were loosely unified under the flagship of the United Provinces, in order to oust Spanish domination over the Northern Netherlands. Simon Schama has argued that the

country lacked a common history, heritage, educational system, and church, and was only unified by a moral geography. After the Iconic Fury during the 1560s, the north had rid itself of the Roman Catholic Church with its icons and statues, which were important pedagogical symbols and role models for young people. After the onset of the Revolt, the various splintered Protestant churches, such as the Lutherans and Anabaptists, and the Dutch Reformed Church failed to fill the shoes as the official successor of the Roman Catholic Church, and to take on a cohesive role in Dutch society. In this theocratic limbo in combination with an economic-political structure that was ruled by the regents of wealthy cities where free-market liberalism triumphed, a new secular, urbane youth culture based on humanistic thought started to emerge.

More recently, the *tabula rasa* concept, a notion arguing that the Northern Netherlands prior to the Revolt lacked political unity and cultural cohesion, has been disputed by Willem Frijhoff. Since the Middle Ages, the provinces in the north had engaged in political unities and had religious similarities, economic ties, and cultural uniformities. In this realm, the onset of the Dutch Revolt was not the 'big bang' that brought forth a new Dutch identity.[26] Wim Blockmans, the Dutch historian of medieval history, opines that the Dutch culture of the seventeenth century was rather a relief of an already existing dynamic Netherlandic culture that was founded on urbanization, an open economy based on mercantile and far-reaching trade relations and firm financial centers, and with strong cultural ties with the cities of northern and central Italy.[27] In the backdrop of these two conflicting theories, the youth culture of the early seventeenth century will be examined.

Masculinity

For early modern society, mastering the horsemen of adolescence was an integral part of becoming a man and reflected contemporary ideas about masculinity, or at least a notion of the prevailing ideas of manhood. Society recognized various prevailing concepts of masculinity that ranged from what we today would consider effeminate to masculine and macho. According to Merry E. Wiesner-Hanks, in the political writings of Machiavelli (1469-1527), for example, the word 'effeminate' was used differently in the sixteenth century than today. It often implied a sign of strong heterosexual passion and was not a token of manliness. Being made effeminate meant that one was dominated by a woman. On the other hand, strong same-sex relationships such as friendships were considered a 'sign of virility' if they were based on honorable masculinity such as military leadership.

Masculinity in the early modern period was culturally constructed and continuously in motion. This book will address how the generation of young men in the Dutch Republic during their formative years in the 1620s and 1630s defined masculinity and manhood. Each generation and cohort in the seventeenth century did so in a different way. In England during the Civil War (1642-1649), for example, men distinguished themselves either as cavaliers, and displayed their masculinity by wearing long hair and silk knee breeches, or as Puritans, who were known as Roundheads for their short-cropped hairstyles and plain and sober-styled clothes. Both groups

held conflicting notions of masculinity. In the Dutch Republic during the 1620s and 1630s, there were conforming and conflicting ideas about masculinity as well.[28]

Manhood in early modern society was not acquired just by reaching a certain biological age. The road to manhood was filled with biological markers, rites of passage, and testimonies of manliness that were manifested and displayed in the public domain because the public area was the realm of manhood, while the domestic sphere was the territory of women. In the early modern period, being a man did not just entail *not* being a woman. Manhood and masculinity in this period were an assortment of subtle and unsubtle, unwritten behaviors acquired after proving oneself through a series of rites of passage. The rituals that hurtled males from adolescents and young men into manhood were first proven to peers, and then to older men.

We should also take into account that manhood and masculinity are not only culturally determined but are also influenced by biological and psychological factors that have an impact on adolescent behavior. Today, we know the irrational behavior and heightened willingness to display courage and take risks among adolescent males can be ascribed to biological factors such as hormones and brain development. Adolescent males and young men have peak levels of testosterone, which remain high until their mid-20s. Nowadays, biologists argue that the male sex hormone has a strong effect on confidence and the risk-taking behavior of young men, and is a key contributor to violence and other irrational decision-making in male youths.[29]

Another factor responsible for heightened risk-taking behavior among young males is caused by the state of the adolescent brain.[30] According to recent developmental neuroscience research, the adolescent brain is dominated by the interaction between two brain networks: the socio-emotional network which is strongly influenced by stimuli from friends and peers and primary emotions, and the cognitive control network which executes 'functions such as planning, thinking ahead, self-regulation, and that matures gradually over the course of adolescence and young adulthood'. During adolescence the socio-emotional network is more assertive, and especially in the presence of peers or 'conditions of emotional arousal', the socio-emotional network can become activated enough to dominate the cognitive control network. As a young male matures, the cognitive control network of the brain overshadows the socio-emotional network, and ultimately adult males are less likely to take risks that are influenced by peers.[31]

Chapter Two will address how Dutch adolescents and young men distinguished and expressed their masculinity through appearance, and how they risked traditional codes of masculine fashion to manifest youth culture that was idiosyncratic of their generation. This chapter will focus on how the generation of young men in the 1620s and 1630s physically distinguished themselves from older generations. The appearance and dress young men chose to exert the individuality of their generation through hairstyle and general appearance will be investigated at length. Sources such as paintings, engravings, and artifacts from archaeological sites will assist in determining the style of the generation of young men from the 1620s and 1630s. These sources help us confirm whether they chose to look clean-shaven, have mustaches or beards, grow their hair long or keep it short, and which fashion trends they followed. Furthermore, the chapter will also address how moralists responded to this new fashion and how the new style of young men clashed with prevailing ideas about fashion and masculinity.

Chapter three will address the hedonistic lifestyle of the youth in the early modern period, that was often captured through the hendiatris 'wine, women, and song'. This figure of speech, originating from the Greek ευ διά τρίωυ, or 'one, two, three', summed up the concept of one idea through three words. The German version of the expression *'Wein, Weib und Gesang'* has been attributed to Martin Luther, who gave it a positive twist, *Wer nicht liebt Wein, Weib, Gesang, der bleibt ein Narr sein Leben lang* ([He] who does not love wine, women, and song remains a fool forever). These vices were ubiquitous. In the Dutch Republic moralists tended to be worried about *wijntje, trijntje*: *Wijn* is the Dutch word for wine, and *Trijntje* the nickname for Catherina, which was a common name for a girl in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The phrase *wijntje, trijntje* summed up two vices of young unmarried men: excessive drinking and promiscuous sexuality. (In the Dutch Republic, the recreational activity of singing was not considered a vice, but rather an integral part of the courting ritual, which will be addressed in Chapter Seven.) This concern about male adolescent drinking and becoming sexually active was not a new phenomenon in the early modern period. The evils of excessive drinking and promiscuous behavior were an age-old trope that was modernized and adapted to the generation of young people of the 1620s and 1630s. In the social and cultural construction of manhood, wine, women, and song were important rites of passage that male adolescents had to master in order to become men.[32]

According to Lynn Martin's *Alcohol, Sex and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, alcohol consumption in the early modern period was a complex matter when it concerned gender, and consequently the forming of gender identities. There was a double standard about sexuality and a double standard about alcohol: 'Just as women were expected to maintain their chastity so also were they expected to maintain their sobriety. The two double standards were linked because of the widespread opinion that a sober woman was chaste while a drunken woman would be promiscuous. Not only did men have a greater freedom than woman in sexual matters, but they also had the right to consume vast amounts of alcoholic beverages, not just the right but also the duty if they were to maintain their honor and status.'[33] *Wijntje, trijntje* for young men in the Dutch Republic was a form of risk-taking behavior. The act of getting drunk and being promiscuous epitomized manly behavior and was a manifestation of masculinity.

Chapter Three will also address Lynn Martin's double standard of drinking for male youths within the culture of alcohol consumption in seventeenth-century Dutch culture, a society in which uncontaminated fresh water was a rarity, and alcohol was the safest beverage for old and young alike. In this framework young men learned to master a balanced golden median between sobriety and excessive drinking.

In Chapter Four we will examine the socialization of young men in two different social and economic groups. The first is the group of young men in the 1620s and 1630s in the Dutch Republic who underwent a new socialization process that contrasted greatly to that of their forefathers, who were migrants and immigrants from small towns and villages in rural Europe. For this group, which formed the lower ranks of Dutch urban society, their initation rites into manhood in the public domain were no longer accepted by municipal authorities aiming to constrain and maintain civil order. This led civil authorities to regulate the activities of large groups

of young men when they were not attending school or working. During leisure time their play activities could easily erupt into social mayhem. Numerous city ordinances forbade young men from tomfooleries such as throwing snowballs and stones, fighting in alleys, tossing firecrackers and fireworks, parading through city streets, congregating in public squares, and gathering on street corners and bridges. The second group consists of the young men from the upper and middle classes of Dutch society who wielded violence as a rite of passage and mark of manhood. Students enrolled at early modern universities were granted the right to carry weapons and were often armed with pistols and swords. In early modern society, carrying weapons was a badge of manhood and masculinity.

In general, the early modern period has often been portrayed as a violent era marked by a tumultuous transition from feudalism to capitalism. In the course of the period, there was a substantial decline in the crimes committed, which signifies a qualitative shift in the norms and civilization of early modern society.[34] However, violence was an integral part of early modern society. Most urban residents in the early modern period were likely to have witnessed or have been a victim of some sort of violence in their lifetimes, ranging from domestic hostility and rape to manslaughter.[35] Young men were often the cause of the violence. The biological state of young men alone was a potential risk to society. During late adolescence and young adulthood, males have high levels of testosterone and excessive amounts of physical energy. Acts of violence were often a natural outlet for young men who were expected to remain chaste from the onset of their budding sexuality in their late teens until the age of marriage (often in their late twenties). In this period of almost ten years, young men had to vent their pent-up sexual energy, and tomfoolery and violence were often considered or tolerated as an acceptable outlet. In this domain, committing certain acts of violence had specific cultural meanings, and violent deeds transgressed by adolescents and young men entailed expressions of manhood and physical strength, which is one of the main characteristics that distinguish men from women.[36] As we shall see, many of the acts of violence committed by adolescents and young men in the Dutch Republic were rites of passage, and were not the same type of delinquent juvenile behavior associated with economic crime for daily survival.[37] The mimicking of aggressive adult conduct was important for adolescent boys and young men to exhibit their manhood to society.[38]

Chapter Four will examine how violence perpetrated by adolescents and young men was an essential part of manhood in Dutch cities during the early seventeenth century when the country swelled in geographical size and population due to immigration from the countryside during the revolt in the Southern Netherlands and the war raging in German territories. Consequently, Dutch cities, especially the urban centers of Holland that experienced the most demographic changes, became a crossroads between the rural culture of agrarian society with its idiosyncratic norms of socializing young men and an emerging urban culture of civilized society that desired law and order. The generation of young men from the 1620s and 1630s from all echelons of Dutch society helped alter socialization practices towards a more civilized society.

According to the slippery slope concept, after alcohol came other licentious behavior such as sex. After the senses had been become doused with alcohol and after committing acts of violence, young men were sure to lose control and submit to the seduction of women or vices of the flesh. Lea Dasberg, the Dutch historian of childhood whose study *Grootbrengen door kleinhouden als historisch verschijnsel* [Childrearing through Infantilization as a Historical Phenomenon] (1975) elaborated on Ariès's notion that childhood has been extended in the last three centuries, postulates that young children in the seventeenth century became acquainted with the facts of life and were not sheltered from adult sexuality. In an era when children did not have separate bedrooms, slept in the same bed with parents, wet-nurses, or house personnel, and when most people slept either in the nude or with only a pajama cap, young children were fully educated about sex from an early age onwards.[39] In that respect, Chapter Five will examine whether young men mastered a liminal rite of sexuality. For early modern parents and adolescents alike, this was one of the most critical stages in the upbringing of young men, yet early modern moralists and pedagogues were often tight-lipped about providing sex education.[40] The Dutch pedagogue Johannes de Swaef, who published the first child-rearing manual in Dutch, *De Geestelijcke Kwekerij* [The Spiritual Nursery] (1621), advised parents at length about everything they needed to know about how to raise children from breast-feeding to finding a suitable marriage partner. Yet when it came to educating boys and adolescents about *vogelen* ('the birds and the bees'), he was suddenly at a loss for words.[41]

Norms and values about sexuality during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century underwent great changes. In the mid-sixteenth century when the Northern Netherlands was still under the hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church, it was not unusual for many young men and women to join a monastery and live a life of celibacy. The Reformation and abolishment of papal institutions had a dramatic social and spiritual effect on the sexual lives of thousands of young men and women. Primarily, they were no longer obliged to follow a life of celibacy; indeed, under the new Protestant family moral they were expected to marry and have children. Before that, however, young people had to become economically independent, which often entailed delaying the age of marriage. Consequently, this meant that there was a longer period between the age of sexual maturity and marriage, which became a great concern to moralists and parents alike. Moreover, the average age at which adolescents in the early seventeenth century left the parental home was younger than in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After completing secondary school, the Latin school, usually in their mid to late teens, boys either became apprentices or went to university. Part of the educational scheme entailed learning a trade or attending a university in another city. Boys would take up residence with the family of the artisan to whom he was apprenticed, or with one of the professors he was studying with at the university. When early modern parents sent their sons off, they must have felt sadness but also an anxiety about the many temptations that the world had to offer.

Chapter Five will investigate which sexual outlets and courting rituals young men had before they reached the age of marriage and how moralists and society addressed those outlets and courting practices.

Contrary to contemporary western governments that have imposed smoking bans, restricted the use of tobacco in public spaces, and marginalized its habitués, young men from the 1620s and 1630s were the first generation to witness an unfamiliar prosperity with a growing selection of new consumer products. One of the new luxury products introduced into Europe by extended trade relations was tobacco. In the late sixteenth century, soldiers, seamen, and other social outcasts were the only consumers of tobacco. By 1650 smoking had become a favorite pastime for the Dutch. According to Simon Schama, the smell of the Dutch Republic by mid-seventeenth century was the smell of tobacco. In the short period of half a century, smoking had become integrated from a habit of social deviants to a mainstream recreational habit. Chapter Six will address how the generation of the 1620s and 1630s produced cultural agents who transformed the practice of social degenerates into a common habit of the masses.

Before rock 'n' roll

In Chapter Seven we shall address the recreational activities of young men in the 1620s and 1630s. The most crucial question is what young people did with their free time. In most countries in early modern Europe, song was the most feared vice of young men after wine and women. Parents have always been concerned about the sexuality and recreational activities of their adolescent children. Making music and singing were popular recreational activitities of young people in the early seventeenth century. In general, singing was a favorite pastime of the Dutch. During the economic boom and growing affluence of the middle class, consumer products such as songbooks had become a trendy consumer good produced for and purchased by the urbane young people living in the cities of Holland and other towns in the Republic. Besides spending money, the youngsters of the urban elite had more leisure time at their disposal than previous generations of young men did. We shall address how songbooks and the activities portrayed in songbooks played an important role in creating a national identity and were a cohesive force in molding the youth culture of the 1620s and 1630s. Books that contained songs were by no means a new phenomenon. However, during the 1610s and 1620s the size, scale, and production of elaborate editions of songbooks changed as never before. New songbooks were published primarily for young urban audiences. Besides their amusing quality, they were important mediums in conveying ideas about contemporary youth culture, and creating the Dutch identity. Subliminally, the songbooks of the 1610s, 1620s, and 1630s relayed a national youth culture and identity throughout the cities of the Dutch Republic. Young people were informed of what other youths in the rest of the Republic did for leisure activities.

Finally, in the epilogue we shall return to the young Otto Copes and address the role models that helped shape his youth culture and notions of masculinity in the 1620s and 1630s. We will examine how early seventeenth century role models were pivotal in projecting ideals of manhood to adolescents and young men, as well as laying the groundwork of a national identity for the newly founded Dutch Republic, at a time when the country, much like a modern adolescent, was striving for its own independence.

CHAPTER 1

THE GENERATION OF THE 1620s AND 1630s

CHAPTER 1

The Generation of the 1620s and 1630s

While strolling along Leiden's seventeenth-century Rapenburg canal today and standing in front of the unversity's academic building, it feels as if time has stood still for the last 400 years. The differences between students from 1620 and now are also slight: in 2010 the average age of a male student enrolling at the university was 18 to 19 years old. The student today is likely to choose a major in the humanities, and the most common first name for a male student is Kevin, followed by Thomas and Jeroen. The young man is likely to come from a middle-class background.[1] In 1620 some 297 students enrolled at the University of Leiden. The average age of a new student was 21.7 years old, he was likely to study law, and the most common name was Johannes, followed by Jacobus, and he would have come from an affluent family. Besides students of the early modern period having different names and being slightly older than students today, the manner in which young men expressed their youth culture and masculinity 400 years ago was also quite remote from contemporary student life.[2]

Let us first examine the social, economic, and cultural setting of the Dutch Republic during the 1620s and 1630s. We will zoom in on the province of Holland, which was the most urbanized area in Europe in 1622. Half of the province's 672,000 inhabitants resided in cities. More than 100,000 lived in Amsterdam alone. Dutch cities and towns were swarming with young people, mainly men in their late teens and early twenties. From all over Northern and Central Europe, job-searching and adventure-seeking young men converged on Amsterdam and other cities in Holland and the Dutch Republic for the prospect of employment, religious freedom, education, apprenticeship or perhaps even adventure. The largest group of men sought employment in the Republic's maritime industry, namely on board one of the many ships of the Dutch West and East India Companies, or in the marines. There is no exact data on foreigners recruited in the 1620s and 1630s, but for the entire seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were approximately 475,000 foreigners employed by the Dutch East India Company, and an additional 35,000 foreign-born men that worked for the marine. The second largest group of young

men that came to Holland consisted of soldiers; at least half of the Dutch army was foreign, and sometimes entire regiments were hired mercenaries, mainly Scottish, Southern Germans, and Swiss. Again, we have no specific data for the early part of the seventeenth century, but Jan Lucassen, the historian of demography, estimates that more than a million men were hired by the Dutch State Army during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Half of them were foreigners. The third substantial group of young men consisted of journeymen craftsmen, generally Germans who sought *Wanderburschen*, an apprenticeship, in one of the Dutch cities and numerous other immigrants namely from the Southern Netherlands where the Revolt (1568-1648) and blockade of the Schelt River drained away any chances of economic livelihood and any hope for a prosperous future. Some 150,000 had fled the Southern Netherlands for the North. Many of Antwerp's wealthy Protestant and Lutheran merchants, even Catholics, had chosen Amsterdam as a new location for continuing their network of trade throughout Europe. Other young men and women descended on the Republic for economic opportunities in the growing textile industry in Leiden and Haarlem, the bleaching fields near the dunes of Haarlem and Zandvoort where clothing from the entire region was bleached white during the summer months, the harbor, silk industry and stock market in Amsterdam, and each town had its own local sugar refineries, glue and straw hat factories. The booming economy also attracted numerous young women to the Republic, both skilled and unskilled, often as household servants. Nevertheless, the population of Dutch cities was predominately male and remained that way until after 1650.[3]

The Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century was primarily a republic of young people. Although there are no sources specifying the age-breakdown in the demographic make-up of Dutch cities in the early modern period, it is usually the young and unattached who are mobile and most likely to pursue economic opportunities elsewhere. Raging war in the Southern Netherlands during the Revolt and in German states during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) robbed those areas of their innovative, vital, and young workforce who sought economic prosperity and religious freedom. For the Dutch Republic, these young people were the dynamic force in the economic, social, and cultural prosperity of the Dutch Golden Age. Not only did the political unity of the Republic and the economic prosperity (primarily in Holland and the other maritime provinces) unleash a cultural eldorado, they were also key factors in standardizing Dutch as a European language. The generation of the 1620s and 1630s was at the vanguard in determining the fate of the Dutch language.[4]

Amsterdam was the epicenter of Holland's – and the Dutch Republic's – economic and cultural boom. The city had grown from a mid-sized town of 30,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the Revolt in 1572 to 65,000 by 1600. In 1622, Amsterdam had 105,000 residents.[5] That year was also an important one for Manuel Colyn. The date of August 7th, 1622, marked a rite of passage for the 27-year-old from Amsterdam. It was the end of his youth, and the day he married Catharina Cloppenburgh. On that Sunday afternoon music and laughter must have rung in the background together with the soft melody of the lute as the bride and groom and their wedding guests sang and danced. Manuel was a bookseller like his accomplished older brother Michiel on the main wharf in Amsterdam where the city's publishing houses lined up next to each other.

By the time Manuel married, he had lost both his parents during an outbreak of the smallpox plague that consumed 10% of the city's population in the spring of 1603.[6] Manuel's father, Jan Claesz Colyn, had emigrated from Antwerp and settled in Amsterdam sometime around 1578. His mother, Elsgen Michiels, was from Amsterdam. They lived in the Warmoesstraat, and Jan had various business enterprises, first as a sugar manufacturer, then as a glove-maker, agent for foreign traders, and finally a merchant. After his parents died in 1603, eight-year-old Manuel and his other siblings were raised by their eldest brother Claes, who was 23 years old at the time of the death of his parents and lived in the Teerketelsteeg, a small alley off the Singel canal. Claes was Manuel's witness when he registered for a marriage license on July 22, 1622. For young men like Manuel in the early modern period, his wedding was a liminal rite. Marriage was the final threshold into adulthood.

When the couple registered to marry at the town hall three weeks earlier, his 24-year-old bride, Catharina, was accompanied by her father, the well-known book-binder and publisher Jan Evertsz Cloppenburgh, who owned a large publishing house next to Manuel's brother, Michiel, on the Damrak.[7] Since the turn of the century, Amsterdam had emerged as the center of the book publishing trade and a distributor of information in Europe. Its position as a 'gateway' together with the Republic's freedom of press and improvements made in printing technology

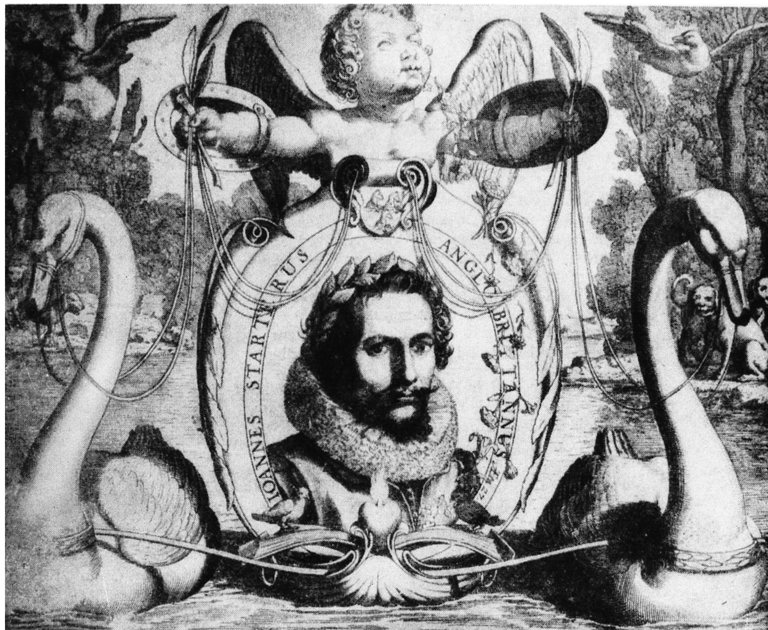


Illustration 2 'Jan Jansz. Starter sporting long hair and a goatee' in: Unknown artist, Title page of *Friesche Lust-Hof* with Jan Jansz. Starter (1621)

allowed the city to flourish as a major distribution point of information throughout Europe.[8] In the publishing world of Amsterdam, Manuel and Catharina's marriage symbolized the union of two publishing houses. The highlight of the wedding party must have been when the famed poet, Jan Jansz. Starter, who was a popular composer and author of songbooks for young people, read his poem for the bride and groom. Despite Amsterdam's municipal regulations, which aimed to control the wayward behavior and drunkenness that occurred at wedding parties, the lyrics of Starter's song only encouraged the guests to drink more beer and wine. Starter, who announced his plan to leave the city and return to Friesland, egged the amorous mood on with lyrics such as '*weest niet vies, men moet eens kussen hier op sen Fries*' [don't be afraid, you have to learn how to kiss like a Frisian]. No doubt there was plenty of kissing and cuddling going on because many of the young men and women present were unmarried, and there was an abundance of wine and beer.

Several of the young men at the wedding party were impressed by Starter's poetic talents and hoped to keep him in Amsterdam. In their good-spirited mood – probably brought on by too much wine – a group of young and successful businessmen at the wedding party entered into an idealized agreement. They came up with a plan to hire him as their private poet for the period of one year. The agreement consequently made Jan Jansz. Starter the first subsidized poet in Dutch history.

Two weeks after the wedding party, the young men met again at a notary's office to put their words into deeds. The initial agreement concocted during the wedding party stipulated that Starter would receive 12 Carolus guilders a week. Each investor would pay two Flemish pounds (one Flemish pound equaled six Carolus guilders). However, according to those terms, Starter's payment would only last for 21 weeks and not a full year. Apparently by the time the young men drafted their agreement at the notary's office, more than half of the investors had bailed out. Perhaps sobriety was a reason. The written agreement stipulated that Starter would provide each investor with a copy of every poem he authored during that period.[9] It was no surprise that Manuel wanted to embark on such a venture. After all, he was the groom and host of the party where the idea to hire Starter as a professional poet was conceived. Moreover, Colyn was a bookseller and a patron of the arts. After he married, he expanded his business ventures into book publishing. One of his publications included a tragedy by the Dutch Republic's esteemed poet Joost Vondel, as well as adventurous and exciting books like a description of the Dutch East Indies and an account of Prince Frederik Hendrik, the commander of the Dutch army in a courageous battle fought at 's- Hertogenbosch in 1629.[10]

Risk-taking behavior

The question arises of what moved the twenty financial backers to take on such a financial risk. The obvious answer would be that they loved poetry and wanted to support the arts, but another reason lies in the fact they could afford such financial endeavors and were savvy about taking risks. Most of them were in their early twenties, unmarried, and without any family obligations. The group was representative of Amsterdam's emerging affluent elite echelon who, like Manuel's

family, immigrated to the Dutch Republic in the late sixteenth century for religious and/or economic reasons. Their families had profited from the economic boom after the fall of Antwerp in 1585. With its diversity of immigrants from the Southern Netherlands, the German states, and Nordic countries, Amsterdam in the 1620s was one of the most cosmopolitan cities in Europe: 73% of those who registered to marry around 1615 were non-Amsterdam natives. The families of Amsterdam's affluent elite of the 1620s had witnessed their city swell beyond its boundaries when Amsterdam doubled its geographic size with the expansion of three new majestic canals (1613-1615). The spacious quays of the Herengracht, Keizersgracht, and Prinsengracht accommodated the housing needs of the city's elite and wealthy middle classes more than Amsterdam's medieval center located along the narrow Warmoesstraat.[11]

On the three new canals there was room to build urban palaces reflecting their acquired patrician-like lifestyle. The families of the affluent elite had also witnessed and participated in Amsterdam's transition from a staple market into a hub of international trade and commerce. The immigrants contributed to the volume of trade and the re-organization of trade activities. For the first time in history, large trade companies such as the Dutch East India Company (1602) and Dutch West India Company (1622) were established with shareholders. With multiple investors, larger investments could be made and the burden shared over a greater base. This similarly applied to the enormous profits that could be made. The earnings and losses were shared by a broader group. Because of the new trade along with its increased volume, an impressive stock exchange was built in the middle of the city in 1608-1611, as well as an exchange specialized in grains (1608). Moreover, Amsterdam's position as a leader in international trade and commerce increased even more after the Wisselbank, the Bank of Amsterdam, was founded in 1609. The bank was backed by the city and provided a financial infrastructure where deposits and free money transfers between account holders could easily be transacted. Besides the large trade companies of the Dutch East and West India Companies, merchants and manufacturers started numerous smaller companies that branched out in the domestic market and contributed to the growing network of trade in Europe.[12] The families of Amsterdam's affluent youth also profited from the relaxed social mobility that accompanied the economic boom during the early days of the Revolt. On top of the list of Starter's financial backers was Jacomo Pauw,[13] the 26-year-old son of Amsterdam's burgomaster, Reinier Adriaensz. Pauw (1564-1636), one of the founders of the Dutch East India Company that was established in 1602. In national politics Pauw had gained fame as a staunch Counter-Remonstrant supporter who had been instrumental in the downfall and trial of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in 1619; he was found guilty of treason and ultimately executed. Reinier Pauw, a pious man who believed in soberness, was taxed on a personal wealth of 200,000 guilders in 1631 when the Republic sought to impose a tax on its more affluent citizens. Jacomo's eldest brother, Adriaan Pauw, became *raadpensionaris* for the Republic. In 1648 he was the main negotiator at the Treaty of Munster, which ended the Republic's 80-year war with Spain.[14] Another aficionado of poetry was the 27-year-old wine merchant, Jan Kieft,[15] who a year earlier had bought a house on the Oudezijds Voorburgwal where he had an adjoining shop.[16] In 1638 his younger brother, Willem Kieft, became the director of New Netherland, the Dutch West

India Company colony in North America that later included New York, New Jersey, and parts of Connecticut and Rhode Island. Willem would later go down in American history as 'William the Testy'. Authors, including the nineteenth-century novelist Washington Irving, considered Kieft to be ruthless and cruel in suppressing the Indians.[17]

Another one of Amsterdam's affluent co-signers was 21-year-old Hendrick Hoochkamer, a silk merchant with a shop in the Warmoesstraat, an expensive shopping street where many silk and other luxury good merchants sold their wares.[18] He was the son of a wealthy silk manufacturer in Amsterdam, who was worth 150,000 guilders when he died in 1631.[19] Most of these young men were Dutch Reformed Protestants. However, there were also a few members of the group who were of the 'tolerated' religions like the 23-year old Lutheran, Gaspar van Wickevoort de Jonge. He was the son of a prosperous Lutheran merchant in the Warmoesstraat whose family had emigrated from Antwerp and settled in the Republic.[20] There were also French-speaking Walloons like 22-year-old Dominique Poulle whose merchant and manufacturer father had fled Rijsel (present-day Lille) in Northern France.[21] Like many of the men who endorsed the contract to finance Starter, Dominique had latinized his name to 'Dominicus', which was trendy among young men who had probably attended a Latin school and wanted to show off their education. Twenty-year-old Pieter Claass Elant, the youngest financial backer of the group, also followed the same trend when he hispanicized or italianized his name to *Pedro* Elant.[22] Hendrick Bernarts, who was 30 years old, was the oldest of the group and preferred to use the fashionable *Enrico* instead of the Germanic Hendrick.[23]

Marriage

The Dutch expression *'Van een bruiloft, komt een bruiloft'* [from a wedding comes a wedding] applied to Manuel and Catharina's wedding party. Of the 21 poetry aficionados, we can trace the marriage records of 14 of them. At the time of the wedding 12 young men were still unmarried. Within the course of the next few years, 11 of them married.[24] The average age at marriage for these young men was 28.5, which was above the median age for the elite. The age of majority was 25 years in the seventeenth century. The average age at marriage of the brides of these young men was 22.7 years old, which was above the median age of 20. Young women under that age were required to have permission from their parents.[25] Susanna de la Vigne of Heusden was the youngest bride. At the age of 16 she married the French Walloon Dominicus Poulle, who was nine years her senior.[26] This was more the exception than the rule. According to the Dutch economic historian Clé Lesger, many of the more affluent immigrants from the Southern Netherlands intermarried. They formed a network among themselves, as the first few generations had been excluded access to the political ruling ranks.[27]

Many of the young men that attended Manuel and Catharina's wedding married within the next couple of years. In 1625 Pieter Claass Elant married Margarieta Boulen at the age of 23. Besides being cohorts in marrying, these young men lived relatively close to each other. Most of them were concentrated on the prestigious Singel canal or Koningsgracht (King's canal) as it was

known in the early seventeenth century. Their occupations were equally diverse and reflected the patchwork of ethnicities that populated Amsterdam during the heyday of its economic boom.[28]

Guilliaem van den Broeck, who was 27 years old, probably attended the wedding together with his 25-year-old wife, Marritje Laurens. Van den Broeck came from a long line of established sugar-manufacturing families from Antwerp.[29] Sometime after the Spanish siege of Antwerp in 1585, non-Catholic merchants including Calvinists, Lutherans, and Mennonites were given four years to finalize their business affairs and leave the city. The Van den Broeck family was Lutheran and settled in Hamburg, which was known as a safe haven for Lutheran refugees.[30] In 1585 nine sugar-manufacturing families from Antwerp fled to Hamburg.[31] Guilliaem was born around 1596 in Hamburg, but sometime after that the Van den Broeck family relocated to Amsterdam as it had started to emerge as a major sugar-manufacturing hub where half-processed sugar cane that was primarily grown and exported from the West Indies and South America was worked into dried sugars and syrups and distributed over the rest of Western Europe.[32] By the time Guilliaem van den Broeck married Marritje Laurens in 1618, he had become an established sugar manufacturer and merchant who would later require an account at the Bank of Amsterdam for his international trade. In 1620, at the age of 24, he belonged to the city's 30 known sugar manufacturers. He became even more eminent in Amsterdam's sugar industry after he married his second wife, Sara van den Bergh, in 1623, the daughter of a well-established Amsterdam sugar manufacturer and merchant, Hans van den Bergh.[33]

Besides immigrants from the Southern Netherlands there was also a large immigrant population of Germans in Amsterdam, including 30-year-old Marcus Westhoff, who was born in Hamburg and lived on the Singel canal. A year before Manuel and Catharina's wedding party, Westhoff had married and become a father.[34] Unlike other minorities who often chose to reside in one neighborhood with people of the same regional and religious background, most of the Germans were spread throughout the city. The Germans were also the most diverse in their occupations, and the majority of them were unskilled laborers in the early seventeenth century. German immigrants were either Roman Catholic, Lutheran, or Dutch Reformed, and during the early immigration period were just as likely to marry Dutch-born brides as German ones. Westhoff probably spoke German at home. German was the language of Lutheran sermons, which remained the language of the Lutheran pulpit in Amsterdam until the mid-seventeenth century.[35] Another member, Gaspar van Wickevoort, 23 years old, was also a prominent Lutheran of German descent whose father was a merchant in the Warmoesstraat and had become wealthy during the heyday of the Republic. When he finally did marry in 1639, Van Wickevoort was already 40 years old. He chose a younger Dutch bride, Elisabeth Rovers, who was 25 years old.[36]

Amsterdam – a seventeenth-century boomtown

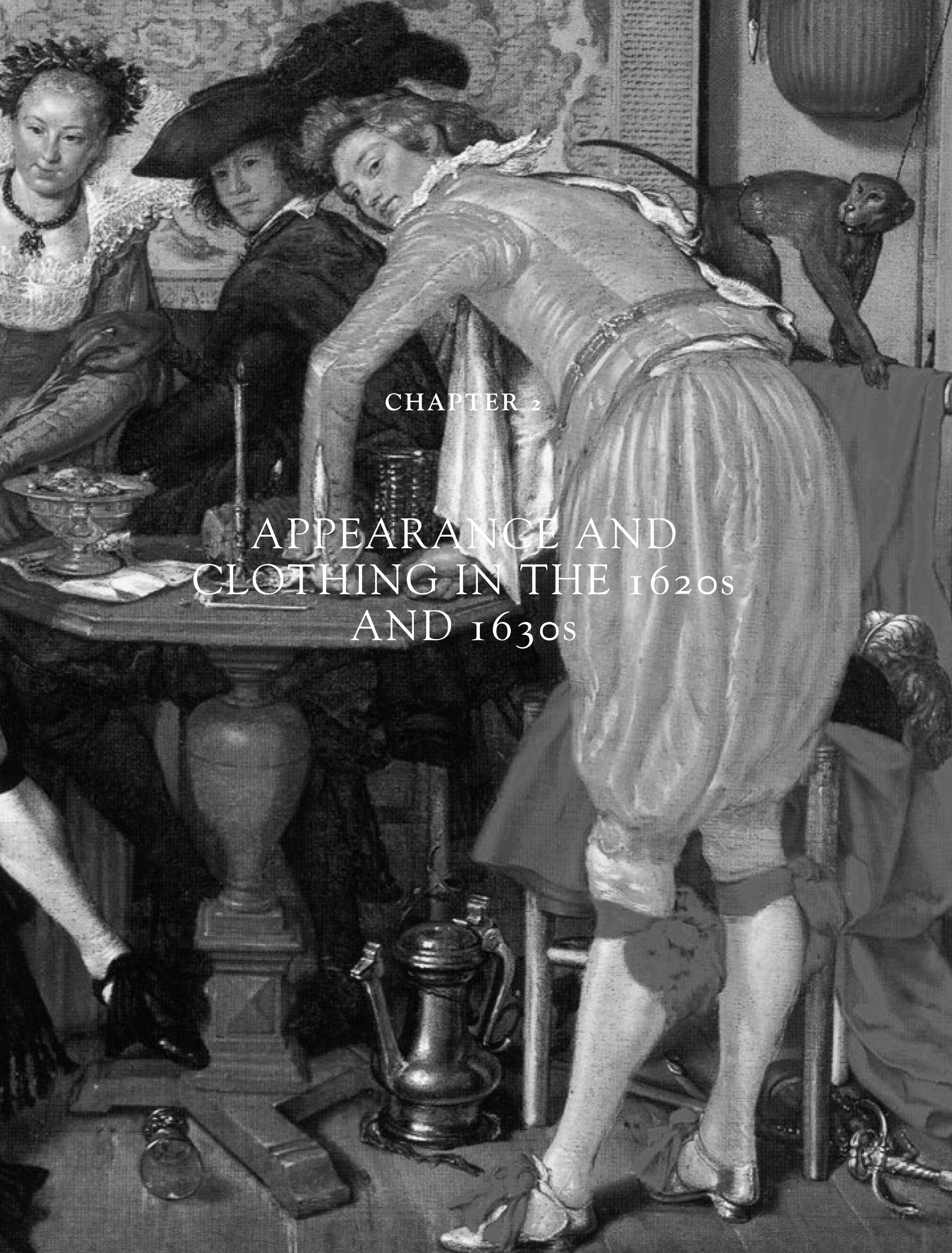
These young men were the *jeunesse dorée* or young people of wealth and fashion in Amsterdam – and belonged to the affluent echelon of some 800 families in the city who profited from the economic prosperity of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. They were not the

elite of urban Dutch society, however. The regents and patrician families, who had turned their economic affluence during the economic boom into political clout, acquired positions on the municipal councils in cities throughout the Republic. The regents were the *crème de la crème* of Dutch society with urban palaces in the town centers, extravagant country estates, and acquired aristocratic titles. The regents provided their children with a patrician education of Latin schools and university, and sent their sons on the *grand tour*. The group of young men at Manuel Colyn and Catherina Cloppenburgh's wedding in 1622 did not belong to that group. They did not have university educations, and their families did not own lavish country estates on the Vecht River as Amsterdam's ruling magistrates did. However, they were economic and social upstarts who became the movers and shakers of the youth culture of their generation.

The affluent young people of the 1620s and 1630s were able to distinguish themselves from previous generations and those after them with a distinctive youth culture composed primarily of specific economic, social, and demographic factors. For one, a relatively large group of burghers in Dutch cities in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries was able to amass comfortable incomes through industry and trade encouraged by the Republic's pivotal position between the Baltic states in the north and the Mediterranean countries in the south. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585 and the Dutch blockade of the Schelt River access to Antwerp's port, trade in Northern Europe had been diverted overnight from Antwerp to Amsterdam, turning the city into the new staple market. A wine merchant like Jan Gerritsz Kieft was instrumental in buying wine from Bordeaux and re-selling it to the Baltic States, and Hendrick Hoochkamer's father, Jacob Pietersz Hoochkamer, had already started importing from Italy and the Levant in 1601, and was reselling it throughout Europe.[37] Hooghkamer was so successful in the silk trade that he had accumulated a great fortune by 1631; he was taxed for a personal wealth of 150,000 guilders.[38] But just as fortunes could be easily acquired in the early seventeenth century and social mobility in the Dutch Republic was fluid; wealth could also be easily lost, and the fall down the social ladder went much faster than the climb up. By the time Jacob Pietersz Hoochkamer died seven years later in 1638, he had gone bankrupt and was forced to resign from the city council and to step down from his position as captain of the city guard. To save face and not decline into complete poverty, Hoochkamer was given a job as porter for the Crossbow Civic Guardhouse.[39] A year after Guilliame van den Broeck married Sara van den Bergh, her father went bankrupt and was forced to part from his household goods, furniture, clothing, and equipment from his sugar refinery in order to pay his debts. Van den Bergh's financial downfall was rumored to be the result of corruption and leading an immoral lifestyle, which was reason enough for the Amsterdam church council to deny him communion in 1628.[40]

During this period, the other residents of the Dutch Republic also experienced an era of unparalleled material wealth. The Dutch middle class and affluent farmers also profited from the generated wealth and consumer culture. According to wills and inventories, this group could afford to decorate their homes with mirrors, paintings, books, and clocks. While in the late sixteenth century household inventories were more likely to register humble wooden tables, unassuming chairs, ordinary wooden cupboards, and tin and wooden bowls, by the mid-seventeenth

century they were replaced by octagonal and round-shaped tables, chairs with arms, ornate oak cabinets, and porcelain bowls. Moreover, the shift in consumer goods had also carried over into traditional goods such as clothing, tableware, kitchen utensils, and other household goods that had increased in volume and quality.[41] The rising demand for 'worldly goods' in the Renaissance in Western Europe as described by the English historian, Lisa Jardine, parallelled the fall of Constantinople in 1453 to the Ottomans and the intellectual shift to a classical education. The trade in luxury goods first increased in northern Italy, and then proceeded north through Germany to the Low Countries.[42] During the economic boom of the early seventeenth century, wealth and worldly goods changed the behavior of the Dutch Republic's young people and the manner in which they expressed themselves as a group. In the next chapter we will address how young men from the 1620s and 1630s manifested their culture and masculinity in appearance and distinguished themselves from earlier generations.



CHAPTER 2

APPEARANCE AND CLOTHING IN THE 1620s AND 1630s

CHAPTER 2

Appearance and Clothing in the 1620s and 1630s

One of the most notorious members of the generation of young men from the 1620s and 1630s was the son of a miller from Leiden, Rembrandt van Rijn. In an early self-portrait from 1629, the young 23-year-old painter illustrated himself with long bushy hair, draped with a lock of hair slightly longer on the left side. His face is bare without any signs of a beard. He is wearing a gorget – a metal coat, hinged at the neck, that covered the upper torso, similar to the ones worn by cuirassiers. In many aspects his portrait is telling about what young men looked like in the early seventeenth century and radiates various messages about masculinity.[1] In this chapter we shall address how young men in the 1620s and 1630s looked physically from head to toe. Did young men have beards, mustaches, short or long hair; what kind of clothes did they wear, which colors were popular, and which styles were imitated? In essence, what was the appearance of a young man of the elite or middle class in the early seventeenth century? In *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) the French social historian Philippe Ariès argued that children in the Middle Ages and early modern period were often imitations of their parents: 'as soon as a child abandoned his swaddling-band – the band of cloth that was tightly wrapped around his body in babyhood – he was dressed just like other men and women of his class'. He further remarks that a change came in the seventeenth century when children of the nobility and middle class started to dress differently than adults did.[2] However, the situation in Holland and the Dutch Republic was different from most European countries in regards to fashion. First of all, there was no real nobility to speak of. With its elected stadtholder, Holland did not have a court culture equivalent to the grandeur of Paris and London. Not until Frederik Hendrik ascended to the post of stadtholder in 1625 did the stadtholder's court in The Hague become more court-like. Frederik Hendrik and especially his wife Amalia van Solms, who had been a lady-in-waiting for the court of Queen Elisabeth, the wife of the Winter King, became a driving force in elevating the court culture in The Hague. Frederik Hendrik and Amalia were responsible for commissioning the construction of Huis ten Bosch palace and various artworks. Until the mid-1620s the middle class were the real leaders and rulers of fashion in the Republic, and not the nobility and elite as in neighboring countries.[3]

More recent studies have shown that children in the Dutch Republic wore other clothing than their parents did, and there was a distinctive 'children's fashion' which proved Ariès to be incorrect in his postulation that smaller children were dressed as miniature adults.[4] However, little or no research has examined the distinctive dress of children beyond the age of seven. In this chapter we will address whether young men resembled their parents or chose to distinguish themselves by dressing differently. If so, how did they differ in facial hair, hairstyle, and clothing from adult males?

To answer the first of these questions, let us return to the self-portrait by Rembrandt from 1629. Rembrandt's face is soft and shiny, and he has a downy beard. Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), secretary to the stadtholders, poet, and composer, who met Rembrandt in the same year the portrait was made, reported that the young painter was *still* beardless.[5] When Huygens was 26 years old in 1623, he portrayed himself with a mustache. Thus he must have thought it was odd that the 23-year old painter was still beardless. Huygens used the word 'still' because he had met Rembrandt two years earlier, together with the painter Jan Lievens (1607-1674). At that time, Lievens, aged 20, and Rembrandt, aged 21, shared a studio, and according to Huygens's description, 'both were beardless, and in their physical and facial appearance resembled boys rather than men'.[6] Later in 1629 Rembrandt painted another self-portrait. This time he portrayed himself with downy hair under his nose that resembled a mustache and a bit of hair on his chin. But he still did not have an adult beard. It is not unlikely that Rembrandt wanted to present himself on canvas as a more mature grown-up and more sophisticated, albeit with a feather in his hat and a gold chain around his neck. In an engraving from 1631 entitled *Self-Portrait in a Soft Hat*, the painter sported a mature mustache.[7]

These assumptions are very speculative, yet they could be very telling.[8] In the realm of manhood and masculinity, facial hair is one of the most important physical signifiers between men and boys. Having a mustache or beard denoted maturity and commanded respect from other men. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, hair on the face of men is what – initially – distinguished a man from a boy. Facial hair – a mustache or beard – was a common feature of adult men. The growth of facial hair in the Renaissance and early modern period had a sociological and physiological significance as well. Facial hair on men was often associated with the production of semen, which meant that they were no longer boys, and the beard was a sign of 'procreative potential'.[9] In *Materializing Gender in Early Modern Literature and Culture*, Will Fisher argues that facial hair was just as important as genitals as a key biological marker of manhood. Beards materialized the sexual difference between men and women. If a young man lacked a beard, he was still considered to be a boy whatever his age might have been, and an incipient beard, if not worth shaving, was still not yet considered a sign of maturity. 'Indeed, beard growth was consistently associated with the "masculine" social roles of soldier and father'. The beard was understood 'to announce a man's "Manhood" or social position (his "majesty") in the same way as an "ensign" announces the military identity of a group of soldiers'.[10]

Illustration 3 'A bushy-haired Rembrandt with no facial hair' in: Rembrandt van Rijn, *Self-Portrait as a Young Man* (c. 1628-1629)

Most likely, Huygens did not accept the beardless Rembrandt as a fully fledged man. However, according to early modern standards, we can surmise that Rembrandt was normal regarding physical maturity. Today, the average age that downy hairs start growing on the upper lip of an adolescent is around 14 years and 9 months. Young men have a full beard at the average age of 17 years old. That was not the case for young men in the early modern period. The average age when male youths in the early seventeenth century could grow a beard was usually around 23 or 24 years old. According to Herbert Moller, who has studied beard growth throughout history, the late physical maturity in the early modern period was often caused by poor general health and nutrition, and as well as other factors. By the late eighteenth century, after improvements in diet, housing conditions, and hygiene for the upper and middle classes in European society, young men started to mature physically at a younger age, usually around 18 or 19 years old. In this light, it is very possible that the 23-year-old Rembrandt with his downy mustache could be considered a 'late bloomer' in comparison with male adolescents today.

On the other hand, in the 1620s keeping a clean-shaven face had become the fashion among young elites across Europe. One reason for this new trend can be ascribed to the French king, Louis XIII (1601-1643). According to his physician, Jean Héroard, the young monarch was shaved for the first time on August 1, 1624. Héroard, who observed him as a child and young adult, remarked that the 23-year-old monarch did not have much facial hair at all, and it was believed that he suffered from some kind of disease which left him almost beardless.[11] One day in 1628, the French sovereign ordered all his courtiers to shave off their beards. They were only allowed to have a mustache and 'pointed tuft on the chin'. Perhaps the young king felt less manly as he did not have a mature beard like the men around him. Nevertheless, clean-shaven faces with mustaches and goatees became the fashion at his court, and consequently Louis XIII set a new trend for young elite men throughout Europe.[12] Beards were trimmed in points or in the form of a fan, and were roughly about three fingers long.[13]

In order to keep clean-shaven cheeks and maintain goatees, the style required men to visit a barber-surgeon on a regular basis. This suggests the 'clean-shaven look' could only be maintained by young men of financial means, such as those from the middle class or elite. Moreover, clean water for shaving was not always readily available in urban areas, and that made a visit to a barber-surgeon more expensive. The shop of the barber-surgeon could easily be recognized by a sign with a scissors and lancet, a shaving dish painted on it, or a staff with a helix of colored stripes (red and white), which is still in use today.[14] According to one theory, the staff symbolized the piece of wood that a patient was asked to squeeze to expose his veins while a venesection was being performed and blood (symbolized by the color red) trickled down his arm and hand.[15] In the Dutch Republic, barber-surgeons had to be members of the St. Cosmas and St. Damianus guild, which was also the guild of surgeons. It wasn't until the eighteenth century that barbers split from the surgeons; in the seventeenth century, barbers were also trained in the art of bloodletting. Before becoming a member of the guild, apprentices were required to take an exam in the skills of shaving and bloodletting in which they had to show their dexterity in using a lancet. This instrument was used for bloodletting and was probably the original device used for shaving

before the razor was invented.[16] The trimming and styling of the beard would have been done by the barber-surgeon, but the owner would have to groom his beard regularly with a special brush, and keep it in place with perfumed wax.[17] The beard was shaped into style and kept in place by wax. Before going to bed, moustaches and beards were dressed overnight and protected by a small bag called 'bigotelle'. However, we have found no references to the use of the bigotelle in the Dutch Republic.[18] Thus, a young man's visit to the barbershop for his first shave must have been one of the rites of passage to manhood. Unfortunately, there are no diaries or journals that make note of this biological transition to adulthood.

Long hair

That young people (and people in general) were concerned with their appearance becomes even more obvious in the Alessio Piemontese translation, *De Secreeten* [The Secrets of Alexis of Piemont] (1636), originally published in Italian. This household manual was published many times throughout the sixteenth century and appeared in Dutch in 1602 and 1635. It contained beauty tips for men and women covering everything from hair removal under the arms to remedies for whitening teeth. One recurring entry is the dyeing of hair.[19]

Illustration 4 'Short hair for young men was common around the turn of the century, c. 1600' in: Jan van Ravesteyn, *Portrait of Hugo Grotius Aged 16* (1599)

The greatest changes that the generation of young people in the 1620s and 1630s contributed to hairstyle was the fashion of letting their hair grow long. In the same self-portrait from 1629, Rembrandt depicted himself with shoulder-length hair. In the exhibition 'Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620' the contrast with the short hair of youths a generation earlier were significant. Jan van Ravensteyn's early portrait of Hugo Grotius depicted Holland's 16-year-old prodigal son in a diametrical panel with a short-cropped head of red hair.[20] By the 1620s and 1630s long hair had become the new fashion among youths, and it was often despised by more traditionally groomed and clothed religious groups such as the Mennonites. In the story entitled *Menniste Vryagie* [Mennonite Romance] that was included in Jan Jansz. Starter's popular songbook, *Friesche Lust-Hof* [Frisian Paradise] (1621), the well-known poet and songwriter mocked the conservative dress of a Mennonite girl who turned down the advances of a fashionably dressed young man. As the story progressed, the young man became completely frustrated and asked himself: 'what did I do wrong, I swore I loved her deep in my heart, but nothing moved her' … 'She had Moses in her head, and had lived by David'. 'Everything was wrong, my hair was too long, and my collar too wide, sleeves too broad, the starch too blue, then my pants were too large, the jerkin too tight, each pant-leg too long, I had roses on my shoes. In short, she didn't want to kiss such a man of the world'. The Mennonite girl was only interested in him after 'his hair was cut short, and he was dressed in a black coat, and had a flattened white collar'.[21] Starter's *Friesche Lust-Hof* was a widely read songbook published primarily for the Republic's well-to-do young people who resided in cities. They were probably the *fashionistas* of their generation and could appreciate Starter's mocking of the sober attire worn by Mennonites. The latter frowned on the excessive and colorful clothing worn by the mundane youth of the 1620s. Starter followed the latest fashion himself. On the title page of *Friesche Lust-Hof* (illustration 2), the 27-year-old author was portrayed as sporting longish hair, a mustache, and a goatee.

In order to understand the trend that started in the 1620s and 1630s, we have to fast-forward to the 1640s when long hair had become widespread among young men. Not only young men wore their hair long, but also men such as schoolmasters, ministers, and university professors who were traditionally seen as role models in the community. The trend started with young men and spread to adult men, which was reason enough for the pious reformed Protestant minister, Godefridus Udemans (1582-1649), to write a 406-page discourse entitled *Absaloms-hayr off Discours* [Absalom's Hair or Discourse] (1643) on the immorality of long hair. The discourse was based on the Biblical story of Absalom, the third son of David, who was known to be handsome and to have an abundance of hair. As an adult, Absalom led a revolt against his father at the Battle of Ephraim Wood and was caught on an oak tree by his mane of hair, which led to his death by his father's soldiers. By the time Udemans published *Absaloms-hayr*, long hair had become the subject of a moral war in the Dutch Republic. Consequently, the author, who had written many moralistic treatises, chose to publish the discourse under a pseudonym: Irenæus Poimenander. In seeking the right answer in the battle of hair length, Udemans based his arguments on the Old Testament where short hair sometimes signified sorrow, and long hair did not necessarily imply triumph and pleasure.

Illustration 5 'Adversary to long hair, minister Godefridus Udemans was short-cropped and slightly balding' in: J. Sarragon, *Godefridus Udemans* (1635)

Udemans also questioned why young men had a beard. He compared those with long hair to pagans like the American Indians, which was supposed to be reason enough for young men to refrain from long locks. After all, as he argued, 'heathens were uncouth, displayed triumph, and were promiscuous'.[22] Another argument against having long hair is that one would jump social ranks and upset the social order. The male French nobility (kings and princes) as well as other European nobles were well-known for sporting long locks. Udemans believed this to be their reserved right, and if young men from other social groups followed in their footsteps, it would be considered pretentious.[23] He himself had nothing to worry about, he wore his hair short and was slightly balding.

By the early 1640s the fashion of long hair had become unstoppable. Youths, students, university scholars, the urban elite, and even ministers, especially the younger ones, were all letting their hair grow. Perhaps Udemans fired such an arsenal of arguments for keeping one's hair short-cropped because he knew he was fighting an uphill battle. Every conceivable motive from vanity to conspicuous consumption was thrown in the ring, but the most effective reason that struck home among young men was the fact that long hair endangered their masculinity. Simply put, for Udemans long hair turned *he-men* into *she-men*. He considered young men with long hair to be feminine, and applied the simple logic that when young men sported long locks, they not only physically resembled women but also behaved like them. Consequently, men became

vain and would squander endless hours grooming in front of a mirror. Young men might have had the good fortune to grow their hair long but the endless grooming and maintaining of long hair was only a privilege bestowed on women. If young men had the time for such vanities, they were also considered to be the submissive sex.[24]

Udemans's pseudonymous publication in 1643 was cleverly timed to appear before the annual synod of Dutch Reformed churches. In August 1641, the long hair issue had been put on the agenda of the synod of North Holland held in Amsterdam. It was not necessarily an attack against young men with long hair, but more of an innuendo towards young ministers who were role models in the community and congregation, and who were starting to let their hair grow longer. According to the delegates from Groningen, young ministers with long hair and dressed in trendy clothing had become a thorn in their eye. Their complaint also applied to the wives of young ministers. The delegates from Zutphen were furious that schoolmasters were letting their hair grow long, and the delegates from the town of Woerden added that students were also following suit. To make matters worse, theology students and young ministers took up the latest hair fashion, and consequently became poor role models. In the pamphlet *Predicatie van 't langh hair* [Designation of Long Hair] (1645), Udemans was supported in his battle against men having long hair by Jacobus Borstius (1612-1680). Borstius, 33 years old at the time, protested the new fashion of long hair by publishing a sermon based on the Bible, 1 Corinthians 11.14: '*Does not the very nature of things teach you that if a man has long hair, it is a disgrace to him.*' Borstius made it clear: hairstyle on young men was a matter of honor. In Corinthians 11.15, Borstius emphasized that long hair violated the boundaries of the male gender: '*but that if a woman has long hair, it is her glory? For long hair is given to her as a covering*'. Moreover, it turned men into submissive beings just like women, and essentially made men into whores.[25] According to the Dutch historian John Exalto, many of the orthodox ministers in the early seventeenth century believed that the clergy fulfilled an important position as role models in society, and specifically young ministers. Their short-cropped hair and full beards had become intertwined with the creditability of their profession. Anything different was considered a violation of their professional code.[26] Willem Frijhoff argues that short hair and facial hair were important attributes of the clergyman's profession. Eighteen-year-old Evert Willemsz. Bogaert, who was a clergyman in training in 1625 and later became a minister in Manhattan, probably had a mustache, goatee or beard, and most likely had short hair.[27]

Numerous ministers protested the new fashion of long hair on young ministers, often referring to Corinthians 14.[28] This continued even late in the 1670s after long hair on men had become the mainstream fashion; Reverend Jacobus Hondius (1629-1690) from Hoorn still listed long hair on men as a sin in his *Black Register of a Thousand Sins* (1679).[29]

By 1645 the issue had become a heated debate at the annual synod. In that year, adversaries and advocates were in a head-on battle ignited by Udemans's treatise and a new publication by Claudius Salmasius (1588-1653), professor of Philology at Leiden, who opposed him. Salmasius wrote a 484-page tome entitled *Brief van Claudius Salmasius aen Andr. Colvium, belangende het*

langh hair der mannen en de lokken der vrouwen [Letter from Claudius Salmasius to Andreas Colvium about Long Hair for Men and Locks for Women]. It was originally written in Latin and translated later that year into Dutch. Salmasius drew his arguments from history but with another perspective. He pleaded that throughout history man had alternated between wearing long hair and short hair – even as far as shaving the scalp. As each nation of people (Jews, Arabs, and Phoenicians) had their own tradition of whether men should have long or short hair, what difference does it make in essence?[30] Salmasius repudiated the use of the Apostle Paul's argument that men will become women if they have long hair. In his view men were allowed to have hair the same length as women as long as they did not wear their hair like women, such as tying it in a bun or using a net. Hair on women was meant to be long. Men's hair would never have the same length as women's because it would be regularly trimmed. Salmasius, who was 57 years old at the time and with a full head of hair, was not arguing on his own behalf. He explained to readers, 'the command of the Apostle Paul does not apply to our era'.[31] In the debate on long hair, time was on Salmasius's side. After 1645, the issue was no longer discussed at the synod, as more and more men wore shoulder-length hair, even older ministers.[32] Another reason for the end of the debate was that by 1643, the French king Louis XIV, who was 16 years old at the time, had ascended to the throne with a full head of long and curly hair. The French court had set the stage, and long hair on men had officially become the new fashion among monarchs, elites, scholars, and students, and the trend spread down the social ladder. Those who could not keep up with the fashion of long hair had to resort to using hairpieces and wigs. When Louis XIV was 35, the appearance of his thinning and receding hairline forced him to shave his head and wear a wig in order to maintain the long hair fashion that he started. From that period on, wigs became a fashionable hairstyle. In hindsight, the fashion of young men in the 1620s and 1630s set a precedence of long hair in fashion that remained until the late eighteenth century and was replaced by shorter-cropped hairstyles only in the French Revolution era. During that period, shorter hair and less flamboyant dress became the new expression of masculinity.[33]

Cavaliers

Whereas the face of young men in the 1620s and 1630s was probably adorned with a mustache, goatee, or pointed beard, the rest of their body was hairless or had very little body hair. The ideals of beauty in the early seventeenth century suggest that male bodies were hairless. In *De Secreeten*, Alessio Piemontese recommended that men remove hair under the arms, chest, and pubic area for good hygiene. Hair on the body could be a place where sweat lingered and would ultimately produce smelly odors. Piemontese even proposed that children should remove 'any hair under the armpits or elsewhere as they wish'. He also included a remedy for permanent (!) hair removal for young adolescents who had just sprouted a beard.[34] The art historian Bianca du Mortier argues that the ideal of the male body not only involved being hairless, it should also be 'muscular with full calves and clean feet'.[35]

From a contemporary point of view, the fashion of affluent young males of the 1620s and

1630s make *metrosexual* males of the early twenty-first century with their facial crèmes and perfumed hair gels look like machos. However anachronistic that might be, it was probably close to the truth. After the death of his father in 1625, Carel of Nassau (1612-1637), the 16-year-old illegitimate son of Prince Maurits, squandered his annual codicil of 4,000 guilders on idle frivolities like expensive plumes and gloves. A few years later his spending spree had became so exorbitant that his uncle, Frederik Hendrik, commissioned an inquiry from the Court of Holland into his nephew's extravagant expenditures. Despite what might seem to be the onset of a lighthearted and cultivated lifestyle, Carel of Nassau had a yearning for adventure and chose a career in the military, like most of the stadtholder's family. In 1635 he left for Brazil with his cousin, Maurits of Nassau. Two years later he died in battle at the age of 25.[36]

The new fashion in men's clothing of the 1620s became more comfortable. For example, the jerkin was a popular waistcoat for young men in the late sixteenth century that was padded on the inside and buttoned at the neck, but it lost most of its stiff padding in the early seventeenth century. A flaring collar replaced the ruff, which became a broad turned-down collar bordered with pointed lace. Sleeves came to the wrist and were turned back with a cuff. In the 1620s, baggy and puffy padded breeches, known as 'bombast', became less stuffed and more fitted to the knee, where they were fastened with a garter, ribbon, or buttons. The garment was fastened at the waist with a button or drawstring.[37] Besides breeches, trunkhose were also fashionable. Trunkhose were very baggy, and many times things could be carried inside them: hence the name 'trunk'.[38] Over the jerkin and breeches or trunkhose, young men often wore short capes that hung from the back of the shoulder. They also decorated their faces with make-up or patches in the shape of a black dot, a fake beauty mark. These patches were often used to hide facial scars and marks from childhood smallpox.[39]

For footwear, young men in the early seventeenth century wore shoes that were fastened with either ribbons or buckles. Fashionable shoes in the 1620s were square-toed instead of the round shape that had been in style in the late sixteenth century. Alternatively, boots were also very popular, which cavaliers also wore. Young men in general imitated the clothing of cavaliers. The military horsemen were known for wearing large plumed and feathered hats, fancy jackets, and breeches or pants, and high-heel leather boots with floppy tops. The boots were often shaped like a funnel and could reach 20 inches (45 cm) in diameter at the top, being pulled down to the knee or to mid-calf to show off the many ruffles of lace-edged hose. Boots were often dark leather, but lighter colored ones were sometimes worn for formal events. Both shoes and boots usually had heels that were at least one inch (2.5 cm) high made from stacked layers of leather or pieces of wood. Shoes were decorated with ribbons that were twisted into a rosette or bunched together into a large ruffled puff. These ribbons were made from gold or silver lace-edged ribbons.[40] On the top of their heads, young men wore large floppy hats with high crowns and wide brims that were decorated with plumes or feathers, just like the cavaliers.[41]

Besides his lack of a beard, another revealing feature of Rembrandt's early 1629 self-portrait is a gorget – a harness-like vest made from metal. Rembrandt is not wearing the millstone

collar that was fashionable among the older generation around 1600. This collar, which required as much as 15 meters of cloth to create, was no longer visible in portraits of young people in the 1620s and 1630s. One of the possible reasons why long hair was not fashionable before the 1620s is because it was impractical with a millstone collar: long hair easily got caught in the numerous ruffs. In 1630 when the millstone collar was on the decline and being replaced by flat-laced collars, young people could easily let their hair grow longer.[42]

The gorget was a garment originally worn by military men, including the cuirassiers, a cavalry troop that originated in the fifteenth century. They were known for wearing breast-plated armor, the 'cuirass'.[43] It is curious that Rembrandt had on this shiny and uncomfortable metal apparel, which was traditionally worn by military men. As far as we know, Rembrandt did not serve in Leiden's municipal guard because he was enrolled at the University of Leiden, which exempted him from guard duty.[44] In all likelihood, there was no practical necessity for Rembrandt to wear a gorget.[45]

A more probable answer suggests that the young painter wore the gleaming piece of iron because it was fashionable, and made him look more masculine. Just like other young men of the 1620s and 1630s, Rembrandt followed the latest fashion trend that was influenced by the military and worn by young men who were not in the armed forces. Martial gear worn by civilians was by no means a new phenomenon in Europe. Since the late fifteenth century, various clothing pieces that were traditionally worn by the military, such as the jerkin, were stylish among civilian youths. The jerkin, which resembled the knight's harness, was made from either leather or cloth instead of iron. The fact that civilian young men were sporting military garb and were *not* members of the nobility symbolized a shift in power. In the Middle Ages the privilege to bear arms and fight in battle had been strictly reserved for the nobility. By the early modern period, a fundamental social change occurred in the military: fighting and bearing weapons became a task for mercenary soldiers from the lower echelons of society. In addition, the increasing economic power of the Republic's merchant class and upper middle class in the seventeenth century meant their offspring also gained access to the universities. These students were granted the priviledge to bear arms just like the sons of the nobility. The popularization of weaponry carried by young men and their taste for military outfits represented the waning monopoly of the nobility to bear arms.[46]

This trend is comparable to today's fashion of wearing khaki-colored army pants and other camouflage apparel which are traditionally worn by military personnel. In the early seventeenth century, the military look went hand-in-hand with the bearing of weapons, a growing trend among university students who were granted the privilege to bear arms. By the 1630s it had become rampant among youths of the elite and upper middle classes. According to the historian Antje Stannek, the martial outfit of young men in the 1630s was characterized as 'less stiff collars, wider pants, earrings, and long curly hair', and a fashionable young nobleman had to dress like Claude Beruet, the court painter to the Duke of Lorraine '… [who] dressed in the fashion of cuirassiers: they wore gambesons, gauntlets, cuffs, top-boots, and the slashed sleeves which the Swiss guards made popular all over Europe. They preferred the wide trousers named *rhingraves*

(petticoat-breeches), introduced by the Wild-and Rheingraf, a Palatinate diplomat at the court of Louis XIV. Despite its extravagance, the outfit of the Beruets was a sharp contrast to the formal and stiff costumes worn at the Habsburg court'.[47]

There was also another reason why young men in the 1620s and 1630s were particularly attracted to military apparel. Most of them had grown up during the turbulent period of the Twelve-Year Truce (1609-1621), when a civil war almost broke out in the Republic. After the truce ended in 1621, the war resumed, war propaganda continued, numerous books about the history of the war were published, and taxes were raised to support the effort. These centrifugal forces caused Dutch society to become completely engrossed with the renewed war against its old enemy, and consequently changed the public's image of the military as well. Under the helm of Stadtholder Maurits, the military had changed from what was often perceived as a motley crew of unorganized, undisciplined, poorly outfitted men, who were sporadically paid and were inclined to pillage and plunder for their wages, into a professional army. They were disciplined, trained with the latest fighting techniques, and most importantly paid on a regular basis. All ranks of the military were outfitted with proper weapons and assigned military uniforms that were very colorful. Manuals such as *Military Instructions for the Cavallrie* (1632) stipulated how soldiers were to be dressed, paid, quartered, encamped, supplied, armed, drilled, to be commanded, and how to go into battle. The standardized instructions streamlined and professionalized the military, and were copied by armies across Europe.[48] In the public view the military gained prestige and esteem, and burghers and young men in particular could have easily looked up to them as masculine role models.[49]

The positive image of the military was also propagated at the court of King Louis XIII of France. At the age of nine, Louis XIII inherited large shoes to fill. His highly intelligent father, Henry IV, who had converted from Calvinism to Catholicism and enacted the Edict of Nantes in 1598 that gave rights to Protestants in France, had ended a civil war. In 1610, the monarch was brutally murdered in his carriage while caught in traffic incurred by the coronation ceremony of the queen. Contrary to his father who was interested in the arts, literature, and clothing, young Louis XIII was primarily focused on masculine sports, including hunting and warfare, and was known to lead his men into battle. However, Louis's preference for the military and macho-like behavior might stem from another source. He was also known to be a notorious bisexual and liked handsome, swashbuckling young men. This could have been the reason his court adopted the more masculine style of the cavaliers' loose-fitting and vibrant-colored attire.[50]

Republic *sans* court culture

Bianca du Mortier, the Dutch art historian of seventeenth-century costume, argues that French fashion was worn by young people in Holland already in the late sixteenth century and was introduced by the flood of immigrants from the Southern Netherlands, However, it took another 25 years before French fashion had become mainstream, when stadtholder Frederik Hendrik accended to the position in 1625 and established his court at The Hague. Unlike his older half-

brother Maurits, Frederik Hendrik had spent much time at the French court in Paris, where he was undoubtedly influenced by French taste and fashion. His mother was Louise de Coligny, a Frenchwoman. Until that time (the mid-1620s), the Dutch elite and middle classes did not have a court culture that they could reflect on, as the elite in other countries did.[51] The scarcity of translated courtesy books, including Baldassare Castiglone's *Il Libro del Cortigiano*, points to the same conclusion. One example was translated into Dutch, Stefano Guazzo's courtesy book, *Van den Heuschen Burgerlycken Ommegangh* (1603), which advised everyone to have 'courteous, polite, suitable, decent and pleasant conduct'. Guazzo quotes the sixth century wrestler and disciple of Pythagoras, Milo of Croton, who distinguished between 'those who dress well and eat poorly, and those who eat well and dress poorly'. Milo emphasized the importance of not dressing above one's rank.[52] In 1623, Godefroy Boot wrote *Burgerlycken Onderrechtinghe* [Civic Education], one of the first courtesy books in Dutch, which was published by Jan Cloppenburgh, Catharina Cloppenburgh's father in Amsterdam. Boot clearly stated on the title page that his advice was intended for 'all ranks of people' but specified 'especially for kings, dukes, royals and princes, as well as members of the republic, magistrates, governors, and other public administrators of the country'. This group applied to the ruling echelon of Dutch society. Boot does not mention fashion in his advice for Holland's ruling group, however.[53] In the Northern Netherlands, the most prominent codes for etiquette and courtesy were based on the ideas of Erasmus, *De civilitate morum puerim libellus* (1530), which called for *civilitas,* a kind of civility and modesty in behavior that included taking good behavior and respect for others into account. One should try not to offend someone else. *Civilitas* was not only for the higher ranks but was a virtue for all social echelons in society. This etiquette not only applied to behavior in eating, drinking, and general conduct, it also covered clothing and how one presented oneself in public.[54]

Erasmus's notion of appearance and clothing 'not causing offence' is a quite neutral concept and can be interpreted in a variety of ways. We find more contemporary ideas of men's fashion in the 1620s in Johan van Heemskerk's *Minne Baet, Minne Kunst* (1626), an entertainment book primarily for young ladies, providing practical and beauty advice for single young men and women. Men were advised to keep their beards in good condition and use a clean and 'experienced scissors', to wear shoes that were not too roomy otherwise they would cause problems, and to keep their nails trimmed short, and their breath smelling 'clean and fresh'.[55]

Du Mortier emphasizes that the sober Spanish fashion of the first two decades of the seventeenth century slowly shifted towards the French fashion by the 1620s, and a new men's fashion of the early 1620s was depicted probably the best in Frans Hals's *Portrait of an Unknown Man* (1622). There Hals illustrated the young man with embroidered sleeves, decorated in a fancy pattern of symmetrically composed golden threads. He is wearing a short, tailored-shaped jerkin, with a shaped lap that reaches down to the thigh. The jerkin, which was fastened down the middle, has puffy arms, lined with golden buttons. The sleeves are fastened underneath the small shoulder flaps at the opening of the arms. On top of this a cloak was worn, which was characteristic of this period, with the flaunting sleeves from the jerkin sticking out of it. The jerkin and cloak were usually made from various fabrics such as velvet, silk, satin, cloth, and yarn,

and decorated with embroidery, ribbons, and other passements. With this type of cloak, it was fashionable to wear a collar with folds, usually called a *fraise à confusion* and a broad-rimmed hat tilted slightly over the forehead that was decorated with colorful silk, gold or silver embroidery, gems, black marbles, feathers or rosettes. That is our image of adult men's fashion through the eyes of Frans Hals in the early 1620s.[56]

According to the French historian of clothing, Daniel Roche, fashion operates in three manners: one, by imitation (distinguishing between the court, the town, and the people); two, by conventions of vogue, fashion unveils human nature to be capricious and finesse, love and its trickeries; and three, sought-after fashions challenged the styles that were represented in manuals on good manners which were important tools in educating respectable people who were strongly influenced by custom, good sense, and social control. Roche believes that the French king set the fashion 'that caused beards to be shaved, or hair to be grown longer or shorter; he provided the lead. The court followed suit, as did the rest of France, as Montaigne observed: 'Fashion doubtless lies in the encounter between the tastes of the French and the authority of those whom the French admire'.[57] Imitation of the French court went beyond the realm of other royals and aristocrats. The trend trickled down to young elites throughout Europe, who usually went on the grand tour – of which Paris was the most important stop where young elite men shopped for the latest fashions. Young travelers from the Republic were the most likely to imitate court fashion, in some cases 16% of their entire travel budget was spent on clothing.[58]

The cavalier look that became popular among young men in the Dutch Republic and at the courts throughout Europe made a shrill contrast to the style of clothing worn by the previous generation growing up at the turn of the century. The fashion did not resemble any of the lower body garments worn by young men at the court of Elisabeth I of England, or the tights that young men had on in Renaissance Florence during the fifteenth century that enabled them to play sports and drew attention to their physical constitution and groin. The small garment known as the codpiece, that was fashionable among Italian young men, remained popular among young men and soldiers until the late sixteenth century, but was not to be seen on Dutch young men in the early seventeenth century. They displayed their virility in another manner that will be addressed shortly.[59]

Silk ribbons and metalic accessories

Besides modeling the cavalier style, young men of the 1620s and 1630s accessorized their clothing with expensive metals and fabrics. In Hendrick Avercamp's *Winter Landscape with Skaters* (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam), 'frivolous' young men wear gold-colored ribbons and buttons.[60] This style resembled the same flare for flashy clothing exhibited by the generation of youths in the late fifteenth-century Renaissance Florence. The expensive style was not always appreciated by the older generation. One sumptuary law of the late 1490s prohibited young males under the age of fourteen from wearing gold, silver, silk, or embroidery and using colors such as rose or purple in their outermost clothes. Once youths in the Renaissance took on an official position and mar-

ried, they ascended to a new threshold in life and were expected to wear black and darker tones. Dark-colored clothing was considered official.[61] The codpiece, which had symbolized masculinity throughout the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, was no longer the centerpiece of young men's dress in the Dutch Republic, and consequently the main focalpoint of the outfit was no longer the crotch for young men in the 1620s and 1630s. Instead of every curve and bulge of the lower torso being visible to the viewer, the new fashion of the 1620s and 1630s was to carefully conceal it in a barrage of ruffled fabric. Young men's lower bodies were draped in fabric as if they were ashamed of the shape of their buttocks, upper legs, and groin. Instead, loose-fitting clothing extended to the knee and tapered off above high stockings.[62]

The bright cloth and stockings were often made of silk, and most clothing was produced at home. Wealthier young men usually purchased fabric from a textile producer or silk importer who often had a wide variety of qualities, colors, and fabrics ranging from velvet to silk and half-wool and half-silk threaded weaves. For both men and women, silk was the most popular fabric to make clothing in the early seventeenth century. Since the late sixteenth century silk had been in great demand for clothing, especially amongst the affluent that could afford it. Silk was the status symbol *par excellence*. In 1596 during the revolt, the States of Holland passed a luxury tax on silk to generate revenue to finance the war because the demand for the fabric increased rapidly and was worn extensively. However, collecting the tax proved to be more of a challenge than the authorities had anticipated. Half a year later it was abolished.[63]

One reason that silk was a popular fabric was because of its abundance in the Republic. After the fall of Antwerp in 1585, Amsterdam had emerged as the center of the silk trade in Northern Europe. Silks from Persia, the Levant, Turkey, Italy, and ultimately China (after the founding of the Dutch East India Company) were traded in Amsterdam. In addition, the domestic demand for the precious fabric had required more imports.[64]

Articles of clothing in the early modern period had to be tailored by several craftsmen, and having an outfit put together entailed a process that started by purchasing fabric from a shop. Clementia van den Vondel, the elder sister of the poet Joost van den Vondel, owned a fabric shop in Amsterdam's main shopping street, the Warmoesstraat. She sold silk fabrics, threads, collars, buttons, and other accessories necessary for decorating clothing. According to the shop's inventory between 1634 and 1637, Van den Vondel supplied a wide assortment of black and colored silks.[65] Another source also suggests that silk was a favored fabric. In Utrecht, the young patrician lawyer, Carel Martens, was fond of buying expensive outfits in silk and satin. According to his account book, he paid 36 guilders for two pairs of silk stockings, four guilders and ten stuivers for black silk and stockings. Many times he purchased double 'taff', black silk lace, green silk lace, silk buttons, and strings of embroidered silk. On another occasion Martens bought a flowered velvet fabric for 66 guilders and six stuivers while in Amsterdam and paid a tailor 25 guilders for cutting the fabric and sewing it together.[66] This was the usual procedure for having an outfit made. If the apparel required being stuffed with fur, then it would be brought to a pelts craftsman who prepared it. For other decorations such as embroidery, the garment was brought to an embroiderer. The entire process of making an item of clothing was time-consuming.[67]

In Holland, silk was in great abundance. According to the Dutch art historian Sjoukje Colenbrander, Amsterdam and Haarlem had flourishing silk-production industries. In 1643 when the Dutch East India Company proposed importing silk from the Far East, a letter of protest suggested that some 20,000 artisans, women, and children in Holland would be out of work if cheaper silks were imported. The silk industry and producers of silk garments involved more than just weaving.[68] Not only were pieces of clothing made from silk but also accessories such as stockings. By the 1630s there was a thriving business in the import and export of silk stockings in the Republic. In 1634, gold and silver craftsmen requested a reduction in tariffs from the States of Holland and West Friesland on the import and export of precious metals so they could keep up with the demand for gold and silver thread and silk stockings.[69] The craving for sparkling and glittery clothing made of expensive fabrics such as woven gold, silver, and furs resembled the *bling-bling* fashion worn by wealthy male youths in Venice of the fifteenth century. In 1456 the senate of that city complained that young people wore too many expensive fabrics and consequently passed a law that forced burghers to make a loan to the city government of 1,000 lire. Besides trying to instill moderation in its citizens, the municipality probably also needed revenue.[70]

In the Dutch Republic of the early seventeenth century, the craving for glittery clothing made of silk started to take its toll on the environment. According to Constantijn Huygens, the preference for silk in young people's clothing was becoming an environmental disaster. In his sat-

Illustration 6 'Father Bicker, dressed in black and a mill color, wore the fashion of his generation and official attire of his political position' in: Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Andries Bicker* (1642)

ire on the extravagance of contemporary fashion, *'t Kostelick Mal* (1622), Huygens remarked how the farmers of northern Italy had sacrificed the leaves of their mulberry trees, which had provided shade for wheat fields and vineyards, to be used as feed for the silkworm larvae which produced some of the finest Italian silk. Huygens, a young man of 26 at the time, was also a victim of fashion. He preferred to wear silk and could do little more than comment on the ecological tragedy of the fashion craze.[71]

Bright colors

During his visit to Leiden in 1634, the Englishman William Brereton (1604-1661) reported that the students are 'apparelled some as gallants, some like soldiers, some like citizens, some like serving-men; all in colours for the most part'.[72] Besides using expensive fabric like silk, the fashion trend of young men in the Dutch Republic during the 1620s-1640s also apparently included bright-colored clothing. The most telling discrepancy between this generation and that of their parents was captured by Bartholomeus van der Helst's portraits of father and son: Andries Bicker (1586-1652) and his son Gerard Andriesz Bicker (1622-1666). Van der Helst, who had slowly gained a reputation as the painter of Amsterdam's 'rich and famous', immortalized father and son Bicker circa 1642. The father, a wealthy merchant who traded in Russia and Scandinavia and

Illustration 7 'The 20-year old son of Andries Bicker, wore bright-colored clothing, a flat collar, and long hair' in: Bartholomeus van der Helst, *Gerard Andriesz Bicker* (1642)

was burgomaster of Amsterdam, is dressed in black with a millstone collar, while his corpulent son, in his early 20s, is dressed in a bright red velvet coat with a flat-lace collar. Recent infrared examination of the portrait of Gerard reveals that Van der Helst had trouble painting the drapery of cloth around the young man, who probably suffered from a disease that caused his obesity.[73]

Bianca du Mortier argues that black played an important part in Dutch fashion for most of the seventeenth century. Especially during the first decades of the century, black was the most popular color. Black was also a difficult color to produce and required a labor-intensive process. Woollen cloth first had to be dyed blue with woad or indigo, and then colored black with gallnut and a mordant made from iron. It is safe to assume that black was an expensive color to produce, especially because indigo had to be imported from India.[74] Besides black, white was also a popular color. The Englishmen Fynes Moryson noticed that 'men as women for their bodies and for all use of the Family, use very fine line, and I think that no clownes in the world weare such fine shirts, as they in Holland doe'. These linens were snow white, preferably starched, which was a status symbol. Haarlem and the surrounding area that bordered on to the dunes was well-known for its numerous bleacheries located close to the raw materials required for bleaching clothing and fabric. Clean water, buttermilk, and whey were used to enhance the bleaching process. Wheat was used for starching. Du Mortier argues that for centuries linen and cloth were the first layer of clothing in Holland, 'absorbing bodily fluids as well as protecting it from dirt. With bathing still a health hazard – clean water was not available to everyone – people in the seventeenth century felt "clean" after having changed their linen. Immaculately clean linen was equated with "neatness", the equivalent of our notions of hygiene and cleanliness'.[75]

By the 1630s the colorful French fashion became more popular in the Republic and changed the entire fabric industry. Producers of cloth tried to imitate the same light-colored, shiny French fabrics. The inventory of the silk merchant Johannes van Heusden, for example, included a large quantity of silks, yarns, passements, and cords in light colors. Moreover, variations in silk products were becoming more popular. Damasks and gold brocades were being made in Amsterdam as well as prints on silk, velvet, and plush velvet fabrics, along with a wide variety of colored fabrics in red, violet, liver-colored, gray, and blue-green.[76] The fact that these colors were available to the shopping public can also be attested by the 1644 inventory of Adriaen van Bon's silk shop in Amsterdam, which was stocked with large quantities of French, Italian, Turkish and Dutch silks, damasks, velvets, and brocades in all sorts and colors.[77]

As show by the popularity of the merry company genre of painting, the mainstream fashion of the 1640s had already been initiated by youths in the 1620s. Many painters of the genre, including Willem Buytewech, Frans and Dirck Hals, Hendrick Pot, and Jan Miense Molenaer, portrayed companies of young men dressed in the same bright clothes. In Buytewech's *Merry Company* (c. 1620-1622) in Budapest, for example, three young men are depicted: one is wearing a matching gold-colored jerkin, and his pants are tapered off with bright, red ribbons. The stockings matched the rest of his outfit and the uppers of his white shoes are adorned with the same bright

Illustration 8 'Young men dressed in bright-colored yellow and green outfits, silk stockings tappered off with ribbons, and healed-shoes' in: Willem Buytewech, *Merry Company* (c. 1620-1622)

red-colored ribbons that tie off just under his knees. The second young man is wearing the same style outfit but in aqua-green. Instead of having matching stockings, he wears white stockings with a ribbon of the same aqua-green color of his outfit that narrows around his knee. The uppers of his shoes are also adorned with a ribbon of the same color. The same man is also wearing a big black floppy-shaped hat with a white feather sticking out. A third young man is dressed in a brown outfit. Although it is not a bright color, his outfit is accessorized with many of the same kind of ribbons and stockings. In the scene there is also a young woman, and attributes including musical instruments, a monkey, and pipes which indicate that the youths had taken up the new habit of smoking.[78] Although the merry company genre was often intended as a comical farce and an exaggeration of the truth, the fashion depicted was not.[79] In 1620-1622 Constantijn Huygens described the clothing of affluent youths: 'pants that are tied off at the knee with ribbons, a hanging shoulder flap, a jerkin that is as stiff as a harness, shoes that are so deep that the vamp is barely attached to the heel, hats that looked like a dish turned upside down meant to house lice, flashy pleated collars that could house rats, tight-fitting stockings in which the legs looks like a sausage about to squeeze out of its casing, too many rosettes on the shoes, high heels, and an impractical outer coat which is more like a flag than providing coverage, and is more ballast than protection'.[80] The bright, colorful clothing of the youths depicted in Buytewech's merry companies was fashionable at the royal courts of young monarchs like Louis XIII of France and Charles I of

England. According to the travel descriptions of the English traveler, Fynes Moryson, in 1619, the French gentlemen were wearing mixed and light colors and silk garments '… and negligently or carelessly', which the Germans regarded as sloppy because they go 'without wearing hat bands and garters, with their points untrust, and their doublets unbuttoned'.[81] The French pasquil, *La nouvelle mode de la cour ou le courtesan a la negligence et l'ocasion* (1622) referred to this new mode as negligent court fashion which consisted of undone band-strings, new slashed doublets, draped cloaks, low necklines and pinned-up skirts for ladies, and long hair for young men.[82] According to Marieke de Winkel, the manufactured negligent look in men's fashion had manifested itself by the 1640s with hats being worn slightly angled on the head, long, messed-up 'cloaks casually worn over one shoulder and doublets slashed at the sleeves or half-unbuttoned, revealing much of the shirt and with the collar-strings left undone'.[83] In England the nonchalant look was fashionable in the second quarter of the seventeenth century and became widely criticized for being 'calculated slovenliness'.[84]

Calculated slovenliness

For Dutch youths in the 1620s and 1630s, the preference for a 'calculated slovenliness' look shifted away from black as a traditional color of dress. There is evidence that indicated that colorful clothing was also an act of rebellion against Spanish fashion. In 1621 when the Twelve-Year Truce ended and the Dutch Republic resumed war, Spain's political and cultural might in Europe was fading. By the 1620s and 1630s the pendulum of political and cultural power in Europe drastically shifted from the waning Spanish empire and its court in Madrid to the more dynamic and youthful court of the French king, Louis XIII. The French capital emerged as the center of culture and fashion for the rest of Europe. Before ascending to the English throne in 1625, Charles I (1600-1649), who later married Louis XIII's sister, followed the fashion of Louis XIII's court by sporting colorful clothing that was 'greene, sea-greene or willow collour' and often adorned with another hue of green or 'scarlet, crimson or carnation'.[85] For style, Dutch elite youths looked to the courts of Europe's young monarchs. The French court was especially important for young urban elites. Paris was usually the first stop on the grand tour, and young and impressionable travelers from the Republic were most likely to imitate court fashion once they arrived in Paris. One of the first rituals was to shed their provincial garments and buy new wardrobes more appropriate to what a gentleman or *honnête homme* would wear. When 25-year-old Johannes Thysius of Leiden visited the French capital, for example, he purchased fabric for a winter and summer outfit along with a plume, hat, stockings, and a silver sword that cost 100 guilders and silver spurs for 50 guilders. The wealthy Thysius, who was orphaned at an early age, did not need to account for his expenditures to a father, but for most young men who depended on financial support, they often clarified the additional costs incurred when buying fashionable clothing in Paris with rational arguments, the most convincing being that a young man needed to look like a suitable representative while visiting dignitaries, scholars, and business associations of the family.[86] When 23-year-old Pieter de la Court visited London in the autumn of 1641, he accurately recorded in his diary the colors,

fabrics, and accessories worn by the people he met. The fact that the young De la Court was the son of a linen manufacturer in Leiden was probably the reason for his fascination with the specifics of textile, color, and fashion in general.[87]

According to Norbert Elias, fashion is an obvious signifier of the civilization process. The fashion of the French court trickled down from the urban elite of the Republic to the working echelons of Dutch society. At the helm of following the new trends of the court were primarily elite young men returning from the grand tour. However, the majority of youths in the Dutch Republic could not afford expensive silk and satin garments. Despite these economic differences in purchasing power, the fashion of the upper echelons did influence the dress of the lower groups of Dutch society.

In the distinctively stratified society of the early modern period, clothing and apparel were one means by which people could elevate themselves above their social and economic rank in life. However, in the honor-based society of the early modern period, dressing above (or below) one's social station in life was a tricky business. Orphans dressed in black suits with white linen collars set off with red and white borders were recognizable on Sundays in small towns like Woerden and Oudewater.[88] In the larger cities of the Republic burgher orphans residing in municipal orphanages were required to dress in the color of the city so that they could be easily recognized. This made their behavior more controllable, and they could be identified if they begged for

Illustration 9 'Young men and women enjoying the outdoors' in: Dirck Hals, *The Garden Party* (1627)

money or visited a tavern.[89] Identification through clothing also applied to other groups in society who were not a financial responsibility or burden on the community.

Clothing was also an effective means to suppress social groups. When domestic servants began to dress in expensive silk fabrics in 1642, the social distinction between employer and employee became blurred, and Amsterdam's municipal authorities proposed curbing the extensive use of silk with a city ordinance which would forbid female servants from dressing in silk, velvet, and plush velvet. In essence, the ordinance aimed to emphasize the social division between employers and their employees, as well as to prevent servants from stealing from their employers in order to keep up with fashion trends that were beyond their financial means. In 1654, the city council considered a proposal that entailed more comprehensive sumptuary laws. However, its outcome is not known.[90]

Clothing in the early modern period was an expensive item. Clothes were considered an asset that could be pawned, used for collateral, and willed to the next generation as family heirlooms. When Dirck Alewijn, a wealthy cloth manufacturer of Amsterdam, died in 1637, he left his wardrobe of expensive clothes to his sons, Frederick and Abraham, as well as leaving some pieces to his wife.[91] That was standard for the elite in Dutch society. The majority of the Dutch population had to obtain clothing through other means. Young men who could not afford the expensive fabrics worn by their wealthier age-cohorts were more resourceful in keeping up appearances and staying with fashion trends. Many young people bought their clothing from a *uitdraagster* (a woman who sold clothing that was usually acquired through bankruptcies and estates), which was sold from door to door. Another option was to purchase second-hand clothes that could either be made fashionable by re-stuffing, by adding embroidery and decorations, or by being dyed. In Amsterdam, for example, young people of lesser means could shop on Monday at markets held at the Nieuwmarkt, Noordermarkt, and Westermarkt. Second-hand clothing was only permitted at the Nieuwmarkt. According to a city ordinance from 1639, only already tailored clothing could be traded at the Nieuwmarkt. At the city's Noordermarkt (adjacent to the Noorderkerk), there was also a weekly market held on Monday where both second-hand and first-hand clothes were sold. Today this market is still held on Monday morning and specializes in second-hand clothing and fabric.

In the sixteenth century second-hand clothing markets were referred to as flea markets because the clothing could sometimes be flea-infested. Especially when there were outbreaks of the plague as in the town of Zierikzee in 1625, second-hand clothing was considered a means of spreading the disease, and *uitdraagsters* were forbidden to sell clothing from the homes of the sick or where a victim of the plague had died.[92] However, the growing demand for second-hand clothing could not be fulfilled by the natural lifecycle of clothing, and market vendors often had to rely on racketeers in stolen clothing to supply the demand.[93] During the 1650s there was a well-known gang of juvenile delinquents active in Amsterdam near the second-hand markets who specialized in stealing bales of linen, satin, and clothing from shopkeepers. One of the most popular places to steal coats was from a barber-surgeon's shop. There a visitor's attention was usu-

ally distracted from his coat while a sharp-bladed knife was running across his face and neck, or while undergoing surgery without the use of anesthesia. These stolen goods were usually fenced and resold before authorities could apprehend the juvenile thieves.[94]

Whether the working class of the Dutch Republic could afford linens and satins is disputable. Holland produced linen, which might have made it more affordable, and perhaps the availability of satin in the Republic because of the staple market made the fabric more accessible for the lower ranks. In England, for example, a majority of the population could not afford these fabrics, and dark woolen fabrics remained the main staple of apparel until the second half of the seventeenth century. In the Dutch Republic, youths from the lower echelons could not afford an entire outfit made from linen or satin. However, they could accessorize their apparel from haberdasheries that specialized in stockings, gloves, collars, ribbons, plumes, and other frivolities. In this aspect they could follow the dandyish style of affluent young men.[95]

Sumptuary rite of passage

The wearing of colorful clothing has often been an area of contention among historians of clothing, especially for the Dutch Republic where black was often considered the symbol of soberness and religious piety. The Dutch historian Irene Groeneweg argues that throughout the late Middle Ages and the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries there were periods when colorful clothing was fashionable which alternated with ones when black was considered more stylish. In the late sixteenth century the fashion in the Northern Netherlands was influenced by the sober style and black attire worn by the Spanish court in Madrid. By the 1620s and until the 1640s, bright colors returned to the fashion landscape. However, a distinction should be made between young men who wore colorful clothes and adults who were dressed in black. Bright, colorful clothing was often worn by young people and considered leisure wear whereas the black attire worn by adults was regarded as business apparel similar to a black suit for official engagements. In the early seventeenth century, once young men reached the age of majority and started to fulfill an official position in society, they were inclined and expected to wear black or dark-colored outfits. For young men the transition from bright-colored clothing to official black or dark attire was a rite of passage much like marriage and starting a profession.[96]

This fashion for colorful clothing for young men met with great resistance from pious religious groups. In general, colorful dress was regarded as mundane and frivolous, which clashed with their ideas of soberness. In 1622 when Josua de Keldere, a young Dutch Reformed minister from Purmerend, visited the daughter of a wealthy merchant in Amsterdam, it was reported that she had removed her worldly garments to adapt herself to the clothing deemed more suitable of the wife of a clergyman. The bride-to-be shed her fashionable attire of the day and dressed down for her prospective husband.[97] When Frans Hals painted the Baptist couple Lucas de Clercq (c. 1593-1652) and his wife Feyntie van Steenkiste (c. 1603/04-1640) in 1635, they were dressed in sober black attire and lacked accessories. The couple most likely disapproved of the flashy colors

that were in vogue due to the religious convictions of their faith, which called for constraint and inconspicuous clothing.[98]

The lion's share of opposition to flamboyant and colorful clothing came from the clergy, and during the 1610s the worldly style was often blamed on the *courtoisie* of wealthy Flemish families. Dutch historian Herman Roodenburg argues that by 1625, two ministers reported seeing the first mannequins in Amsterdam, and he feels that the new fashion was probably no longer the result of wealthy Flemish immigrants but rather 'the fashions followed at the courts in The Hague and Paris'.[99] According to the four sermons published in *Den Spieghel der Zedigheyt* [Mirror of Modesty] (1620), Willem Teellinck, a Dutch Reformed minister from Middelburg, preached that wearing fashionable and luxurious clothing was a vice. The young people of Teellinck's congregation defended their flare for fashion by pointing to the portraits painted of their parents, in which they were depicted in fancy and expensive dress.[100] However, Teellinck also believed that some fashion was only intended for the young and should not be imitated by adults. Teellinck's criticism was mainly directed towards young women in his congregation who were dressed in expensive fabrics and had accessorized with superfluous details, frivolities, and decorations. He argued for a more sober style of dress, and for women to adhere to the more conventional style of the times, instead of becoming slaves to fashion. Moreover, the 'modern' fashion with its frivolities was considered to be provocative for that era. The new style of bright blues, yellows, greens, and 'carnaet[s]' along with women's low cleavage that disclosed too much naked flesh excited the sexual desires of young men. In other words, the bright colors (and naked flesh) roused the sexual appetites of male youths. Teellinck explained that young men have difficulty enough managing their lust, but when a young woman appears in such a dress then she becomes nothing more than a lust object, and there would be little to hold him back.[101] In Teellinck's eyes women were the instigators of sexual immorality and promiscuity for young men. After all, women were the sex which frittered their leisure time away reading aimless 'amorous books and songs'. The bottom line in Teellinck's argument is that if women did not dress so provocatively, then it would be easier for young men to keep their eyes off of them.[102] However, the real note that Teellinck was trying to emphasize was that parents spoiled their children by purchasing expensive clothing for them. The parents of the 1620s, who were raised in modesty, now – since they had money – lavished their children with fancy dress 'three time[s] more expensive' than the clothes they had been dressed in as children. According to Teellinck, dressing children in expensive attire was a vicious circle. He argued that the spoiled youth of the 1620s would only indulge their children even more.[103]

Despite Teellinck being influenced by the sober teachings of the English Puritans, he still pleaded for a moderation of dress for his congregation. In regard to the stoic soberness of Mennonite dress, the minister preferred men to follow mainstream fashion because he believed the Mennonites showed a moral arrogance and found it hypocritical. Teellinck stressed to his congregation that it was better to follow the conventional styles of dress that the regents of the country wore

– despite being affluent enough to afford expensive and elaborate attire. Teellinck considered their attire to be morally correct.[104]

The moralist Zacharias Heyns (1566-c. 1638) used the trendy fashion of the youths of the 1620s to portray how wealth and prosperity in Dutch society had gone amok. He not only accused young people but society as a whole for their decadence. In *Emblemata Moralia* (1625), Heyns argued that wearing fancy clothing was a combination of being vain, ostentatious, and presumptuous. In the emblem book he placed an engraving on the opposite page that featured a ball with a cross on the top enclosed in a large heart. Heyns wanted readers to believe that young people were steering this mundane exhibition of wealth and luxury. The caption under the engraving states: '*Het dichten des menschelijcken herte is boos vander jeucht op*' [the conception of the human heart is evil from youth onwards]. According to Heyns, excess was a vice whether displayed in clothing or in lofty poetry. It was a shortcoming that was acquired during one's youth.[105]

In England, the new fashion from France was strongly opposed for slightly different reasons. Critics were quick to accuse foreigners of wanting to seduce English society with new and international trends. They never tired of blaming foreigners for introducing a clothing fad that they considered to be extravagant. In the sixteenth century a continuous clash manifested between Western morality and dress codes that were driven by increased international trade, travel, war, and the exchange of information through the press. According to the English historian of early modern clothing Aileen Ribeiro, contemptuous commentators sneered at foreigners for introducing English society to conspicuous dress but, more importantly, for launching a fashion in England that made men look effeminate.[106] English complaints were ranged more against the use of foreign fabrics such as silks which hurt the domestic wool industry and disrupted the domestic cloth trade. English moralists believed cloth from France, Spain, and Italy was affiliated with leisure, decadence, and even disease considered the pinnacle of the dissolution of the virtues ascribed to English textiles. Those who wore silks and satins from Spain and Italy were associated with the Papal order and wantonness, and fabrics from France were associated with syphilis, one of the most dreaded diseases of the early modern period.[107]

By the 1610s and 1620s in the Dutch Republic, newcomers were no longer criticized for wearing flamboyant clothing. Twenty years earlier that had been a different story. In the late sixteenth century ministers blamed the Republic's immigrants, especially those from the Southern Netherlands, for wearing fancy clothing and having cosmopolitan ways. Their style clashed with the soberness of 'true' Dutchmen. According to the Dutch cultural historian Herman Roodenburg, by the 1610s the fashion of the wealthy immigrants from the south and native Dutchmen had merged into a blur.[108]

Extravagant clothing and the Prodigal Son

In the Dutch Republic, the moralistic debate against young people wearing fancy clothing was intertwined with the Biblical story of the Prodigal Son. Willem Teellinck criticized parents for

neglecting their role as educators and spoiling their children with flamboyant clothing. Throughout the early modern period, the poor parent/rich children complaint was a common theme used in art and based on the Biblical story of the Prodigal Son who squandered his father's wealth. Throughout the sixteenth century the Prodigal Son had been a popular theme in art and literature to portray youthful foolishness and excessiveness or, rather, the foolishness of extravagance, but over time it was shoved into the background. Especially in the 1620s and 1630s the Prodigal Son dressed in lavish clothing became a contemporary theme that was staged by playwrights including Willem Dirckz Hooft (1594-1658), who wrote various comedies for Amsterdam's city theater.[109] In *Heden-daegsche Verloren Soon* [The Contemporary Prodigal Son] (1630) Hooft captivated audiences with a modernized version of the theme. Hooft poked fun at the topic and portrayed a wealthy young man who had gone astray in his passion for pleasure seeking. Clothing was one of those indulgences the young man wasted his money on. When he went to a tailor or shoemaker, he did not contemplate the cost of the fabric or the accessories required to satisfy his desire. Money was no object; the more exotic, the better. Hooft's play was appropriately first performed on the evening before Lent (the last evening of the Catholic feast of Carnival) in 1630 and again in 1640, and told in the form of a dialogue between two young men who had a wild night on the town. It is essentially about a young man, Juliaan, who has not learned the golden mean of moderation, and his spending spree starts when he and his friend meet two hookers on the street who take them to a public house and later to a brothel where they get drunk. According to Hooft, not only has the young Juliaan failed to master the age-old trope of wine, women, and song, he is also modernized as he has not mastered his excessive behavior given all the luxuries that affluent Dutch consumers in the early seventeenth century had available. According to the story, the innkeepers treat Juliaan and his friend honorably, a status which he enjoys among the many shopkeepers because he is known as a paying customer among those who sell luxurious items such as pastry-bakers and wine-sellers. Shopkeepers know Juliaan has money because he has been seen in the theater, the tennis court, the dance school, the tailor and shoemaker shops, and the lawyer's and doctor's offices. Juliaan is a parasite living off his father's money and squandering it. Everybody profits from his extravagance, even the bailiff who often has to escort him home after an evening of carousing.[110] Although Juliaan appears in the comedy clearly as the bad guy, in reality he is a victim of poor parenting.[111] During the economic boom of the early seventeenth century when fortunes were easily made, the Prodigal Son theme became popular again. The genre spilled over into other forms of art as well. In 1622 the engraver Gillis van Scheyndel depicted a merry company of the children of the *nouveaux-riches* after Karel van Mander (1548-1606). The inscription underneath the engraving spells it all out: 'long live love, our marriage has begun with joy. Our parents were simple folk, they amassed money by being miserly. Well-greased pot, living it up, it all has to be got down the gullet. We have money enough, how can we get through it all'. This engraving resembles a similar one by Cornelis van Kittesteyn that is a portrait within a portrait. The main one illustrates elaborately dressed youngsters who are shown enjoying the pleasures of life, while the second one is an image of their parents pictured in the back of the room dressed in humble attire. For seventeenth-century viewers, the pedagogical

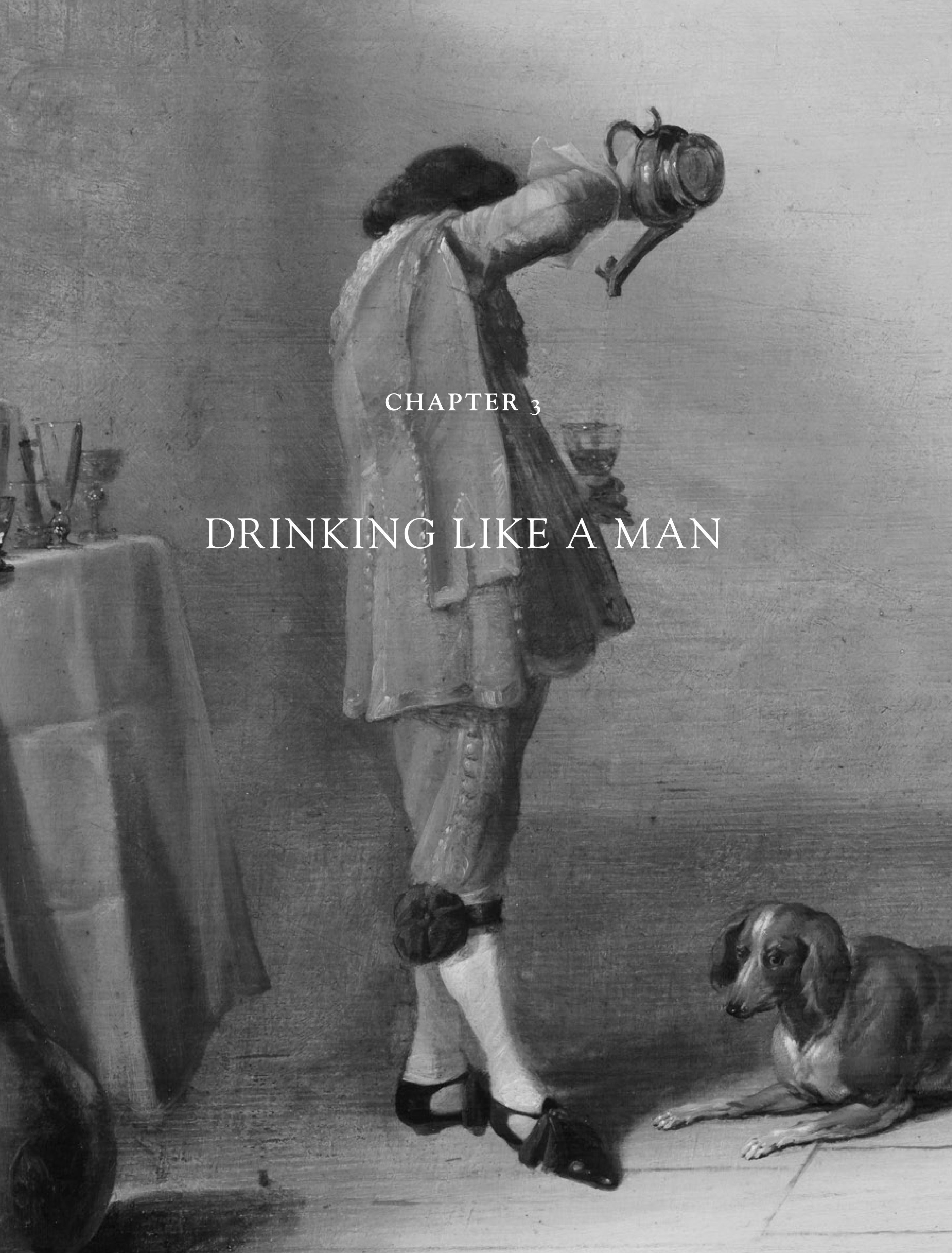
message must have struck a nerve. Elite and middle-class Dutch youths and their parents were in a position to spend money on luxury goods such as expensive clothing made from costly fabrics and accessorized with ribbons, silk stockings, and fancy ostrich feathers that were traded in London, Leghorn, and Marseille. It was excessive compared to their parents' dress, and the question remained of how much more extravagantly would the next generation of children be dressed?[112] In the early seventeenth century, the Prodigal Son theme was intended as an exaggeration of the world gone astray. According to the art historian Korine Hazelzet, the negative behavior portrayed in depictions of carousing sons of the wealthy, as well as peasants dancing, drinking, and fighting, brothels and pubs, hen-pecked husbands and bossy wives, ill-matched lovers, lustful elders, beggars, drunks, and gamblers, was 'a method of teaching morality but ironically praising the opposite'. For seventeenth-century audiences, learning morality through negative didactics including satire and humor elaborated on the Biblical command 'Thou Shalt Not'. The upside-down didactics aimed to make people laugh initially and mock the negative behavior while at the same time they got the subliminal, morally correct gist. In this case, knowing what *not to do* was initially easier to remember than what *to do*.[113]

For many of the elite and middle class that had gained financial wealth and affluence in the early seventeenth century, the part in the Prodigal Son about squandering money and economic downfall must have represented a real angst. In the pamphlet entitled *Den rechten weg nae 't Gast-huys* [*The Hye Way to the Spyttell House*] (1536), that fear must have struck a cord for the wealthy merchant families who prospered during the economic conjecture of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, an era when fortunes were easily made.[114] Between 1603 and 1647 several Dutch translations of the French version (which was originally written in 1503 by Robert de Balsac) painted a path to economic downfall of the affluent merchants who feasted on decadent banquets and spoiled their children with spending money and allowed them to live a licentious lifestyle with excessive drinking, bad company, and visits to the brothel. No good was to come from educating youths in this manner, and the path ultimately ended in the poorhouse. The word *rechten* was even ambiguous. On the one side it could be translated as 'straight' or 'immediate' path but just the same it could also have implied the 'rightful' course of moral justice. The English translation, *The Hye Way to the Spyttell House*, translated by Robert Copland in 1536, eludes even more to the social disgrace (*spyttell* =spit) of falling down the economic ladder.[115] The ostentatious fashion of wealthy youths during the 1620s and 1630s posed a threat to the moral fiber of the rich Dutch Republic. In reality, it was more a reflection of the material affluence of its adults.

Conclusion

By choosing to present themselves with clean-shaven cheeks, mustaches, goatees, and shoulder-length hair, the worldy youths of the 1620s and 1630s clearly distinguished themselves from the previous generation who wore full beards, short-cropped haircuts, tight fitting garments, and dark-colored clothing. The generation of young men from the 1620s chose to have long hair

which was a style that would remain in fashion for almost two hundred years, and expressed their masculinity by wearing military garments, such as the gorget and jerken, that were traditionally worn by cavaliers. Despite the fact that the style was known to be negligent and had a disheveled appearance, nothing was further from the truth. Young men spent much time and attention in manicuring this 'sloppy look'. The military style was introduced at the court of the young monarch, Louis XIII of France. Europe's young monarchs, Louis XIII of France and Charles I of England, were especially important fashion role models for the affluent young men of the Dutch Republic as well as the rest of Europe. By sporting 'masculine' garments, young men hoped to radiate manliness in their identity and appearance. When it came to fashion and appearance, there was very little *embarrassment of riches* for the generation of young men from the 1620s and 1630s. In this realm Simon Schama's theory applied more to the parents than to their children, who preferred to dress their children in flamboyant clothing.



CHAPTER 3

DRINKING LIKE A MAN

CHAPTER 3

Drinking Like a Man

Youngsters, now that you are sick
And don't taste the alcohol anymore,
Drink to the health of the bride and groom.
Take it from me.
Drink to the bottom
Others will follow
You drink too slowly.[1]

When 25-year-old Hobbe van Baerdt and his 22-year-old bride, Apollonia van Viersen, married on March 16th, 1617, the wedding guests sang this verse composed by Jan Jansz. Starter. The song was later included in his popular songbook, *Friesche Lust-Hof*, which was published in 1621. Drinking songs composed for marriages were common in the early seventeenth century, and drinking songs also stimulated young wedding guests to drink too much. Moralists warned parents and young men of the dangers of *wijntje, trijntje* – the Dutch expression for drunkenness leading to sex. *Wijntje, trijntje* summed up excessive drinking and promiscuity. For health reasons, children and young people were strongly discouraged from consuming alcohol, or at least urged to drink in moderation. In the tradition of Plato and Galen, the Dutch physician Levinus Lemnius warned about children drinking alcohol. He feared that drinking alcoholic beverages like wine would '*setteth their bodies in heat, filleth their heads with fumes, and bringeth great annoyance to their mindes*'. Youngsters around the age of 14 or 15 should only be allowed to drink wine sparingly,

> because it carryeth them headlong into anger, maketh them prompt and ready to pursue licencious lusts, and inordinate affections, and also duleth and troubleth that part of the minde which is rationall.[2]

Rite of passage

However, consuming excessive amounts of alcohol was an ambiguous matter for young men in the early modern period. In the social and cultural construction of manhood, wine, women, and song were rites of passage. They symbolized the transition from boyhood to manhood. Consuming large amounts of alcohol represented a liminal rite which men had to endure. Moreover, there was also an element of risk involved. For one, young men endangered their lives by getting drunk. Too much drink (alcohol poisoning) could lead to a sudden death. Secondly, it put a young man in an inebriated state where he lacked reason and was no longer in control. Men who had lost control were considered to be women. Loss of control equated to a loss of masculinty. Drinking like a man was the ability to consume large amounts of alcohol without losing reason.[3] Some social scientists today suggest that risk behaviors among adolescent males sometimes fulfill positive functions in the transition to adulthood; for example, one recent study showed that young men who abstained from drinking alcohol were late entering into adult roles and accepting adult behavior.[4]

The real art of manhood was to *master* these vices. In other words, a young man had to learn how to imbibe in moderation.[5]According to Lynn Martin's *Alcohol, Sex and Gender in Late Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, alcohol consumption in the early modern period was a complex matter when it concerned gender, and consequently the forming of gender identities. There was a sexual double standard and a drinking double standard: 'Just as women were expected to preserve their chastity so also were they expected to maintain their sobriety. The two double standards were linked because of the widespread opinion that a sober woman was chaste while a drunken woman would be promiscuous. Not only did men have a greater freedom than women in matters of sexuality, but they also had the right to consume vast amounts of alcoholic beverages, not just the right but also the duty if they were to uphold their honor and status.'[6] However, the message about the evils of drinking was ambivalent. For some youths, the act of getting drunk and being promiscuous represented manly behavior and was a manifestation of masculinity. This chapter will elaborate on Lynn Martin's double standard of drinking for male youths within the realm of alcohol consumption in seventeenth-century Dutch culture and will address how excessive drinking was an important rite in becoming a man.

Follies of youth

In 'The Ages of Man', the stage of youth was often portrayed with depictions of drunken, lovemaking young men. In the late Middle Ages and early modern period, the Ages of Man was a pedagogical lesson which warned young people about the dangers of their phase of life while at the same time instilling tolerance into parents – or making it more bearable – if their children had become excessive in their behavior. Each life stage was dominated by specific character traits; for example, the elderly were not stereotyped for having a sanguine nature and being passionate and craving alcohol but rather for their cold-natured, frugal, and melancholic tendencies. Young people were depicted for the complete opposite, and their lust for passion and alcohol was usu-

ally symbolized with depictions of Venus and Bacchus.[7] Throughout the Middle Ages and early modern period, the engravings of the stages of life ultimately portrayed the young ruled by a sanguine temperament, which was often symbolized by the season of spring or a falcon.[8] The stereotyping of the youth life phase subtly implied that the sanguine temperament had few or no inhibitions and, moreover, no control over the body and mind. Like Levinus Lemnius, the Dutch physician Johan van Beverwijck argued that alcohol unbalanced the bodily fluids, a theory based on the humoral pathology of Galen, which was widely accepted in the early modern period. In *Schat der Ongesontheyd* [Treasure of Ill-Health] (1644) Van Beverwijck warned that drunkenness was a 'sickness of the head' and a *razernye sonder coortsche* (frenzy without fever) because it affected one's reasoning. Alcohol and the warm-tempered nature of the young were not a good mix and were a great concern to physicians and moralists.[9]

This fear was not unfounded. During the late decades of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Republic experienced an economic boom that allowed the children of the elite and the youth of the middle class a great amount of time for playful recreation. Simon Schama has argued that the combination of economic affluence and morality was a common struggle for early-seventeenth-century Dutch society, and a good moral upbringing of children did not always insure that young people would not veer off the righteous path. The pious child gone astray in adolescence was a common trope in religious and literary works during the early seventeenth century.[10]

In general, the end of youth and onset of adulthood for the elite was clearly demarcated when they finished studying at university and or went on the grand tour. During this late phase of youth, the wayward behavior of young men was tolerated, to a certain degree, and pedagogically accepted as a period of 'folly'.

Jacob Cats (1577-1661), the bestselling author of didactic books in the seventeenth century, understood the nature of young men like no other. In his masterpiece, *Spiegel van de Oude en Nieuwe Tijdt* [Mirror of the Old and New Times] (1632), Cats argued that children had to have some leeway and find their boundaries. Adriaen van de Venne illustrated Cats's proverb and portrayed the psychology of young people with an emblem of a young man who is slightly tipsy or perhaps even drunk. The young man wears a jester's shoes to symbolize his foolishness, and he dances among the temptations of his leisure activities: a tennis racket and cards. Below the emblem the caption reads:

> *Men moet een paer narre-schoenen verslijten*
> *Eer men recht wijs wort.*
>
> (One has to wear out a pair of fool's shoes
> before one can be wise.)[11]

Moralists like Cats were not oblivious to the turbulent psychological state of youths and their inability to find the golden median of moderation. Cats understood that young men needed to

Illustration 10 'Young man dancing around a tennis racquet and cards with merry-making friends in the background' in: Adriaen van de Venne, 'The Follies of Youth' in: J. Cats, *Spiegel van de oude en nieuwe tijdt* (1632)

make mistakes first before they could follow the righteous path. Cats's advice also offered some kind of consolation for parents by pointing out that the wayward behavior of their children was only temporary. Most moralists, however, were more dramatic in unraveling how excessive drinking would eventually lead to the slippery slope. In his 1634 satirical *Proces van drie Gebroeders-Edellieden* [Trial of Three Brothers of Nobility], H. Rulant depicted a drunk, a womanizer, and a gambler. Similar to the parental fear of sex, drugs, and rock 'n' roll in the 1950s, Rulant prominently distinguished alcohol, women, and dice-throwing as the three horsemen of young men. Just like many theologians in the early seventeenth century, Rulant believed in the domino effect of vices.[12] The act of gambling broke two of the Ten Commandments: rolling dice, playing cards and backgammon, or even buying a lottery ticket while asking God's help to win was a transgression of the third commandment (Thou shall not take the name of the Lord in vain); for other moralists chance games were a violation of the eighth commandment (Thou shall not steal) because the winner won money by dishonorable means, while the loser squandered his wealth. The sinfulness and dangers of playing chance games were addressed in moral treatises such as Godefridus Udemans's practical book on abiding by the cardinal virtues *Practijcke* (1632). Udemans, a Protestant minister from Zierikzee in Zeeland who later wrote a treatise on the dangers of young men having long hair, tried to scare youths away from throwing dice by telling them about God's revenge, based on an old story about a bolt of lightning striking a tavern in Mechlin (in present-

day Belgium) in 1546 where 800 tons of gunpowder had been stored. One of the victims was the innkeeper named *Kroes* (meaning 'tankard'), and according to Udemans, Kroes was summoned to God holding a card in his hand.[13] In his advice to young people, the Protestant minister Frans Esausz. den Heussen spelled out the gamut of vices that would unfold when too much drinking was done. In his *Den Christelijcken jongeling* [The Christian Youth] (1638), he warned youths to abstain from gluttony, drunkenness, dancing, gambling, and nightwalking.[14]

It should be taken into account that the call for moderation in the seventeenth century had a different emphasis than the temperance movement in the nineteenth century, which sought complete abstinence.[15] In the early seventeenth century, drinking alcohol was a necessity that was interwoven in the Dutch gastronomical culture. Consuming alcoholic beverages such as beer, wine, and brandy wines was safer than drinking water, especially in cities with polluted water supplies. Before coffee and tea started to become affordable beverages for the general public in the 1670s and 1680s, beer was the most standard drink. There were various types of beer, ranging from a low-quality thin beer (with a lower alcohol percentage) to a high-quality thick consistency.[16] By 1625 some statistics indicate that the average annual amount of beer consumed per person ranged somewhere between 300 liters to as much as 670 liters. By 1650 the estimates dropped off to between 240 and 540 liters per person.[17] The cities of Haarlem, Gouda, and Delft had flourishing breweries mainly for export, but almost every city in the Dutch Republic had at least a few breweries for domestic consumption. Haarlem, for example, had a good supply of clean water for its breweries from the dunes on the North Sea coast, but Amsterdam with its polluted canals had to import fresh water from the Vecht River.[18]

Despite the country having no noteworthy wineries, foreigners were often amazed at the wide variety of imported German, French, Spanish, Italian, and Greek wines that were available in the Dutch Republic. However, the Dutch in general were not wine drinkers and were more apt to drink locally brewed beers that were less expensive. Joseph Scaliger, the French scholar who taught at the University of Leiden in the late sixteenth century, noted that 'we live among the waters, and yet we drink not of them'.[19] Since the late Middle Ages the city of Middelburg, perched on the mouth of the Scheldt River with Antwerp and the rest of Flanders as its hinterland, had staple rights for wines from France and the Mediterranean. The city of Dordrecht with its harbor on a branch of the Rhine River had staple rights for wines from Germany. Until the late sixteenth century these cities remained the most important wine markets. Despite the large quantity of wines in the Republic, wine primarily remained a beverage for the wealthy. However, it is likely that the consumption of wine increased in the course of the seventeenth century, since the price of wine around 1650 was approximately the same as it had been in the late sixteenth century.[20]

Drinking patterns changed in the course of the seventeenth century, especially among the lower economic echelons of Dutch society. Economic growth and prosperity in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had made the consumption of alcohol more affordable,[21] and the drinking habits of this group shifted from beer to brandy wines and gin. Consequently, brandy wine and gin-brewing industries gradually crowded out the beer producers. The average annual

consumption of these beverages at the end of the seventeenth century was between 5.5 and 7.5 liters per person. However, not everybody consumed hard liquor, so the average brandy wine/gin drinker imbibed 17 to 23 liters yearly.[22]

Moral instruction

When curbing the excesses of alcohol consumption entered the debate, moralists could do little more than recommend moderation. Most adages advised no more than three glasses a day: the first glass for general health, the second for the taste, and the third for a good sleep. Anymore was considered useless and consequently excessive.[23] In this realm, Roman Catholics and Protestants approached the moderation of food and drink similarly.[24] Excessive drinking was committing the sin of gluttony, one of the seven cardinal vices of the Middle Ages.[25] In general, moralists did not address young women directly about excessive drinking.[26] A drunken woman was taboo, and represented the worst possible outcast. Edifying works urged young women to abstain for other reasons. The highest virtue for a young woman was her chastity. If that was lost, her good name and reputation and that of her family were ruined. According to the sixteenth-century pedagogue Juan Luis Vives, the virtue of being sober in food and drink was equally as important as chastity, primarily because there was a fine line between excessive drinking and engaging in premarital sex. According to Galen's humoral theory, the bodily fluids of women were considered to be quite different from those of men. If women drank wine, they became more tempted by the flesh than men did. Therefore, Vives advised young women to drink only water, which would help them stay sober and consequently remain chaste.[27]

Moralists who campaigned against excessive drinking followed the humanist tradition that preventative instruction had to start at an early age. In 1621 Johannes de Swaef's pedagogical manual emphasized that the moral upbringing of children should begin when they were young. De Swaef compared raising children to growing plants, hence the title of the work, *The Spiritual Nursery*. Early modern educators often made similar claims. Children, like saplings, had to be guided to grow. Bent trees, like bad manners and poor behavior, could not become upright when old.[28]

It should be taken into account that during the early modern period, young people – especially boys from the middle class and lower, left the parental home in their early teens to become apprentices, often in a distant town. During their apprenticeship they were sometimes supervised by a master but also left to their own devices. This meant that their moral education had to be completed before they left for their apprenticeship or study.[29] Nevertheless, when boys did leave the parental home, they were still adolescents who experienced all the psychological topsy-turvy that comes with that phase of life. Educators were aware of this troubled phase, which was often characterized by unbalanced, unstable, and ambivalent behavior.[30] This turbulent phase was underscored by Galen's humoral theory that characterized youths as having a heated temperament. In combination with alcohol, their mental state was likely to become more unbalanced. The sixteenth-century Italian writer Baldassare Pisanelli cautioned against young people drinking

warm wine due to their 'warm and fervent nature' since it would cause them to be 'powerfully impassioned in the spirit, and in the body furious excited'. The warm wine was likely to antagonize or perhaps even activate their sanguine nature even more.[31]

Overindulging in food and drink entailed a far greater concern which moralists preferred not to address. According to early modern beliefs, the mind and body were separate from each other. For the intellect to lose control over the physical needs of the body was part of human nature. Moralists feared the loss of control of bodily urges would catapult them onto the slippery slope. Women, for example, were prone to excess by nature and thus more likely to overindulge than men.[32] But once men had lost control, they were likely to overindulge in drinking, gambling, and ultimately engage in promiscuous sexual behavior. To illustrate the chain of events that would follow from excessive drinking, moralists such as Haarlem's minister Daniel Souterius referred to the Biblical story of Lot to exemplify how a man could be disgraced by alcohol. In his treatise *Nuchteren Loth* [Sober Lot] (1623), Souterius portrayed Lot as being a pious man until he was seduced by alcohol and became a sinner, eventually committing incest. By combining this Biblical story and translating it to a contemporary situation, Souterius warned his readers that alcoholism was a grave sin in the Dutch Republic and was caused by spiritual poverty and excessive material wealth. Moreover, it was uncivilized. Souterius pointed out that the drunk ruined his body and mind, the mind being what distinguished man from the animals. His intellect, will, and memory would be weakened and eventually destroyed. Hence, man would be reduced to an animal. According to Souterius, getting drunk was equated to opening Pandora's box. It would lead to idolatry, blasphemy and swearing, defying the Sabbath, breaking laws, murder, adultery, theft, dishonesty, and greed. In Souterius's view, the disorder and evil found in Dutch cities were the direct result of drinking halls, brandy wine taverns, *suypkotten* (drinking holes), and tobacco inns (where alcohol and tobacco were consumed). Souterius petitioned city councils to police inns and drinking halls more rigorously, and pointed out how the municipal authorities of Sandwich (England) penalized those who were caught drinking on Sundays in taverns, and those caught drinking and playing cards had to pay twice as high a fine.[33] Gisbertius Voetius, who was a professor of theology at the University of Utrecht and the leader of the Further Reformation movement in the Republic, accused the numerous taverns and inns in the Dutch Republic in his treatise *De Ebrietate* [The Inebriety] (1636) of having the sole intention of selling alcohol so that their customers would get intoxicated.[34] As people did not fear the harmful effects alcoholism had on them, Voetius added the argument of how foreigners viewed the drunkenness of his countrymen. Voetius quoted Tomaso Garzoni's *Piazza Universale* (1626), which depicted the Dutch – and Germans – as copious drinkers and how they were regarded as negative role models for the Italians and Spanish, just as the Helots had been for the Spartans of ancient Greece. The Helots, who were their slaves, were occasionally forced to get intoxicated to show young Spartans how hideous drunkenness was.[35]

According to Voetius, excessive drinking was the result of poor parenting. To illustrate how parents made alcohol-thirsty adults out of their children, he used an anecdote by the Englishman John Barclay, who described how nursing Dutch babies were also fed barley beer from

bottles that resembled a mother's breast. Voetius must have exaggerated for the sake of argument, but in his eyes the truth was not far removed.[36] According to other sources, excessive drinking was starting to become a burden to the Republic's growing urban society during the early seventeenth century. Drunkenness in taverns sometimes led to brawls and even killings. The public order was disturbed when drunken people staggered through the streets at night, and drunkenness among family members led to domestic violence. Around 20 percent of the cases presented before the church council in Rotterdam and Delft involved marital fights and petitions for divorce due to a drunken husband.[37] Alcohol abuse was a real threat to poor families whose household incomes evaporated in the tavern, and a drunken spouse might come home and abuse other family members. These were legitimate reasons for victims to request a family member to be incarcerated until they were weaned from alcohol and freed of their violent behavior.[38] Elite families might have alcohol-addicted family members locked up so that they would not ruin the family name and reputation.[39] Alcoholism not only influenced social law and order and family life, it also had its effects on the growing Dutch economy. In the emerging capitalistic urban society of the Netherlands, intoxicated workers became a major problem for employers who aimed to meet strict production deadlines.[40] Souterius and Voetius – as well as other moralists throughout the seventeenth century – knew they were fighting an uphill battle when they sought to have the consumption of alcohol banned from the public arena. Therefore, they only tried to muscle city councils to prohibit alcohol being served on the Sabbath in taverns and at events such as funerals where customarily funeral beer and wine were served, and binge drinking occurred. Violation of the Lord's day of rest was in general a thorn in the eye of church councils. Enkhuizen's minister, Hieronymus Vogellius, complained that in his community the Sabbath was mocked with 'fighting, dancing, and carnal indulgences'. Municipal governments in general were not always willing to take such drastic measures and disturb the city's economy and social stability, and therefore sought practical solutions by prohibiting taverns in the vicinity of churches from serving alcohol at the same time church services were held.[41] Despite the Dutch Reformed Church trying to exercise its influence in the public domain, it never obtained the public church status and authority that the Catholic Church wielded in Northern Netherlands before the Revolt. Besides the Dutch Reformed Church, municipal authorities had to contend with other religious groups including Remonstrants, Roman Catholics, Old Catholics, Lutherans, Mennonites, and Jews. Willem Frijhoff argues that municipal authorities in this religiously diverse landscape of Dutch towns were more apt to apply '"connivance", a form of laissez-faire exercised by the secular authorities for the sake of public order and public peace within the community'.[42]

Alcohol and young men from the upper and middle classes

The most effective manner of keeping young men from excessive alcohol consumption was through moral education, rather than civil authority. At the height of the publication boom, Dirck Pieterszn. Pers published *Bacchus wonder-wercken* [Bacchus Miracle Works] in 1628, which condemned excessive drinking by criticizing the life of a drunk based on moral and philosophi-

cal arguments. Pers was a well-established publisher in Amsterdam notorius for his emblem and songbooks, including the *Bellerophon of Lust tot Wysheyd* (1614), that were targeted at the affluent young people in Amsterdam. Pers recognized Amsterdam's young people from the upper and middle classes to be a potential market for his books. He knew what young people liked to read, and how to market his books. By entitling the tome with the name 'Bacchus', Pers played upon the culture of Bacchus, which probably caught the eye of many young people. Nevertheless, the book was a satire. Like Souterius, Pers referred to the Biblical story of Lot, who lost all his wisdom because of his desire for alcohol. In the foreword, Pers urged his readers to be moderate drinkers. Pers addressed all age groups, but he especially recommended youths to live a life of sobriety. Like many of the other treatises that condemned drunkenness, *Bacchus Wonder-wercken* advised temperance and moderation.[43]

Up until then, Pers had used a conventional method of selling his books to young buyers. However, with *Bacchus wonder-wercken* he tried something new. He supplemented *Bacchus* with a booklet, *Suyp-stad of Dronckaerts-Leven* [Guzzle-City or Life of a Drunk], which praised the life of a drunkard. *Suyp-stad* was of course a satire. Ultimately, Pers intended to scare young people into abstinence. Whereas Pers did not directly address the youth in *Suyp-stad*, there is little doubt that his message was not only intended for Amsterdam's young people. It could apply to youths throughout the Republic.[44]

The young audience in Amsterdam that Pers scoped out as potential consumers were the same *jeunesse dorée* that had captured the imagination of painters during the 1620s and 1630s. In the 1620s version of the merry company genre, affluent young men were portrayed wearing extravagant clothing and spending their leisure time with idle activities such as playing cards or dice, smoking tobacco, flirting, and drinking. However, these depictions were not a moral reprimand. The genre was regarded as a farce and represented the world turned upside down. It was an elaboration of the Prodigal Son, a common theme used by sixteenth-century artists to characterize youths who had gone astray.[45] The merry company genre often showed comical depictions, which were used in both the written and visual arts. According to the Dutch art historian Elmer Kolfin, moral instruction was not the primary intention, but the viewer's knowledge of the morality was necessary to comprehend the humor: 'The figures in comical scenes were not primarily the perpetrators of pernicious vices but were portrayed as fools who, by trampling on the prevailing morality, placed themselves outside the community of right-thinking people, among whom the viewer would have counted himself'.[46] The same concept could be applied to literary works and publishers like Pers who had an established young audience and elaborated on the popular theme.

Honoring Bacchus

Most moralists never addressed the main issue at hand, namely that consuming large quantities of alcohol was instrumental in the initiation to manhood, especially for students. In the emblem

book *Academia sive specvlvm vitae scolasticae* [The University or Mirror of Student Life] (1612), Crispijn de Passe the Elder prepared young men for student life and advised them on how to spend their leisure time with recreational activities such as painting, fencing, and playing music. Especially during this period, students needed counsel about leisure time.[47] Students at the University of Leiden, for example, had many days off when they did not need to attend lectures: 221 days in 1595 and 264 in 1650. Foreign students complained about the lack of lectures, and finally in 1666 the university restricted the number of vacation days.[48] Thus, students in the early seventeenth century had too much free time, which was usually wasted in cafes and taverns. De Passe based most of his depictions of academic life on students who studied and resided in Leiden. In *Academia* De Passe portrayed a tavern where young men and women are playing games, drinking, eating, and kissing. In the background, the walls are decorated with various paintings (a landscape, a boat at sea, a portrait of a woman, and Venus with Cupid). However, students should not get too excited about the prospects of consuming alcohol because in the engraving behind the amorous couple stands a fool which was a warning to the viewer. The accompanying text explains that 'chastity and moderate drinking befit the Muses and Apollo, but that the combination of wine, dicing, and intimacy with women ruin a scholar's character'. The text underneath accentuates his message: 'The fool watches and grins to see you young students, giving kiss after kiss to your chosen one. The fool says that the game pleases him, which is why he watches from a distance'.[49] In another warning about drunkenness in *Academia,* De Passe features a group of masked students serenading a young woman under her window in the middle of the night. The fact that the students are donning silly hats and masks and have long beards emphasizes the folly of their behavior. According to the accompanying poem, students roam the city by night and seek out women, but eventually they are punished by the nightwatchmen who will beat them for their rowdy behavior and put them in chains. The moral of the story is that students should stay at home.[50]

That was the desired ideal situation. In practice, however, students did not stay at home. Drinking was just as important to student life as books were, if not more. In the humanistic tradition, in the Greek *symposia* that originally entailed a convivial meeting of consuming alcohol and intellectual conversation, drinking was the mainstay of student and intellectual life. Alcohol was poured freely during the discussions between professors and students. In the early modern period professors interacted and socialized more with their students outside the classroom than professors might do today. For one thing, many professors housed students in their homes and tutored them privately. Most importantly, professors were less confined to their offices and more apt to join in the company of their students. For many of them, a position at the university was an extension of their academic interests and their life as a bachelor. One-fifth of the professors at Leiden remained unmarried. Some professors believed that marriage and a wife would interfere with their academic interests. Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), who taught Greek and Latin at the University of Leiden, was reported to have said in his youth that a wife is a burden to a scholar. He himself married late in life, but until then he lived like a student and had a reputation for

Illustration 11 'Warning young men about the temptations of the tavern' in:
Crispijn de Passe, 'Visit to a Tavern', originally in: *Academia sive specvlvm vitae scolasticae* (1612)

drinking like one, too. On one occasion his lecture was cancelled with a note on the door of the academic building stating: 'Heinsius will not lecture today due to last night's drinking binge'.[51]

It should be no surprise that Heinsius liked to drink wine. In *Nederduytsche poemata* [Dutch Poetry] (1616), a handsome compilation of stories and engravings about love, Daniel Heinsius included a chapter entitled *Het Lof-sanck van Bacchus* [Song of Praise for Bacchus], which honored Bacchus, the Roman god of wine. In the early seventeenth century it was not odd for an orthodox Protestant like Heinsius to pay tribute to the pagan god from the antiquity and honor excessive drinking in verse. Heinsius was writing for a younger public much like his students and peers who had a similar humanistic education and knew their classics. Bacchus was portrayed as an older man who feels more like a young man again by drinking wine and can associate himself with youths. However, the bottom line is that wine is not meant for young people, and the nectar from the grape was only intended for the old and elderly who would no longer be influenced by the sanguine temperament of youth. In the mythology, the young motherless Bacchus was raised by water nymphs – an allegory for water and youth: a vineyard cannot grow unless it is watered. In the culture of Bacchus, the god of wine was usually depicted as an older man who is in the company of nymphs, which relayed the message to young men that they should not drink wine unless with water.[52]

Lof-sanck was similar to other publications that lauded Bacchus. In 1632, H. Rulant published the satire *Satyra of Schimpdicht. Prijsende den Godt Bacchuys, of 't Droncken drincken* [Satire or Farce. Honoring the God Bacchus or Intoxicated Drinking]. This farce honored Bacchus but also warned young and old about the dangers of excessive drinking.[53] In 1634 a second edition of *Satyra of Schimpdicht* was published, but this time the author changed the subtitle to *Proces van drie Gebroeders-Edellieden: den eenen zynde een dronckaert, den tweeden een Hoereerder, den derden een speelder* [Trial of Three Brothers of Nobility: One a Drunkard, the Second a Whoremonger, and the Third a Gambler]. The satire was intended for educational purposes and was an entertaining portrayal of three brothers, named Philip, Carel, and Maximilaan. The brothers were from an affluent family and were around 16 to 17 years old. They had had a proper moral upbringing. Their father had spared no expense to ensure his sons had a suitable education. However, their moral conduct changed when they went to the university. After becoming students, Philip became addicted to alcohol. His day started out with a visit to the local tavern after waking up from a well-rested night without worries and concerns (from all the alcohol he consumed the previous evening). When Philip entered the tavern half dressed and unwashed, the barmaid welcomed him with a cheer of 'Hola', and yelled out to one of the other staff: 'A chair with a cushion for the squire'. As the satire progresses, Philip defends the allegations of being a drunkard by claiming the vices of his brothers Carel (the whoremonger) and Maximiliaan (the gambler) are far more dreadful. Philip tries to exonerate his excessive drinking by referring to a German adage translated into Dutch, '*dat een goed gezel zig wel dronken drinkt, maar een schelm zelden, ende een verrader nimmermeer*' [A good man drinks in company, but a scoundrel seldom, and a traitor never]. In other words, a virtuous person has nothing to fear when he is drunk, but immoral people have plenty![54]

At the University of Leiden, the acclaimed professor Dominicus Baudius (1561-1613) personified all three of Rulant's vices. Besides being a celebrated professor teaching eloquence, law, and history, he was also a notorious drunk who was known for his problems with women, alcohol, and money. He was not a gambler in cards or dice but squandered his income on the wrong type of women and booze. Leiden university's senate suspended him after he was charged with fathering a child with a prostitute and breaching his promise to marry her. Instead, he chose to marry a wealthy woman, but unfortunately died a few days later from the consequences of his alcohol abuse.[55]

Baudius was no role model for students in moderation, but neither was Everard Bronckhorst (1554-1627), who taught law at Leiden. Bronkhorst liked to drink with his students, and according to his diary, he tried to quit the habit on several occasions (often as a result of a hangover). The drinking festivities at graduation dinners and other university events started to take a toll on his health.[56] In addition, the married Bronkhorst also lacked self-discipline concerning women.[57] However, not all professors had trouble with abiding by the golden median of moderation. In 1631 the newly appointed professor of ethics, Johan Bodecher Benning (1606-1642), caused a controversy when he published a satire that openly criticized excessive drinking and womanizing among students. *Satyricon in corruptae iuventutis mores corruptos,* published in Latin, was subtle

as it did not use recognizable names and places. But according to the descriptions, they could not be mistaken for anything other than the ill-reputed taverns and venues that students were acquainted with in and about Leiden. The story is about a young man, Hermophilus, who travels to a university town where he enrolls as a student. Not long after his arrival, he becomes involved in serious drinking and smoking, under the influence of older students. Leiden's students did not appreciate Benning's satirical allegations and retaliated by disrupting his lectures. Moreover, they wrote pamphlets that condemned his character. One anonymously authored treatise entitled *Juventus academica ad Hermophilum Tanugriensem* criticized Benning, who was 22 years old at the time of his appointment, for not yet having made a name for himself and also for being too young to be critical of young people. In another pamphlet, *Sermo in Corrupti Hermophilis Tanugriensis Corruptos Mores* (1631), an anonymous student retorted to Benning's accusations with the logical statement, 'it takes a drunk to know one'. In other words, professors were just as guilty of excessive drinking as the students, and in light of the reputations of Heinsius and Baudius, the student was right.[58]

One major factor that probably contributed to students and professors consuming more alcohol than the average burgher was the fact that they were exempt from paying taxes on the beverage. This was a significant financial benefit granted exclusively to students and university personnel. In 1577, at the University of Leiden, the top university in the Republic, students could buy 194 liters of *stoop* (house) wine and ten barrels (approximately 1500 liters of beer) a year, tax-free. On a daily average, this amounted to half a liter of wine and four liters of thin beer. When the University of Franeker was founded in 1586 and an illustrious school (a school for higher education without the right to award degrees) was established in Middelburg in 1611, they followed in Leiden's footsteps with similar exemptions on alcohol for students and personnel.[59] In 1620, the university senate of Leiden also proposed extending the privilege to widows of professors for a period of one year after the death of their spouse, which eventually went into effect in 1627.[60] This statutory regulation originated in the Middle Ages, and many burghers tried to take advantage of the privilege by either enrolling themselves or their offspring in the university. Municipal authorities feared a loss of revenue and consequently imposed tighter restrictions on those eligible for enrollment. However, that did not halt some parents in Leiden from enrolling their sons in the university while they were still attending the Latin school. The best-known example is Harmen van Rijn and his wife Neeltje, who enrolled their 14-year-old son, Rembrandt, at the University of Leiden. Rembrandt was one of 15 boys between the age of 11 and 15 from Leiden, Haarlem, and The Hague who were both pupils of the Latin school and registered as students at Leiden's university. For the year 1620, we know from the university registers that the average age of enrollment was around 21 years old. Therefore, it is very unlikely that Rembrandt ever attended Leiden University.[61]

University authorities tried to restrict drinking in some areas. Students who were on a scholarship were prohibited from drinking in certain places, and all students were forbidden to consume alcohol on the university's game fields.[62] In other university towns, even ones where students were not exempt from tariffs on beer and wine such as the University of Groningen,

binge drinking was a problem among students. In 1616, just two years after the university was founded, authorities recorded incidents of drunkenness among students. Johannes Fabricius, a German student from Oldenburg who was one of the first known to have officially registered at the University of Groningen in 1615, and Hieronymus van Lengen, a student from East Friesland, were reprimanded for their dissolute lifestyles and drunkenness. Groningen's university's senate was already acquainted with the young Van Lengen, who would later become burgomaster of the city of Aurich in East Friesland in 1631-32. In November 1614 he had hung provocative posters (his handwriting was identified) and smashed the windows of a fellow student named Moerling, whom he had hit in the face. Moreover, Van Lengen was a bit of a prankster. He hired a street musician to perform outside a lecture hall to disturb the class.[63] In 1618, Bertholdus Beilen, a philosophy student from Groningen, was reported to have been on a drinking binge from ten o'clock in the morning until eleven o'clock in the evening in a local pub. After leaving the tavern, he became violent and caused mayhem. University authorities had him incarcerated and put on bread and water.[64] After numerous cases of drunkenness among students, the university senate took action in 1619 and tried to limit their unwarranted drinking of beer and wine. In an unusual move, the senate did not punish the imbiber but rather the innkeepers who served alcohol. Taverns were not allowed to serve more than one rijksdaalder worth of beer and two rijksdaalders worth of wine. But that did not stop students because they could buy plenty of beer for a rijksdaalder. Shortly after implementing the restriction, four students together with a writer and captain of a boat in one tavern drank 30 tankards (circa 15 liters or four gallons) of English beer from two o'clock in the afternoon until eleven in the evening. When the group left the pub, they were so intoxicated and rowdy that they initiated a fight with the city guard. According to the university senate, in February 1620 a group of students were visiting Casparus Kesterick, a law student from Westphalia, where they drank half a ton (approximately 50 liters) of local beer in one evening! Within the following two weeks, drinking binges took place three more times.[65]

It was one thing to drink in private and another thing to drink in public. Public taverns and inns were not only commercial businesses where rooms were let and food and drinks were served, they also facilitated a communal function such as offering room and board to strangers, neutral territory where business deals could be finalized, and even a lost-and-found service. According to the cultural historian B. Ann Tlusty, who studied cases in Augsburg, Germany, the only women who set foot in the door in these all-male environments were either the innkeeper's wife, barmaids, business women, and wives looking for their husbands or prostitutes seeking out customers. Many times the distinction between tavern and brothel was not evident.[66] On the contrary, Beat Kümin, also a historian of public houses, postulates that taverns in Bern (in Switzerland) and Bavaria were equally frequented by women and young maidens. The presence of women in a public house did not damage their reputation. Moreover, taverns in Central Europe were common venues for the courtship of young couples. In his view, public houses were spaces of communication that served as important domains of infinite forms of human exchange.[67]

In the Dutch Republic, the tavern was also a forum for human exchange along with its traditional use as an inn that had rooms let out to travelers. This was easily used for sexual services by prostitutes who visited public houses.[68] Other sources provide more apparent evidence that the tavern sometimes fronted for a brothel. In Leiden, the tavern called 'de Regenboog' [The Rainbow] was a well-known haunt for students, but it was also known to be a watering hole for the local riff-raff. According to an interpretation of Rulant's satire *Proces van drie Gebroeders-Edellieden* [Trial of Three Brothers of Nobility], the main character lost his virginity in a tavern where he met a prostitute during a visit to Leiderdorp, a village near Leiden on the barge route between Gouda and Amsterdam. The tavern which attracted clientele from the busy barge weigh station probably served as a brothel for anonymous travelers on a stopover.[69]

Drinking in public places like taverns could form a practical problem for students as well. For one, intoxicated students who wandered home from the tavern along unlit canals at night could easily stumble and fall into waterways and ultimately drown. In a drunken stupor, students usually disturbed the peace and faced arrest by the bailiff. They also risked causing damage to the reputation of their family. On the night of March 7th, 1624, Petrus Robertus together with a group of ten students caused so much disturbance and destruction to private property in Leiden that the bailiff arrested him. The University of Leiden's Academic Vierschaar, the academic court which had jurisdiction over students, professors, and other personnel associated with the university, recommended that the young man's father keep him at home until he had learned to behave himself. If Petrus should prematurely return to the university, he faced disgrace, which would remain a permanent stain on his reputation.[70]

Committing acts of violence and the risk of ruining one's reputation went hand in hand, especially for Dutch students attending a university in the Republic. If they were caught, they could be barred from fulfilling a public position. For foreign students the effects were not as grave because the Academic Vierschaar had no jurisdiction or legal authority outside the realm of the province of Holland. If their misdeeds were not too dire, foreign students ran little risk of ruining their reputation at home for the violence they committed during the duration of their study at a university in the Republic. For Dutch students that was definitely not the case. In 1620 Hester della Faille and her son-in-law requested that the Academic Vierschaar in Leiden incarcerate her 29-year-old son, Daniel van der Meulen, because he had become violent, experienced delirium, and consorted with the wrong kind of people. The Van der Meulen Family was an affluent Protestant family that had settled in Leiden after fleeing Antwerp in 1585. Daniel's father, Daniel Sr., had been a well-respected merchant in Leiden with an extensive network of trade connections. Daniel Jr., however, was a troubled young man who had enrolled in the university a year earlier. Although there is no mention of alcohol, his widowed mother and friends had hoped a period of confinement would sober him up from the vices of his consorts.[71]

Especially among the elite, keeping a good name and reputation were essential in retaining an economic and social position in early modern society. After being forced to pay a local innkeeper for his drinking binges, Reinier van Leeuwenhuijzen requested Leiden's Academic Vierschaar in 1623 to eradicate his name from the Vierschaar's records. The 25-year-old Swedish

law student wanted to exonerate his good name.[72] During the early seventeenth century, many of the Swedish students in Leiden were of noble origin. The University of Uppsala was often ill equipped to educate the great number of domestic students, and many chose to finish their education in Leiden under the tutelage of an eminent professor. Well-known lecturers such as Gerard Vossius, Daniel Heinsius, Caspar Barlaeus, and Claudius Salmasius were just some of the famed scholars that drew students from the far ends of Protestant Europe to Leiden.[73]

In the 1620s the excessive use of alcohol among students had become such a problem that Leiden's universitys senate finally took action and revised the university statutes in 1631. The senate could only impose restrictions and govern the drinking behavior of students through economics and jurisdiction or legal domain, hence students that received a scholarship were forbidden from visiting taverns to drink wine, beer, and smoke tobacco, and all students were forbidden from consuming alcohol on the university grounds or in their rooms.[74]

Academic senates could not restrict or change the drinking behavior of students off university grounds or when they finished their academic education. Some students crowned their university education with a grand tour that included a trip to France or perhaps onwards to Italy and a return through Switzerland and Germany. The letters written home to parents usually included many details about the countries they visited, the learning of the local language, and the works of art and architectural wonders they enjoyed. However, sons penned nothing about the great wine regions of Europe they visited and their other recreational activities such as womanizing and drinking. While visiting Augsburg in 1641, Nikolaus du Ponchau van Tournay, the son of a Flemish nobleman, had run up a tavern tab of 200 guilders. When he tried to sneak out of the city to avoid paying the bill, he was arrested. According to local law, the innkeeper was required to reimburse the town for his incarceration expenses. Nikolaus refused to pay, and after a year and half, the tavern keeper dropped the charges because she feared going bankrupt for having to keep him imprisoned.[75]

Male bonding: cross social and economic drinking

The consumption of alcohol among young men in the Republic had a ritualized component and was not only limited to the elite or upper echelons of Dutch society. Ritualized drinking was firmly embedded in Dutch social life which, primarily due to its cold and damp climate, took place for a greater part within the realm of the domicile or tavern. The home and pub were important social settings where alcohol was an important social lubricant.[76] When it came to business, brokers and agents were accustomed to going to a tavern and toasting with a glass of wine or beer to finalize a business contract as that symbolized trust.[77] Transitions in life were also ritualized with a toast. Similar to a church clock ringing in the hours of the day, drinking alcohol rang in the significant phases of life.[78] When a couple wanted to announce they were expecting a child, a goblet called *Hansje in de kelder* (Little Hans in the Belly) was presented to their guests, who were obliged to drink to the health of the unborn child. When the goblet was full, a small child was visible, but as the guests drank, the image disappeared to the bottom of the goblet

(which required the goblet to be refilled). When children were born, it was traditional for the new mother to serve a meal to the midwife and those neighbors who helped during the delivery. At this meal *kinderbier* (children's beer) was served, which was a high-quality, thick beer. In the beginning these dinners were moderate, but in the course of the century they evolved into copious drinking affairs. Other beers were brewed for special occasions such as *kermisbier,* which was served at fairs and a special beer for St. Gregory's Day (the 12th of March). *Troostbier* (consolation beer) was served at funerals, which often turned wakes and funeral services into drunken revelries.[79]

Occasions including homecomings, farewells, engagements, and nominations to a position were also celebrated abundantly with alcohol.[80]These events not only called for special alcoholic beverages, some included specific drinking rituals. One variation of toasting included kissing a woman before and after every drink, making noises by singing and screaming, and – in some extreme cases – blowing trumpets and having entire bands perform.[81] Drinking games were detrimental in causing intoxication, especially when the *pasglas* (measuring glass) was used. This long round cylindrical glass, marked like a measuring cup, had been a popular attribute in drinking games since the Middle Ages. Often portrayed in Dutch still-life paintings, it was passed from one player to the next, who was challenged to drink to the next level. If the player failed to drink to the mark, he was required to gulp down to the next one, which quickly made him drunk.[82]

In another game the *molenbeker* (windmill beaker) was used. This silver goblet had a foot in the shape of the arms of a windmill. The only proper way to set it down was by putting it on its top. By blowing into a pipe, the sails churned a dial that indicated how many times the contestant would have to empty the cup. Because the cup could not be put down until it was completely emptied, the unlucky player would have to drink everything to the last drop, or risk having to take another turn.[83]

Similar to student drinking, young men from other social backgrounds also partook in drinking binges. Subliminally, they were manifestations of manhood. B. Ann Tlusty identifies this type of drinking in fellowship as 'contractual drinking' which signified 'entry into a guild or the start of a journeymanship. Acceptance into a guild or craft implied certain responsibilities, and one of these was participation in communal drinking bouts. Drinking at these rites of passage into young adulthood not only created a bond of fellowship among guild members but it also provided for an opportunity for young men to display their drinking ability, for the capacity to consume large amounts of alcohol was a trait associated with adult manhood'.[84] Contractual drinking played an important role in young men learning to trust each other and accepting newcomers into their midst. That proved to be the case for young men who had completed their apprenticeship with artists and sought to crown their education with an extended sojourn to Rome where they admired and were inspired by works from the Antiquity and Renaissance. For young bachelor painters, the trip to Rome added to their reputation once they returned home and set up their own studio. During a sojourn in the eternal city, young artists from the Northern Nether-

lands were organized in a group known as the Bentveugels (Birds of a Feather). The Bentveugels were founded around 1623 in a tavern called the De Witte Valck (The White Falcon) in Rome. The falcon – a bird known for its high speed and ability to change direction quickly – was a reference to young people (falcon being a symbol of youth). The inn was operated by a Dutchman and was a popular meeting place for travelers from the Low Countries.[85]

The age of membership of the Bentveugels was often between 20 to 24 years old, and they usually lived in groups of two to three on the top floors of homes where the light was good, and where they could paint. To become a member, young novices were initiated in ceremonies at their local tavern, which began with a tableau vivant. According to the Dutch historian Judith Verberne, this performance alluded to 'Antiquity, to the greatness of art and to the greatness of the Bentveugels'. When Joachim von Sandrart and Michel le Bon were initiated in 1628/1629, they witnessed a performance in which Apollo was featured on Mount Parnassus, accompanied by Mercury reciting poetry about sculpture and painting. Bacchus – the god of wine – and patron saint of the Bentveugels was also in attendance.[86] The initiation rite included renaming the novice with a silly alias as part of the Bacchanalian tradition, and the ceremony was toasted with a drink.[87] This was the contractual drink. However, the drinks and drinking binge that followed were just as important in the initiation ceremony or *doopfeest* (baptism), as the Bentveugels called it. The festivity finally ended in the early hours of the morning with a pilgrimage to the grave of Bacchus located a couple of miles outside Rome's city gate, Porta Nomentana.[88]

In the drawing of the founding of the Bentveugels in 1623, the god of wine is portrayed in the middle of the partying young founders of the fraternity. Each time a new member joined or returned home was a cause for celebration, which usually ended in a drinking fest. Sometimes their excessive drinking also led to violence that was reported to papal authorities. One member, Leonard Bramer of Rotterdam, left an eating establishment after having drunk too much together with three other companions. Bramer, who was known for his hot-headedness, could not stand the teasing of his friends and suddenly drew his sword and started fighting with them. The others were able to hold him off, but when another man, Giovan-Antonio di Francesco, a painter from Milan, witnessed the incident and tried to assist by drawing his rapier, he was wounded in his chest. Another painter, Claude Lorrain, also tried to help but was wounded. Finally, the other young men were successful in holding Bramer down.[89]

Drinking was an important part of male bonding. In the early modern period, the workshop and home were often one and the same. The tavern or other social setting provided a refuge for men from the obligations of family, and their chance to be with other men, and where male honor was often displayed and upheld. According to Tlusty, 'male honor for the early modern householder was defined not only by virtuous behavior but also by the economic wealth of his household. Both of these could be threatened by the virtually compulsory drinking rituals associated with craft and guild gatherings, business transactions, and male sociability.'[90] In other words, men displayed their masculinity by drinking excessive amounts of alcohol while at the same time

being expected to control their bodily functions, household, and economic stability. A man's honor could be tarnished if he was banished from visiting a tavern because of domestic violence and excessive drinking expenditures, thus drinking in public also meant participating and being treated as an equal in male society. The notion of 'being one of the boys' applied to all social categories of men; even beggars needed to belong to society and experience male camaraderie by having a drink with other men in a tavern.[91]

Members of another group, the chambers of rhetoric *(rederijkerskamers)*, were known to be heavy drinkers at their weekly meetings. The society, which had originated in the Southern Netherlands and moved to the Northern Netherlands during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had become a fixture in many towns and cities of the Republic, and attracted primarily young men who further developed their education by writing poetry, reciting verse, debating, and staging plays. The members of the chambers of rhetoric were not a homogenous group of young men from the same social and economic background. It was a varied assembly ranging from artisans to poets, and from all age categories.[92] Besides the incidental drinking that occurred during and after the numerous plays, processions, and other festivities the rhetorical chambers held, drinking at the Gouda chamber of rhetoric was part of a literary game. While a goblet was being passed around, the attendees were required to take a drink and recite a verse addressed to the chairman, who was called 'prince', while passing it to the next person. This custom became

Illustration 12 'Young men centered around the Bacchus, the god of wine' in: Attributed to Jan van Bijlert, *Bacchus with Merry-Making Bentveugels* (c. 1620-1621)

formalized in an esteemed rhetorical genre. It had three or more stanzas in which the last verses were repeated, which determined the theme of the poem. Thus, attendees had to keep their wits about them and not become intoxicated, but that was not always assured.[93]

Alcohol and young men from the lower echelons

Contrary to the ritualized and 'tolerated' drinking behavior of young men from the upper and middle classes in Dutch society, the drinking habits of young men from the lower ranks was often vulgarized. In moral treatises, young men from immigrant groups were notorious for their excessive drinking habits. This group originating primarily from the countryside of Germany, parts of Scandinavia, and the Southern Netherlands had gained a reputation for a wayward lifestyle. In 1629 Gillis Quintijn, a merchant from Haarlem, portrayed the immigrant youth population from the Southern Netherlands in the book *De Hollandsche-Lijs met de Brabandsche Belij* [Holland's Tortoise with Brabant's Greenhorn] as excessive drinkers. The immigrants in Haarlem, who often lived segregated in certain districts of the city, continued to keep their own customs and held neighborhood parties for the young. These were gatherings where exorbitant amounts of alcohol were consumed, and young men and women danced provocatively, and lasted until the early hours of the morning. According to Quintijn, their vices were not only restricted to dancing

Illustration 13 'Haarlem's Young Folk Dancing and Causing Mayhem on the Street at Morning Glory' by Adriaen van de Venne in: G. Quintijn, *De Hollandsche-Lijs met de Brabandsche Belij* (1629)

and drinking. As the first rays of morning light started to appear, the partiers dispersed over the streets of Haarlem and headed towards the beach. Along the way they destroyed everything in their path. The rambunctious group of drunken young people defaced doors, destroyed window boxes, tortured cats, and vomited on doorsteps. The frenzy of mayhem ended at the beach where tomfoolery turned into foreplay as the young men splashed the blouses of girls, and eventually coerced them into sex. According to Quintijn, the result of the young people's excessive drinking and promiscuity lead to the corpses of two babies found in the Spaarne River in Haarlem. The bottom line in Quintijn's protest was that the immigrant young people were a bad influence on Haarlem's native 'Dutch' youth population.

Quintijn's representation of Haarlem's immigrant youth culture has to be taken with a grain of salt. His squabble was not necessarily with Haarlem's immigrants and their autonomous neighborhoods, but primarily with Haarlem's city council, which held him imprisoned between 1624 and 1628 due to a financial dispute with his aunt, Cornelia Coymans. During his incarceration, Quintijn became embittered by what he considered to be trumped-up charges brought by his aunt who had close connections with Haarlem's town council, which dismissed several pleas for his release, even after the Republic's stadtholder Frederick Hendrik intervened on his behalf. When Quintijn was finally released from prison, he walked away with several manuscripts under his arm for which he sought a publisher in The Hague. Quintijn hired well-known engravers Cornelis van Kittensteyn, Theodoor and Adriaen Matham, and Crispijn van den Queborn to illustrate his book. The engravers designed their illustrations after the well-known painter and engraver, Adriaen van de Venne, who had illustrated many books for Jacob Cats. The lavishly illustrated *De Hollandsche-Lis* with depictions *à la Van de Venne* of drunken and puking young people was a clever marketing tool to propagate Quintijn's moralistic message, while at the same time, taking a jab at Haarlem's magistrate.[94]

Despite his moral fingerwaving, Quintijn gives us a glimpse into early-seventeenth-century notions of drinking behavior. Accepted consumption straddled the fence of moderation. Anything more led to excess and moral decay. In this realm, young immigrant drinkers differed little from young men from the upper and middle classes with *pasglas* and *molenbeker* games, which did not encourage sobriety. Students, Bentveugels, and members of the chamber of rhetoric might have chuckled at Pers's *Bacchus wonder-wercken* and *Suyp-stad* while at the same time interpreting the subliminal message of masculinity: moderation and self-control. The message was echoed throughout the early modern period in a variety of ways. For example, in *Van den Grouwelicken. Laster der Dronckenheyt* [From the Plights of Drunkenness] (1588), Sebastiaen Franck posed his readers a question: what is worse, a drunkard, a gambler, or a womanizer? The correct answer was the drunkard because he was also a gambler and womanizer. After drinking beer and wine, he needs to gamble and fornicate. Franck's message, however, can be interpreted on many levels. The first – and most obvious – is that getting drunk will catapult a man onto the slippery slope (gambling and womanizing). Another interpretation is that getting drunk will make him violate the integrity of his sex because the male virtue of self-control will have been lost, and the man in question will become a woman by his lack of self-constraint. At the same

time Franck's message can be interpreted to mean something quite different. While cautioning youths to drink with moderation, moralists like Franck conveyed a cliché image of a different kind of manhood. For young men, drinking large quantities of alcohol, gambling, and womanizing symbolized manliness, and within this realm drinking their comrades under the table was a rite of passage – a liminal moment in which young men primarily proved their manhood to peers.[95]

For spiritual and emotional guidance, Godefridus Udemans provided young seamen with special conduct books. Other booklets such as *De Christelycke Zee-vaert* [The Seafaring Christian] (1611) and *Geestelick Compas* [Spiritual Compass] (1617) offered moral support to sailors and young men who needed spiritual guidance during the long nine-month voyage to Batavia, and especially when they went ashore at places such as the Cape of Good Hope, where most sailors sought rest and relaxation at inns and brothels. These handbooks urged young men to be chaste. But in order to be celibate, sailors had to learn the virtue of sobriety.[96] In the *Groote Christelijcke Zee-vaert* [The Great Seafaring Christian] (1611), Adam Westermannus gave a special sermon on excessive drinking. Again, the real danger was not alcohol itself but, rather, what might happen after a young man had become intoxicated. In *'t Geestelyck Roer Van 't Coopmans Schip* [The Spiritual Rudder of the Merchant Ship] (1640), Udemans tried to steer young sailors away from what happened at port:

> '*drincken en schrinken,*
> *brassen en suypen,*
> *dansen ende springen,*
> *ende soo worden sy dickwils hoere-vast*
> *eer sy het weten*'.
>
> (drinking and being served,
> bingeing and guzzling,
> dancing and jumping,
> then comes the whore,
> before you know it).[97]

Consuming alcohol and frequenting taverns often led to social contamination and violence, especially for young men from the elite. Taverns were also meeting places patronized by all social groups, including thugs who used the tavern to plan their crimes.[98] With such a diverse clientele in combination with heavy drinking, it was not uncommon for a bar brawl to erupt.[99] In August 1638, a bar fight broke out in a Rotterdam tavern called De Doelen after a young man, Leonard Besemer, exchanged words with a local grocer, Jan Jansz. Coopmans. As a result, Coopmans took his tankard of beer and threw it in Besemer's face, which was followed by Besemer pulling out his knife and scarring Coopmans's face. Before the grocer could reach for his knife, the two men

wrestled to the floor, and Besemer hit him on the head with his tankard.[100]

The contrast between young men from the upper and middle classes on the one hand and their cohorts from the lower echelons on the other becomes evident in humanist-based treatises in terms of defending male honor and the use of physical aggression. In *Deliciae Batavicae […] quae ad album Studiosorum conficiendum deservire possunt* [Dutch Delights] (1618), the author prepared students for the joys and discontents of student life, including a bar fight. In an illustration two young men fight each other with knives while bystanders gaze on in despair.[101] For students in the Republic, the engraving carried a double message about masculinity and rank in Dutch society. The young men pictured in this emblem were clearly lower class, judging by their clothing, and had lost control of rational thinking. Moreover, these young men had resorted to a simple scuffle, using common knives similar to a pocketknife. A brawl that ended with a gouge on the cheek would have given one of the two men or both a macho status. For young elite men this must have been a vulgarity. They would have fought with more sophisticated weapons such as rapiers or pistols. The second message was that the uncivilized classes had not mastered restraint and could not drink in moderation.

However uncouth the lower classes might have been, students also had trouble with restraint and mastering moderation when it came to alcohol consumption. Students who went on drinking binges were a problem for the municipal authorities in most university towns. Alcohol was often the lubrication that students and young men needed to muster up their male bravado, which often manifested itself in violence and probably caused many disagreements between students, and could often be the grounds for a brawl or even a duel. In the next chapter we will address the role violence played as a rite of passage and how it shaped youth culture and masculinity for young men in the 1620s and 1630s.

CHAPTER 4

VIOLENCE

CHAPTER 4

Violence

As ships entered into Amsterdam's harbor in the early seventeenth century, each sailor, merchant, and visitor to the city could easily view the criminals dangling from the gallows on the opposite shore. Like a giant billboard, the location known as Volewijk, where the main office of the Shell Company now stands, warned newcomers to the city as well as its residents that Amsterdam's magistrate penalized violators who did not abide by municipal laws. The cadavers hanging from the gallows transmitted a pedagogical message. Criminals guilty of offenses were publicly executed on Amsterdam's main square, the Dam Square. Unlike other European countries with a monarch, Amsterdam's magistrates were present, emphasizing that civic law reigned. Criminals were publicly executed after the sentence was spoken, 'these are things that cannot be tolerated in a city of law and have to be punished as an example to others'. After the execution, the corpses were paraded to the harbor and taken in a boat to the gibbets of Volewijk and hung for all to see.[1]

Violence was a common facet of early modern society. In 1606 the amount of bloodshed and violence in the towns and villages of the Dutch Republic was said to have reached excessive levels. In that year the Dutch Reformed Church classis of Enkhuizen asked Amsterdam's classis to persuade the States of Holland to take drastic measures. Willem van Zuylen van Nyevelt, the bailiff of Gooiland, Muiden and Weesp (and the lord of Bergambacht), took matters into his own hands and requested the stadtholder, Prince Maurits, to address the matter nationally. According to Van Zuylen van Nyevelt, the country was plagued with too much knifefighting, bearing of swords, breaking of windows, and malice in general. Consequently, a decree was passed that gave authorities the right to fine and prosecute those guilty of harming other people with knives, swords, and rapiers and causing innocent bloodshed. Furthermore, the decree stipulated stiff financial fines for those who smashed windows and caused other acts of property damage or disturbed the peace.[2] The early modern era has often been portrayed as a violent period marking the tumultuous transition from feudalism to capitalism. By exercising more self-constraint, the people experienced a substantial decline in the crimes committed throughout the era, which signifies a qualitative shift in the norms of the early modern society.[3]

Illustration 14 'Young men serenading a women outside her window at night' in: Crispijn de Passe, 'The Nocturnal Serenade' in: *Academia sive specvlvm vitae scolasticae* (1612)

Contrary to contemporary society, violent behaviour was an integral part of the early modern world, and most urban young people witnessed acts of aggression ranging from domestic hostility to rape and manslaughter. They were exposed to violence on a daily basis. Executed criminals that hung from gallows adorned roads and waterways beyond the city parameters warned young and old of the might of municipal authority.

Early modern residents could also have witnessed violence sanctioned by the municipal or state government through publicly held brandings, whippings, thumb-cuttings, and hangings. Public executions attracted large crowds of people, especially those held in big cities. In the second half of the seventeenth century, Amsterdam had to close its city gates on the days executions were held. Publicly sanctioned violence had a dual purpose: firstly, it was a form of public entertainment, and secondly, it was a pedagogical tool to instill desirable behavior in young people and adult citizens.[4]

Violence – a rite of passage

Young men in villages and towns were often the cause of violence. Lethal and non-lethal violence played an important role in the rite of passage to manhood. For them, committing violence often symbolized masculine character traits such as courage and the ability to take risks. In this chapter we will examine the role lethal and non-lethal violence played in youth culture and masculinity for young men growing up in the 1620s and 1630s. Early modern moralists and pedagogues did not know about the hormonal and neurological mechanisms at work during puberty and adolescence, but they were well aware that the nature of youths made them more inclined to be aggressive and violent. According to the Dutch physician Levinus Lemnius, the humoral state of male youths (the hot temperature and abundance of their blood) made them more prone to violent behavior: 'blood eggeth a man to riot and wilfulnes'.[5] In the sixteenth century, the rebellious and wayward behavior of young men was often portrayed in school plays, which featured the Biblical theme of the Prodigal Son. The play, usually performed as a comedy, was mainly intended as an educational ray of hope for parents with adolescent sons.[6]

Early modern youths demonstrated courage and took risks in various facets of life. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the most common display of risk-taking behavior in the public domain was drinking excessively. Consuming large amounts of alcohol caused young men to lose control over their reason and their bodies. Alcohol opened Pandora's box and gave young men a 'false' sense of confidence, which often enabled them to become more daring.[7] Acts of courage and life-threatening situations seemed to be a more natural outlet for young men to display manliness. Lethal violence in which young men put their lives at risk was an expression of manhood and physical strength. This was a major gender signifier distinguishing them from women.[8] The mimicking of adult aggressive conduct was important for adolescent boys and young men to exhibit their manhood to society.[9] Especially during the early seventeenth century when the Republic's cities swelled in size, juvenile delinquency and tomfoolery became a growing menace for municipal authorities burdened with the task of maintaining law and order. In many aspects, Dutch cities formed a crossroads between the rural culture of agrarian society with its idiosyncratic norms of socializing young men and the emerging urban culture of civilized society that sought to maintain law and order.

During the 1620s and 1630s there was a visible shift from lethal to non-lethal violence in Dutch cities. As I will argue below, under the scrutiny of Dutch municipal restraint, adolescents and young men in the Republic were more inclined to resort to non-lethal violence. This was a key trait of Dutch youth culture for the era and a harbinger of the bourgeois youth culture that would later become widespread elsewhere in Europe. In history, timing is everything. The French cultural historian Robert Muchembled estimates modern adolescence to have already developed in the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries in villages and towns in Northern France and Flanders when the patriarchal structure of the family started to wither away, and tensions between adult males and unmarried sons grew. The German historian Norbert Schindler argues, on the other hand, that modern adolescence and youth culture came into existence much later, pinpointing the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries with the advent of

the nation-state and onset of bourgeois norms and values with its middle-class culture.[10] In this chapter we will discover how the early modern adolescence and youth culture behavior started to emerge in the 1620s and 1630s.

Collective socialization process

To understand male violence in urban areas in the Dutch Republic, we first have to address the greater framework of collective rituals of young people in rural society, a cultural environment that many immigrants in the Republic originated from in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. In agrarian medieval and early modern societies, the most common ritual young people participated in was known as 'charivari'.

This rural youth culture oscillated between several significant dichotomies in society. There was the public and private world of socializing young people, and the civilized cultures of the elite versus the uncouth of the popular. Within these defined realms, there were less well defined spheres between harmony (order) and disharmony (disorder), rulers (authority) and the ruled (subjects), purity and filth, human and beast, and finally between the world of night and day. Consequently, within these constellations lay the parameters between the adult and adolescent world. Rural youth culture navigated in this dominion of disparity, of which ritualised violence was a significant instrument. The historian Julius Ruff explains: 'ritual behaviour consists of all those acts that are repeated, as almost instinctual conduct, and that thus reflect the learnt behaviour of a society. Rituals are highly symbolic and express religious belief, political ideology, societal norms, and other aspects of the life of a given culture'.[11]

Before discussing violence, let us first focus on how adolescent boys and young men in early modern rural society were socialized. During this phase of life, the education of young men took place in the public domain in local youth groups. Members ranged in age from 12 years old to the late twenties – the common age of marriage. For young men, the marriage ceremony terminated membership in the village group. It was the last stage in the upbringing of young men before social and economic independence. This phase took place outside the family. The village youth group consisted of adolescent boys and young men from all social backgrounds who spent their leisure hours gathering in public spaces such as village squares and local taverns. In rural Europe during the Middle Ages, male youth groups had jurisdiction over their peers, including the girls of the village, and fulfilled an important societal role as guardian of village norms and values. One purpose of the youth group was its responsibility in helping young men train and develop masculine character traits. A member was expected to publicly display courage, develop fighting prowess, and learn to take risks.[12] In the evening and at night when youth groups often met and consumed alcohol, confidence and male bravado were likely to be on display. For the youth group, violence and tomfoolery were a means of expressing bravery and skill, and consequently an important medium in the transition from childhood to manhood. Tomfoolery or *kattenkwaad* (literally 'hurting cats' in Dutch because of the often sadistic maltreatment of cats and other animals) was a term that signified the innocent form of childhood mischief. However,

when the children reached puberty and early adolescence, and testosterone levels started to peak, the mischief took on more aggressive forms. One means of channelling this pent-up aggression was through ritualised violence. In rural communities, ritualized violence often had a disciplinary component, in other words, the youth group exercised discipline on those who did not conform to local norms and values. Violence was manifested in a public shaming of the individual in question. Based on her research on youth groups in France, Natalie Zemon Davis concludes that society tolerated the disciplinary violence of young men 'to help control their sexual instincts', while at the same time it also permitted them some limited sphere of autonomy in the period between the onset of puberty and marriage, which sometimes could span a decade and a half.[13] Hitherto, the display of violence was a means to let off some steam that was pent up by sexual repression. Juvenile misconduct was a sanctioned outlet in rural society. Initially, the charivari entailed a broad array of tomfooleries from 'masking, costuming, hiding, farces, parades and floats; collecting money and sweets and distributing money and sweets; dancing, music-making, the lighting of fires; reciting of poetry, gaming and athletic contests, which usually took place according to the feasts of the religious and seasonal calendar. Most important were the twelve days of Christmas, the days before Lent, early May, Pentecost, the feast of Saint John the Baptist in June, Our Lady in mid-August, and All Saints Day. Domestic rituals were also important, such as marriages and other family affairs.[14] In addition, there was a whole range of pranks that young people did at any time with which they publicly shamed individuals in rural society. Their mischief also included stealing chickens, soiling clothes on wash lines, dismantling piles of firewood or dumping human excrement in vegetable gardens. Of course, the victims of these incidents were not happy, but the acts of unruliness were tolerated as the misrule of youth, and no formal legal charges were brought against them. Rural society did make a clear distinction between acceptable tomfoolery and non-tolerated theft. In rural Switzerland, for example, local youths that picked cherries from a wild cherry tree on private property might be tolerated. The tree was considered to be communal property because the fruit did not require any formal cultivation from the farmer, but when youths stole vegetables and other tended crops, it was considered an act of theft, and they were punished.[15]

According to Davis, the groups of young men in the cities in the south of France during the Middle Ages and sixteenth century were known as 'abbeys or abbeys of misrule' because they were initially organized by the Church and their festivities were sponsored by clerics. The feast of fools before Christmas, for example, was a festival that was supported by the clerics, but in the course of the fifteenth century when these festivities started getting out of hand, the Church withdrew its affiliation. Nevertheless, these festivals were continued by laymen and young men in general, and the activities they partook in fulfilled an important role in socializing them. The charivari, a custom in which violence was instrumental, was a ritual that socialized and prepared boys and young men for manhood. These rituals were often a means of upholding traditional marriage norms and values in popular culture.[16]

Unequal partners

One custom that was observed was that marriage partners should be of the same generation or age group. The youth group fulfilled an important role in maintaining the supply of marriageable women. Hence, a union between an elderly man and a young woman was strongly disapproved of. For unmarried young men, such a match had social and economic repercussions for the entire local community because a younger woman was taken out of the marriage pool, which meant that an eligible younger man would have to wait longer before finding another suitable woman. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, this norm was often visualized in the arts in a genre of prints and engravings that portrayed younger women with older men. They were popular among young audiences. By illustrating attributes such as birds in the portrait, the artist made a sexual innuendo alluding to the Dutch word *vogelen* or birding which meant 'mating'. Another common print that denounced the older man/younger woman union was illustrated in Johannes Wierix's *Impotent Fisherman* (1568). The engraving featured a young woman sitting on the bank of a lake next to an older man who is fishing. At first glance, there is nothing out of the ordinary but after further examination one notices his fishing rod is limp, which referred to the permanent status of his own flaccid rod.[17] Most likely, the youth of the village were less restrained than artists when mocking the sexual inadequacies of older men who married younger women. In the popular culture of agrarian society, rural youth groups deemed it important that marriage partners be of the same age group. Among the elite, marriages were arranged by families in order to maintain economic and social standing. However, for the general populace, the local youth group exercised a significant influence in regulating marriages.

There were other cases when the violence expressed by young men did not pertain to marriage issues but were outward manifestations of social disapproval. According to Norbert Schindler, the violence oscillated from innocent tomfoolery and implementing norms and values (tolerated by rural society) to the more extreme cases that vented societal outrage towards church and state authority, which of course was not condoned. Sometimes the ideas and issues young people protested about in rural culture reflected a strong social and moral consensus among the general population, and eventually erupted into full-blown peasant revolts against rural hierarchies. On another level, the violence wielded by young men could easily be manipulated by the authorities or used as a catalyst for social change in the political order, an aspect that will be addressed shortly.[18]

The most distinctive feature of rural youth culture was its destruction of public order and harmony. Young men in particular were the originators and producers of noise who made their presence known by occupying the ethereal space. For example, if a local youth group opposed the marriage of a younger woman to an older man, they could take action by blocking the entrance to the church or gathering in the evening outside the house of the newlyweds and making loud noises with their pots, tambourines, bells, rattles, and horns. The reoccurring nocturnal cacophony might go on each night for as long as a week.[19] Young men expressed manliness in 'the loudness of performances'. In Germany, the habit was called *Jauchzen*, which was a type of a loud cheerful crowing. Norbert Schindler explains that this crowing was an expression of

self-assurance and well-being, of boisterous ebullience and confidence in one's own impetuous physical strength, this form of laryngeal acrobatics was a challenge to everyone who heard it to join in the rejoicing, and at the same time a potential declaration of war on those who did not wish to participate, but in any case a conspicuous signal in body language of young men's massive presence'.[20]

It is probably no coincidence that the intimidating sound and mass of the charivari was referred to in England as 'rough music' and in the Dutch Republic as *ketelmuziek* (kettle music). Sometimes animals were abused to help enhance the squalling sound. Similar to the Dutch Republic with its *kattenkwaad*, pulling of a cat's fur was a favorite trick in Germany where charivari was known as *Katzenmusik* (cat music), and in Burgundy it was known as *faire le chat*.[21] The early modern countryside was literally and figuratively anything but a quiet place. In England until the early nineteenth century, youths under the cloak of night committed arson and maimed and poached farm animals. The sound of cutting a cow's tongue in the middle of the night would have caused a horrifying and gruesome bellow. In these cases, mutilating animals was not per se part of the charivari tradition, but rather violent acts of vandalism against farmers who were not willing to increase the salary of their farm hands. Nevertheless, the result was the same. Rural residents were instilled with fear by a horrible noise that emerged from the darkness of night while the perpetrators remained hidden.[22]

The combination of noise and darkness enhanced the power and effect of early modern rural youth culture and charivari. When young people gathered outside the home of newlyweds and clamored with their pots and pans, the victims must have felt intimidated by the cacophony. After nightfall, while civilized and regulated society slept, the evening and night became the domain of vagrants, thieves, whores, and young people. Craig Koslofsky argues that in rural society, young men, and in some cases young women, were the indigenous people of the night. After sunset, young men played out the issues that were the order of the day. Many times, the legal disputes of the day were carried over into the night by the actions of young men through nocturnal disorder.[23] One of the most prominent aspects of medieval and early modern rural youth culture was that it transpired while adults slept or were too scared to go out in the dark. The night in rural society could be a very dangerous place.[24] Moreover, in the early modern psyche, the night was still regarded as 'an impalpable but very clean line between Apollonian, virtuous, luminous and active time, and the demonic time, which dwelt under the sign of the divinities of the night, disorder and the protector of thieves'.[25] Darkness afforded young people a cover that allowed them to do as they pleased without the witness of ecclesiastical and parental authority.[26]

In England, rough music, also known as 'skimmington' or a 'riding skimmington', symbolized the dichotomy of filth and purity of the charivari. Rough music involved primarily methods of humiliating those who turned the world upside down, in most cases those who did not conform to the conventions or norms of society such as women who beat their husbands or committed adultery. Shrews who wore the pants in the household were another prototype of women who were sought out and shamed through skimmingtons. The aggression was not just directed at women. Men who did not live up to the codes of masculinity were also humiliated, including

cuckolds and henpecked husbands. Unlike the all-male youth abbeys in France, both men and women participated in rough music or skimmingtons in England. The woman or man in question would be forced to ride on a pole that was carried by men and they would be pelted with dirt and muck. Afterwards, they would be led off to a duck pond where the woman would be dunked under water. Many times effigies of the husband were made which were decorated with horns symbolizing his cuckold status. According to E.P. Thompson, rough music not only expressed a conflict within norms, it established limits and imposed restraints. It also ritualized norms and values that were embedded in an oral tradition.[27] In the early decades of the seventeenth century, English authorities turned a blind eye to rough music and skimmingtons, but they made them illegal later in the century.[28] In the North American colonies, the practice known as '*shivarees*' – derived from charivari – survived in some rural communities until the twentieth century, but it became more synonymous with a pleasant marriage ritual in which newlyweds would be expected to serve a drink and hospitality to a crowd outside their house at night.[29]

The Dutch historian Gerard Rooijakkers postulates that the organization and ritual of charivari remained prominent in rural areas of the Northern Netherlands until the mid-nineteenth century. In the eastern part of the predominantly Roman Catholic province of North Brabant, which bordered on the German region of Rhineland and the Duchy of Cleves, charivari remained an important ritual to socialize young men into manhood. Whereas traditionally village authorities tolerated the tomfoolery of local youth groups, some cases of charivari landed before the judicial council of municipal authorities due to the severity of the violence. For example, in 1685 the sheriff of 's-Hertogenbosch reported that the tomfoolery of a charivari had gotten out of hand when a soldier, Adriaan Aerts, in the village of Herpen was abused by a group of young men from the nearby village of Berghem. The young vagrants had entered the soldier's house and forced him to drink from a wooden shoe after one of the young men had urinated in it. There was a similar case in the village of Oss where a young man was forced to drink from a beer mug after members of the group had spat in it. Because the young man refused to drink, he was stabbed to death. Rooijakkers explains that the use of bodily fluids was especially symbolic in the charivari ritual due to their liminal connotation to undesirable behavior. By physically polluting the body of the victim, the youth group symbolized the gravity of the offence committed. In this realm, the boundaries of the body were regarded as metaphors of the social boundaries that could not be exceeded.[30] The English historian Alexandra Shepard argues that this type of violence was a disciplinary violence, which is 'an intrinsic part of the penal code, of the implementation of moral and social hierarchies, and of institutional and household discipline. Many forms of violent correction were designed to humiliate offenders with public shaming rituals and with symbolic gestures.'[31]

Urban socialization process

During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the cities of Holland were teeming with young men and women.[32]Although we have no statistics about the exact age of these immigrants, it can be assumed that the majority were young people who were more mobile and sought employment in the booming economy of the Republic. While young people formed a large pool for the labor markets and were a dynamic force in the flourishing economy of the Dutch Golden Age, they were also a potential source of unrest and violence.[33] Many immigrants came from rural areas that socialized adolescent boys and young men through the village group. The customs of the rural youth groups clashed with the orderly controlled behavior municipal authorities sought. For example, the traditional mayhem that was connected with marriage ceremonies was not tolerated after it had been made known to public authorities. In the provincial town of Almelo, located on the eastern border of the Republic, municipal authorities prosecuted young men when they tried to uphold the tradition that required newlyweds to provide beer for local youths. Immediately following the wedding of Steven Lucas and his bride in November 1630, the couple were ambushed by four young men who threw beer on them and pulled Lucas's coat off and threw it in the mud. After municipal authorities were informed about the incident, the young men were prosecuted and fined.[34] The municipal council of Almelo also regulated the manner in which young people celebrated carnival. In 1636 when a group of young people appeared on a carnival evening outside the home of the newly appointed minister Molanus and his wife, they demanded a traditional 'voluntary' gift in the form of money or chickens to celebrate carnival. After Molanus refused to pay, one of the boys threatened to kill some of his chickens. Another young man called him a *karige hond* (stingy dog). Eventually, the band of young people left without committing any violence, but Molanus sought justice and had the boys prosecuted, unsuccessfully however.[35]

In 1617 violence erupted at the local fair in Leiden when a drunken young man threw his wooden shoe at a member of the civil guard. The scene quickly turned into a battlefield when guardsmen fired back and a group of young men retaliated by pulling up street stones and tossing them at the guard. One of the young men died after a guardsman shot him in the head. Leiden's municipal council, which was more concerned with maintaining law and order, used the tragic event as a warning to the public in general, and gangs of unruly young men in particular. For young men, most of the fighting that took place at the fair was a display of male posturing by showing who was the strongest, who had the most courage, and who could take the most life-threatening risks. Brawls could especially get rough when young men fought with their fists and used sticks. These young men from the lower ranks of society sometimes carried sand in their pockets and in the heat of battle threw sand in the eyes of their opponents or fought with pieces of an earthenware pipe enclosed in their hands to ensure that a blow to their rival's face would leave scars. For many rural young men, a scarred face often symbolized manliness, courageousness, and the ability to take risks.[36]

Violence and the lower ranks

Besides venues such as the fair, uncivilized violence carried out by young men from the lower ranks of Dutch society took place in the streets, bridges, city squares, marketplaces, and taverns. During the night, Dutch cities were bustling with young people – servants and apprentices visiting taverns, brothels, and game-halls. In particular, unmarried young men from the lower echelons of Dutch society, who had more leisure time than married men with families, posed a great threat to disturbing the municipal order. In Amsterdam, this large juvenile group could easily disrupt public order or rebel against municipal authority similar to a 'Fifth Column', the name applied to rebel sympathizers in Madrid in 1936 during the Spanish Civil War when four rebel columns advanced towards the city. During periods of political upheaval, the heightened risk-taking behavior of youths could be a force to be reckoned with. Youngsters were usually the first to initiate stone-throwing, riots, and plundering.[37] During the Twelve-Year Truce (1609-1621) the country's fragile political unity almost erupted into a civil war. The conflict arose as a theological debate between Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609) and Franciscus Gomarus (1563-1641) of the University of Leiden about the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Theologians, moralists, and critics turned the disparity into an all-out war by publishing numerous pamphets – a new propaganda tool – that were instrumental in exciting public opinion.[38] At first, their differences were confined to academic circles, but due to the sensitivity of the issue within the Church, the conflict spilled over into the public arena. In Leiden, theology students were initially involved, but the matter eventually spread to Flemish textile workers residing in the city.[39] In the course of the next 14 years, the dispute polarized Dutch society from schools to local chambers of rhetoric to the political level of the Dutch Republic between the stadtholder, Prince Maurits, who sided with the Counter-Remonstrant, and the country's advocate, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547-1619), who rallied with Remonstrant supporters. The dispute caused a rift in church classes and municipal councils throughout Holland and the rest of the Republic. In the winter of 1610 the first tumult broke out in Alkmaar where vagrants in the city antagonized youths into tossing stones and snowballs at the windows of churches, anticipating that mayhem would erupt. In 1617 riots broke out in Amsterdam, Brielle, Haarlem, Rotterdam, Oudewater and The Hague, where either Counter-Remonstrant supporters were in the majority or Remonstrant followers were tolerated by local administrators. In Amsterdam on Sunday, February 12th, 1617, youths encouraged by Counter-Remonstrant ministers and supporters destroyed a makeshift Remonstrant meeting house while a sermon was being delivered inside. The minister managed to escape, and according to one pamphlet, juvenile bandits removed the chancel and tossed it into the canal. While the building was being ransacked, thousands of adults laughed and cheered the youths on.[40] Youths were clearly used as catalysts by both parties of the conflict to terrorize the other. The violence of destroying the makeshift Remonstrant meeting house was initiated by adult agitators who hung libellous placards on Saturday, February 11th, throughout the city that summoned supporters to gather at the city's stock exchange the next day at 7.30 pm.[41] The following morning youths assembled outside a makeshift church in a warehouse on the Kromboomsloot canal, where a church service was being held. The mob began smashing windows and climbed on the roof where

they dismantled the shingles. Then the youths entered the building in a wild rage, chasing the congregation on to the street, and destroyed the new chancel.[42] A week later the violence had not stopped. On February 19th youngsters gathered at the stock exchange where they threw stones at Remonstrant supporters. According to the account of one of the English-born rectors of the Amsterdam Latin schools, Matthew Slade (1569-1628), these boys were summoned by an advertisement that was hung throughout the city three or four days in advance, conveying the words:

> that if any were desyreous to see 700 boyes resolved to hunt out the Armenians and to defend the received Religion, they should come on Sonday to such a place. Hereuppon it semeth the Armenians changed theyr appointed place, which was in the new towne. It may be the owner would not harzard his house. But one Byshop, man of wealth, brother to Episcopius, divinity professor at Leyden.

Slade reported that approximately 800 boys, many who blackened their faces and were armed with staves and stones, gathered at the market and marched in procession to the beat of drums towards the home of Remonstrant supporter and merchant, Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop, on the Singel canal, where it was rumored that a Remonstrant ministry was being hosted. The group met with no resistance from the authorities, and their captain was 'about 16 years old', the rest were youths, some as young as 6-8 years old. Once they arrived at Bisschop's house, all mayhem broke loose. The boys pulled the cobblestones out of the street and used them to smash the windows of the house. With a large beam, they barrelled down the cellar door and stormed the house in a frenzy as they plundered and looted. Bisschop's household goods and prized possessions were thrown on the street and tossed into the canal. The total damage amounted to 5,000 guilders.[43] Both Slade and Remonstrant foreman, Johannes Uytenbogaert, reported Amsterdam's magistrates protecting the youths by delaying taking action and allowed the youths to drink all the wine and beer in Bisschop's house.[44] Before the house had been plundered, the bailiff was called and had arrested one of the boys. But when the bailiff let the youngster go and left himself because he had other things to do, someone in the crowd yelled out, 'Now the house is our prize for the taking'.[45]

However, the magistrate must have been alarmed at the mayhem when three other houses burned to the ground on the same evening. Four days later someone yelled throughout the town that the city hall was on fire. Luckily, it was only a heater that was smoking.[46]

The city's youths from the lower classes were also used on other occasions to instigate violence in the Remonstrant/Counter-Remonstrant conflict. At another time, Bisschop's brother Simon Episcopius was threatened as he exited a church when he overheard activists rile youths against him: 'boys, grab stones and show the mutineer'. The magistrate refused to punish the youths and urged Episcopius to leave the city and return to Leiden.[47] In fact, none of the boys were prosecuted for plundering Bisschop's house. To top it off, a city decree was issued that forbid Remonstrants from congregating. Moreover, Bisschop and his wife were excommunicated from the church. If Amsterdam's Counter-Remonstrant-backed magistrate condoned the tumult, the

Illustration 15 Jacobus Ruys, *The Plundering of Rem Egbertsz. Bisschop's house*, Amsterdam (1617)

youngsters must have been encouraged by Counter-Remonstrant ministers to implement violence. Cornelis Pietersz. Hooft (1547-1626), the father of the poet P.C. Hooft, noted that ministers admonished youths from the pulpit daily about their dancing and excessiveness in food and dress, but never mentioned a word about their plundering.[48] One Remonstrant writer warned authorities that such social upheavals were a threat to Dutch society because once the *grauw* (the plebs) have acquired a taste for violence, there would be no stopping them.

Remonstrant supporters voiced concern about mob violence for all of Dutch society. One pamphlet warned against rousing the mob into becoming a 'Capo de Grijp', which was a name for a pirate's ship because it risked navigating in choppy waters. Counter-Remonstrant supporters were also victim to hostility instigated by hordes of young people. The *Landdrost* (Reeve) of Amsterdam, Huybert Spruyt (also known as Spruitenburch), threatened to disrupt a Remonstrant meeting by sending in a gang of youths. Spruyt's promise of spoils for the boys had also attracted adult riff-raff who wanted to get in on the booty, which eventually turned against Spruyt and other Counter-Remonstrant supporters. The same group of boys did not remain loyal to the Counter-Remonstrants because they later attacked them by throwing stones at their windows. In the town of Den Briel on the island of Voorne, youths were aggressive towards Counter-Remonstrant supporters while civil authorities turned a blind eye, and merely regarded the incident as being caused by a group of boys fighting for a righteous cause.

In Oudewater, the birthplace of Jacobus Arminius, violence broke out on January 1st, 1618. Youngsters with guns supporting Remonstrants attacked and would have lynched an 'innocent citizen' if he had not been rescued. Around 9 o'clock in the evening, the same group armed with guns, clubs, and stones gathered in front of the church door to intimidate those inside. The next day the violence continued with youngsters who set fire to houses where Remonstrant supporters lived, and rampaged through the town streets causing commotion.[49]

According to Uytenbogaert the rallying youths were armed with guns and other illegal weapons such as half-pikes, and congregated outside the mayor's house where they attempted to ram the door down and intimidate him and the rest of the Arminian municipal council to reverse the dismissal of Johannes Lydius, a Counter-Remonstrant minister.[50]

In April of 1619 in the village of Hazerswoude near Leiden, Pieter Willems Clomp (who was approximately 16 years old) literally drummed up local youths against Counter-Remonstrant followers when he marched through the town beating a drum and managed to rally 20 to 30 young followers.[51] Many of the boys were between eight and twelve years old. It is not certain whether the mobs of youths and other unattached men knew exactly what they were venting their aggression against. In the realm of implementing violence, we have to remember that there is a difference between 'fighting for' an ideal and violence 'against' an undesirable state or situation. Juvenile aggression in the early modern period was not rooted in idealism but was more commonly employed against repugnant circumstances, or just for the sake of expressing violence. One of the most repulsive crimes that youths committed during the Twelve-Year Truce was the digging up and dismembering of the buried corpse of statesman Gillis van Ledenberg (1550-1618)

in Voorburg's church cemetery. Ledenberg, who had been imprisoned, just like Oldenbarnevelt, on trumped up charges of treason by his political adversaries, took his life while awaiting the outcome of his trial in September 1618. The following May the court ordered that Ledenberg be given the death sentence posthumously. His embalmed body was hung in its coffin from a gibbet and left for 21 days. After it was taken down, the corpse was reburied. However, that same night a mob of youngsters, not much over ten years old, entered Voorburg's church cemetery, dug up his body, desecrated his remains, and tossed them into a ditch along the road. The Court of Holland was so repulsed by the aggressive behavior of the young men that they issued an injunction against any further havoc.[52] Contrary to modern concepts of youth culture, which is often associated with having a progressive stance on politics, the youths involved in the Remonstrant-Counter-Remonstrant conflict often sided with conservative leaders who wielded power and authority, and who were often backed by the majority.

Rebelling against authority

The Butter War of 1624 was a prime example of how juvenile violence was used to 'fight against' an undesirable new situation implemented by the state. Three years after the Twelve-Year Truce ended and the war with Spain resumed, the province of Holland levied new taxes in order to finance its growing expenses. One of those taxes required imposing a new tariff on butter. This new tax was not readily accepted on June 1st, which was a warm Saturday. As the temperature rose, so did the tempers. In Haarlem, a fracas first started at the Butter Market when Trijn Maertensz., a farmer's wife from the neighboring village of Spaarnwoude who was selling butter, got into an argument with a tax collector's assistant about the new tax. After an exchange of words, she threatened him with a knife, but he grabbed her hands, and the knife fell to the ground. After he released her from his grip, she suddenly snatched the knife and managed to tear his coat with it. The tax collector fled, but she yelled to the crowd for help. The news spread throughout the city, and in the course of the day an angry mob congregated outside the tax collector's house. Shortly thereafter, the rabble started tossing stones at his windows. Two days later mayhem erupted again when crowds fortified themselves behind tipped-over wagons that barricaded the streets throughout the city. According to one report, five people died and several were wounded after the civil guard were ordered by the municipal council to disperse the mob. The stadtholder, Prince Maurits, additionally ordered 150 soldiers to Haarlem in order to suppress the uprising. News of the city government's suppression in Haarlem reached Amsterdam, where an uprising broke out the same morning at Amsterdam's Butter Market, and in the afternoon the windows of the tax inspector were smashed. On June 5th unrest erupted in The Hague. According to Rudolf Dekker who has investigated the riots and uprisings in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, most of the participants who instigated uprisings were women (older than thirty) and young men under the age of twenty. This group was often used as a shield because the law would be more tolerant of them due to their young age. Jasper Thomasz. Bort, for example, a 17-year-old slate apprentice, was only given a mild sentence of four days in jail after

he was arrested for smashing the windows of the tax collector's house with roof shingles during the butter riot in The Hague.[53]

The conflict between the Counter-Remonstrant and Remonstrant followers was not over with the Synod of Dordrecht in 1618 and Oldenbarnevelt's execution in 1619. And neither was the youth's role as a catalyst in implementing violence against both parties. On Easter Monday, April 13th, 1626, youths removed cobblestones from streets near the Oude Schans in Amsterdam outside a house where Remonstrant supporters were holding a church service. At first, the boys made lots of noise and then chased after the Remonstrant worshippers. The mob entered the house, smashed the windows, threw the chairs and benches outside, and then dismantled the building. Shortly thereafter, the head of the guardsmen, Major Hasselaer, arrived with some soldiers, but they too were pelted with stones from the crowd. The soldiers fired into the angry mob, and two youngsters were killed. The horde dragged the corpses through the city and laid them on the door of two of the ruling mayors to indicate that they had blood on their hands. The next day, disturbances broke out again. The house where the Remonstrant congregation had met was completely destroyed, and the objects taken from the house were paraded as trophees through the city.[54]

In order to gain more control over its populace, and youths in particular, municipal authorities gradually issued more city ordinances that restricted the gathering and leisure activities of young people in public spaces. In the city of Utrecht, the town council combated the traditional Catholic feasts of St. Martin, St. Nicolas, and Epiphany. These celebrations were condemned not only because they were remnants of the Republic's Roman Catholic past, but also because they were popular celebrations that got out of hand, and consequently turned violent. Utrecht's municipal council also tried to regulate certain neighborhood activities such as games, meals, funerals, fairs, and activities that took place around the church and church buildings and on public roads or waterways. In the later part of the seventeenth century, Utrecht's municipal council restricted youths from playing sports and games in public areas.[55] A similar development occurred in Groningen, a city in the northern part of the Republic. In that university town, large groups of people, especially young men, were prohibited from congregating in open areas, disturbing the peace, parading through the streets, playing dice, frequenting inns, having a tab at a tavern, tossing firecrackers, throwing stones at church buildings, and committing acts of vandalism.[56] In the city of Bergen op Zoom in the predominantly Catholic generality province of Brabant, the Dutch Reformed Protestant magistrates had their hands full trying to maintain law and order among youths who resisted municipal discipline and tried to uphold traditional Catholic festivities. Again, the youths supported traditional and conservative values, the Catholic ones in this case, as opposed to the new Protestant magistrate.

Especially in the 1620s the magistrate issued municipal decrees on several occasions that prohibited local youths from mischief such as throwing stones at public and religious buildings. This included not only adolescent boys but also smaller children (both boys and girls) of the middle class, and those who lived in the garrison. Even young military men were found guilty of

tossing stones. In 1621 rowdy young men were accused of removing cobblestones from the main market square and fareways. Pedestrians complained about literally breaking their necks at night, and how youngsters kicked and molested them in doorways and windows. The pack of young men went into a wild frenzy when they reached the market square and graveyards, where they pulled up stones and tossed them through windows. Besides the destruction of property, numerous fights broke out between groups of boys who gathered on streets or at the city's bulwarks armed with clubs, stones, and bones from skeletons. Sometimes whole streets fought against each other, and parents and schoolteachers were instigators in urging young people to fight. In 1623, municipal authorities were forced to take action against the youth of Bergen op Zoom after they attacked and broke the windows of the city hall with stones. The magistrate retaliated with tough measures that restricted the movement and gathering of young people on Sundays and former Catholic holidays. Anyone caught instigating turmoil faced imprisonment in the city block cell.[57] In Friesland, Dutch Reformed Church authorities encountered the same problem in their attempt to transform the province into a Protestant one. They complained about youths participating in 'pagan celebrations' such as traditional folk feasts, wedding rituals, games, Lent, the games on the First of May, and the igniting of St. John's fires on the saint day of John the Baptist (June 24th), and celebrating on Saint Martin's Day (November 11th). Most of the times, the traditional Roman Catholic culture of the Republic was kept intact by youths participating in these traditions. In a rebellious act, they fulfilled a key role in resisting the Dutch Reformed Church's efforts to stamp out Roman Catholic traditions and celebrations in the Republic.[58]

In order to gain control over these activities taking place after dusk, municipal authorities in Amsterdam were the first in Europe to install an elaborate system of streetlighting. In 1669 the city council granted a painter and inventor, Jan van der Heyden, the task of stationing 1800 street-lanterns that were strategically placed and maintained throughout the city. The initial intention was to prevent pedestrians from drowning while walking along darkened canals at night, to allow firemen to do their job more effectively, and to halt nighttime criminality.[59] However, municipal authorities did not anticipate that lighted streets would only enhance nighttime activities. In the first years the number of complaints about street prostitution rose drastically.[60]

Violence and the upper and middle classes

Let us now focus our attention on the violence implemented by upper- and middle-class youths who resided in urban areas and adopted more civilized behavior that was initiated by humanistic ideals about childrearing and increased regulation by municipal authorities who wanted to maintain law and order. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the process of socializing adolescents and youths in urban areas underwent a radical shift. The increasing migration of rural inhabitants to Dutch cities and urban areas meant the 'autonomy' that youth groups were allowed in rural society was no longer permissible. Municipal authorities in Dutch cities felt their authority being challenged. Urban areas became a crossroads where the traditional youth culture of rural society with its collective socialization and wild behavior clashed with the

well-regulated and controlled environment of the city. In cities during the late Middle Ages, the conduct of large groups of youths disturbed the public peace, threatened the city's authority, and was considered as outright uncivilized. Under these conditions an important change occurred in how young men became domestically and publicly socialized.[61]

With the change in the family structure and scission of rural civil society in the city, a new socialization process emerged in the urban areas of Holland. Firstly, the family in cities of the Dutch Republic was reduced in size from the multi-generational extended family in which grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins were influential in the upbringing of children. In the primarily urbanized Republic, individualization, increased economic independence, and the small size of urban dwellings became catalysts that helped condense families into the 'nuclear family' of two generations, namely parents and children. With this development, parents gained the lion's share of authority when raising small and adolescent-aged children. In the seventeenth century, the Dutch Republic was almost obsessed with the raising and educating of children. Numerous child-rearing manuals and treatises were published that served as helpful guidebooks for the relatively new phenomena of nuclear families. According to the Dutch historian of childhood, Jeroen Dekker, there was a growing 'educational space' for parents to focus and spend more time on the education of their children. The humanistic ideals of the Renaissance, Reformation, and Counter-Reformation influenced parents and moralists about the greater possibilities of education. The impact of pedagogical literature changed the conditions of family dwellings in cities. Urban houses were built with separate bedrooms for children and parents, and designated areas for eating. In addition, there was a wide array of toys produced just for children.[62]

Also, the care and socialization of adolescents and young men took place more under parental authority than in rural society. In other words, the upbringing of children in towns gradually became the sole responsibility of parents, and their influence on children started to last longer than in rural society. In the urban areas of the Dutch Republic, this development was evident among parents who petitioned municipal governments to establish local universities for their children. Parents often argued that keeping a son home longer reduced the expensive costs of room and board at a university in another city, but most likely they preferred a few more years to exercise parental authority over what they probably considered immature teenage sons. In Leiden, some pupils were already enrolled at the university while still in the higher classes of the Latin school and were as young as eleven and twelve years old. Parents who had heard exaggerated stories of rowdy and rambunctious student behavior were frightened and preferred to keep their sons at home longer.[63] During the 1630s, illustrious schools, academies of higher education without the right to issue degrees, were founded in Amsterdam, Deventer, 's-Hertogenbosch, and Dordrecht and offered courses equivalent to a bachelor's degree today. Illustrious schools offered classes in more practical subjects than universities and were also open to young adult men. If a student pursued a higher degree, he would have to go to a university, which meant that he had more time to mature.[64] In 1629, the magistrates of Deventer opened an illustrious school in their city so parents would not have to send their sons so far away. The closest university to Deventer, which lies in the eastern part of the Republic, was Leiden or Groningen, which were not

always easily accessible in case of an emergency.[65] Parents had to travel by horse and carriage over long country roads that were often not navigable during the winter. Students from Amsterdam who enrolled at Leiden University had the luxury of regularly scheduled barge and coach services that travelled frequently between the two towns.[66] That was not always a relief to parents in Amsterdam when it came to sending young sons to Leiden. In the long conflict between Amsterdam which hoped to found its own school for higher education, the illustrious school, and Leiden which wanted to main its monopoly-like status of higher education in the province of Holland, Amsterdam argued that its youths were too young and '*onrijp*' (unripe) and lacked good sense and judgment to be on their own in Leiden. Moreover, these young men risked exposure to the 'danger' and 'perils' of a student's life, and were likely to engage with bad company.[67]

Loco parentis

If affluent parents had to send their adolescent sons away to a university in another town, they could hire a *loco parentis* or governor to keep an eye on their children during their sojourn in another town or abroad. Parents with children studying in Leiden often chose one of three options: One, students would rent a room from a professor who would keep an eye on them. Two, students moved in with family members living in Leiden. Many times, young men lived together with uncles, cousins or brothers who had also studied at the same university. In 1633, for example, Johannes Merentz (Merens) travelled from London to Hoorn where he picked up his cousin Adriaan van Foreest, who was 18 years old, and continued on to Leiden where they both enrolled in the university as students of philosophy.[68] Merens, 15 years old, was living in London at the time because his father was negotiating a deal for the Dutch East India Company. During his stay in London, he lived with a tutor who taught him English, Greek and Latin. Two days after Merens and Van Foreest enrolled at Leiden, their cousin Adriaen van Bredehoff and 20-year-old Cornelis Sonck joined them. Three of the young men were full cousins, the fourth, Sonck, was a relative by marriage. Nevertheless, they belonged to Hoorn's ruling elite whose fathers served either as burgomaster, town council member or bailiff.[69] Jan Merens's father, Jan Maartsz. Merens, who later became burgomaster of Hoorn, advised Van Foreest's father, Jan Foreest, who was a member of Hoorn's town council, to hire the same pedagogue the Soncks used, which suggests that families often employed the same governor or pedagogue to look after their children.

The third option was for the family to move to the university town.[70] In Leiden, for example, no student had a grander presence at the university than the Polish prince, Janis Radziwiłł. When the 18-year-old arrived in 1631, he was accompanied by an entourage of 15 household staff members who were also enrolled at the university. Radziwiłł brought his court master, a court preacher, a valet, and 12 noblemen and various servants. For onlookers, the sight of Radziwiłł and his associates travelling from one location to another must have been a spectacle. Although the prince and his group were an exceptional case, students in general were seldom alone and without the guidance of a *loco parentis* or at least an older brother or cousin to keep an eye on them.[71]

Armed young men

In the urban environment, adolescent boys and young unmarried men asserted their individuality by rebelling against parental authority or the *loco parentis*, and against urban authorities and or their representatives, the municipal guard responsible for maintaining and implementing law and order.[72] A relatively new phenomenon in the Republic during the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries was the growing number of armed young men in Dutch cities and towns that established a university within its walls. The new trend began after the revolt against Spain had started. Throughout Europe, new institutions of higher education sprang up while the attendance at the old universities founded in the Middle Ages waned. Newly established universities claimed to be just as good as the older counterparts and conformed completely to older rivals. Willem Frijhoff argues that the new universities of the early modern period imitated the same structure and 'created senates, colleges, faculties, and were first in the field of copying or "re-inventing" all the symbolic marks of the full universities: beadles, maces, gowns, seals, privileges, rituals and auditoria'.[73] One of the privileges that new Dutch universities duplicated from the medieval university was the right to bear arms. This special right originated in the Middle Ages when universities were predominantly attended by the nobility, who had been granted the privilege to bear arms. After the outbreak of the revolt, William of Orange rewarded Leiden in 1575 with the right to establish a university after the town had endured a long siege between 1573 and 1574. In the course of the next 75 years, new universities were founded in Franeker (1585), Groningen (1614), Utrecht (1636), and Harderwijk (1648). Consequently, the right to carry weapons, which was customary of the medieval university, was also bestowed on students in those university towns in the Dutch Republic. In practice, this meant that young men enrolled at universities were allowed to carry swords, rapiers, and pistols at all times.[74] In the Dutch Republic these weapons were readily available, and metal workers in Utrecht produced some of the finest pistols that were in great demand throughout Europe.[75]

Young men from the lower social echelons were excluded from this right. However, this did not imply that they were unarmed. Quite the contrary, if they needed to engage in a fight, they armed themselves with sticks, daggers, and knives similar to the modern-day pocketknife, which was used for eating and other practical purposes.[76] In the course of the early modern period, an increasing number of students from other social strata also started to attend universities and gained the privilege to carry weapons. The armed student population became a growing source of concern for university officials and municipal authorities, especially the civil guard, which was responsible for exercising urban authority. When burghers rebelled against unfavorable municipal laws and ordinances like tax increases, it was the civil guard that had to implement them. Simultaneously, the guard was also responsible for manning the city gates and walls during the evening, and maintaining law and order during the day and at night. Each year the guard, paraded through the city with a colorful procession of banners, flags, musicians banging drums and guardsman displaying their weapons. This had a dual function. Besides demonstrating their capacity as defenders of the city, they also used the annual procession to intimidate burghers. In the summer of 1620, there were so many guardsmen in the city of Amsterdam that it took then

several days to march over Dam Square in front of city hall. That summer, authorities of the New Church complained to the town council that the minister's voice could not be heard over the cacophony of the procession.[77]

Illustration 16 Unknown artist, *Procession of Amsterdam's Municipal Guard on the Dam* (c. 1610-1630)

The guard in towns with universities was especially burdened with the growing number of armed students who drank too much in the evening and became rowdy late at night. It was usually during the late night hours or early morning hours when early modern towns had very little or no street lighting that the task of maintaining law and order became difficult.[78]

The most popular weapon for students in the early seventeenth century was the rapier. This sword, often portrayed in films like *The Three Musketeers*, was a modernized version of the medieval sword. The rapier had a long and narrow blade, sometimes more than one meter in length and 2.5 centimeters in width with a hilt to protect the hand.[79] With a slight jab to the heart or one of the vital organs, the rapier was more deadly than the standard sword, and required more technical skill than physical strength of the user.[80] For municipal authorities, swashbuckling students donning swords or rapiers became a real headache.[81] This caused a continual conflict throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries between municipal authorities (town) and universities (gown). The senate of the University of Groningen banned students from carrying weapons in some areas of the university such as the 'burse' or resident halls for scholarship students. In 1637 they forbid students from carrying a 'pistol, club or any other type of weapon'

when entering the 'burse'. Moreover, students were not allowed to bring anyone along after dark because that often amounted to fighting in which 'furniture was destroyed'.[82]

In the public domain, municipal authorities usually had a difficult time demanding tighter restrictions and the disarmament of rowdy students. If universities threatened to withdraw from towns, municipal authorities were easily reminded of how dependent local merchants and business were on the influx of students. Given the renting of rooms, purchases of books, clothing, and foodstuffs such as milk, butter, vegetables, meat, and wine, students were a significant force in circulating money through the local town economy and its environs.[83]

In the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, research has revealed that young men manifested aggression and violence towards each other primarily by fighting with swords and rapiers and by using weapons against unarmed civilians. One common crime was assaulting women such as '*onder de rokken tasten*' that was considered a form of sexually intimidating women by grabbing them under their skirt. Armed, drunken students sometimes forced women to have sex with them. Occasionally, groups of students abused a young woman. In 1640, for example, a pregnant woman in Leiden made the mistake of being out late at night. She passed three students in an alley who first threatened and then sexually abused her.[84] In the period 1620-1630, there are no reports of group rape; however, there were other ways in which young men intimidated women with their weapons. One act that displayed male bravado and scared women the most was known as *kratsen*, which involved dragging the sword along the cobblestone streets to produce a frightening screech.[85]

This noise resembled the shrieking sound that young men in the countryside made during charivari festivities. In German towns during the early modern period, municipal authorities tried to reshape the tradition of juvenile noisemaking from the domain of the uncouth into the civilized. During the last weeks of December, for example, youths from the orphanages and poor houses were allowed to beg for their supper by going door to door and singing in public areas. The proceeds were collected for their dinner. Streetsinging resembled *Katzenmusik,* which aimed to produce as much noise as possible around the darkest time of the year to scare the evil spirits away. Eventually, this type of streetsinging and begging evolved into the modern caroling at Christmas, a holiday known for its generosity.[86] In Leiden, students producing noise at night with their rapier was not considered a crime or a nuisance by the authorities. It was primarily a means for young men to frighten and instill fear in Leiden's civilians at night, and in particular intimidate young women.[87]

The option of keeping boys at home and sending them to a local illustrious school was not always a guarantee that parents could exercise parental authority and control the conduct of their teenage sons. In 1630, Melchior Fabius, the first pupil enrolled in Deventer's newly opened illustrious school, was reprimanded twice by school authorities and finally expelled for fighting with a weapon. The same day that the board decided Fabius's fate, the school requested Deventer's municipal council to deny students the right to bear arms during the day. The municipal council took more drastic measures, however, and banned the carrying of weapons at all times.[88] The

Illustration 17 Johannes de Brune, 'Demonstration of a Student "Kratsen" ' in: *Emblemata of Sinnewerk* (1614)

University of Leiden, which attracted many sons of the nobility such as those of the House of Orange, the son of the Winter King, Frederick V, and many other Protestant German princes, contemplated taking the same measures but feared they would frighten off students if the right to carry a sword was abolished.[89]

According to the records of Leiden's Academic Vierschaar, one popular form of violence committed by students during the period 1620-1640 was to provoke the civil guard. The watchmen were usually much older than the students, which added the element of generational struggle to the conflict.[90] In 1627, Anselmus van Deurverden van Voort, a 20-year-old law student from Utrecht, assaulted the head of the civil guard in Leiden. Anselmus, who had just enrolled at the university two months earlier, was fined 100 guilders and lost all his university privileges.[91] In the realm of male posturing, the municipal guard was the proper playmate of students because guardsmen were also armed with the same type of weapons. In Groningen, for example, some students aspired to becoming guardsmen. In September 1629, Cornelis Damman, the 20-year-old son of Zutphen's minister Sebastiaan Damman, joined the guard just five months after he enrolled as a philosophy student in Groningen. However, Groningen's university senate felt responsible for the safety of students, and later that year prohibited them from becoming guardsmen. The urge for students to join the guard remained great because the regulation had to be reinforced again in 1639, 1666, and 1667.[92]

The guard was not always held in high esteem. One German spy commented in 1608 that despite the great reverence that Dutch citizens had for their civic militia, the fact of the matter was that guardsmen were a motley crew of Dutch merchants and artisans who were poor soldiers who could offer little resistance. The Dutch did sometimes doubt the military virtues of the guard and complained about the lack of discipline, inadequate armaments, the disorderly exercise with weapons, and the fact that a member could easily be bribed. If this was common knowledge, students, especially foreign ones, were tempted to provoke or engage guardsmen.

In order to keep the student population under control, Leiden's municipal council continuously expanded its corps of night watchmen throughout the seventeenth century.[93] That was no easy feat for the town council, especially with students like 21-year-old Casparus von Waldo, the son of a Saxon nobleman who studied in Leiden together with a younger brother.[94] In one skirmish in 1638, Von Waldo and his servants had gotten into a fight with Dutch students who were later joined by the municipal guard. However, by the day's end what had started out as an innocent student brawl ended in tragedy when one of the municipal guardsmen, Franco van der Burg, was killed. Von Waldo and his servants were fined as accomplices in Van der Burg's death, and eventually two German law students, 27-year-old Henricus van Aleveld from Holstein and 24-year-old Johannes Graro from Brandenburg, were charged with Van der Burg's murder. This was not the first time Von Waldo was arrested for provoking the municipal guard. Three months earlier he and his servants had already been in a fight with them. That time nobody was harmed.[95]

Student violence – a rite of passage

In the realm of courage and risk-taking, Von Waldo's behavior can be interpreted foremost as a public display of courage. His public fracas with the civic guard also demonstrated his ability to take life-threatening risks, and enhanced his manliness. For him, the risk was probably experienced as a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood.[96] If we regard this type of risk-taking among adolescents from a modern psychology viewpoint, it would be considered 'audience-controlled' because it was important that Von Waldo's willingness to challenge the municipal guard be witnessed by an audience, in this case his fellow students and peers, with whom he was a social equal, and secondly his servants of a lower social status. Although it is not known if Von Waldo was encouraged by peer pressure, his ability to take risks was probably rewarded by the respect of his fellow students and a personal feeling of masculinity.[97]

For young men the mere fact that taking on the guard was risky business symbolized the rite of passage to manhood. It was a life-threatening situation. Guardsmen were often eager to repress any kind of student rowdiness, especially that taking place at night when the visibility from the guards' posts and city gates was limited. According to the diary of Everardus Bronkhorst, professor of law at Leiden, the municipal guard could be cruel and barbaric in wielding their authority. While walking home after an evening of eating and merrymaking on a December evening in 1607, Bronkhorst and a group of noisy students encountered Leiden's municipal guard. The evening that started as a joyous occasion turned into a nightmare for Bronkhorst. The guard started shooting and unloaded 21 shots into one of his students, who later died from his wounds.[98]

Shattering glass

Smashing windows was the most common act of vandalism committed by youths, regardless of their socio-economic background. The town of Schiedam, for example, passed numerous municipal ordinances prohibiting boys and youths from playing 'kolf', a primitive type of golf, and other ball sports on city squares located adjacent to churches and townhalls. Too many windowpanes and roof shingles had suffered from this juvenile amusement.[99] In university towns, however, smashing windows was often done with malice and not as the result of accidental child's play. According to the cases investigated by Leiden's Academic Vierschaar, the most popular transgression that students committed was the smashing of windows. Most houses had windows that could be closed off from the outside with shutters. Students would walk along the outside of houses, open the shutters, and smash the windowpanes with pistols and clubs.[100] In December 1623 Lucas van Hulten, a law student in Leiden, was incarcerated after he was caught breaking windows. After a few days on a meagre ration of bread and water in a cold winter jail housed in the cellar of the university's academic building, the 22-year-old from a prominent Groningen family finally confessed his crime.[101] Van Hulten had only been in Leiden for six months after transferring from the University of Groningen where he had already been enrolled as a law student for three years. In Groningen he probably lived at home under the parental authority of his mother and father who held esteemed positions in the church council and had good connections with the stadtholder.[102] However, once in Leiden, the young man had free reign. After his confession, the Academic Vierschaar fined Van Hulten 40 guilders and had him incarcerated for a month and a half. When students were required to pay fines, half of the money usually went to the office of justice and the other half was donated to the alms for poor students. Van Hulten had to pay the repair of the damaged windows as well as the expenses the Academic Vierschaar had incurred.[103] However, most students and young men were not alone when it came to throwing stones and breaking windows. This type of tomfoolery was a deed of male camaraderie that often occurred under the influence of too much alcohol and at night while Leiden's civilized burghers slept. The Academic Vierschaar emphasized cases when offenders committed this crime in broad daylight, which suggests that crimes perpetrated during the night were more permissible than ones committed in the light of day.[104]

Lucas van Hulten later finished his law studies at Leiden, became a prominent administrator and held municipal and national political offices such as council advisor to the city of Groningen and member of the Council of State. However, he was not alone on that December night in 1623.[105] A fellow law student from Groningen, 23-year-old Otto Farmesom, accompanied Lucas van Hulten at night when he smashed the windows of someone's house. Otto and Lucas had most likely been friends in Groningen. They enrolled at Leiden within five days of each other, and both were from families of magistrates. The details of the owner were not disclosed nor how many windows were broken. The young men were arrested separately. Farmesom was arrested first and confessed two days before Van Hulten's arrest. In all likelihood, Farmesom confessed to the officer of justice that Van Hulten had broken the windows, that he had no knowledge of breaking windows and was just an innocent bystander. The Academic Vierschaar

believed Farmesom and only fined him 20 guilders (half for the alms of poor student relief and the other half for the judges of the court), and he was put under house arrest for a month at the home of his landlord.[106] In another example in 1622, the 21-year-old law student Johannes Pauli from Vollenhoven in Gelderland-Overijssel was not found guilty of throwing stones,[107] but was fined six guilders for being in the company of stone-throwers.[108]

If students fled or were arrested and did not confess to their crimes, they risked banishment from the university and town and of having their names removed from the university registers of enrollment. That was the case for Jacob Velius, who was fined for smashing windows in 1624. His punishment included three years' banishment from the university, town, and jurisdiction of Holland and West Friesland. Velius disagreed with the verdict and petitioned the Prince of Orange to be pardoned. Not surprisingly, his request was not honored. Six years earlier in 1618 when the conflict between Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant was raging through the Republic, Jacob's father, a Remonstrant sympathiser, was ousted from Hoorn's magistrate along with the rest of the council. Jacob could rely on little political clout from his family's connection to get him out of trouble. His name was consequently removed from the university register.[109] Velius's partner in crime, Johannes Beets, a 21-year-old law student who was also from Hoorn, found himself in the wrong place at the wrong time. At first, he was also held accountable for smashing windows but pleaded innocent and was given a lighter sentence, which included house arrest in the home of his landlord.[110] Young men or students were sometimes literately and figuratively brothers in crime. In February 1626, during the celebration of Lent, Jacobus and Juriaan Sevelt were accompanied by a 22-year-old law student and Silesian aristocrat, Caspar von Nostitz.[111] The boys not only disturbed the peace when they paraded around at night disguised in masquerade, they also smashed windows, destroyed property, and looted goods from the house of Isaac Doreslaer, who resided in a large house on the Rapenburg canal together with his English wife. At the time, Doreslaer was the deputy headmaster of the Latin School and a law student at the university. Since 1621 he and his wife had rented rooms to English students, which was probably the reason why the Sevelt brothers and Von Nostitz, who were compatriots, attacked the house.[112] The following night, the boys returned to Doreslaer's home and struck again. This time they shamefully abused his servant girl.[113] Consequently, the Sevelt brothers lost all their student privileges, were banned from Holland and West Friesland for twelve years, and their names were deleted from the university registers.[114] Within a year Doreslaer moved to England where he was appointed the first incumbent of the newly founded history lectureship in Cambridge and ultimately made his home in England, where he became affiliated with the Protestant movement and took a strong stand in religious debates. In 1649 Doreslaer, together with Cromwell supporters, played an important role in having the Stuart monarch, King Charles I, found guilty of treason and beheaded. Doreslaer was made an envoy and sent to The Hague. Not long after his arrival, Scottish royalists stabbed him to death while dining at an inn.[115]

In a pan-European context, the smashing of windows was a popular act of violence committed by students. According to the Italian historian Ottavia Niccoli, young people throwing stones

at each other was a favorite pastime in the cities of Northern Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, despite being prohibited by municipal and ecclesiastical authorities. When stones were thrown at public figureheads and their property, the offence took on a different meaning with a significant connotation. For example, stones thrown at the house of a young girl shamed her, and the act was interpreted to mean she was a prostitute.[116]

Breaking the windows of a burgher's home was more than just a cheap thrill. The deed symbolized public violence towards an individual who wielded authority and a person that young people intended to shame. If the community could witness the broken windows, the individual was publicly humiliated and disciplined for non-conforming conduct. However, when windows were smashed that faced the non-public domain such as alleyways and backyards, the act was considered an individual retribution.[117]

In Dutch university towns, the smashing of windows and misconduct in general were often directed towards men of authority and buildings where men of authority resided and congregated. In 1628, Georgius Borchers, a German student at the University of Franeker, misbehaved in front of the house of one of the university's senators. Consequently, Borchers, who was also found guilty of breaking windows, was expelled and banned from the city.[118] Students who resided with men of authority were also the brunt of student violence. In 1652 a band of students of various nationalities from the University of Groningen joined together to act out their hostility towards Karel Vijgh, who resided with the university's professor of theology and rector, Samuel Maresius.[119] Armed with rapiers, the students vowed in a special ceremony to defend the freedom of the students and the autonomy of the nations (student associations). The clash between the students was ignited when Vijgh, a student from Nijmegen, refused to join the nation of Gelderland. Vijgh made the fatal decision of informing the university senate about the coercing tactics of the nations, who in turn reprimanded the nation. The students took immediate action and unified against the academic authorities for interfering with the rituals of the nations. The students formed a procession and proceeded towards the professor's house. En route they encountered the city guard whom they engaged in armed combat, and continued on to Maresius's residence where they fired their guns into his house and smashed all the windows, including those of the neighboring houses. Eventually, the students were arrested and punished. Ultimately, the university took further measures by forbidding the students from conglomerating in large numbers and prohibiting them from carrying weapons in public.[120]

In the history of the University of Franeker (which existed from 1585 until 1812), the most fines for breaking windows were issued by its Academic Vierschaar in the period 1605-1650. This suggests that smashing windows was only a preferred act of violence for students in the early seventeenth century.[121] One possible reason why students favored breaking windows over other acts of destruction to personal property could be that glass was an expensive building material. Moreover, the façades of Dutch buildings at the time had large windows in order to let in more natural light. During the seventeenth century, England and the Dutch Republic were the largest producers of glass in Europe. Despite its common use in the construction of homes and public buildings, it remained relatively costly during the Republic's building boom of the 1610s

and 1620s. Only in the late seventeenth century did the technique of glass production improve, which reduced manufacturing costs and allowed glassmakers to produce larger panes of glass.[122] Consequently, once glass became cheaper, the breaking of windows by students gradually became less thrilling, and the number of cases declined drastically.

Breaking windows was not restricted to students or youths living in Dutch cities. As the British historian Paul Griffiths explains, 'the crashing of breaking glass was a familiar accompaniment to youthful games and sports' in early modern England as well.[123] In this aspect, the crimes of students at Dutch universities deviated little from those in other European university towns. The University of Leiden and to a greater extent the University of Franeker were successful in recruiting foreign students, while at the same time they also experienced more deviant behavior from students.[124] This is not surprising considering that Dutch cities were influenced by the customs and rituals brought by the great influx of students and immigrants from the Southern Netherlands and German territories during the early seventeenth century. According to a criticism penned by Haarlem's poet, Gilles Quintyn, Holland's youth had become poisoned by the waywardness of its immigrants from the south.[125] Gerbrand Bredero's well-known comedies *Moortje* and *Spaanschen Brabander* poked fun at the illicit norms of foreigners in the Republic. Whether realistic or fictional, the foreigner's character was usually portrayed as being drunken, promiscuous, and immoral.[126] It was true that the Republic was swarming with immigrants and influenced by their presence. In the early seventeenth century half of the students enrolled at the University of Leiden were foreigners, almost a quarter of them being German.[127] During the Thirty Years' War there were more German students enrolled at Leiden than there were students enrolled in German universities such as Rostock, Wittenberg, Frankfurt an der Oder, Altdorf, and Leipzig. Only the universities at Königsberg and Cologne had more German students enrolled than Leiden.[128]

Nations

Another potential source of violence in university cities was the fraternities of students from the same country or region. Young men in these 'nations' as they were called formed close-knit fraternities while abroad. In the Republic, nations were sometimes created according to regions like the nations of Friesland, Holland, Groningen, Gelderland, and Zeeland. In most university towns, academic authorities prohibited the nations because they disturbed municipal law and order, but this did not restrain students from uniting in regional groups. In the Republic, the nations at established medieval universities such as Bologna and Padua, which wielded power in academic governing bodies, might have posed a real threat to the newly founded, 'enlightened' universities in the north. Municipal and national administrators could not risk the threat.[129] In 1659 the States of Holland banned the nations completely. From then on, very little is known about these brotherhoods because they often operated clandestinely and kept few, if any, records. However, in 1660 when the nation of Gelderland-Overijssel in Leiden was dissolved, it left a

book of shields of its members. Since its founding in 1617, it had accumulated a total of 670 members. A list of rules from the same nation in Franeker exposes how the nations operated. Meetings started with a song of praise to the military honor and an ode to the university for the education that helped mould the character of young men. Nations honored universities for extending them the right to bear weapons. The use of weapons and challenges to duels among the members of the nation were forbidden. If caught, members were fined with penalties. For example, a challenge would cost four guilders, accepting a challenge two guilders, and if wounded, the fines were doubled. Most importantly, members were obliged to keep silent about the nation, its activities, and its rituals.[130] For the foreign students, the nations fulfilled an important role because they encouraged affinity and obedience among young men from the same region or country. The members helped each other in times of need, especially during illness and misfortune. Lifelong friendships and loyalties blossomed among its members. Students also helped protect and defend each other's honor, regardless of the issue at hand. The Dutch historian De Vrankrijker explains this was the essence – and ultimate danger – of the nations. They became nations of blood that did not tolerate any wrongdoing against any of its members by another nation or an individual. Because these organizations were forbidden by the university's senate and were not recognized, they operated in secrecy and could not be controlled by the university. Occasionally, an incident would occur and come to the attention of the Academic Vierschaar. In June 1624, just beyond the city gate of Witte Poort, two students from the Dutch nation, 18-year-old Johannes Vossius from Dordrecht and Johannes Luce Bevervoorde, threw stones and threatened Cuno von Bodenhausen, a 22-year-old law student from Brunswick in Germany. Vossius and Bevervoorde also intimidated other students from the German nation with a gun. The two managed to rile up public agitation against the Germans from travellers in carriages and other boys on the street. Two days later, Bodenhausen sought revenge and awaited the main culprit, Johannes Vossius, early in the morning. He attacked him with a cane and by throwing stones.[131] These were the cases that came to the attention of the Academic Vierschaar. Most minor incidents of violence probably went undetected.[132]

Each nation had its own mysteries and secrecies, especially concerning rites. In Leiden, freshmen were intensively harassed and teased. They were jeered at in the streets and pestered during lectures. Some students protected them from humiliation but required some kind of financial compensation in return. These mafia-like practices, which often robbed freshman of their entire scholarship, were harmless in comparison to the German initiation rites of the deposition or *deposition cornuum* as it is known in Latin. According to Marian Füssel, the academic deposition was a ritualized form of violence among young men that was common practice from the Middle Ages until the eighteenth century. It was an initiation that probably originated in the University of Paris where the arriving student would be termed *beanus* from the French *bec jaune* (yellow beak), or *greenhorn* in English.

Illustration 18 Crispijn de Passe, 'Student initiation rituals' in: *Academia sive specvlvm vitae scolasticae* (1612)

In the initiation ceremony, fellow students would treat the greenhorn as a *pecus campi* (animal of the field), which entailed that the recruit be dressed in a hood with horns and wearing the teeth of a boar protruding from his mouth. During the ceremony, older students would lecture the greenhorn about his unworthiness. In the course of the initiation, the animal attributes of the costume would be pulled off with the help of over-sized tools. Then the student's body would be abused. This symbolized the cleansing and beautification, and the transition from the world of the uncouth to the world of the civilized, and ultimately the conversion from beast to man. Füssel argues that the philosophy of this ritual was embedded in the Christian belief system based on the ideology of death and resurrection, as well as the significant rite of passage to manhood. The humiliation and physical abuse practiced in the deposition represented the death of the child and the end of childhood. At the end of the ritual, the student was symbolically resurrected and emerged as a man.[133] In 1612 this initiation rite was also featured in Crispijn de Passe's *Academia sive specvlvm vitae scolasticae* [The University, or Mirror of Student Life]. The book was intended as a guide for potential students about student life, and was primarily based on the University of Leiden where De Passe was living at the time he completed the manuscript. De Passe's engraving of the deposition rite carried the description: 'To cure the tyro of his uncouth behavior and make him well-mannered, offering due liberation to the eternal gods, He is tormented with light whippings and trimmed with axes, Henceforth to become, like a second Aeson, a new man.' Additional comments on the illustration refer to the initiation as 'barbaric', but it was still regarded

as an important rite of passage from boyhood to manhood which was probably an aspect that simultaneously alarmed and was appreciated because it made men out of boys.[134] In Leiden there is only one known deposition from 1640 in which, after the examination, the recruit is reported to have emerged as a *mensch* (human).[135] The fact that the ritual or similar initiations are still practiced today illustrates the importance of rites of passage in society. In the Skull and Bones fraternity at Yale University, which is known for its secrecy and having members among the United States's rich and powerful, recruits are initiated by being made to wrestle in mud, being physically beaten, and then made to lie naked in a coffin where they reveal their most intimate sexual secrets. Afterwards, they are taken to a tomb where they view the skulls and the bones of various skeletons, and upon leaving the tomb they emerge 'mature'.[136] The academic ritual during the Middle Ages and early modern period signified a mark of distinction. For the initiates, it caused a substantial change in their social status. In comparison to the structural relationship with other social initiation rituals of the artisans and guilds, it had a durable symbolic purpose, which demarcated the boundaries of those who were accepted into the domain of privilege. Symbolically, the deposition was a ritual entrenched in a symphony of symbolisms and acts, whose meaning is reflected in the moralistic instruction of the initiated students. The means legitimizes the framework of acquired norms through physical force whose authority is represented through the symbolic violence of the corporation and its institutional norms.[137]

Channelled violence

Having a pedagogue or *loco parentis* was not always a guarantee of good behavior in students. The Protestant, Silesian aristocrat Georg Schönborner (1579-1637) hired the talented young poet Andreas Gryphius to tutor his three sons. One of his last requests before dying in 1637 was that his sons study at the university in Leiden and that Gryphius accompany them.[138] Schönborner, like many Protestant nobles in Silesia, probably hoped to send his sons to a university in a safe environment, far from the perils of the Thirty Years' War raging in Silesia. Originally a Lutheran who later converted to Catholicism in 1629 for political reasons, he authored various volumes on law. He was appointed by the ultra-Catholic Emperor Ferdinand II to numerous administrative positions and later held the position of court-palatine.[139] After his death in December 1637, Gryphius escorted his sons to Leiden where they enrolled in July 1638 as law students. Gryphius was only 22 years old at the time; the same age as Schönborner's two eldest sons, Franciscus and Georgius Schönborner. The youngest son, Johannes Christophorus, was one year younger.[140] Gryphius enjoyed the scholastic environment of Leiden. He was a passionate student and gave lectures as well, but at the same time he had his hands full with two of Schönborner's sons.

In December 1640, Johannes, the youngest of the Schönborner brothers, was challenged to a duel by a Danish student named Dionysius Christianus. A fellow student from Silesia encouraged Johannes to take up the challenge. The records leave us no details about the disagreement, but apparently the young men and their friends felt that their honor was at stake. Schönborner

was persuaded by Jan Frederick Nimptsch to challenge Christianus to a duel at the Haarlemmerpoort, an open area outside Leiden's city gate. The Dane in turn was supported by Caspar Hendriks Bonsdorft to accept the challenge. Schönborner and Nimptsch were members of the Silesian nation, and probably felt obliged to defend each other's honor.[141] The exact details of the duel are not known, as the diary of Andreas Gryphius was lost.[142] Perhaps the religious quarrels of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648) between the various factions of Calvinists and Lutherans formed the reason for the challenge,[143] or maybe it was a simple verbal belittlement. A duel could be ignited by any number of reasons. One known challenge in Augsburg, Germany, involved one man calling a soldier a 'dog's cunt' (*Hundsfott*), which was an obscene accusation of cowardice. One of the friends of the accused was so insulted that he quipped back, 'He's called you a dog's cunt, are you going to take that from him? I'll hit you in the face myself, if you call yourself a soldier, and put up with that.'[144] In comparison to other nations, the Silesians were quick to take up arms if their honor or reputation was at stake. In Leiden during the 1630s and 1640s, the students from Silesia were a formidable group. In 1640 there were approximately 40 students from Silesia enrolled at the university, of which seven were from the nobility.[145] During the Thirty Years' War more than three hundred young men from Silesia attended the University of Leiden.[146] It was no coincidence that the Silesian nation often instigated dueling.[147]

However, the outcome of this duel was fatal. Twenty-six-year-old Christianius died on the spot from a jab to his right side inflicted by the Silesian's sword.[148] After the duel, the Academic Vierschaar charged Schönborner with murder and ordered the death sentence. Johannes already knew what awaited him because he had ignored the rules of engagement of the duel by stabbing the Dane, instead of hitting him with the flat side of his sword.[149] Johannes fled the city before the authorities could capture him. The university confiscated his personal possessions, revoked his university privileges, and eradicated his name from the university register. He was banned from the university, the city, and the jurisdiction of Holland and West Friesland. Perhaps he returned to Silesia for a couple of years and later enrolled at another university where his reputation did not precede him. In 1646 a young man with the same name enrolled at the University of Jena.[150]

His fellow countrymen, Nimptsch and Bonsdorft, were found guilty of being accessories, and were banned from the university and city of Leiden for 15 years.[151] Nimptsch's role in the crime had little effect on his reputation and career later in life. He returned to Silesia where he inherited his title and fulfilled his duty as the Baron of Ölse.[152]

The duel and death of Christianius had an immediate impact on students. In May 1641, the jurisdiction of Holland and West Friesland passed a law forbidding students and members of the university from dueling. Those found guilty were fined 100 guilders and risked forfeiting university privileges. If a duelist died, his corpse would be shamed by a burial at night and without services. Any display of family shields and banners was strictly forbidden, and if someone attended the burial, he risked a fine of 60 guilders.[153] The law had an immediate effect. In the same month, even before swords were drawn, the Academic Vierschaar charged a German student, Baron Bernard von Khevenhüller, just for making a verbal dare. He confessed to his crime and was only fined 150 guilders instead of being banned from the university and city.[154]

A few months after his younger brother's duel, Georgius Schönborner was arrested for smashing windows and causing destruction to the home of Anna de Nerée, the widow of the Remonstrant minister, Richard Jean de Nerée. Georgius Schönborner was looking for his friend, Johannes Christophorus Strackwits, a fellow Silesian and student of law who enrolled at the university six weeks after the three Schönborner brothers.[155] When the widow answered the door and told him that Strackwits was not there, Schönborner, who probably had had too much to drink, barged into the house and sat at the table stating that he would not leave until Strackwits returned. However, after Anna de Nerée pleaded with him and informed him that Strackwits would not be back until the next morning, Georgius became impatient with the woman and threatened her. The widow managed to force him out the door, but he went to the adjoining park where he heaved stones through the windows of her house and those of a neighbour.[156] De Nerée had acquired a reputation as being a respectable pedagogue or *loco parentis* for students throughout Europe. In their large double house on Leiden's prestigious Rapenburg canal, De Nerée and his wife supplemented their income by renting rooms to students for almost 40 years. Between 1611 and 1650 more than 150 students stayed with them, and many were the sons of nobility. One of the most famous students included the son of Sir Walter Raleigh, who stayed with them in 1613. However, the majority of the students were from the Baltic and German states, Silesia, Poland, Denmark, and Sweden.[157] One of the few Dutch students who stayed with De Nerée was Carel van Nassau, the bastard son of Prince Maurits. However, Carel's guardian found De Nerée to be too expensive and had him replaced.[158] At any given time, the De Nerée family might have as many as seventeen students boarding with them.[159] With foreign students living in the house, the aggression and violence between nations were familiar aspects to the De Nerées. As early as 1632, one of their Saxon students, Johannes Bruno de Pelnitz, was fatally wounded in a sword fight with a Dutch student.[160] The damage to the house in February 1641 resulted in smashed windows. After pelting the windows with stones, Georgius Schönborner was arrested and confessed to his wrongdoings; the Academic Vierschaar banned him from the university and city for 12 years.[161] Strackwits's role in the incident is not clear. However, two months later, the Silesian was arrested early in the morning of April 21st for fistfighting and duelling with Johannes Georgius van Duijzen. Strackwits was injured on the right side of his chest and Van Duijzen in his right arm. Van Duijzen died from his injuries, and Strackwits was consequently charged with murder.[162] In many cases, the reason for the duel is not clear but most likely involved an insult to one's honor in combination with too much drinking. In most countries in early modern Europe, honor was a public property that was often wielded or protected by one's peers. It was often a zero-sum game; it could easily be gained at the loss of another person's honor. According to William Miller, 'the shortest route to honor was thus to take someone else's, and this meant that honorable people had to be ever-vigilant against affronts or challenges to their honor, because challenged they would be'.[163] In other words, a verbal or written stain on one's honor often had to be restored with the use of violence. Nobles were especially sensitive to a slur or symbolic gesture such as bowing, kissing, and doffing one's hat, which acknowledged their status and power.[164]

According to the cases investigated in Leiden during the 1620s and 1630s, the many na-

tionalities of students at the University of Leiden suggest there were clear differences in notions of honor. German students, for example, were quick to resort to lethal violence when their reputation was at stake from an insult. Dutch students, on the other hand, sought more civilized means in repairing damage to their honor. This was also the case for the young Danish student and nobleman Dirck Quitzau, who in July 1631 brought Arent Dirkse van Cortenbosch, a wine merchant in Leiden, before the Academic Vierschaar for calling him a *mof* and *zekel* (Kraut and dick). Quitzau claimed that he suffered from the accusations, and the Academic Vierschaar fined Van Cortenbosch 400 guilders.[165] In Dutch society in general, violent behavior to restore one's reputation had already become replaced by more civilized means. While family feuds were still popular in Mediterranean countries, especially when the virginity of one of the daughters was questionable, in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic these issues had become less prevalent, and Dutch citiziens were more likely to use civil means to reconcile family disputes.[166]

The major problem in Dutch university towns was that students had too much leisure time on their hands and not enough honest distraction. In this respect, students at Dutch universities were not any different from those in other European university towns. Throughout Europe, idleness and inactivity were considered moral and physical risks for the young. Both the cultural historian Peter Burke and the historian of recreation Alessandro Arcangeli argue that the elite slowly started to withdraw from violent forms of recreation involving intensity, physical strength, and military training.[167] Early modern institutions in the Dutch Republic were instrumental in channeling this development. In December 1627 the University of Leiden had already taken measures to bring a halt to street violence primarily caused by members of nations who challenged Leiden's municipal guard, and often resulted in the throwing of stones and the destruction of property. However, these measures had little or only a temporary effect on curbing student aggression. Two years later in September 1629, the jurisdiction of Holland and West Friesland banned nations altogether, arguing that the activities of nations consumed too much of the students' time and money due to membership fees. Some students had become so impoverished by their financial obligations to the nations that they could not afford a proper meal. This ordinance limited their freedom in the public domain, which meant that their ritual practices such as the deposition, carrying weapons, dueling, and other forms of congregating took place in secrecy.[168] Young men who went beyond the boundaries of the private domain and into the public eye came to the attention of municipal and academic judiciary courts. In 1648 the University of Leiden again issued an edict against the unruliness of the nations.[169]

Dueling in the early modern period was a popular conduit for showing male courage and displaying risk-taking skills. By challenging another man to a duel, a gentleman defended his honor while at the same time displayed a refined civility and politeness. This form of fighting, which originated in Renaissance Italy, was a civilized replacement of the vulgarized Italian *vendetta*, in which men fought like animals.[170] In the course of the sixteenth century, the duel became interwoven with the education of the elite young men across Europe. Numerous conduct books, usually based on Erasmus's *De Civilitate morum puerilium,* incorporated civility and honor with

dueling.[171] In the course of the seventeenth century, fencing at the University of Leiden became a popular recreation for many students. Various fencing schools sprouted up where students could learn the techniques of using a rapier and sword. In 1622 the acclaimed fencing master, Girard Thibault, who ran a fencing school in Amsterdam in the Nes where he trained well-known celebrities such as the poet Bredero, opened a fencing school in Leiden for students. When Thibault arrived in Leiden, the 40-year-old enrolled in the university and shortly thereafter took up residence in the home of Richard Jean de Nerée, where he lived with other students.[172] He developed fencing techniques and a new method in which fencers maneuvered within the parameters of a mystical circle with areas of middle lines, cords, and home lines that mathematically stipulated the boundaries of opponents. The novel method became especially popular among the elite. At the time, Thibault's methods were considered cutting edge.[173] He taught his techniques to Georg Wilhelm and Joachim Sigismund, the Elector of Brandenburg, and regularly gave demonstrations in Leiden for the stadtholder, Prince Maurits, and his brother Prince Frederik Hendrik, who most likely applied his methods to train the Dutch army.[174] While coaching students, Thibault made a clear distinction between thrusts to be used during sporting, known as *en courtoisie,* and those that were exclusively used in a duel, such as *en rigueur*. In this era, fencing was part of the physical education of elite young men, as was dancing. Fencing, dancing, and horseback riding helped young noblemen to develop stance and poise, which were desired traits for people with breeding. According to Herman Roodenburg's research into *courtoisie* behavior and the molding of European identities in the early modern period, Dutch parents of good standing spared no expense when it came to correcting children with stooped posture, drooping heads or bandy legs. Elegance and an upright posture could be cultivated. In 1625, the Frenchmen Nicolas Vallet opened a dancing school in Amsterdam. He taught on weekdays and Sundays, and because he played the lute, he also led the ensemble which performed during his lessons. It is very likely that Vallet and Thibault were acquainted with each other and that they had many of the same young clientele in Amsterdam.[175]

Fencing became an important aspect in the physical education of young men. Besides developing elegant posture, poise, and carriage, it was also an excellent channel for venting pent-up aggression. At the same time, conduct books emphasized the additional skills such as civility and politeness that were entrenched in the rules of the duel. Fencing trained young men in proper duelling.[176]

However, young men sometimes wanted to apply their new skills in real-life situations and challenged other young men to a duel. According to the historian Jennifer Low, 'the duel … gave men a way of asserting their elite status by linking essentially transgressive violence with more culturally accepted forms'.[177] Besides being a 'sanctioned' form of elite violence, dueling was also embedded in a rich tradition of manhood and valor. By winning a duel, a young man earned and upheld his manhood and honor (including that of his family); the loser, however, lost face, was humiliated, and probably experienced a 'lessened sense of his own manliness, and made him feel effeminate or infantilized'.[178] By the eighteenth century the duel came to mean something else in regard to risk-taking. According to Ute Frevert, the point of the duel was no longer just

to overcome the opponent. 'It was not the victory itself but the willingness to risk his life that constituted the honorableness of a duelist. Courage and bravery served not to punish the opponent but to protect oneself from disrespect.'[179] This development had already started in the early seventeenth century and was probably enforced by fencing schools that trained university students. Linda Pollock argues that in England during the 1620s, there was a growing trend among the elite to exercise restraint, and patience under provocation became more of a masculine virtue, instead of being a traditional feminine one. In the course of the seventeenth century, the use of violence in general among the elite became a smudge on one's honor and a reason for shame.[180] By the late eighteenth century, there was a drastic drop in interpersonal violence in European society in general.[181] Robert Shoemaker attests this trend to changing beliefs of what masculinity and honor were. It allowed men to be respected without resorting to violence in order to defend their masculinity and honor.[182]

The cases examined in Leiden's Academic Vierschaar during the period 1620-1640 support a similar trend: there was a growing willingness to exercise restraint and patience, which were virtues that young men in the Dutch Republic started to exhibit; and all of the duels were instigated by non-Dutch students. There is a noticeable shift from lethal violence to non-lethal violence. Dutch students were more likely to negotiate and discuss differences instead of resorting to lethal violence that could be life-threatening. Pieter Spierenburg argues that the possible rationale for the decline in male-on-male fighting among the upper echelons of Dutch society during the seventeenth century is that urbanization in the Republic had a pacifying effect on Dutch patricians: they 'cherished a relatively peaceful lifestyle from the Revolt on, hence before the consolidation of the European state system'.[183] Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies postulate a more likely reason that took place over a longer period of time. The relatively young Republic of the seventeenth century was based on a culture of negotiation. Unlike some states in Europe in the early modern period, the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth century was peacefully unified by agreements that had been negotiated, sometimes by endless discussions of give and take, but always allowing room for discussion. By the mid-seventeenth century the culture of discussion had infiltrated Dutch life on multifacetted levels ranging from political decision-making processes to parent-child relations. In the environs of Dutch cities during the 1620s and 1630s, it became increasingly evident that honor and reputation upheld through peaceful means had become more valued traits, especially among students.[184] Frijhoff and Spies regard the 'discussion culture' of the seventeenth century as a continuation of a shift from physical violence to verbal negotitation in the Low Countries that had already began in the late Middle Ages. Increased urbanization, urban patrician culture, and an economy based on commercial trade and specialized agriculture were key factors leading to this.[185]

There are also convincing similarities with another society in early modern Europe that was strongly influenced by humanism, had a strong mercantile-based economy, and also had a republic as a form of state government. The Italian republics experienced a similar decline in violence already in the sixteenth century after the last real war ceased in 1559. Although they were quite urbanized in the Middle Ages, Italian society had gradually become less belligerent

and demilitarized only after its wars had ended. This was a tendency that was reflected in the play behavior of local youths. Gregory Hanlon, a historian of European warfare in the Renaissance, opines that 'warlike cultures apparently practice more combative sports than unwarlike cultures'.[186] In the socially mobile society of the Dutch Republic where fortunes were acquired through trade contacts established throughout Europe, the ability to maintain one's reputation and honor (without the use of violence) had become a precious commodity. Trade relations in the early modern period depended greatly on reputation, reliability, and accountability. This mentality trickled down through all facets of Dutch society, starting with the urban elite and their offspring who attended Dutch universities.[187]

Christopher Corley, a historian of early modern childhood and youth, argues that 'in the pre-industrial world without banks or credit bureaus, one's reputation within a neighbourhood influenced access to personal credit and to a variety of professions and honorific positions'. Some youths might be inclined to result to violence in order to defend their honor because that was as valuable to them as a commodity, one that could be gained but also easily lost.[188]

If young men were increasingly expected to refrain from taking life-threatening risks in order to uphold their honor, then how did they vicariously demonstrate their risk-taking abilities? Analogous to the development of restraint regarding lethal violence, there was a steady rise of organized recreational activities in the Dutch Republic which allowed students and young men to vent aggression, demonstrate courage, and display risk-taking. Besides the growing number of fencing schools, playing tennis became a popular pastime of young men. And these sports were not only restricted to the outdoors and favorable weather conditions. In Leiden, young men could display their physical strength and aggression year round in indoor tennis halls. Leiden had already established indoor and outdoor courts by the turn of the century. In 1616, just two years after the University of Groningen was founded, Cors Louriszoon borrowed money so he could build a tennis court for students registered at the university. At first, the courts were not visited as frequently as Louriszoon had hoped for, but thirty years later it was a flourishing business. In 1628 Johannes Coumans, a board member of the University of Franeker, petitioned city council members to build a tennis court so that it might attract more domestic and foreign students to register at the university. According to Coumans, it was a sport of status, one that was played by kings, princes, dukes, counts, and their children. Moreover, the university was in dire need of a facility where [young people] could do '*eerlijcke lichamelijke Exercitia*' (honest physical exercise), instead of squandering their time on drinking and other foolishness.[189]

Tennis was already a popular sport for young men, instead of solely being a recreational activity that universities used to distract students from participating in tomfoolery. The following illustration, featured in Crispijn de Passe's *Academia* in 1612, encouraged the game because it kept the bodies and minds of young men engaged. The ball restored the strength of the weakened student body whose mind was overworked from ceaseless study.[190] During the 1620s, when tennis was at the height of its popularity in university towns, other sports such as horseriding were making their entrance among the elite and eventually as a sport for young men in general. Because the Dutch Republic lacked a court culture where equestrian skill was an integral part of a noble-

Illustration 19 Crispijn de Passe, 'Students Playing Tennis in Leiden' in *Nieuwe Jeucht Spieghel* (c. 1620)

man's education, horseriding was of minor interest. However, when the exiled king, Frederick of Bohemia, and his wife Elisabeth settled at the court in The Hague in 1621, they brought their passion for horseriding and dressage with them. The court and the elite cavalry became the first to train and exercise in games such as tilt at the ring. These games required riders to develop special skills. Ring tournaments were held lasting a couple of days in 1624 and 1626 on The Hague's prestigious lanes, *Hofvijver* or *Voorhout,* and the winter king's wife, Queen Elisabeth, awarded the prizes.

The first dressage riding schools were established in the Republic after 1650. However, students who embarked on the grand tour often visited riding schools in France where they learned the skills of a good horseman.[191] Daytime sports such as fencing, playing tennis, and dressage were effective means of channeling pent-up energy while at the same time helping to develop their physique. According to Norbert Elias, sports became an important conduit in the civilization process.[192] In the Dutch Republic during the 1620s and 1630s, sports became a significant outlet for young men to manifest their masculinity by demonstrating skills of courage in public, developing prowess, and displaying risk-taking behavior. Moreover, for institutions such as universities and municipal authorities, sports was a constructive activity and a form of behavior that could be governed and monitored effectively.

CHAPTER 5

SEXUALITY AND COURTING

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In 1636, Barent Hendricx, a 27-year-old caffa worker in Delft, married Sara Jans. The couple had five children. However, Sara was not the first woman Barent had sex with. In 1624, when he was 15 years old, he was arrested together with Geertgen Gerrits, a woman from Hamburg with whom he had fornicated. Barent was not prosecuted, but the older Geertgen was banned from the city for 25 years, not only because she was probably a prostitute, but most likely because she had seduced a minor.[1] Teenagers interested in sex were not uncommon in the early seventeenth century. In *Schilder-konst* [Painter's Art] (1618), the painter Karel van Mander (1548-1606) dedicated a didactic poem in a form of a song to his apprentices and acknowledged that sex with and love for 12 to 14 year olds would be common distractions and should not be ignored. However, the young apprentices were urged to observe moderation and to never forget the importance of learning their trade, and not to be obsessed with the idea of marriage (not so early anyway). In Van Mander's eyes, or at least according to the lyrics of his song, composed in a fugue-like dialogue between 'lust', 'the spirit', and 'the youth', in the end, the spirit recognizes the sexual feelings of the young and requests him not to capitulate but rather to save himself for the sake of art.[2]

During the 1970s Dutch historians of childhood and youth such as Mary Heijboer-Barbas, Lea Dasberg, and Kees Bertels postulated that sexual boundaries between childhood, youth, and adulthood were quite fluid prior to the eighteenth century, and children were not sheltered from the world of adults. In the past two centuries the notion of an innocent, non-sexual child, as modern society often perceives them to be, was crafted by pedagogues, schools, and moralists.[3]

In general, sexual norms and values are in continuous flux, influenced by the dynamics of economic, social, cultural, religious, and even environmental changes. In the early modern period, the sexual lives of men and women were especially influenced by the religious and social upheaval caused by the Reformation. In the mid-sixteenth century when the Northern Netherlands was still under the hegemony of the Roman Catholic Church, it was not unusual for many young men and women to reside in a monastery where they had to take a vow of celibacy. The

Reformation and abolishment of such papal institutions had a dramatic social and spiritual effect on the lives and sexuality of thousands of young men and women. According to Peter Stearns, these changes also had a significant impact on the family structure. Before the Reformation approximately 20 percent of the population never married because they had no property and were dependent on wage labor their entire lives. After the Reformation, this situation changed.[4] The landless poor were no longer forced into a life of celibacy, and under the new Protestant family moral they were expected to marry and procreate. However, young people still had to become economically independent, which often entailed delaying the age of marriage. This meant that there was a longer period between the age of sexual maturity and marriage, which became a great concern to moralists and parents alike. Moreover, the average age at which adolescents in the early seventeenth century left the parental home was much younger than in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. After completing elementary school, boys – usually in their early teens (12-14 years old) – either became apprentices or went to a boarding school for their secondary education. Privileged young men had the opportunity to attend a university. In 1620 the average age of students enrolled at the University of Leiden was 21.0 years.[5] Part of the educational scheme entailed learning a trade or attending a university in another city. Boys would take up residence with the family of the artisan where he was apprenticed, or with one of his professors at the university. When early modern parents sent their sons off, they must have felt fear as well as sadness – an innate worry about the many temptations that the world had to offer – which could not be easily monitored from home. In this chapter we will investigate which sexual outlets young men had before they reached the age of marriage and how moralists and society addressed them.

Sex education

Seventeenth-century Dutch personal documents such as memoirs and diaries reveal little about how young people were informed about sexuality. Youngsters probably learned the facts of life from older family members or friends and neighbors. In all likelihood this knowledge was passed to children through language, humor, and even vulgar gestures,[6] such as the motion of inserting the thumb between the index and the middle finger, the precursor to giving the middle finger, which of course denoted sexual intercourse.[7]

According to Jos van Ussel's study, which addresses sex education from the late Middle Ages until the 1960s, young people in the early sixteenth century did not need to be informed about 'the facts of life'. Van Ussel argues that young people knew everything about sex and were sexually active. He bases this mainly on the fact that humanistic pedagogues mentioned nothing about masturbation. Young people were comfortable with their bodies and nudity in private as well as in public (from visiting bathhouses). They slept in the nude, sometimes with more than one person in the same bed and sometimes with members of the opposite sex. Moreover, people in the early sixteenth century were at ease with their bodies and had common physical contact with each other like stroking, caressing, hugging, and kissing. Through the course of the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and early eighteenth centuries, this attitude towards sexuality underwent

a drastic change as society became more concerned with controlling carnal urges.[8] For the early modern period Norbert Elias terms the increasing self-regulation of urges, including sexual ones, the transition from *Fremdzwang* (social constraint) to *Selbstzwang* (self-constraint). The transition entailed making the controlling of urges an internal regulation of conduct based on guilt instead of behavior controlled by external regulation and associated with shame.[9]

For the early seventeenth century, we have to presume that there was still a relatively 'open attitude' towards sexuality because few pedagogues addressed sex education. Sex was on the minds of scientists who expressed their fascination with the mechanics of procreation of plants and animals, human sexuality, and its diseases in numerous publications.[10] At that time Dutch society stood on the threshold of many scientific advances in sex and human reproduction. According to the British historian Matthew Cobb, Dutch scientists of the early seventeenth century were in a race to discover the mechanics of the human egg and sperm. In the 1630s and 1640s an entire generation of Dutch scientists was born that would later unravel this mystery of human sexuality. Antonie van Leeuwenhoek (1632-1723) was the first scientist to observe (and report about) his own semen after having intercourse with his wife and squeezing the excess fluid out of his penis and examining the white substance under the lens of his microscope where he discovered spermatozoa; Reinier de Graaf (1641-1673) would make one of the most thorough investigations of the workings of the penis;[11] and the eccentric physician Frederik Ruysch (1638-1731) was fascinated with the human body and examined the interior of the penis and discovered that an erection was not caused by wind but by the use of arteries, veins, and capillaries. Ruysch 'showed the expanding and shrinking organ to be a marvel of hydraulic engineering'.[12]

This fascination was widespread. In cities with an anatomical theater, not a seat was left empty during the anatomy lessons. Large audiences gathered especially in the winter when the cold temperature reduced the stench from the decaying corpses. The lessons attracted a wide variety of spectators, ranging from apprentices of the surgical guild to midwives, and even artists who marveled at the detailed anatomy of the human body from inside and out.[13] The lessons held in Amsterdam's former city gate, De Waag, which was used as an anatomical theater, were immortalized for posterity in 1632 when Rembrandt painted *The Anatomy Lesson of Dr. Tulp*.[14] This fascination for knowledge of the fine mechanics of the body and human sexuality in particular contrasted with the fact that advice books remained silent about the budding sexuality of children: a fact of life that was visible to every parent with an adolescent child. One probable explanation is that moralists did not want to *educate* young men about sexuality: they wanted to *warn* them about the facts of life.

Sexual maturity

Contrary to consuming alcohol which was a cultural rite of passage, sexual maturity was a biological feat. Sexual maturity entails more than that, however, and was determined by prevailing ideas of masculinity and models of manhood. The sexuality of young men was strongly scrutinized by societal norms and codes that were explicitly and implicitly conveyed from one generation to

the next. The norms swayed between two extremes. On the one hand, male sexual maturity was celebrated and revered as a transition to manhood, which must have been a welcomed event that other male family members and peers probably displayed, and young men must have felt proud about it. On the other hand, it was considered evil. While the phallic symbols of the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans had represented fertility, the early Christians demonized the human male member. Whereas the Ancients considered the penis to be the giver of life, late Antiquity church fathers such as Augustine (354 A.D.-430 A.D.) believed it to be the rod of Satan because it was the source of original sin. According to Augustine, 'the cause *and* the effect of original sin is lust, the symptom *and* the disease is the erection'.[15] During the late Middle Ages and early modern period, this idea still prevailed through the teachings of the Roman Catholic Church, and consequently permeated Protestant theology.[16]

In the realm of the newly acquired sexual openness and freedom that humanism brought to the Northern Netherlands and the rest of the Europe, moralists only provided minimal guidance and counsel to young people, and merely urged them to channel their carnal urges until the sanctity of the conjugal bed. Moralists in the sixteenth century like Erasmus targeted young people with their new sexual norms.[17] In the meantime young men were expected to practice abstinence. The question still remains of how did young men bridge the gap of more than ten years with self-restraint and non-reproductive sexual practices? This issue has been hypothesized by Jean-Louis Flandrin for the late Middle Ages and early modern period but has never been adequately answered.[18]

In 1642 when 10-year-old Mary Stuart of England married Willem II of Orange, the 16-year-old son of the Dutch stadtholder, the couple was not allowed to consummate the marriage for a few years due to Mary's young age. During that period Mary was commonly referred to as Willem's *kind-bruid* (child bride). Not surprisingly, contemporaries believed the newlyweds to be too physically immature for sexual intercourse. In many respects, the marriage was arranged for immediate political gain and strategically aligned the Stuarts with the House of Orange, the family that held the stadtholderate in a country that was one of the wealthiest in Europe at the time, and the Oranges gained an alliance with a Protestant monarchy. In 1646, when Mary reached the age of fifteen, she and Willem finally consummated the marriage, a feat that was publicly acknowledged.[19]

Although this child marriage was an unusual case of an accepted practice among aristocrats in early modern Europe, the crucial question that historians have left unanswered is telling about early modern sexuality: at which age did young people in the early modern period become sexually mature, and when did young women experience *menarche* (first menstruation) and young men *semenarche* (first ejaculation)? According to Arnold van Gennep's rites of passage, physical puberty is more complicated for boys than girls because the first ejaculation is often preceeded by emissions of mucus that go unnoticed. Van Gennep argues that a boy's puberty becomes evident in public through the growth of beard and pubic hair, and not semenarche.[20] In order to address this matter without using Van Gennep's criteria, we have to focus briefly on the physiology of the human body. Scientists of physiological development claim that external factors such as famine,

poverty, war, and political and social upheaval influence the age of sexual maturity to a certain degree. A balanced diet and minimal stress can accelerate it, whereas a poor diet and psychological traumas can delay the process. Research has shown that sexual maturation takes place in the part of the brain known as the hypothalamus, which transmits a chemical signal to the pituitary gland. This signal tells the pituitary gland to begin releasing hormones called gonadotropins, which stimulate the growth of the testicles in boys and the ovaries in girls. The growing organs secrete sex hormones, such as testosterone in boys and estrogen in girls. The release of these hormones into the body stimulates the development of sexual characteristics, including pubic and axillary hair in girls and boys, facial hair and muscle mass in boys, and breast growth in girls, and awakens the libido. The beginning of puberty is not the same for each child. The hypothalamus only transmits a signal to the brain after a certain amount of body fat has been gained. The amount of body fat can also be influenced by genetic, physical and/or traumatic factors.[21] With this in mind, we can only hypothesize about the age at which adolescents in the early modern period became sexually mature, and imagine that youths probably matured at a later age than adolescents do today.[22]

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Republic was the wealthiest country in Europe and experienced the least amount of famine. According to Andrew Cunningham and Ole Peter Grell's *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse*, the Dutch Republic was exceptional in Europe with its advanced trade and specialization in agriculture, which alleviated the repeated threat of epidemics and famine that often re-occurred in other societies in Europe. The four horsemen that shaped and influenced late medieval and early modern society were religion (the white horse), war (the red horse), famine (the black horse), and disease (the pale horse).[23] While the Republic was affected by the Reformation, the Eighty Years' War, and the venereal disease syphilis, it was spared the consequences of the black horse, and the population of the Republic experienced a relative steadfast diet and physiological growth. Most of the country's immigrants, however, were from war-torn areas such as the Southern Netherlands (Dutch Revolt) and German lands (Thirty Years' War), which had experienced famine, disease, stress, and trauma.[24] The country's physiological prosperity, in general, must have been influenced by the unstable political situation during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Until 1648 the country was engaged in an 80-year war with Spain, and in 1618-1619 the Republic was on the verge of a civil war that was deeply embedded in a religious conflict among reformed theologians.

In this light, we have to distinguish the age of sexual maturity of young men from the upper and middle classes and of those from the lower ranks of Dutch society. While today it is more or less the same for all children regardless of their socio-economic background, for the early modern period and up until the early twentieth century, there were clear distinctions in physical maturity between youngsters of the same age but different economic classes. There is also reason to believe that the physiological development of young people in the early seventeenth century occurred at a much later age than for adolescents today. Herbert Moller researched biological markers in males such as beard growth and voice-change and argues that the late age of facial growth in the early modern period also indicates a later sexual development. Today, for example,

the growth of facial hair on young men usually starts to appear at the same time as axillary hair (armpit hair), or just a few months earlier. 'This is a relatively late state of pubertal development, about three years after prostatic activity makes seminal emission possible, but is still half a year or more before the production of mature live spermatozoa is likely to begin. For our distant ancestors, therefore, teen-age fatherhood was a rare biological possibility, certainly more rare than teen-age conception, since girls mature about two years earlier than boys'.[25]

Because early modern sources leave us in the dark about the exact age of sexual maturity, we have to extract data from later centuries to reconstruct it. Norbert Kluge, the German pedagogue of sexuality, claims that the average age of menarche for girls in 1860 was 16.6 years old. Since then, there has been a progressive shift downwards: in 1920 it was 14.6 years, in 1950 13.1 years and in 1980 12.5 years. In 1992, the average age of menarche occurred at 12.2 years old, and the prognosis for 2010 is expected to be 10 or 11 years old. The same trend of early sexual maturity is also valid for boys. If we compare the influence of diet on sexual maturity under modern circumstances, the results are astonishing. For example, the average age of semenarche for boys in 1994 was 12.6 years, while the average age in 1980 was 14.2 years. Traditionally, girls have often matured at an earlier age than boys, but in recent years this gap has narrowed considerably.[26] According to physiologists, the early sexual maturation of young people in the past century is primarily due to the increase in body fat. The cumulative economic prosperity and affluence of the twentieth century has had a major hand in this.[27] It would be anachronistic to compare this development in human physiology with the situation in the early seventeenth century, but it cannot be disregarded or ignored.

Another aspect, stature, can be taken as a measure of the health standards of young people in the early seventeenth century. According to the anthropometric research of John Komlos, nutrition and stature are correlated throughout history. Over longer periods of time, proper nutrition has led to higher fertility rates and taller stature in the human population.[28] Pathological research indicates that the average height of men in the seventeenth century was shorter than today, and that stature has fluctuated according to economic growth and decline, war and famine. Grave excavations from the Pieter's Church in Leiden revealed that the average height of men in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries was 166 cm (= 5 foot 4 inches). Male conscripts (average age 25 years old) were 169 cm tall (= 5 foot 5 inches) in 1825, 167.5 cm (= 5 foot 4.9 inches) in 1865, and 178.0 cm (= 5 foot 8.4 inches) in 1965.[29] According to a 2000 study, the average height of a Dutch male is 185 cm (6.07 foot), and they are considered the tallest people in the world.[30] These statistics suggest that the average height of Dutch men has progressively increased. This statement is valid only if we take the early modern period as the starting point, and not the Middle Ages. Significant evidence reveals that people in the fifteenth century, a period known for its economic and social tranquility, were taller than in the early modern period.[31] The same can be assumed for the age of sexual maturity, which for many youths came when they were in their late teens.

In the Northern Netherlands as elsewhere in Europe, there are few personal documents or treatises that provide insight into the sexual practices of married or unmarried young peo-

ple. Baptismal, marriage and burial registers indicate that premarital sexual relations were not uncommon in the Dutch Republic, and that plenty of women were pregnant on their wedding day. According to the extensive research done by Manon van der Heijden, pre-marital sexual relations and concubine relations did exist in early modern Rotterdam and Delft and were only made known to the authorities after neighbors complained or gossiped.[32] But on a greater scale, these women were still a minority in comparison to the women who gave birth to a child nine months after marriage.[33] Nevertheless, it can be presumed that the sexual practices of unmarried young people oscillated in the middle ground between the celibacy recommended by ministers and moralists and the deviant sexual behavior recorded by church councils and civil authorities, which included fornication, rape, and sodomy. Within this range, there were many alternatives for young people to channel their sexual urges that were less dire. The most likely was masturbation.

Masturbation

With the solitary act of masturbation, the historian is immediately confronted with the dichotomy of where sexuality transgressed in the early modern period, namely between the public and private spheres. In general, municipal authorities were less tolerant of sexuality that took place in the public domain than of what happened behind closed doors. This included women who were clearly prostitutes but also offensive acts like Harmen Jansz. of Delft exposing his genitals to women as they exited a church in 1613. Exhibitionism with a sexual connotation was considered an offence, whereas public nudity such as males swimming naked in canals was accepted by society.[34]

The sexual act becomes more complicated with masturbation in the private sphere. To understand masturbation in the seventeenth century, we have to leap forward to the eighteenth century and examine a mental barrier in contemporary notions of masturbation. Since the late eighteenth century, masturbation has been a major focus in the pedagogical literature. Moralists and pedagogues warned young people about this as an evil inside oneself.[35] In a Latin treatise that was translated into French in 1628, Cardinal François Tolet described masturbation as

> 'a very grave sin and one which is against nature: it is not permitted either for health or for life, or for whatever purpose. Therefore those Doctors who advise this act on health grounds sin grievously and those who obey them are not exempt from mortal sin.
> This sin is abandoned with a great difficulty, particularly as the temptation is ever-present: therefore it is so common that I believe that the majority of the damned are tainted with this vice. I think that there is no other effective remedy but to confess often to the same Confessor, and to do so if possible three times a week'.[36]

In the predominately Protestant Dutch Republic of the early seventeenth century, moralists did not discuss this matter on paper. In fact, autoeroticism was not mentioned in any moral treatises,

and diarists did not shed any light on the subject either. In the diary of Constantijn Huygens (1596-1687), the most revealing Dutch journal written in the seventeenth century, not a word was uttered. Huygens served as secretary to two generations of stadtholders (Frederik Hendrik and Willem II) and was an insider at the courts in The Hague and London; he reported about a wide range of promiscuities in his surroundings from whore-hopping and homosexuality to lesbian cross-dressers, but noted nothing about solitary sex.[37] The English diary of Samuel Pepys is more revealing. Pepys (1633-1703), a member of Parliament and chief secretary of the Admiralty under King Charles II and King James II, was well connected with the English court after the Restoration. Pepys wrote a tell-all diary that revealed that masturbation was a common part of his life. He was not ashamed of masturbating. In fact, Pepys was an avid fan of autoeroticism, an activity that he engaged in regularly – in private and in public. Pepys had a vivid imagination, and by closing his eyes he could conjure up his sexual desires, and sometimes climax, as he claimed, 'hands-free'. His fantasy roamed wildly. While attending church one Sunday, he fantasized about a friend's teenage daughter, and at a High Mass one Christmas Eve he became so aroused by the sight of the queen and her ladies that he masturbated with his eyes open, 'which I never did before – and God forgive me for it, it being in chapel'. Aside from the fact it had taken place in church, Pepys showed little remorse for his autoerotic activity.[38] Although it is difficult to base any real conclusions on Pepys's descriptions, we do get the impression that masturbation before the early eighteenth century was not as morally laden and guilt- and shame-riddled as it later became. One explanation for this could be that moralists did not want to instill the idea in the minds of young people. Another reason could be that autoeroticism was an integral part of daily life and considered an innocent safety valve for sexual urges until marriage. The Dutch historian of sexuality J.M.W. van Ussel postulates that in the seventeenth century masturbation was still considered an unproblematic sexual outlet for youths and adults. It was neither condemned nor considered an immoral activity but regarded 'as a solution for functional needs' in which the individual was not guilty.[39]

In order to understand how 'unproblematic' the notion of masturbation was in the Dutch Republic during early seventeenth century, it is necessary to examine an important development that occurred a hundred years later when the English treatise *Onania; or the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution, and All Its Frightfull Consequences* (1730) was translated into Dutch.[40] This work had been anonymously published in London around 1712 and admonished the young of both sexes, ascribing numerous medical ailments from spinal conditions to early blindness to solitary sex. The reader was maliciously led to believe that masturbation – a practice that was widespread – was 'self-pollution': a profanity that would trigger a whole sequence of medical ailments.[41] *Onania* would not have had the impact on eighteenth-century English society (and consequently Western sexuality for the next three hundred years) if it had not been published in the era of a booming commerce in books and the heyday of quackery medicine.[42] The repulsion towards masturbation became ingrained in the public's psyche in the course of the eighteenth century. In Lotte van de Pol's research on prostitution in the early modern period, no word was mentioned

in the bailiff's records in Amsterdam about masturbation or prostitutes who are asked to masturbate their clients until 1750. By the late eighteenth century, this type of sexual service was often registered by the bailiff as *'verregaande vuyligheden'* or extreme vulgarities. In 1771 one prostitute arrested in the Haagsche Bos – the wooded areas on the outskirts of The Hague – confessed that she was asked by a man *'het saad uit te schudden'* (to shake the seed out of him), which she at first refused to do because she thought it to be 'unnatural'.[43]

There is little doubt that the effect of the translation of *Onania* in 1730 had a profound impact in the Dutch Republic. Within a few years of the first edition, it became a financial success. It was advertised in newspapers throughout the country, discussed in other books, underwent numerous reprints, and was translated for readers on the continent. In hindsight, it was one of Europe's first mass media hypes and scams. With this treatise, masturbation and onanism had become birds of the same feather instead of being two different matters: the former being autoerotism and the latter stemming from the Genesis story of Onan who, according to levirate marriage tradition, was obliged to marry Tamar, the widow of his brother Er, and to procreate in his brother's name (but not in his own). Onan, however, failed to produce offspring because he 'spilled his seed upon the ground', and the Lord struck him dead. It is uncertain whether Onan masturbated or practiced *coitus interruptus*, as onanism later became known in Catholic moral theology.[44] Not only did *Onania* create a new problem that became associated with guilt and shame, self-pollution also became closely associated with another 'unnatural' outlet of sexuality, namely sodomy. Masturbation was usually a masculine activity: a private vice done in secrecy, as was the erotic male friendship.[45] It is probably no coincidence that *Onania* was translated into Dutch in 1730 at the height of the first sodomite persecutions in the Dutch Republic (1730-1732). The rounding up of sodomites, uncovering entire networks of homosexual activities, and prosecution recurred in 1764, 1776-1779, and 1795-1798.[46]

These were the sexual problems that evolved in the course of the eighteenth century and did not apply to the adolescents and young men growing up in the early seventeenth century. In the 1620s and 1630s masturbation and sodomy were not connected. However, this does not imply that moralists did not frown on masturbation because it was a sexual act that did not take place within the domain of marriage and did not lead to procreation. In *La somme des péchez et le remède d'iceux* (1601), the Franciscan theologian Jean Benedicti summarized the general attitude of most moralists regarding masturbation in a nutshell. Autoeroticism was harmful for the sexual appetite of young men and women and detrimental to society because men would not want to marry and women would not want to take a husband.[47] In his investigation of sexual deviances in English court records, William Naphy argues in *Sex Crimes from Renaissance to Enlightenment* that 'sex was everywhere in a world of over-crowded rooms and shared beds. Finally, despite the best efforts of magistrates, lawyers and theologicans sex and talking about sex were very much part of life'.[48] In all likelihood, masturbation between the age of sexual maturity and marriage must have been the most conventional sexual outlet for young men in the early seventeenth century, and underscores Flandrin's argument that masturbation probably became more widespread as moral codes increasingly repressed other pre-marital sexual activities.[49]

Sodomy

In comparison to masturbation, sodomy was a far graver matter and was not taken lightly. According to early modern standards, the term could refer to a wide range of sexual deviations from sex with animals (bestiality), oral and anal sex with women, sex with those who were not Christians (such as Jews) and sex with other men. The latter evolved into the eventual meaning of the term, which was probably facilitated during the Reformation when Protestants in the German lands accused the Pope and cardinals in Rome of being sodomites. Many of the reigning popes of the sixteenth century such as Julius II, Leo X, Clement VII, Paul III, Julius III, and Paul IV were suspected of engaging in sex with young men at their court. The pope and 'his sodomitical court' became a stock phrase in Protestant treatises, but many authors remained vague in how they defined the term, and sodomy remained more of a sexual innuendo than anything else.[50]

In Renaissance Italy, 'sodomy was one of the many strands that composed the fabric of the male experience, one that not only grew out of established social bonds and patterns of collective life but also contributed in creative ways to fashioning and reinforcing them', as Michael Rocke concluded about male sexual behavior in Florence.[51] Same-sex relations had become so commonplace in that northern Italian city in the late fifteenth century that one in two men had come to the attention of the authorities for committing sodomy by the age of thirty.[52] The age patterns for same-sex relations in Florence and Venice were similar to those in Ancient Greece – the active mature man and a passive youth. Some scholars have ascribed this frequency of same-sex relations to the marriage pattern that differed significantly from that in northwestern Europe. Women usually married in their mid-teens while men tended to marry in their late twenties. Same-sex relations seemed to function as a sexual outlet before the conjugal marriage, and sodomy was mainly a young man's crime.[53]

If we compare this situation with the Dutch Republic, same-sex relations cannot be ruled out, especially in a period when it was common for members of the same sex to share a bed. According to Dutch bailiff's records of the seventeenth century, there is little evidence of sodomy and same-sex relations on the massive scale seen in northern Italy during the Renaissance. According to Theo van der Meer, the few reported cases of sodomy in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century show similarities in the pattern of a younger man or boy with an older male. Three of the six reported cases of sodomy in Middelburg between 1545 and 1655 involved adult men who were forty years or older and young men who were minors. In 1596 there were rumors in Arnhem that a schoolteacher sexually abused his pupils, and in 1620 a boatsman, Jan Symons Bossuyt of Leiden, was burned at the stake in Delft after he was accused of sodomizing various '*jonggesellen*' (youths). Unfortunately, there are no confession books for this period from the Delft archives that reveal the details of the case. Nevertheless, the incidents were reported to the authorities because the young men involved obviously did not consent, and they were not prosecuted because they were minors. The number of cases in this period remain unknown, especially in an era when it was common practice to share a bed, and often considered a social honor for an apprentice to share a bed with his master or pedagogue. In 1633 there was one complaint in Amsterdam that suggests that a master abused his apprentice in this manner.[54] In the North

American colony of New Netherland, the Dutch authorities executed a Negro slave in 1646 for sodomizing and raping a ten-year-old African boy. The guilty man was strangled and burned at the stake, while the young victim was punished by being tied to a stake and made to watch the execution. Although the court had recognized the innocence of the young boy, they still found it necessary to beat him with rods. In 1647, Harmen Meyndertz van den Bogaert – a surgeon employed by the West India Company who had earned fame for journeying into the uncharted territory of the Iroquois Indians – was accused of buggering his Negro servant, Tobias. Van den Bogaert sought refuge with the Mohawk Indians but was hunted down and brought back to Fort Orange (Albany) to await trial. He tried to escape by crossing the frozen Hudson River but broke through the ice and drowned. In the colony's third case of sodomy, a Dutch soldier was accused of sodomizing an orphan boy in his employ in 1660. He was stripped of his arms, his sword was broken, and he was tied in a sack and thrown in the river. In 1646 the colony had fewer than a thousand inhabitants. In 1664, there were anywhere between seven and nine thousand residents. During that period there were only three executions for sodomy or attempts brought to light and penalized by death. Violators paid dearly for their offense, and the authorities in these predominantly male environments were sending a clear message to the rest of the population of the colony.[55] In other male environments such as universities and on board ships, sex between men must have taken place secretively. However, as soon as their sexual activities came to light, they were condemned. On board of a Dutch East India ship sailing to the Far East, two adolescent boys (ages 11 and 16) were caught masturbating together with a soldier. All three were punished by being tied together and thrown into the open sea to drown.[56] We have to assume that the majority of same-sex encounters or relations in the early seventeenth century went undetected by the authorities and occurred in numerous forms ranging from a clandestine rendezvous to seeking anonymous sex partners in green and wooded areas that surrounded villages and cities. At night, these areas became cruising places for men of all ages who sought sexual encounters with female prostitutes and/or other men.[57] Regardless of their sexual preference, handsome, young men were wooed by peers or older men. In the early eighteenth century one man revealed how easy it was for him to earn a lot of money selling sexual favors when he was sixteen years old but how impossible it had become seventeen years later to do the same.[58]

Courting activities

One of the most common forums for young men to meet and court young women in the Dutch Republic was during town and village festivities. With singing, dancing, and drinking, young men were usually less inhibited, and the barrier for finding a possible marriage or sexual partner was lowered. Since pagan times, the May Day celebration was a popular courting ritual for young people throughout Europe. For many young people it was a mating festivity for local youths to find a suitable marriage partner which started with the spring month of May.[59] According to the calendar of the pagans and antiquity, the spring season symbolized youth, just as summer did early adulthood, autumn middle age, and winter old age.[60] The return of spring and bud-

ding green leaves on the trees signified the great vitality and fertility of nature, and May Day essentially meant the renewal of life, love, and lust.[61] On the British Isles for example, the anthropologist E.O. James noted a strong relationship between the ancient tree-related traditions of the British and the Romans. According to James, youths in ancient Europe cut down a tree and lopped off the branches, leaving a few at the top. They then wrapped it round with violets like the figure of the ancient Roman god Attis. At sunrise, the tree would be paraded in procession through their villages by blowing horns and flutes. The ritual was fairly similar to the tradition in ancient Roman times when a sacred pine tree that represented the god Attis was carried in procession to the temple of Cybele on Rome's Palatine Hill during the Spring Festival of March 22nd. In early modern England youths traditionally organized events on May Day to display their competitiveness, which sometimes included dangerous sports and games. These events were a forum for young men to display physical prowess and to show off their masculinity to the young women who watched.[62] In the Northern and Southern Netherlands it was common to celebrate the advent of the first of May by decorating houses and streets with the branches of young budding trees. Young men played a special role in the May Day or the maypole celebration, as it was known in many parts of Europe, because they divvied up the marriageable young women. The ritual was also a manifestion of their social control over the sexuality of young women in the village.[63] Jacob Cats portrayed the maypole celebration in his bestselling book, *Spiegel van den Ouden en den Nieuwen Tijdt* (1632), as a festivity of young people, but also as a celebration in which everyone joined in the merrymaking. The festivities around Cats's maypole are portrayed more as a vanity that adults also participated in.[64] In rural societies on the eve of May Day, young men would mark the houses of available young women in the village by decorating them with a branch, which symbolized the moral virtue of the young women in question. A green birch branch indicated that an attractive young woman lived there, a dry oak branch symbolized a woman of loose morals, a cherry branch meant that the woman had many lovers, and a branch of thorns signified that the woman had an irritable character. Besides decorating houses and streets with branches and occasionally planting saplings in the middle of the roadways or in public spaces such as in front of the town hall, the May Day celebration was a festivity where young men and women would meet, drink, and dance. This usually took place either under or near a May Day tree taken from a nearby farm or forest and decorated in a central place in the town where local youths could congregate. These festivities, which were noisy and rambunctious, lasted far into the night and disturbed the peace for local residents. Especially in the new republic, Protestant municipal authorities tried to maintain law and order, and curbed traditional pagan and Catholic festivities by issuing numerous decrees that prohibited young people from participating in such activities. In the town of Bergen op Zoom located in the predominantly Catholic province of Brabant, the Protestant magistrate was especially keen on restricting papal rituals from taking place as they regarded themselves to be on a frontier town surrounded by Catholics. In 1591 they passed an ordinance which prohibited young people from dancing and partying in the streets. The ordinances did not stipulate young people in particular, but they were the targeted group by definition. In 1597 the council again issued a decree that outlawed decorating with flower garlands

or dancing near them. They also outlawed the planting of May saplings and May dancing rituals. In 1612 Bergen's magistrate again issued a decree that this time banned military men and civilians from scavenging local orchards, gardens, and forests for trees to be used in the May Day celebration as well as stealing branches to use for decoration.[65] In the town of Breda, as in other towns in the Republic, municipal councils continued to issue decrees banning the planting of May trees and any other festive activities related to the holiday. Despite the regulation, the festivity continued to be celebrated by young people until late in the twentieth century. [66]

Courting events

According to Lucas Rotgans's portrayal of the rural fair *Boere-kermis* dating from 1708, the kermis was the social event of the year for young men and women of the agrarian communities.

> *The country youth parade dressed up and walk hand in hand …*
> *The young men who are apprentices*
> *Escort their girlfriends, neatly dressed and adorned*
> *With their knee-length pants tied with ribbons*
> *Collars at the neck decorated with two pair of silver buttons*
> *The shirt ironed and half open*
> *Sleeves decorated with passement …*
> *The young peasant lad is cleanly shaven and whiskerless …*[67]

In the engravings of Adriaen van de Venne's *Tafereel van de Belacchende-werelt* (1635), the courting activities of young men and women at the kermis of The Hague were little different – with the exception of clothing style – in the 1700s than what they had been in the 1630s. The annual kermis was unofficially nothing short of a meat market where young men and women competed for the attention of the opposite sex. Trying to gain the affections of young men who were popular among the ladies could sometimes turn into catfights with scratching and hairpulling.[68] Originally, the kermis had been an annual mass to dedicate the church. Each village and city held an annual kermis, which was frequented by all social groups and ages. By the early seventeenth century the kermis was deeply embedded in the social culture. Because it was accompanied by an annual trade fair, the kermis survived banishment by the Dutch Reformed Church for its Roman Catholic tradition, and consequently became the social event of the year. The event had specific days for certain social groups. Thursday, for example, the kermis at The Hague was attended by the middle class, the elite, and the court of the stadtholders, while the higher echelons avoided the kermis on Tuesday and Wednesday when the horse and cheese markets were held, respectively. On those days farmers and peasants flocked to the kermis. It was a combination of market and place of amusement. There was a potpourri of merchants with market stands, caged exotic animals, disfigured people, entertainers such as musicians, cord dancers, acrobats, magicians and healers selling herbal medicines and remedies.

Most importantly for the youth, the kermis was an ideal venue for them to dress in their best outfits and meet others from the surrounding vicinity.[69] Sometimes the high concentration of young people from the countryside in confined environs in combination with too much alcohol consumption erupted into violent scenes of fistfighting, especially when girls would flirt with young men from another town or village. On a subliminal level, the masculinity exhibited in public also played an important role in attracting women. Drunkenness among young men was a common complaint about the kermis, which often ended in immoral behavior. The fighting could lead to young men getting physically wounded. Among rural youths a scarred face obtained from a fight was often a token of manliness and could be sexually appealing to young women.[70] According to a description from a local kermis in a conservative Protestant community in Zeeland, it sometimes degenerated into 'Sodom and Gomorra' scenes with prostitution and other immoral acts. Young men like apprentices were especially apt to get drunk and indulge in pleasures of the flesh.[71] For the impoverished laborers working in Leiden's textile industry, the kermis was the only recreation in their dreary lives, and often a place where unmarried workers could meet and find sex partners. Although no research has been done on this, it would not be surprising if the number of births increased nine months after the local kermis.[72]

However, not every kermis climaxed in violent mayhem. For innocent young men, it remained the only place to meet and flirt with young women. In order to break the ice, specific rituals helped young men and women come into contact with each other. For example, according to an eighteenth-century engraving, it was common practice at the Amsterdam kermis for a young woman to be offered one of the popular *taai-taai* or *speculaas* cookies by a young man who stood near a cookie stand. If the young woman accepted the cookie, it meant she would accompany him to the inn and go for a dance or drink in a tavern, nothing more and nothing less.[73]

During the Middle Ages and early modern period, one of the most widely accepted forms of sexual outlets for young people in rural communities was nightwalking. The activity occurred at night and under the auspices of the youths from the village. Minister Den Heussen, for example, complained about the 'nightwalking' of the young people of the Dutch island of Vlieland.[74] On the islands off the coast of North Holland and Friesland, nightwalking remained a common ritual of young people until the late eighteenth century. On the island of Texel, this tradition was known as '*kweesten*' and entailed that a young woman would leave her bedroom window open at night so her lover could enter and spend the night with her. The young man would sleep with his clothes on and lie with his body on top of the covers. Although we have no records of what took place, most likely their activities could have included everything from heavy petting to mutual masturbation, but no coital penetration. If a young man went too far and became frisky with the girl (i.e. such as demanding penetration), she would bang a kettle that would alarm family and neighbors. By doing so, she protected her honor, which was especially important if she hoped to have other prospective beaus. In rural societies like Texel, the rituals concerning marriage were done collectively, which meant that the group kept a watchful eye on the courting practices of the individual couples within the group. On the former island of Marken, it was a common ritual

for young people to go outside in the evening and meet in a large group. After nightfall, young couples would retreat to boats so they could be alone. This was known as the exchange phase (*beurzen*) where a couple got to know each other, and probably only kissed, cuddled, and hugged. After a few years of *beurzen*, they would be considered a couple, and the young man would be allowed to spend the night at the girl's house. This too remained under the scrutiny of the local youth group, which had the right to enter the house of a girl, and if they should find the young man engaging with her without having first gone through the *beurzen* phase, they were known to drag these young men out and place them on a cart where they would be publicly humiliated.[75]

In the countryside and in urban areas, the night belonged to young people. By the day's end, young men would congregate to chat, drink, play cards, and flirt. However, the combination of young people, alcohol, and no supervision was often a recipe for havoc. After sunset, many early modern European cities turned into a Sodom and Gomorrah. At night, they were overrun by prostitutes, thieves, and people engaging in criminal activity, in which young people were active participants.Without the social controls of *beurzen* and *kweetsen* which country youths had, the night for urban youths before streetlighting was an unsupervised domain that allowed them to engage in sexual activity.[76]

Courting space

The nocturnal clashes between urban authorities and young immigrant populations accelerated in the cities of the Northern Netherlands after the outbreak of the Eighty Years' War in the late sixteenth century and continued into the seventeenth century. Haarlem's dominant immigrant population from the Southern Netherlands caused much disturbance at night. The young people from the south were well known for their extravagant drinking and dancing festivities that lasted until the early hours of the morning. According to Gillis Quintijn's moralistic treatise, *De Hollandsche-Lijs met de Brabandsche Belij* [Holland's Tortoise with Brabant's Greenhorn] (1629), at dawn crowds of young people caroused through the streets of Haarlem, turning over flower-boxes, hanging cats by their tails, ringing doorbells, and disturbing the sleeping public. In due course the young people headed towards the nearby dunes where they frolicked in the water. As Quintijn's account developed, the innocent fun of Haarlem's youth turned into foreplay: young couples retreated to the dunes where they fornicated.[77]

In a nutshell, Quintijn's depiction of Haarlem's youth is a paradigm of the social tension in Dutch cities during the early seventeenth century caused by the clash of cultures between the Northern Netherlands and the Southern Netherlands, between urban and rural, and between young and old. At this crossroads, the nocturnal activities of Haarlem's immigrant youths were an old variation of rural youth culture that was slowly transforming. Their behavior had become a serious law-and-order issue which city authorities took action to suppress. Consequently, in the early decades of the seventeenth century, young people in urban environments changed the courting rituals and sexual outlets, and developed new ones.[78]

Illustration 20 Adriaen van de Venne, 'Dancing Youths at a Neighborhood Party' in G. Quintijn, *De Hollandsche-Lijs met de Brabandsche Belij* (1629)

In this realm, youth culture and manifestations of masculinity evolved in the urban areas of the Dutch Republic. Tighter regulation by municipal authorities and parenting that was centered around the nuclear family transformed collective-style socialization practices such as maypole celebrations and nightwalkings. In cities, the upper- and middle-class youths courted in organized gatherings that occurred in the daytime.They met at organized garden parties where they ate and drank, played music, and sang songs together. In this new social setting young men learned how to associate with women in a civilized fashion.[79]

Premarital chastity

Despite understanding the natural urge for youths to want to have sex, the physician Johan van Beverwijck warned from a medical perspective in *Schat der Gesondheyt* [The Treasure of Health] (1636) that youths between the ages of 14 and 21 should not fornicate. According to the prevailing assumptions of humoral balance, the sexual act would cause a youth's body to become weakened, cold, dry, and numb. Sexual intercourse for young men would disturb the body's intricate humoral balance and ultimately damage the body for the rest of their lives.[80] Van Beverwijck's friend, Jacob Cats, approached pre-marital sex from a different standpoint. At the time, Cats was one of the most influential moralists who provided young men in the 1620s and 1630s with advice about sexuality. Cats, or 'Father Cats' as he was known, was the best-selling author of the

seventeenth century and continued to be widely read in the eighteenth century. In his popular emblem book *Spiegel van de Oude en Nieuwe tijdt* [Mirror of Old and New Times] (1632), he addressed contemporary issues about the sexuality of young unmarried people, namely young men. Instead of treating sexuality in the vulgarized fashion that boys and youths must have heard on the streets and in the taverns, Cats addressed the facts of life in a didactic and civilized manner. The medium of using an emblem book worked in a complementary fashion. His written advice was accompanied by an engraving that illustrated his guidance. In the first chapter Cats advised young people about the importance of finding a suitable marriage partner in what he called '*Eerlijcke vrijage*' (sincere courtship). He suggested that there was a clear distinction between 'fooling around' with women and looking for a suitable partner for marriage. Cats understood that it is difficult for young men to find a suitable marriage partner and that the task might take some patience.

The next section of *Spiegel* addressed what happens when young men have a lack of patience and cannot curb their sexual desires. In the section entitled *'Hoeren, ende ongemacken van de selve herkomende'* [Whores and the Discomforts that Originate from Them], Cats warned young men about the diseases they might be contaminated with by visiting prostitutes. The first engraving *Een rupse op een kool, een hoer in een huys* (A Caterpillar on a Cabbage Is Like a Whore in a House), is a metaphor. The text is accompanied by an illustration of an elderly man strolling alongside a young man in a vegetable garden who points towards a ruined head of cabbage.

The cabbage is swarming with caterpillars. Cats explained to the young man that going to women of ill repute is similar to the half-eaten head of cabbage. The message is twofold. Firstly, young men, just like caterpillars, cannot temper their lust and will only want more, and secondly, they would also ruin themselves and become infected with the most dreaded venereal disease of that era. His caterpillar on a cabbage was a seventeenth-century metaphor for a far greater social malice. In all likelihood, the half-eaten spots on a head of cabbage symbolized the pockmarked face of a young man who suffered from syphilis.[81] Besides blemished genitals, it was common knowledge that victims of syphilis could easily be recognized in public by their scarred faces, perforated noses, hair loss, missing teeth, and paralyzed legs. Not only could their physical appearance be horrifying in advanced cases, but also the suggestion of having the disease or being related to someone who did could ruin the reputation of any young person. According to the Danish historian Johannes Fabricius, the social stigmatization and social implications of syphilis in the early modern period were similar to those who suffered from AIDS in the 1980s.[82] In seventeenth-century England, for example, the poor who were infected with syphilis were ostracized and condemned to 'foul houses' where they were treated. The wealthy, on the contrary, were able to conceal their disease from public humiliation by visiting doctors who advertised discretion and treated patients in rural areas. Some doctors even offered visiting hours at night and had backdoor entrances to minimize the chance of being recognized. In 1664 when Samuel Pepys's brother Thomas died under suspicion of having syphilis, Pepys not only checked the genitals of his deceased brother for pockmarks but also threatened his brother's doctor if he dared breathe a word of the dreaded disease.[83]

Illustration 21 Adriaen van de Venne, 'A caterpillar on a cabbage is like a whore in a house' in: J. Cats, *Spiegel van de oude en nieuwe tijdt* (1632)

If Cats only alluded to syphilis with a metaphor of a half-eaten head of cabbage, in the next emblem he clearly warned young men about becoming infected by prostitutes with this feared malady. In the section entitled *'Hoeren en slimme streken van de selve'* [Whores and Clever Tricks of the Same], the illustration portrays an attractive woman offering a young man a pan of burning coals. The burning coal symbolizes a man's inflamed sexual desire. In the text Cats explains to young men that although a woman might be offering a *geschenck* (gift), beneath the surface, a young man might wind up with something he does not want: *'U kool doet als haer vrou, sy brant, of sy besmet'* (Your coal is just as the woman, she burns or she infects).[84]

There was a good reason for this warning. Among the male population in early modern Europe, single young men such as apprentices, students, sailors, and soldiers were a high-risk group for syphilis. The veneral disease was by far the most dreaded of the era, and its victims were not only young and in the prime of life but also mobile. Geographically, this group traveled more between towns and villages of Europe and the world than older people did.[85]

For soldiers, syphilis was the most common disease in the early modern period. Although we do not have any statistics of how rampant the venereal disease was in the early modern period, the French philosopher Voltaire estimated in the eighteenth century that approximately two-thirds of the soldiers were infected with the malady. Based on a *guestimate* like that, soldiers during the Eighty Years' War were more likely to have been a victim of syphilis than wounded by gunshot or a cannon. The Spanish tried to curb the spread of the venereal disease by importing

healthy prostitutes by the thousands. In the sources, the States-General, the law-making body for the union of the states of the Republic, recorded little about syphilis except that it was a 'filthy disease caused by carnal intercourse with such persons, or women who openly and without shame rent their bodies'. In practice, there were approximately three to eight prostitutes for each infantry company, and at the battle of 's-Hertogentenbosch in 1629, the Republic's army consisted of 28,000 military men with about 200 prostitutes in the near vicinity. One way of being cured of the dreaded disease was to be admitted to a hospital where a *pokmeester* or 'pox healer' administered a laxative, followed by daily steam baths, and drinking a mixture made from the wood of the Guajak tree which was imported from South America.[86] As sufferers of syphilis in the Dutch Republic were often removed from the densely populated inner cities and relocated to facilities on the outskirts of town – the *Pesthuis* [Plague House] – where they were treated together with smallpox patients, it is difficult to determine how widespread the disease in the Republic actually was. In this regard, smallpox and syphilis were blurred together.[87]

Nevertheless, the contemporary literature reveals that syphilis was a known danger for university students and university personnel. In 1598 Leiden's university senate discharged Pieter Bailly, the macebearer of the university, after he had taken students to *oneerlycke huysen* (brothels) where they not only squandered money that was intended for their education but also endangered their health.[88] In all-male environments including universities, it has to be assumed that visiting brothels and soliciting prostitutes were commonplace. In the satirical story *Satyricon in corruptae iuventutis mores corruptos* (1631), Leiden's ethics professor, Jan Bodecher Benning, described how a young student loses his virginity while visiting a brothel in a nearby village fictitiously named Dorpigra. Benning changed the names and places, but for the readers it was clear that the town of Dorpigra was Leiderdorp, which was on the outskirts of Leiden. Just as the students criticized Benning for his accusation of excessive drinking in the same satire, one student argued that in order for him to write with such accuracy about brothels, Benning must have been a visitor there himself. Nevertheless, the student sarcastically referred Benning to Kaspar Barthius's 1624 Latin translation of *La Celestina* (1499), which was given the Latin title *Pornoboscodidascalus* [Teacher of the Brothel Master], to improve his jargon.[89] For many students, womanizing was more important than the scholarly aspects of an academic education. In the popular student albums where verses and drawings were inscribed, R. Schatton wrote to Johan van Mathenesse about how the thought of a woman's bottom will get a young man out of bed more than the sound of twenty-five church bells ringing:

> *'Laat de lide seggen wat sie willen*
> *Ick seg dat twie wackere Juffren billen,*
> *Meer jonggesellen komen locken*
> *Als vijfentwintich kosters mit haer locken'.*
>
> (Let people say what they will,
> I say that a nice woman's buttocks
> Awakens more young men
> Than the sound of twenty-five bell-ringers'.)[90]

Sex was on the mind of students, especially Jacobus van Dorselaer from Amsterdam, a theology student enrolled in the University of Leiden. At Leiden, he was expelled for writing scandalous comedies and songs (one which was entitled 'De radslag der Goden' [The Cartwheel of the Gods]). Afterwards the 25-year-old enrolled at the University of Groningen as a student of medicine, where he was accused of writing risqué songs and passing them out to other students. But this time he made scandalous references to Susanna van Bloys van Treslong, daughter of the Republic's heralded admiral, Willem Bloys van Treslong, and wife of Cornelis Pijnacker (1570-1645), who was a law professor at the University of Groningen. The latter did not take the insult to his wife lightly. Pijnacker had been a professor in Leiden between 1611 and 1614 and probably played a role in getting Doreslaer expelled, and now thought he would teach the young Doreslaer a lesson and tried to obstruct him from obtaining his doctor's degree. After a long drawn-out procedure of interrogations, Jacobus's elder brother, Abraham van Doreslaer (1579-1655), the well-known reformed minister from Enkhuizen, intervened on his behalf, and Doreslaer was allowed to receive his degree.[91]

Moralists were aware that young men were preoccupied with sex. That was the reason why Kaspar Barth translated the Spanish comedy *La Celestina* (1599) into the scholarly language of Latin, which was primarily read by students. *Pornoboscodidascalus* (1624) was intended as a didactic work to educate young students while studying abroad, especially Protestant German students, about the seductive tactics of prostitutes. Barth argues in his prologue: 'I chose to translate this play because it contains much-needed lessons on how to lead a cautious life for our young people, who are so prone to sinful pleasures. I also chose this brief play because it is sprinkled with many important sayings that are applicable to daily life. He who remembers and learns to apply them as rules for life – especially if he lives away from his homeland – will establish an excellent reputation among all judicious men'.[92] According to Barth, prostitutes were women who did not coax young men with love but only with pleasures of the flesh. They knew how to inflame a young man's desires and make them fall in love with her, and in the end, a young man will abandon his honor.[93]

The student seduced by a prostitute was a popular theme. Whereas the elder Crispijn de Passe warned youths about drinking and recreational activities in his *Academia* in 1612, his son Crispijn de Passe – the younger – went one step further. In *Spieghel der alder-schoonste Cortisanen des Tijts* [The Looking Glass of the Fairest Courtiers of These Times] (1631), the younger De Passe warned young men and youths about the dangers of visiting prostitutes and brothels. The engraving on the title page illustrates two young men visiting a brothel. As one young man sits with a pipe in his hand near the fireplace and is shown portraits of potential ladies by the brothel's madame, the roaring flame in the fireplace is an allegory for his burning desire and the long-stemmed pipe was often a metaphor for an erection.

If young audiences were excited at this stage, De Passe immediately cooled their libido in the introduction where he warned them about the beauty of women and how attractively they can be dressed (disguised!) to seduce young men into a life of lechery. The book proper begins with a series of dialogues and illustrations of numerous attractive young women. The ladies of the

Illustration 22 Crispijn de Passe, 'Young Man in a Brothel' in: *Spieghel der alder-schoonste Cortisanen des Tijts* (1631)

evening are from France, Italy, England, Germany, Bohemia, and East Prussia. It is not surprising that the majority of them are foreign and from countries that a student might visit on the grand tour. According to the dialogue of one of the courtesans named Anna Maria from Strasbourg, she states that before becoming a prostitute, she was known for her beauty in her home of Strasbourg. However, a young student had seduced her and ruined her honor. In many cases young women were forced into a life of prostitution by their mother or another family member. In the dialogue with Margo la Belle Gantiere, she explains that she was only 16 years old when she lost her virginity and honor after her mother had sold her for sexual services. Many of the dialogues include stories of how young women entered their profession, but the moral message is that young men should be chaste and think about the consequences of premarital sex.

The moral advice in such works was a ploy for authors to protect themselves from being accused of publishing immoral books. With the exception of Johannes Torrentius's graphic print of a couple engaged in sexual intercourse (with a man's penis visible to the viewer), there are no known pornographic-like prints from the early seventeenth century.[94] Crispijn de Passe's *Spieghel der alder-schoonste Cortisanen des Tijts* does, however, feature titillating illustrations of bare-breasted young girls.[95]

De Passe did address issues of daily life. Temptations of the flesh loomed on every street corner. In industry towns such as Leiden, there were numerous prostitutes. Susanne Jans, for example, was a seamstress by day and prostitute by night. At least that is what was recorded in the

Illustration 23 'One of the available women at the brothel' in: Crispijn de Passe, 'La Belle Zavonnare Courtisan' in: *Spieghel der alder-schoonste Cortisanen des Tijts* (1631)

bailiff's report when she was arrested in July 1626. Susanne, who was originally from Groningen, probably supplemented her meager income working in the linen industry by selling sexual pleasures in the evening.[96] Some of the neighborhoods in Leiden such as *Vreugdenrijk* [Kingdom of Joy] and *Het Belofte Land* [The Promised Land] were located near academic buildings and were notorious for street prostitution.[97]

Any feelings of lust that might have been aroused in De Passe's young audience were quickly dampened by Cats's advice about visiting prostitutes. His emblem *De katte die veel snoepen wilt, wort licht eens op de neus geknilt* [The cat that eats (=womanizes) too much, will be caught by the nose] was a direct warning to young men about the risk of contracting syphilis by visiting prostitutes when traveling abroad. The word 'nose' in the title most likely alluded to the punctured nose, the characteristic symptom of syphilis victims in an advanced state of the disease. Cats's text describes the story of a young man who returns from a journey at sea. The fellow is no longer recognizable: he has lost his hair, his nose is perforated, his lips are colorless, his eyes tear, his teeth have fallen out, his mouth stinks, his hands are covered with blue pockmarks, and his legs can no longer move. The young man contemplates that his youth has vanished and that his suffering is a deserved plague. Cats concludes:

De kadt die overal den muyl in steken wilt,
Wort op het lest betraft, en op den neus geknilt

(The cat that sticks its mouth in everything,
winds up getting punished and caught by its nose.)[98]

With the emblem portraying an attractive woman holding a lamp at night while walking in a remote area outside the city, Cats explained how easily young men can be misled by the beauty of a young woman. Although she might have a pretty face, rosy cheeks, beautiful hair, and be a good conversationalist, she is still a woman who will not commit herself to one man, and who has no shame. She is a whore, and her beauty is tarnished. In this emblem, the text clarifies what is portrayed in the illustration; however, the image is probably a metaphor for the women of the night who were usually prostitutes. At night, the lantern partially illuminates the face of the young woman; thus, a young man only sees the superficial splendor of the woman and not her moral beauty.[99]

In the next emblem Cats's advice is not couched in a metaphor but is based on a real-life situation, one that young men could easily relate to. In the illustration, a woman is shown sitting on the lap of a young man and caressing his face. The young man's sexual desire for the woman is symbolized by a roaring fire in the hearth in front of the couple. The accompanying text reads:

Ick was eens gestreelt, gekust
en ick swom in volle lust,
Want men boodt my hooger gunst …
Alsser oyt een echte man
Van sijn wijf geworden kan.

(I was once caressed and kissed
And I was burning with lust,
Because I was offered … greater favors,
than any man could
ever get from his own woman.)[100]

The bottom line is that sexual desire is fleeting. Cats emphasizes that after having been to bed with a prostitute and having paid her, a young man will be tossed out on to the street and be replaced by the next paying customer. Afterwards, he will only feel hopeless and be poorer. By making young men aware of the feelings of emptiness they will have after having been to bed with a prostitute, Cats advised them to suppress their carnal urges:

Vrienden, wat ick bidden magh
Wort toch wijs uyt mijn beklagh,
Let niet op de geyle lust,
Want haer vyer is haest geblust,

Maer denck om het ongeval
Dat vry langer dueren sal.

(Friends, how I do pray
Please listen to my complaint
Don't yield to your horniness
It will only be quenching
Think of the mishap
and how its effects will last longer than your lust.) [101]

Again in this text, Cats emphasizes the fleeting gratification of going to prostitutes and points out the danger of becoming infected with syphilis. After reading Cats, young men in general must have been less eager to go to bed with lewd women and probably petrified of contracting syphilis. Cats hoped that his young readers would choose premarital chastity and avoid seeking the company of lurid women because they could not offer stable support and a good reputation, and moreover endangered their life with a horrendous disease. In order for a young man to become an adult and a respectable burgher, Cats encouraged them to look for a proper marriage partner because, ultimately, that was what it was all about. In his popular book *Houwelijck* [Marriage] (1625) that was published seven years before *Spiegel*, he had already relayed good advice for finding a suitable marriage partner: *niemand koopt edelstenen bij nacht, zoekt dus geen meisje bij kaarslicht* (nobody buys jewels at night, hence don't look for a girl by candlelight). The quintessence of the proverb is clear for young men. Although the proverb is a metaphor, Cats also underlines the new courting rituals of young people in the cities of the Republic, which occurred in the daytime and no longer at night as in rural societies. What a young man found after dark would only be one of the riff-raff such as thieves and prostitutes that overrun the cities at day's end. In this realm the day was not only the preferred physical time to find a suitable partner, but the moral one as well.[102]

Engaging in premarital sex was more of a risk for unmarried women. In an era with no reliable birth control, women who opted to have sexual relations with men were left to their own devices with herbs that were either taken orally or applied like tampons. Early modern women could try to abort unwanted pregnancies by beatings, tight-lacing their garments, and using herbal concoctions.[103] Some potions made from rye infested with the fungus ergot or from juniper, which was a common garden plant, were known remedies to induce abortions. The English physician Nicolas Culpeper (1616-1656) forewarned pregnant women about the 'manifest danger' of consuming the plant.[104] No doubt Cats recognized the jeopardy that young women put themselves in when engaging in premarital sex. This is probably why Cats also addressed his advice of restraint to young women. In *Spiegel* he advised young women about this matter with an emblem of a pig decorated with an expensive golden ring in its nose.

In the accompanying dialogue-like text, Cats states that the ring made of gold is worthier in the ears of a young girl or a virgin bride. A whore – who is included in Cats' dialogue – is offended and interrupts him. Finally, the prostitute warns young women not to throw the gold of youth into the muck, and young women should not waste their virginity before marriage.[105]

In the early modern period, the long period of abstinence for young men was not always matter of fact. Early modern society turned a blind eye to the sexual promiscuities of some young men because of their young age. For students who studied away from home, there was little social control. Consequently, self-restraint was not always observed. According to the Academic Vierschaar of Leiden University, students had intimate relations with women from the city's lower social echelons. Relations between students and poor women usually never resulted in marriage due to the social and economic disparity between the two, but that did not stop students from promising marriage to a girl from such a background in anticipating that she sleep with him. These promises, however, were not without consequence. In April 1625, Neeltje Jorisdochter filed a paternity suit against Jacob Porret, a 29-year-old medicine student at the University of Leiden. She demanded Porret marry her daughter Marijtje or pay 1100 guilders for the loss of her daughter's honor, costs for the midwife, and alimony for her daughter's baby, who bore Porret's name. The Academic Vierschaar deemed the amount to be too high and only awarded her 200 guilders for the 'deflowering' of her daughter, the incurred midwife expenses, and 60 guilders a year alimony for the child.[106] In Groningen, Johannes Goldbach, the 20-year-old son of the well-known German Lutheran minister, Daniel Goldbach from Ratingen, became involved in a precarious situation when he promised to marry the widow Anneken Babelers. The young student and Anneken pre-registered with the municipality on December 22, 1632, which was a legal intent to marry within four to six weeks.[107] With the public promise of marriage, many women felt assured and were more willing to engage in intercourse with their future husbands. Consequently, many young men thought this was a good ploy to get a woman to sleep with them. That was the case for Johannes and his future bride Anneken. However, by the time it came to exchange marital vows, Goldbach fled the city and returned home to Ratingen in the Duchy of Berg in Germany. The public humiliation for Anneken Babelers must have been devastating. In March 1633 she petitioned the academic senate to have Goldbach return to Groningen and answer for breaching his marital promise, or otherwise allow for her to be treated as a widow and dress in black. To enforce her case, she claimed that the couple had slept together.[108] In the next two and a half months letters were exchanged between the university senate and Goldbach senior and junior and Johannes's brother, who was in Groningen and represented him on his behalf. The ordeal must have been a disgrace to the Goldbach family. Daniel Goldbach's own reputation was at stake, especially during the upheaval of the Thirty Years' War when the Duchy of Berg had passed to the Count of Palatine who had converted to Catholicism; his Protestant congregation had become a persecuted minority.[109] In Berg, the news about Anneken Babelers's claims of engagement to Goldbach's son and their fornication would have traveled quickly in the Protestant communities and would have shamed the minister and his family. In the end, Father Goldbach persuaded his son to marry her, and not long afterwards, Anneken Babelers traveled to Ratingen where the couple was united in matrimony. They later had five children who reached adulthood, and Johannes followed in his father's footsteps as a member of the clergy and became minister of the Lutheran Church of Wülfrath. Their children and grandchildren became a dynasty of ministers in the area.[110]

Johannes Goldbach's vow of marriage was not only an embarrassment to his family but also for the university senate, as the academic body was expected to be a *loco parentis* and keep students away from such situations. In order to protect students from making the same mistake, the senate declared that all requests for marriages had to approved by the university senate.[111] Thus, early modern Dutch universities allocated themselves a protective role for students when it came to choice of marriage partners.

Sexual deviance abroad

After students graduated from a university, some crowned their education with a grand tour of Europe, which could last from six weeks to two years abroad. These long sojourns to France, England, Italy, and Switzerland gave young men much more leeway than they had at home or at the university, where, a governor or elder family member might have been looking out for them. While abroad, their sexuality could have free reign. The primary motive for such a trip was education in the broader meaning of the word. It could include earning a degree from a foreign university and learning the culture and customs of the country, attending dance and riding schools in order to learn good posture and etiquette, and developing the skills of a 'gentleman'.[112] According to Thomas Erpenius's travel guide, *De Peregrinatione Gallica Utiliter Instituenda tractatus* (1631), students were given recommendations about what to read while on the grand tour. The guide advised about the languages they should learn, what to read about religion, history, and literature, and which scholars young men should meet while abroad.[113] Once they had experienced the civilized customs of Paris, viewed the relics from Antiquity in Rome, and seen the beauties of the Renaissance in Florence and Padua, their formal education was finished. The grand tour was regarded as the last stage before adulthood, and any sexual escapades that young men might have had during their university period and travels abroad were accepted as the follies of youth. In the Protestant-dominated Republic, Catholic countries including France and Italy had a reputation for loose sexual mores and immoral women. The French called syphilis the 'Disease of Naples', and ironically the Italians and Neapolitans referred to it as the 'French disease'. The Portuguese called it the 'Castilian disease,' and in Portuguese India it was known as the 'Portuguese disease'. In the psyche of each country, the disease originated in a distant land where the sexual norms were believed to be less virtuous than those practiced at home.[114] The fact that young men were promiscuous during the grand tour was a public secret and accepted fact. This folly was tolerated as long as a young man practiced discretion. However, when that code was breached and the sexual escapades that young men had abroad became public knowledge, the family name and reputation were at risk. Although there are no examples of exceptional cases of wayward young men during the 1620s and 1630s, there is one case from the 1640s that is quite revealing. When the 22-year-old son of the Lord of Clootwijck, Matthijs van Merwede, visited Rome in 1647, he was expected to admire the beautiful paintings and sculptures, as well as learn about the Italians and Italian culture.

Little did his parents know that Van Merwede was also a great admirer of Italian wom-

en.[115] When he returned home in 1651, Van Merwede published an account of his erotic adventures in two poetry books, *Uyt-heemsen oorlog ofte Roomse min-triumfen* [Foreign War, or Roman Love Conquests] (1651) and *Geestelyke minnevlammen* [Spiritual Love Affairs] (1653). Van Merwede revealed intimate details of his Italian sexual conquests. His poetry alluded to many young Italian women with whom he had fornicated. In the book's introduction, Van Merwede clearly stated that he never intended to marry foreign women, merely use them 'recreationally'.[116] His poetry which referred to *verwaende pop* (prostitutes) and *heeten kerkgang* (syphilis) left little to the imagination on how he spent his time in Italy. From the physical descriptions we know of Van Merwede with his blue eyes and blond hair, his Nordic features were probably popular among the dark-haired Italian women. The parents of his last romantic conquest had to put their daughter in a convent because their daughter's reputation was tarnished by her sexual escapade with Van Merwede, and consequently she had forfeited her chances of finding a suitable marriage partner.[117] According to one unverified source, one of Van Merwede's sexual escapades was with a 12-year-old girl, which might have happened after he contracted syphilis; based on his doctor's recommendation, he was advised only to have sex with virgins.[118]

The publication of Van Merwede's first book unleashed a flood of criticism due to its immoral content. Van Merwede was forced to leave The Hague, where he resided at the time. Booksellers were fined 25 guilders if they sold Van Merwede's work. Jacob Cats condemned Van Merwede's book for its corrupting nature and stated that he had gone too far by flaunting his behavior.[119] Van Merwede had clearly broken the 'gentlemen's agreement' of discretion, which was practiced by young men of the elite in general.[120]

Promiscuous sexual behavior in other social echelons of Dutch society was also accepted while young men were abroad. Throughout the early modern period there are numerous examples that sexual deviance while abroad was a tolerated phenomenon. Young apprentice craftsmen in the late eighteenth century also deemed a visit and prolonged stay abroad to be the icing on the cake of their professional education. During the Batavian period (1796-1801), for example, more than 48 tailors, 26 furniture makers, 22 jewelers/goldsmiths, 20 shoemakers, 10 chefs, and 7 carpenters traveled to Paris to become further educated in the latest French fashion. While in Paris these young men often resided in the same district of the city, in the same homes, and formed associations, which had specific initiation rites. These groups of young men undoubtedly visited the city's brothels and prostitutes in adjoining neighborhoods. Despite dwelling in residents with a 'house mother' who kept an eye on them, once a young man ventured out into the street there was little these women could do.[121] At home, the age of youth and the social acceptance of the follies of youth with its excessive drinking and sexual experimentation were officially over. The sons of the elite were considered adult, and had to accept a position in their father's business or political office. Within a year of return, young men usually married or followed in the occupational footsteps of their father.[122]

Conclusion

In the urbanized Dutch Republic during the 1620s and 1630s, a significant transition occurred in the courting rituals and expression of sexuality for young men. In cities, rural youths from the lower echelons who were traditionally raised in the collective domain were expected to be educated and socialized in the new domain of the nuclear family and under the restraints of civic law and order. Whereas the sexuality of young men in rural society was regulated by the youths themselves, in the civic realm of Dutch cities, the sexuality of young men was governed more by education and internal channeling of lust. Young men, especially from the higher echelons of society, were educated by moralistic treatises that advised them about the dangers of unrestrained sexuality, and argued for the rationale of chastity before marriage. For young men in the early seventeenth century, there was not a wide margin for error when it came to sexuality, considering the risk of contracting a fatal venereal disease. Moralists made a fine distinction between 'educating' and 'warning' young men about sexuality. They preferred to warn them about the dangers of women with logical arguments and reasoning. The most popular moralist of the seventeenth century, Jacob Cats, warned young men about syphilis – the most dreaded venereal disease of the era. This disease loomed in the background for all men in society and made no distinction between social and economic groups. Educating or rather warning young men about other sexual outlets such as nightwalking or visiting prostitutes was considered better than remaining silent about these matters, as they were the most obvious sexual channels for adolescents and young men prior to marriage. Jacob Cats stood out among other contemporary moralists by recognizing the sexual desires of young men, but in the end urged them to practice abstinence from the age of sexual maturity (which was often quite late in the early modern period) until the age of marriage. His advice was presented to young people in a modernized version of emblem books and with new elements of courting rituals that took place in organized daytime events instead of in the realm of the youth group during the night, which was new to the youth culture of the 1620s and 1630s.

CHAPTER 6

DRUGS?

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Drugs?

According to the Italian cultural historian Piero Camporesi, much of early modern Europe lived in a drugged state, accidentally induced by famine or from eating moldy bread and stale food, or sometimes deliberately by consuming fermented drinks, mushrooms, poppy seeds, and other distillations or sniffing lotions, oils, and other essences.[1] People throughout history, especially the young who were receptive to novelty, experimented with recreational substances to reach a narcotic state. In the late Middle Ages, brewers spiked beers with herbs such as black henbane seed, thorn apples and belladonna for their hallucinogenic effects, and in the 1660s young men visited coffeehouses to enjoy the effects of caffeine.[2] In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, smoking tobacco was a new habit of a similar caliber. In the late sixteenth century, the Dutch historian Emanuel van Meteren described smoking: 'you put a bit of dried powder in a small bowl the size of a hazelnut, light it with a candle or glowing coal, and inhale the smoke through a pipe-stem, then blow it out your nostrils. That is what people call drinking a pipe of tobacco'.[3] Between 1590 and 1650, the Dutch Republic went from a non-smoking nation to a country full of pipe-smokers, known as the *tobaccophiles* of Europe.[4] During the first part of the seventeenth century, the use of tobacco became so widespread in Dutch society that it was not uncommon for an executioner to allow a convicted criminal a pipe of tobacco as a last request.[5] Given the addictive craving for nicotine, the Dutch West India Company started a lucrative trade in tobacco with the English Jamestown colony. The first trade contracts between Holland and Virginia were drafted before 1620 with the Company of Merchant Adventurers of Middelburg. By the 1630s the trade shifted to Rotterdam, which became the center of the tobacco business with Virginia and the West Indies. After the early 1620s the English government imposed restrictions on the trade between its own colonies and Holland, and New Netherland, the Dutch West India Company's own colony in North America.[6] Numerous colonists in New Netherland who were employed in other occupations grew tobacco as a cash crop to supplement their incomes, even New Amsterdam's minister, Evert Willemsz. Bogardus. They could not have foreseen the sinis-

ter and long-term, social and economic repercussions of nicotine addiction: a flourishing North Atlantic slave trade from West Africa in exchange for tobacco from North America.[7] In the 1620s farmers in Zeeland and around Amersfoort and Amerongen also started cultivating tobacco to supply the growing demand. By the 1640s Amsterdam emerged as a major tobacco center in Europe; the crop was processed and sold all over Europe as well as consumed on the domestic market.[8] Important accessories such as pipes, which were needed to smoke tobacco, became an important industry for cities like Gouda. Around 1650 the use of tobacco in the Dutch Republic had crossed all social boundaries, but not the parameters of manhood. Smoking tobacco was a recreational habit for men. It was a masculine activity.[9] By the 1620s smoking tobacco had become a hot issue in moralistic and medical treatises, and a favored subject matter in art and songbooks. Roessingh, the historian of the Dutch tobacco industry, claims that by 1620, the use of tobacco had already become a social habit recreationally more than for medicinal purposes, which will be addressed shortly.[10] In this chapter I will argue how the generation of young men of the 1620s were the 'movers and shakers' in the use of tobacco and turned the experimental use of smoking into mainstream practice, a nicotine craving that would take western society another four hundred years to kick.

Tobacco and the young

The young guests at Manuel Colyn and Catharina Cloppenburg's wedding party in August 1622 probably smoked tobacco, or at least had read Jan Jansz. Starter's poem 'The Origin of Drinking Tobacco'. In his bestseller, *Friesche Lust-Hof* [Frisian Paradise] (1621) that had been published a year earlier, Starter included a snappy verse about how Jupiter influenced the other gods to start smoking. According to the poem, Jupiter enjoys a pipe of tobacco with his beer. They were the two vices that make good bedfellows. Singing songs from Starter's songbook was a popular form of entertainment at garden and wedding parties.[11] However, Starter was no finger-waving moralist. Aged 27 years at the time, he was not much older than the young public he wrote for. His poems and lyrics were purely entertaining. Jacob Cats, who was much older than Starter, aimed to advise adolescents and young men on the issues associated with the turbulent phase they were experiencing. Cats urged readers to tend towards moderation or preferably abstinence from worldly pleasures including sex and smoking. In the foreword of *Proteus ofte minne-beelden verandert in sinne-beelden* (1627), an entertaining moralistic treatise, he addressed his readers as 'fatuous youths' [mallicheden der jonckheydt] and interpreted the fad of tobacco in the 1620s to be a foolish addiction of young men. With the accompanying illustration, Cupid, the symbol of love, was shown carrying three pipes while a young man in front of him sits at a table and puffs furiously from his pipe. The emblem, entitled *'Fumos vendit Amor'*, means that love can be as fleeting as tobacco smoke. The riddle on the adjoining page proposes that the young man is obsessed with smoking: 'Smokes comes from his nose, it comes from his mouth, smokes swarms around his eyes that they have to tear. Nevertheless, it is still pleasant … Smoke is his world.' According to Cats the young man is addicted to smoking and had not yet mastered the golden means

of moderation.[12] In this respect, Cats understood the adolescent condition, which corresponds to modern notions held today about the tendency of teenagers to become addicted to pleasure. An adolescent's lean towards addictive behavior is caused by the fact that during early puberty young people are more focused on direct satisfaction instead of considering the long-term effects. Their concentration on short-term gratification can be ascribed to the *nucleus accumbens*, the part of the brain known as the pleasure center. It is strongly influenced by emotions and is sensitive to reward, gratification, and laughter, and plays an important role in addiction behavior. When tobacco is inhaled, this area of the brain releases a chemical called dopamine, which gives a feeling of pleasure. In situations involving reward, loss, and risk, the *nucleus accumbens* collaborates with the frontal cortex, the part of the brain responsible for rational thinking. However, during puberty, the collaboration between the emotional and rational parts of the brain operates differently due to hormonal changes. According to the developmental psychologist Eveline Crone, the rational frontal cortex is dominated by the emotional part during puberty. Thus, rational behavior such as 'moderation' is excluded.[13]

Early modern pedagogues and moralists like Cats understood the tendency towards addictive behavior that adolescents experienced. Cats believed the use of tobacco in the 1620s was a passing fad, just as fleeting as the phase of youth. The moralist was right about one thing and wrong about another. Youth was a passing stage of life, but smoking tobacco was not a fleeting whim. Cats, who lived to the ripe old age of 83 and died in 1660, came to realize that smoking would last.[14]

Smoking – a burning debate

During the 1620s and 1630s painters, playwrights, physicians, and moralists had become infatuated with the new habit. The discussion between moralists and physicians on whether the use of tobacco has positive or negative effects on the moral and physical state of the body grew. The greatest opposition to smoking came from the *Nadere Reformatie*, a group within the Dutch Reformed Church that strove for a second reformation within the Republic and aimed to morally clean up Dutch society which had become weak from decades of material affluence and spiritual poverty. They propagated and echoed many of the same ideas as English Puritan writers such as William Perkins. One of the most outspoken supporters of the Nadere Reformatie was Professor Gisbertius Voetius. In 1634 when Voetius was inaugurated as professor in Utrecht, he complained that students smoked like chimneys, and when the fumes arose, they resembled the burning flames of Sodom and Gomorrah.[15] Although he had a flair for exaggeration, he was right about one matter. Smoking had become a popular habit among the generation of students of the 1620s and 1630s. Otto Sperling, an 18-year-old German student from Hamburg who studied at the University of Leiden, was one of those cases of young men who tried smoking when he was a student. In 1620 he suffered from pleurisy and constipation. After Sperling tried all conventional remedies to relieve himself of his condition, a friend recommended smoking a pipe of tobacco. Otto did not have anything to lose and did just that. After smoking a pipe of tobacco he vomited

and emptied his bowels. Sperling wrote that he felt reborn from that moment on, and considered tobacco to be a miracle healer. And to his regret, he became a life-long habitué.[16]

It was no coincidence that Sperling, a student of medicine, experimented with tobacco. The university's Hortus Academicus, later known as the Hortus Botanicus, was established in 1590 with the purpose of collecting plants from all over the world, namely the Dutch East Indies and other Dutch colonies, for the benefit of the university's medicine students and pharmacy pupils, who were required to be knowledgeable about and experiment with the various herbs used in medicine.[17] Sperling, who later became the court physician to the Danish king, Frederick III, lived to the ripe old age of 79.[18]

Willem Willemsz. van der Meer, a medicine student at the University of Leiden when the Hortus was opened in 1592, also experimented with tobacco. Unlike Sperling, who experimented for his own medicinal purposes, Van der Meer was not constipated. However, he was encouraged to do so by English and French students. Van der Meer, who later became a physician in Delft, recollected how sick to his stomach he felt after inhaling tobacco for the first time.[19] Prior to 1620 we find no moralistic treatises against smoking among students. Crispijn de Passe's emblem book, *Academia sive specvlvm vitae scholasticae* (1612), listed the vices of students such as drinking, womanizing and making music, but made no mention of smoking.[20] When the 'tipping point' exactly took place cannot be determined, but somewhere between 1590 and 1620 the use of tobacco shifted from an outcast recreational habit to a mainstream leisure activity engaged in by students, a social group from the upper ranks of Dutch society. During the 1620s and 1630s the university, which familiarized medical students with the tobacco plant, considered smoking a sign of moral decay, but was unable to forbid them from practising the habit. University officials had more leverage over students with scholarships, mainly theology students. They risked losing their scholarships if caught indulging in any worldly pleasures such as drinking, making music, and smoking.[21] In 1637 the University of Groningen also banned scholarship students, housed in residence halls, from smoking.[22] In general, universities in the Republic straddled a tightrope when it came to imposing restrictions on the students' leisure activities. Students were the main source of income for universities and the towns where they resided, and university administrators and city councils did everything possible to attract students.[23]

Painters also endorsed the image of young men and students as avid fans of smoking. In Buytewech's *The Merry Company* (c. 1620-1622) three young men and a woman are situated around a table with a pipe in the middle. In the merry company genre, Willem Buytewech often portrayed affluent young men flamboyantly dressed in the latest fashion of the day, playing cards, drinking alcohol, flirting with women, and smoking a pipe of tobacco. During the 1620s the genre was in great demand among the public. It symbolized leisure, happiness, love, the return of spring, and the temptations of the young (i.e. card playing, drinking, and sexuality). The theme of worldly pleasures was an elaboration of the pictorial tradition of the Biblical story of the Prodigal Son. Other painters from the same generation as Buytenwech, like Dirck Hals and Pieter Codde, also used the theme and modernized it in the 1620s by adding the new temptation, smoking, as one of the worldly pleasures.[24]

Illustration 24 'Young student with pipe in his pocket' in: Pieter Codde, 'Young Student at His Desk, the Melancholy' (c. 1630-1633)

Pieter Codde's (1599-1678) portrait of *Young Student at His Desk* (c. 1630-1633), depicts a young student seated at his desk with a pipe in his pocket. The student has a pensive expression on his face, and the pipe and sparsely decorated room radiate melancholy.[25] Most likely Dutch students and affluent youths in general were interested in tobacco because it was a novelty. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the tobacco plant and the use of smoking its leaves were completely new to European society. In contrast to the Indians in Northern America, the act of burning the leaves of a plant in a pipe had never been done in Europe before. And the effects of inhalation were also unexpected. People had experimented with burning herbs and other leaves and standing above the smoke, but had never inhaled through a device such as a pipe.[26] In the emblem book *Sinnenpoppen* [Dolls for the Spirit] (1614), Roemer Visscher recognized the human fascination with novelty, but just the same, he conservatively denounced it as no good: '*Veeltijdts wat nieuws, selden wat goets*' (Often new things, seldom something good).[27] There is much discussion about how smoking and tobacco paraphernalia in art can be interpreted. The art historian David Harley believes these depictions to be moral condemnations that had the sole purpose of warning viewers about the moral decay that the folly would unleash. Harley argues that proper middle-class Calvinists would never have bought such paintings for any other reason than their moral lesson.[28] However, the Dutch art historian Elmer Kolfin perceives the merry company genre to represent farces and comical travesties instead of an exercise in morality. Both art historians take the medical-moralistic discourse on tobacco into account, but Kolfin's interpretation is more warranted because he embeds the genre into the broader literary and pictorial tradition of the Prodigal Son, which was a theme that was especially popular for artists and writers in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.[29]

Medical discourse

The interpretation of smoking in art history often raises more questions than it answers. The medical discourse about smoking gives us something more substantial to deal with. In 1622, a 26-year-old student of medicine named Johann Neander had become completely fascinated with the plant from South America. Neander, who was from Bremen, was undoubtedly acquainted with Otto Sperling, the German student from Hamburg who had experimented with tobacco for his constipation two years earlier. Both young men were students of medicine and probably members of the same German nation (student association) while at Leiden.[30] Neander researched the medical qualities of tobacco and published his findings in a scientific work entitled *Tabacologia: Hoc est tabaci seu nicotianae description* (1622). The work praised tobacco as a wonder drug, and Neander argued for the plant's healing properties, including its use as a treatment for syphilis, which was rampant in the early modern period, especially among young men such as students and sailors. Because *Tabacolgia* was published in Latin and only translated into French four years later, Neander must have targeted an academic audience such as students and professors because they were the primary group that read Latin and French. To back his findings, Neander added several testimonies from physicians who praised the medicinal powers of tobacco. Some of them

were professors at the University of Leiden. This marketing trick is still being done today with labels of 'scientifically proven' or 'recommended by doctors' that endorse products and remedies.[31] The role Leiden's Hortus Academicus played in initiating the use of tobacco among students in the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries should not be underestimated. When the Hortus was founded and its gardens planted, the first plan included two sorts of tobacco: *Nicotiana rustica* L. (tabacum minus) and *Nicotiana tabacum* L. (tabacum majus). It is a matter of the chicken and egg story. Was the cultivation of tobacco in the gardens the cause for students to experiment with smoking, or was the use of tobacco the reason for so much scientific interest?[32]

Nevertheless, the lion's share of medical discourse about the use of the plant in the 1620s came from Leiden's students and graduates who studied medicine. In *Schat der Gesontheyt* [The Treasure of Health] (1636), the physician Johan van Beverwijck (1594-1647), and former student of medicine at Leiden University, acclaimed smoking for its medicinal qualities and argued that he always smoked when he visited houses where victims of the plague had lived, which he believed had prevented him from becoming infected.[33] Nevertheless, Van Beverwijck still considered smoking to be a stinking habit. He recommended young men to keep their hair cut short so that it would not have the stench of tobacco.[34] Next to consuming a powdered form of the root of an elant plant *(elantswortel)*, Professor IJsbrandt van Diemerbroeck of Utrecht recommended smoking a pipe of tobacco as a reliable means to prevent infection by smallpox. Van Diemenbroeck, who studied medicine not long after Neander was at Leiden, used tobacco as a preventative during a smallpox outbreak in 1635-1636 that killed 20,000 in Leiden alone. Van Diemenbroeck, who had visited more than 120 plague patients and cadavers in Nijmegen, advised readers to smoke 'a short puff … and then exhale' as the best antidote for the dreaded disease. The smoke counteracted the effects of inhaling the foul miasmic air, which was believed to spread pestilence.[35] Some doctors also advised pregnant women to smoke just before giving childbirth because the nicotine high was believed to relieve labor pain. Most doctors in the seventeenth century – and some up until the 1950s – still considered tobacco to be prophylactic.[36] The Dutch scholar Petrus Scriverius (1576-1660) also praised the medical qualities of smoking, but condemned the recreational use of tobacco. In his essay entitled *Saturnalia. Ofte Poetisch Vasten-avond spel. Vervatende het gebruyk ende misbruyke van den Taback* [Saturnalia, or the Poetical Shrove Tuesday Game Containing the Use and Misuse of Tobacco] (1630), the moralist argued that the weak (women and children) should be forbidden to use tobacco for other than medical purposes. However, Scriverius felt that the fine line existing between the medical and recreational uses of tobacco had been crossed. He complained that young people consumed tobacco more often than needed and that smoking made them crazy. By entitling the essay *Saturnalia*, he intended to associate the use of tobacco with the Roman winter feast honoring Saturn, a celebration that often erupted into an orgy of unrestrained pleasure. When the essay was first published in 1618, it was only read by a scholarly public because it was written in Latin. However, after the essay was translated into Dutch in 1630 by Samuel Ampzing, a minister at Haarlem and a fervent opponent to smoking, Scriverius's condemnations of the use of tobacco became known to a wider audience.[37] His aversion to tobacco should be seen in a broader context and part of a recurring trope. In general, moralists denounced

the excessive use of tobacco just as they reprimanded those who engaged in excessive drinking. By overindulging in food and drink, one committed the cardinal sin of gluttony. Smoking, like drinking, sedated the senses and made one more susceptible to sin.[38]

Early modern admonishments about the excessive use of food and drink should be viewed in the psychology of excess that prevailed until the eighteenth century. The notion of a dualism of mind and body governed the call for moderation. For the intellect to lose control over the physical needs of the body was part of human nature. While in this psychological state, moralists feared that the loss of control of bodily urges would go from bad to worse: again the evil slippery slope. Once an individual had overindulged and lost his self-control with smoking, he or she was prone to other vices such as gambling, sex, and perhaps even the ultimate sin, sodomy, the dreaded vice that Voetius alluded to in his inaugural lecture in 1634. When moralists denounced smoking, the chain of events that would take place was not always implicit in their arguments.[39] Within this psychological realm there were distinct concepts of gender. Women were prone to excess by nature and thus more likely to overindulge. Men, on the other hand, were expected to exercise self-control in all aspects of life. Early modern man had to control his emotions, his wife, and his desires for alcohol and tobacco.[40]

The moralistic debate about smoking tobacco was often intertwined with the excessive use of alcohol. Smoking in the early seventeenth century was often referred to as 'drinking a pipe of tobacco'. Despite the differences between drinking alcohol and smoking tobacco, both lead to the slippery slope. In the treatise *Nuchteren Loth* [Sober Lot] (1623), the Counter-Remonstrant minister, Daniel Souterius of Haarlem, spelled out the evil chain of events that would extend from the excessive use of alcohol followed by smoking tobacco. Based on the Biblical story of Lot, Souterius illustrated how a pious man became weakened by alcohol and turned into a sinner – so drunk that he committed incest with his daughters. According to Souterius, getting drunk was like opening Pandora's box. It would lead to idolatry, blasphemy and swearing, defying the Sabbath, breaking laws, murder, adultery, theft, dishonesty, and greed.[41] Moreover, the use of tobacco, like alcohol, was a real danger for adolescents and young men. According to Dirck Pietersz. Pers's *Iconologia of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstants van Cesare Ripa van Perugien* – an encyclopedia-like reference book for the domestic household – young men acquired reason between the ages of 20 and 35. Those who were younger were still considered immature and hot-blooded, and inclined to pursue every whim.[42]

Sailors were a group of young men who were the lowest on the social, economic, and spiritual ladder and the ones most likely to succumb to idle vices. In the sixteenth century, smoking was already a favorite pastime of theirs, and sailors were known to have introduced the use of tobacco to the Dutch Republic. Thousands of young men sought adventure and enlisted with the Dutch East and West India Companies in Amsterdam to man their numerous ships. They were away at sea for months. The trip to Batavia, the present-day Jakarta, and the capital of Indonesia, lasted nine months. In order to prevent young men from indulging in smoking and other vices, minister Godefridus Udemans wrote *'t Geestelyck Roer van 't Coopmans Schip* [The Spiritual Rudder of the Merchant Ship] (1638). Udemans, who later took a staunch stance during the 'hair

wars' of the 1640s with his treatise *Absaloms-hayr* (1643), did not hide behind a pseudonym when he stated his belief that sailors addicted to tobacco were like a small child in need of his mother. He argued that smoking had become an epidemic addiction. Udemans believed that tobacco made young men behave crazily, and on top of that they wasted their wages buying it. *'t Geestelyck Roer* gave them spiritual guidance for the many months they would spend on the high seas, especially the nights they spent ashore, and aimed to prevent them from the age-old vices of wine, women, and song.[43] In contrast to the moralistic reprimands from the church, municipal authorities failed to see any harm in the use of tobacco. In 1623 the States-General imposed an import tariff on tobacco. Five years later the province of Utrecht enforced an excise tax on tobacco, and in 1647 the province of Gelderland followed suit.[44] During this period we find no city ordinances that banned, restricted or forbid the consumption of tobacco. It could even be suggested that municipal authorities profited from the sedated and doused-like state that young people were put in when they smoked tobacco. Piero Camporesi argues that pre-industrial societies were well aware of the 'political strategies allied to medical culture, whether to lessen the pangs of hunger or to limit turmoil in the streets'.[45] In this perspective, a tranquilized population of young men did serve the purpose of municipal authorities that aimed to maintain law and order.

Belladonna

Bohemians – avant la lettre – like the Flemish-born painter, Adriaen Brouwer (1606-1638) who worked in Amsterdam and Haarlem, were fascinated with rowdy tavern scenes that depicted peasants and social outcasts drinking, playing cards, and smoking. Youths were active participants in the midst of his portrayed mischief. The painting genre known as the five senses, with young people and peasants smoking tobacco, did not represent a reality or radiate a moral message. The act of smoking symbolized taste and smell among the five senses. However, in some of Brouwer's portraits, the men are shown seated with pipes in their hands, and staring at the ceiling as if they are in a deep trance. Upon closer examination, Brouwer's smokers do not seem to be puffing on the pipe but rather appear to be sucking on it. Brouwer's biographer, Felix Timmermans, argues that these young men were inhaling tobacco to which hemp was probably added for an extra narcotic effect.[46] It cannot be determined how widespread the practice was; however, in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, hemp was grown on a large scale in the region between Gouda, Utrecht, and Dordrecht. This area was the largest supplier of hemp for the production of fuses for manufacturing weapons, and also for making cables and ropes used in Amsterdam's maritime industry. Hemp was also an important material used together with tar for making the bottoms of boats watertight.[47] After begging was outlawed in Amsterdam in 1613, transgressors were forced to work in the house of correction, sometimes retting and beating hemp fiber.[48] It was a known fact that working with hemp caused a sedated state, even without smoking it. In the lowlands of northern Italy, hemp was manufactured on a wide scale. The production of the plant in various phases from its cultivation in the field to the spinning wheel in the city had an aphrodisiac effect on farm workers and urban laborers.[49] In the Northern Netherlands, any kind

Illustration 25 'The painter Adriaen Brouwer portrayed himself in the middle surrounded by his friends exhaling smoke' in: Adriaen Brouwer, 'The Smokers' (c. 1636)

of enhanced mix in alcohol or tobacco for a hallucinogenic effect was commonly referred to as 'belladonna', meaning 'beautiful woman' in Italian. By the early seventeenth century, herbs traditionally used for medicinal purposes and added as enhancers to beers, such as black henbane seed, thorn apples and belladonna, were mixed with tobacco leaves and added to pipes. All three were commonly known as 'belladonna'. This blend was strictly forbidden by the church and was probably only consumed in clandestine taverns. In all likelihood, hemp was more readily available and cheaper to smoke than tobacco because it was much easier to grow (the plant could grow from two to three meters tall), especially for the poor.[50]

The tobacco that was smoked in pipes in the seventeenth century was heavier and smoking had a more numbing sensation than cigarettes do today. According to the description of the sixteenth-century, Flemish-born physician and botanist Rembert Dodoens plain tobacco had a soothing effect on people. In the 1608 reprint of his *Cruydt-Boeck* [Book of Herbs] (1554), Dodoens explained that smoking tobacco 'relieved the body of its pains and sorrows' as well as easing hunger and thirst. It also made smokers happy, as if they had had wine, and eventually made them as tired as if they had taken opium.[51] The fumes from this tobacco had a strong and penetrating odor that easily made a house or public building stink, and was the primary reason tobacco was smoked either outside or in special taverns known as 'tobacco houses'. In this respect, smoking was more often a social habit like consuming alcohol, which was meant to be done in the company of others and probably had specified codes and rituals. In *The Smokers*, Brouwer

portrayed the painters Jan Davidsz. de Heem, Jan Koessiers, and himself in such an inn surrounded by peasants. Brouwer is situated (in the middle) together with his friends and probably the riff-raff that frequented the inn more often. They are enjoying a drink and a pipe of tobacco. Brouwer's excessive lifestyle of too many women and too much alcohol and tobacco is said to have been the cause of his early death at the age of 32.[52]

There are several arguments explaining the fact that male youths, students in particular, were the first in Dutch society to experiment with tobacco on a wide scale. If we take certain circumstances and psychological factors into account, youths were a logical group to take up the new habit. Firstly, students were often away from the protective eye of their parents and experienced more independence. Secondly, students in an academic and international surrounding were exposed to new ideas and cultures by their professors and fellow students who came from all over Europe. They were likely to be more open to new fads and willing to experiment.[53]

According to Roessingh, students, merchants, sailors, and soldiers were responsible for introducing smoking in the Republic. Sailors were the first to experiment with tobacco. While in South America and the Caribbean, sailors and colonists witnessed Indians sucking tobacco rolled up in a palm leaf. Sailors found tobacco stilled their appetite for food and water, energized them, calmed their mind, and gave them a high. Burning leaves from a plant was by no means a new phenomenon to Europe. Using the fumes from cindering plants for medicinal purposes as well as for their narcotic effects had been a common practice since Antiquity. However, the custom of smoking dried leaves and inhaling them through a utensil such as a pipe was a vicissitude. When sailors and colonists in the New World returned to Europe with this unique habit, students and intellectuals were the first to experiment.[54]

Ivan Gaskell, a cultural historian at Harvard University, argues that in the early seventeenth century the recreational use of tobacco made an important transition from the domain of outcasts like soldiers and sailors, who were associated with social deviance, to the realm of respectable people later in the century. An essential catalyst in making that jump to the mainstream was the fact that smoking was considered a 'badge of masculinity', which initially appealed to soldiers and later to students, and eventually to burghers of the middle class. In the Republic, moralists became concerned about the influence social outcasts such as sailors and soldiers had on wealthy young men. Although the fear of 'bad company' was limited to that period, it became more obvious due to the number of pedagogical advice books published in the early seventeenth century. Young people were more likely to mimic the new habit often associated with social degenerates.[55] This posed a problem for the class of prospering burghers of Dutch cities who sought to model the norms and values of the elite, while at the same time being eager to disassociate themselves from the *grauw* or boorish and uncivilized behavior of the lower echelons of Dutch society, which were commonly ridiculed in paintings, theater productions, and the lyrics of songs. In the eyes of moralists, if wealthy youths were starting to smoke, the habit posed a greater threat of moral decay to the Republic simply because the elite had an exemplary function in Dutch society, and their behavior was inclined to be copied by the middle class. According to many moralists, the youth culture of the generation of the 1620s and 1630s had gone too far with its

leisure activities of wearing fancy clothing, drinking excessively, singing bawdy lyrics from songbooks, and smoking from tobacco-filled pipes. Samuel Ampzing believed smoking was definitely a vanity of the era. In his emblem book *Spigel ofte Toneel der IJdelheyd ende Ongebondenheyd onser Eeuw* [Mirror of the Vanity and Uncontrollable Spirit of Our Age] (1633), Ampzing condemned smoking in both word and image. The caption under the engraving of 'A young man holding a pipe and tankard' states:

> *'Smoke is my passion and beer my life,*
> *yet, I would give up the pipe for a tankard.*
> *I'm a stinking rotter; I'm a drunken sot.*
> *I like smoke too much, and the precious malt even more'.*[56]

The combination of word and image left little doubt about the author's intention. In 1628, five years earlier, Dirck Pietersz. Pers had conveyed a similar message to Holland's wealthy youths in a treatise entitled *Bacchus wonder-wercken* [Bacchus Miracle Works], which he illustrated with various entertaining stories about the proper and improper drinking of wine. He included the latest fad of smoking in his entertaining and moralistic homily. He emphasized that the excessive use of tobacco had the same effect as too much alcohol. In this etching, we see in the foreground a monkey that symbolized the foolishness of smokers [*Smoking Company*] (1628). In the text we read:

> *'tobacco is the banquet that is used in company everywhere,*
> *supposedly it was first used by monkeys*
> *now it is imitated by other monkeys'.*[57]

The emblem transmits a pedagogical message about gender and masculinity. For one thing, there are young women smoking, which was unthinkable at the time. This only became more commonplace in the late seventeenth century. The message must have been clear to contemporary young men: smoking tobacco was only for males and an expression of manhood, no matter how farcical the scene was intended to be. On a subtle level, there is another educational message. In Pers's verse, the word 'monkey' gives us an indication of where we should look. The Dutch word for monkey, '*aap*', was a term that parents in the seventeenth century sometimes used to refer to their children. Of course, this term was usually applied when children did something foolish, such as break objects or imitate improper behavior of adults: hence the word *na-apen* in Dutch means to ape, to imitate.[58] The verse, illustrated with an engraving by Gillis van Scheyndel, warned youths not to mimic foolish adults and reminded parents to be good examples. Pedagogues urged parents to live pious lives not only for their own salvation, but also because they were role models for their children.[59] Young women sought role models for being good wives and mothers in the private domain of the home, primarily their own mothers or another close female relative. For young men that was a different story. Male youths were more apt to find masculine

Illustration 26 Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 'Smoking like monkeys' in: *Bacchus wonder-wercken* (1628)

role models in father figures first, and then in the public domain, which was the realm of men anyway.

Conclusion

In the history of tobacco, students at the University of Leiden, especially those studying medicine like Otto Sperling and Johan Neander, were instrumental in experimenting and later promoting the positive properties of smoking to other students. If we address the treatises on smoking, it can be concluded that the use of tobacco among students originated primarily from scientific medical curiosity, and not recreational purposes. However, with its narcotic side effects it spread like wild fire among other groups of young people throughout the Republic and among other echelons of Dutch society. Masculine role models such as soldiers and municipal guards played a crucial role in making smoking tobacco a manly habit. These male role models had more leisure time than the average man for idle vanities including playing cards, drinking excessively, flirting with women, and taking up the new fad of smoking tobacco. On an unconscious level, these negative habits were the epitome of manhood, especially to impressionable adolescents and young men, who still lacked the economic and social responsibility of an occupation, family, and household. In establishments such as taverns, which were the social bonding domain of men, youths witnessed soldiers and civic guards drinking, womanizing, playing cards, and smoking. For unmarried youths, these adult male activities demarcated them from manhood, and were important signifiers in

becoming a man. The gambling, excessive drinking, extramarital sex, and violence (through war) that military men radiated defined one aspect of manhood for early modern youths.[60] Smoking soldiers and civic guards had the same psychological effect on Dutch male youths in the early seventeenth century as the Marlboro ad or a beer commercial had on consumers in the twentieth century.[61] The Marlboro Man situated in the wilderness embodies age-old male ideals of strength and stamina that stem from the medieval knight, who was considered to be stoic, fearsome, and courageous, and the epitome of masculinity.[62]

CHAPTER 7

RECREATION *BEFORE* ROCK 'N' ROLL

CHAPTER 7

Recreation *before* Rock 'n' Roll

During the 1950s and 1960s, the notion of Rock 'n' Roll became synonymous with the recreational indulgences of young people, usually done in excess. It would be anachronistic to refer the leisure habits of young people in the 1620s and 1630s with the same terminology and verve. On the other hand, we cannot disregard the fact that young people in the early seventeenth century did indulge in extravagances that in some cases resulted in excessive behavior. In the re-worked seventeenth-century tourist guide *Amsterdam voor vijf duiten per dag* [Amsterdam on Five Pennies a Day] (2011), Maarten Hell and Emma Los argue that young visitors to Amsterdam could find entertainment and leisure in numerous playhouses, museums of private collections, and even zoos. Unfortunately, their work focuses mostly on the late seventeenth century.[1]

There is one revealing source that gives us a glimpse of the naughty pleasures of young people of the early seventeenth century. In the foreword of the 1662 edition of his popular emblem and songbook *Bellerophon, of Lust tot Wysheid* [Bellerophon, or Desire for Wisdom], the 78-year-old author, Dirck Pietersz. Pers (1581-1659), expressed his wish that 'the youths [of the 1660s] should stay away from randy and dirty books'.[2] When Pers first published *Bellerophon, of Lust tot Wysheid* in 1614, he was 33 years old and a successful publisher of books for young people in Amsterdam. His publications combined entertainment and good morals. On the title page, the book was dedicated to the 'whimsical youths who indulge in their desires'. Pers urged his readers to focus on more divine matters. However, like many authors of the early seventeenth century, he used this as a ruse to suggest that the book had edifying qualities in order to soothe parents who might have been alarmed by its somewhat provocative content.[3] In most countries in early modern Europe, song was the most feared vice of young men after wine and women. However, that was not the case for Dutch youths during the early seventeenth century. Singing in the Dutch Republic was a favorite pastime for the Dutch and a welcomed form of recreation for young and old alike. Singing and songbooks were an integral part of leisure culture. According to Alessandro Arcangeli, the Italian historian of recreation, many moralists were anxious

about the excess of leisure time and expressed concern about the moral and physical risks that idleness might prompt. Recreation was a recommended cure, a 'prescription against inactivity'.[4] According to the extensive research of Louis Grijp, the Dutch historian of music for the early modern period, singing played an important role in the culture of the Northern Netherlands, and inherently the Southern Netherlands, more than surrounding countries in Europe. The Dutch produced a large volume of songbooks unknown in countries like England and Germany where songs were primarily published on inexpensive broadsheets and *Flugbätter*. In this period, songbooks, books with songs, and broadsheets with ballads were popular consumer items. With the economic wealth that was generated in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, consumer patterns for many in Dutch society changed. Besides having spending money, youngsters of the urban elite had more leisure time at their disposal than the previous generation before them. One of the most characteristic traits of the generation of young people from the 1620s and 1630s was their interest in songbooks.[5]

Books that contained songs were by no means a new phenomenon, however. During the 1610s and 1620s the size, scale, and production of elaborate editions of songbooks changed as never before. New songbooks were published for the growing young audiences of Holland's cities. These books not only were a form of entertainment but also were important mediums in conveying ideas about gender identity and portraying regional, if not national, identities. Subliminally, the songbooks of the 1620s and 1630s presented a cohesive youth culture and identity for young people throughout Holland and the Republic, with the occasional regional difference. Young people were informed of what other youths in the rest of the Republic did for leisure activities. This chapter will address how the books published for young people in the 1620s and 1630s reflected the youth culture of that generation and expressed notions of masculinity for young men.

Youth literature

Before embarking on songbooks, let us first look at other books that were published for young people in order to understand the themes they were preoccupied with. Already in the late sixteenth century, book production in the Dutch Republic had started to influence the leisure activities of the youth of Holland's urban elite. Because the Dutch Republic officially lacked a state church and had a liberal economic climate, the country had become a publishing mecca for Europe. Religious or politically sensitive works that were banned elsewhere found a publisher in the Republic. For the domestic market, publishers produced a wide range of reading material for a socially and economically diverse public. They made inexpensive prints that were affordable by the middle and lower classes. According to a ship's inventory in 1622, the common sailor had access to a wide selection of reading material, ranging from Bibles and devotional works such as *Spieghel der Jeught* [Mirror of Youth] to propaganda literature including *Spaensche Tirannijen* [Spanish Tyrannies]. For the youth market, publishers printed a large variety of secular reading material from poetry novels, emblem books, almanacs, and broadsheet ballads to songbooks. Po-

etry novels had already become popular with young people in the sixteenth century. These novels were often romance stories about a man and woman whose love was hindered by various complications and struck by tragedy. The male main character often possessed chivalric-like traits.[6]

One popular poetry novel in the 1620s that attracted young Dutch readers was *Wonderlicke Avontuer van twee goelieven* [The Marvelous Adventure of Two Lovers] (1624). Published in Leiden probably for the students, this 36-page story must have been exciting reading material for students to enjoy in their leisure time and to read together with young women. The story was adventurous, the backdrop was war, and the main theme was a romance that included a love affair between a man and woman whose parents had arranged for her to marry an older man.

Young people could easily identify with the story because it was situated in the Thirty Years' War with all its problems such as the conflict between Protestants and Catholics, the war against Spain, and general social unrest, famine, and death. *Wonderlicke Avontuer* had all the makings of a classic love story. The main characters, a young woman named Wintergroen [Wintergreen] and her beau Waterbrandt [Waterburns], fall in love. Their names Wintergroen and Waterbrandt already presage a tragic lovestory because in winter it is never green and water never burns. Indeed, the couple was not allowed to marry because Wintergroen's parents had already arranged her to marry an elderly rich man. This was by no means an uncommon plight that plagued young women whose parents sought financial security for their daughters. Since Antiquity artists and audiences were fascinated with the theme of unequal lovers. In the late Middle Ages and Renaissance, they became popular again in literature and art as a satire on love, and symbolized the contrasts of young and old, beauty and ugliness, rich and poor.[7] Because Waterbrandt considered his chances of marrying Wintergroen to be hopeless, he became a mercenary soldier and left for Germany, probably around 1618 when the Thirty Years' War broke out in the German territories. Afterwards, Wintergroen fell into a canal and was thought to have drowned. As everyone thought she was dead, Wintergroen decided to take on a new life and identity. She disguised herself as a man and joined the Frisian army. She set off with the troops to find Waterbrandt in Bohemia, where the army was fighting. In Bohemia, the two were reunited and married but shortly thereafter had to part again. They experienced numerous adventures. Wintergroen gave birth to their child, and Waterbrandt was wounded in battle and taken prisoner. Afterwards he escaped and joined his regiment again. Then he boarded a ship that was later shipwrecked. Finally, the two lovers met each other in Zeeland and returned to Friesland only to discover that soldiers had pillaged the home of Wintergroen's family. In search of fortune, Waterbrandt set off for the West Indies and later returned for Wintergroen. This time the couple departed together for the West Indies, and thus the story had a happy ending. It is no coincidence that the author incorporated the couple's future in the West Indies in the story. Shortly before *Wonderlicke Avontuer* was published, the Dutch West India Company had been founded, and the Dutch had claimed their stake in the New World. There was an optimistic view of the future for young people and the world.[8]

War

In 1622, a happy ending to a love (and war) story appealed to readers in the Dutch Republic. One year earlier, the Twelve-Year Truce with Spain had ended, and the war had resumed. By the time *Wonderlicke Avontuer* was published, the Republic had already been at war with Spain for more than 50 years. For the older generations, the war against Spain and independence for the United Provinces had become a way of life, but for the younger generation, and the generation of young people during the 1620s, the war probably represented their own struggle in the transition to adulthood.

There was a widespread interest in the daily events of the war. Since the beginning of the Revolt in the late sixteenth century, the news from battlefronts was made known to the public by rebel songs known as *geuzenliederen*. They were an important communication medium because the events of the war and stories of the various battles were made into verse for known melodies and conveyed to civil populations. *Geuzenliederen* kept the general population informed about the war developments and often emphasized (or exaggerated) the atrocities of the Spanish army. In this era prior to daily newspapers, lyrics put to known melodies could easily be remembered and relayed to others by trekkers traveling from one town to the next. Many of these songs honored the brave deeds of rebels and made national heroes out of them.

The rebel songs were compiled and published in the *Geuzenliedboek* (rebel songbook). Throughout the war this songbook was extremely popular. It was reprinted many times and anonymously due to the political and anti-Spanish nature of the lyrics. In the early years of the war, any information referring to the bravery of rebels could be incriminating. For example, the 17-year-old street-vendor Cornelis Pietersz was arrested when he sang out the lyrics, 'who would like to hear a new song about something that happened in sixty-seven, listen and I shall tell you …' The number sixty-seven referred to 1567, the year that the Revolt broke out, and the rebellious opposition to the Spanish authority in the Low Countries started.[9]

Since the start of the Revolt and up until the late seventeenth century, at least 32 rebel songbooks had been published or reprinted. These songs played an important role in creating a national awareness and establishing a unified identity in the newly founded Dutch Republic. One song that was published in 1631 in the pamphlet *Kleine Jan* (Little John) was about two noblemen, Egmond and Horne, who were accused of treason and beheaded in 1568 by the Spanish general and governor, Alva. This song was not published in a regular rebel songbook but was compiled together with two spiritual songs and a love song. The distinction between songbook and other book genres was not always obvious. In 1617 Pieter Bor published *Den Oorspronck, begin ende aenvanck der Nederlandtscher Oorlogen* [The Origin, Beginning and Start of the Dutch Wars], a combination of history and songbook written for the enjoyment of women and young people of the Republic. He felt this group was not especially fond of reading but did want to know everything about the war. It was a combination of rhymed text and songs. Bor – a historian who presumed that the magistrates of The Hague would never have time to read his book – thought it would be better to register the events of the war for the wives and children of the regents, and thus put the happenings of the war in lyrics. He believed that the memories of the

war needed to be revived, especially of the early days of the war, which at the time of publication were 50 years earlier.[10]

Adriaen Valerius's *Nederlantsche Gedenck-clanck* [Dutch Memorial Sound] (1626) was another songbook that aimed to educate Holland's youth about the war for independence. In contrast to Bor's more sober edition with stuffy psalm-like tunes, Valerius's songbook was more elaborate and included rebel songs that were put to music by using catchy international melodies. Valerius appealed to the growing trend among wealthier youths of the Republic who bought lavish emblems and songbooks. Despite the difference in appearance and price of these two songbooks, both authors had a similar didactic message. They hoped to raise awareness about the origin of the war among the country's young people. As was commonly done by humanist writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Bor and Valerius combined learning and pleasure when conveying their message. The melodies were entertaining, and the lyrics were educating. On the title page, Valerius expressed the intention that his book would teach Dutch youths about the Spanish carnage done to their forefathers so that it would remain etched in the memories of his readers, and he hoped that the inhumanities inflicted by the Spanish would never be forgotten.[11]

Illustration 27 'Flamboyant young men dressed in bright-colored outfits, drinking and smoking tobacco. In the background hangs a horizontal map of the Dutch Republic' in:
Willem Buytewech, *Merry Company* (1620-1622)

Adventure

At the same time, war also represented adventure to young men. In the early seventeenth century the public's curiosity for adventure was growing. The discovery of territories in the New World and the expertise of Holland's mapmakers such as Willem Jansz Blaeu who started selling maps and globes for the merchant marines around 1600 probably whetted the appetite of adventure among the general public, and young men in particular.[12] Writers and publishers played an important role in this development. Adventurous accounts such as *Waerachtighe Beschryvinghe van drie seylagien* [Authentic Descriptions of Three Voyages] (1597) romanticized the dangerous expedition to the East Indies by way of the North Pole. This tantalizing story was about the acclaimed explorer, Willem Barentsz., who departed from Amsterdam in May of 1596 in search of a new route to the Far East. A quicker and easier passage to the Far East was needed for various reasons. During the last decade of the sixteenth century, Spain conquered Portugal, and Dutch merchants seized the opportunity to take hold of the trade in the Far East dominated by the Portuguese. Instead of sailing along the coast of Africa and being confronted with hostile Spanish and Portuguese ships, Dutch explorers hoped to find a navigable route along the Arctic Circle during the summer months when the ice had melted. The journey turned into a disaster when the ships became hindered by ice. One ship was able to return but the ship that Barensz. was on became lodged in the ice, and the crew was forced to spend the winter on Nova Zembla. In June of the following year, they were able to escape with a few rescue boats and returned to Amsterdam in November. By that time, Barensz. had already perished, but one survivor, Gerrit de Veer, recorded the great hardships that the crew had endured. They were published, and within a few months De Veer's accounts became a bestseller in the Republic, and his publisher translated the story into French and Latin. Stories about adventurous journeys to exotic destinations captured the imagination of people in general, but particularly young men.[13] Throughout Europe, adventure-seeking adolescents and young men – and sometimes women – found their way to the recruiting offices of the Dutch East and West India Company in Amsterdam where they sought employment.[14] There are at least 83 known cases of women who worked for the Dutch East or West India Company, and dressed and acted like men in order to pursue a career as a soldier or sailor. In many cases their true sexual identity was only revealed after their death.[15]

Love emblem books

Along with war and adventure, love played an important role in the lives of young people. During the first two decades of the seventeenth century, *emblemata amatoria* or love emblem books became popular among wealthy youths. *Emblemata amatoria* elaborated on a tradition of emblem books that combined entertainment with moral lessons and emphasized amorous themes. Readers were amused by an entertaining depiction while at the same time they would be given a moral message with a caption underneath. In this genre, Cupid – the symbol of love – played center stage. Crispijn de Passe the Elder published various *emblemata amatoria* texts and also provided the engravings for many of the works. Affluent youths of the Republic were already

familiar with the works of De Passe, who printed many books for young people. His *Academia sive specvlvm vitae scholasticae* [The University, or Mirror of Student Life] (1612), for example, was an entertaining guidebook for prospective students. The text and illustrations informed young men on how to be diligent students, encouraged them to learn the arts of fencing and dancing, and warned them about frequenting pubs and gambling.[16]

During the 1610s a new development started to become evident in love emblem books. In this period, publishers made alterations in their size, quality, and content. They started producing more elaborate editions that were larger in size (often printed in a quarto oblong shape). The content of love emblem books began to include more wedding poems and songs that were written by more acclaimed, contemporary songwriters. The style of the lyrics and poems changed as authors began to write in a modern Renaissance style in the form of sonnets and elegies.

The melodies were also modified. Progressively more modern songs were included that were composed by poets who had become influenced by French *airs de cour*. New melodies were borrowed from French music books and replaced the older traditional tunes that had been used previously. Furthermore, illustrations became more prominent and were important attention-grabbers for consumers. New production techniques made it possible for publishers to illustrate books with emblems more cheaply.[17] Between 1600 and 1620 well-known love emblem books such as *Den nieuwen Lust-hof* [The New Paradise] (1602), Boudewijn Wellen's *'t Vermaeck der Jeucht* [Entertainment for the Young] (1612 and 1616), and *Cupido's Lusthof* [Cupid's Paradise] (1613) were published in this style, and many more followed. For a greater part, these books were composed, compiled, and published by young people. Dirck Pietersz. Pers, for example, was a young and innovative publisher who played an essential role in this development by knowing what the public wanted and selecting poets and engravers to produce it for him. Pers – who was an immigrant bookseller, publisher, and author in Amsterdam – became a key initiator in the expansion of the market for love emblem books. He stumbled upon Amsterdam's affluent youth group as a hole in the market, and tried to publish what young people liked. He marketed these books by giving them catchy titles such as *Den Bloem-hof van de Nederlantsche Ieught* [The Flower Garden of Dutch Youths] (1608; 1610) and *Emblemata amatoria* (1612). They contained collections of love songs, marriage poems, and sonnets, and were elaborately illustrated.[18] Pers sought out well-known authors such as Vondel to write the captions to accompany the engravings. In 1614 Pers wrote and published his own emblem book, *Bellerophon, of Lust tot Wysheid* [Bellerophon, or Desire for Wisdom], a compilation of amusing sonnets and songs accompanied by emblems. The book was a fitting combination of amusement and education for Dutch youths, and it became a trendy emblem book that was reprinted 13 times between 1614 and 1695. On the title page, the book was dedicated to the 'whimsical youths who indulge in their desires'.[19]

Song culture in the Republic

During the 1610s the genre of songbooks was marketed side by side with love emblem books. In the next decade the quantity of songbooks grew rapidly when numerous luxurious songbooks were compiled, especially for young people of the cities of Holland. Although there is no exact data on how many songbooks were published and reprinted, there are indications about the market of potential buyers. In the period 1600-1625, for example, there was an average of about 800 young people in Amsterdam who could afford expensive songbooks each year. This does not imply that this group was only interested in secular songbooks. There were also those who were more likely to purchase spiritual works and religious songbooks and, of course, the group of young people who bought both.[20]

In order to understand the impact songbooks had in the early seventeenth century, we should realize the importance of melody in early modern Dutch culture. For the competitive publishing business in the Republic, this era was a transitional period from expensive books that were only attainable for the wealthy to cheap books and pamphlets that were affordable for the poor. In time, the reader's relation with the book changed from a collective and social setting (reading or singing together) to a more individual activity (reading alone). Singing alone was not uncommon in this period, which was a tradition that is still upheld today by some professions such as construction workers.[21] For the early modern period, we have to assume that singing was primarily a group activity, done in the company of others, and a favorite form of entertainment after dinner and at garden parties.[22]

Singing in the Dutch Republic had become more integrated in daily life after the onset of the Reformation when Protestant groups started to produce psalms and other religious songs for congregations to sing.[23] In a period when paper and printed matter were considered luxury goods, rhyming words was the most common mnemonic device that helped jolt the memory to retrieve whole passages. Reciting verse and lyric were so prominent in Dutch society that it became a national pastime. In the public sphere, poetry could be found everywhere from the inscriptions on the top of buildings to the inside covers of schoolbooks. In the private domain, poetry was written for almost every passage of life. Family and friends composed poems to commemorate life milestones such as the wedding celebration for Manuel Colyn and Catharina Cloppenburg in 1622 when the famous poet Jan Jansz. Starter was hired to compose one. Poems were also written for funerals. When loved ones died, mourners did not confide their grief in diaries, a practice that became more common in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but poured their hearts out in poetry.[24]

Rhyming, playing with words, and composing poetry were not only a pastime of the educated. All strata of Dutch society expressed themselves through poetry from the simple street-peddler trying to sell his wares and attract the attention of customers with catchy slogans to acclaimed poets such as Vondel and Bredero who earned a living composing eloquent poetry for Holland's elite. No wedding celebration or appointment to a high rank was complete without a poem that was specially composed for that event. The great quantity of poems found in family archives indicates that children in the Republic learned to compose poetry from an early age, or at least were exposed to it.

Rhyming was a vital tool in the early modern educational method. In *Regel der Duytsche Schoolmeester* [Rules of the Dutch Schoolmaster] (1591), Dirck Adriaensz Valcooch advised schoolmasters to examine their pupils at a lectern and have them speak out loud and learn in rhyme. Educationalists believed that especially younger pupils would learn subjects easier if the words sounded sweeter and more pleasant to the ear.[25] This was a didactic instrument that boys used at the Latin School and a device they continued to use when they joined literary societies like the chambers of rhetoric, which had local chapters in most towns and cities throughout the Republic. During the weekly meetings, their poetic skills were fine-tuned in a special ritual that required each member to address the chairman – called the prince – of the local chamber. The last word of each remark had to rhyme with the word 'prince'.[26]

Besides writing poetry, youths enjoyed putting them to music with an existing melody. According to the Dutch historian of early modern music Natascha Veldhorst, singing was second nature to Dutchmen in the seventeenth century. The Dutch were avid singers and sang at almost every occasion, especially weddings. Many of the songs that were compiled in songbooks in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries had existed for a long time and had survived by being sung repeatedly. By putting them in songbooks, an oral tradition of song was canonized.[27]

Religious songbooks

During the 1610s and 1620s, the most prevalent types of songbooks were religious and secular. According to the Dutch linguist D.F. Scheurleer, who categorized and made an extensive inventory of songbooks published in the Netherlands between the late Middle Ages and 1800, thousands of songbooks were published and reprinted during this period. There was not always a clear distinction between the religious and secular forms since the two genres tended to overlap.[28] Some songbooks were quite clearly of one type, such as Cornelis Pietersz. Biens's *Handt-boecxken der Christelijcke Gedichten* [Handbook of Christian Poems] (1627). This devotional songbook provided Dutch Reformed youths with a wide variety of religious songs that ranged from gratitude to God and his great wonders to songs about how pious Joseph was and about consolation and suffering. In comparison to I. Teerincx, the author of *Den Amsterdamschen Geestelijcke Lust-hof* [The Comical Paradise of Amsterdam] (1637), Biens's religious songbook was moderate. Teerincx seemed more rigid in propagating his beliefs.[29] Besides providing young readers with songs dedicated to every part of the day and circumstance of life (i.e. the morning prayer song, prayer song before eating, prayer song after eating, gratitude song for receiving good health, a song to be sung during periods of pestilence), Teernicx aimed to awaken piety among young people by providing them with songs that addressed the desires and weaknesses of the flesh and forewarned about worldly evils and raised questions about the prosperity of heathens. There were numerous other songbooks that aimed to enlighten the hearts and souls of young people and to keep them devoted or convert them into pious Christians.[30]

Secular songbooks

Between the spiritual and secular songbooks existed a vast gray zone of songbooks that contained a moral message but were neither entirely devotional nor purely entertainment. These books were often presented as amusement books but also had a didactic and religious or moral fiber. Many authors and composers of devotional and secular songbooks knew their market well and aimed to attract youthful readers by sugarcoating their moralistic agenda. No one knew this method better than Jacob Cats, the author of numerous moralistic advice books. He believed that young people would not be interested in a book if it had a devotional title. They would not even bother to look at it. But if the cover contained an attractive illustration with Cupid and the title made some allusions to love, then youths would be more interested. Cats acted upon this observation, which partly explains his popularity in the seventeenth century. He wrapped his moral lessons up in amusing and entertaining poems and packaged them with appealing illustrations. With this sugar-coated pill approach, Cats was thus able to convey practical advice with moral content to young people.[31] Various compilers and composers in the early seventeenth century presented their songbooks in a similar fashion. They were considered to be secular, but their content was not entirely void of religious matter. The most prominent secular songbooks were known as local or regional songbooks because their titles alluded to the name of a city or region. The oldest known local songbook was *Antwerp's Lietboek* [Antwerp's Songbook] from 1544, and among the first of this genre in the Republic were *Aemstelredams Amoreus Lietboek* [Amsterdam's Amorous Songbook] (1589), *Nieu Amstelredams Lied-boeck* [New Amsterdam Songbook] (1591), and *Nieu Groot Amstelredams Liedtboeck* [New Great Amsterdam Songbook] (1605). The lyrics were not specifically about Amsterdam nor were their contents only for young people.

Women and songbooks

During the 1620s and 1630s there was a new development in songbook production when books were produced just for young people. Title pages addressed young people directly, and primarily young women. In this regard title pages are quite informative about the marital status of young women; for example, the *Amsterdamsche Pegasus* [The Pegasus of Amsterdam] (1627) addressed 'the damsels of Amsterdam' and the title page of *Amstelsche Linde* [Amstel's Linde] (1627) was dedicated to 'the nymphs of Amsterdam'.[32] An important clue is revealed about gender in the early seventeenth century. In general, women were recipients of songbooks because they liked to sing, and singing was a way of winning a man's heart. Young men, on the other hand, were givers of songbooks, and singing was more of a feminine character trait than a masculinie one. This gender distinction was also commonly portrayed in paintings and emblems.[33] The differentiation between female and male in songbooks becomes more evident in the foreword of the popular song and poetry book, *Minne-kunst, Minne-baet* [The Art of Love, the Benefit of Love] (1626), written by Johan van Heemskerk (1597-1656). The author stated that a book was a lovely gift for a young man to bestow on his beloved, and remarked that amorous songs sung by a woman were a good means of conquering a young man's heart. In other words, in the courting ritual of the

early seventeenth century, a beautiful voice was a godsend and an asset for a young woman.[34] In the early correspondence of Constantijn Huygens, he referred to his love-interest, Dorothée van Dorp, as *Songetgen*, 'little song'. Although it is not certain why he referred to her as *Songetgen*, most likely it meant she could sing well.[35]

Song culture produced *by* and *for* the young

By examining the producers of songbooks, it becomes evident that youth culture in the early decades of the seventeenth century was produced *by* and *for* young people. Or at least those who were young at heart and could easily identify with young audiences. Let us first examine the importance of this notion for a moment. Many of the writers and compilers of well-known songbooks had a celebrity-like status and probably fulfilled a role model-like position for young men to a certain extent, similar to smoking soldiers. Young men who had attended the Latin school and university and were members of a chamber of rhetoric had a fondness of language and were likely to appreciate and admire the poetic talents of songwriters.[36] Gerbrand Adriaensz Bredero (1585-1618) was an author with an idol-like status. He was one of the most popular authors of songbooks in the 1610s and early 1620s, and by the time he published his own songbook, proudly entitled *Bredero, Amsterdammer* (1617), he had already written numerous songs for other emblem books and songbooks. During this period Bredero was one of Amsterdam's most prized young poets and writers, and he could relate to young people, which was why his audience could easily identify with him. Many attest that Bredero's themes about love were exemplary of the Renaissance love poetry style based on Petrarch. However, his inspiration could also have been autobiographical. The 32-year-old poet-author was unmarried and had a reputation for falling in love with beautiful women who eventually broke his heart. Bredero's songs and poems referred to at least eight different women. The most famous heartbreak was caused by Maria Tesselschade, the daughter of the poet and writer Roemer Visscher who had named her after a shipwreck of one of his grain ships that had been lost at sea near the island of Tessel: hence the name *Tessel* and *schade* (loss). Tesselschade was acclaimed for her charm, beauty, and intellect. She was also pursued by other writers such as Huygens and Barlaeus. However, she never wanted any of them, and eventually married a navy serviceman.[37]

Magdalena Stockmans was the last woman to break Bredero's heart. In 1617 the poet tried his luck with Magdalena, who was known to be 'a beautiful, browned-eyed blond'. The 19-year-old girl fancied his attention but turned him down to marry Isaac van der Voort, a 41-year-old wealthy silk merchant from Antwerp. In June 1618 the newlyweds set off for Naples where they would take up residence. Bredero was still not over Magdalena and felt perhaps betrayed that Magdalena had not followed her heart and chose the financial security and social standing of the older merchant. He sent the following poem to her expressing his grief:

Oogen vol majesteyt
Vol grootse heerlyckheden

Hoe comt dat ghy nu scheyt
Van U eerwaerdicheyt
En soete aerdigheyt
Laes wat lichtvaerdigheyt
Aanneemdy sonder reden

(Eyes full of majesty,
Full of great delightfulness,
How can it be that you depart
From your venerability
And sweet charm
Alas, what thoughtless assertion
Do you take for granted, without reason)

By the time the poem reached Magdalena in Naples in late September of 1618, it was too late. Bredero had died a month earlier. The exact cause of his death is unknown. Nineteenth- and twentieth-century literary historians have speculated – and often romanticized – that the 33-year-old poet died from a neglected case of pneumonia after falling through the ice, consumption, syphilis or even a broken heart.[38]

Within hours after the poet's death, Bredero was honored with the laurel reef, the highest honor that could be bestowed on a poet. More than 20 fellow poets commemorated him in a funeral anthology that accompanied one of his plays. The anthology included a portrait of Bredero framed in a laurel reef. His tragic love life and early death must have struck a note especially among Amsterdam's young people, who had known the poet from the city's streets, taverns, and theater. His plays and farces were already popular during his life and became even more celebrated in the years that followed his death.This was a reason for Cornelis Lodewijcksz. van der Plasse to request the sole privilege of publishing the rest of Bredero's unpublished work from the States-General. Many of the songs and poems that he had been working on at the time of his death were published in *Geestigh Liedt-Boecxken* [Comical and Spirited Songbooks] three years posthumously. The compilation became a bestseller and had to be reprinted three more times that year to satisfy demand. Based on the success of that songbook, Van der Plasse published an elaborate edition entitled *Groot Liedt-Boeck* [Great Songbook] in the following year. This edition featured 22 illustrations by six well-known artists including Hessel Gerritsz., Michel le Blon, Willem Buytewech, Pieter Serwouters, David Vinckboons, and Jan van der Velde, and cost one guilder and 70 cents (the average artisan earned around one guilder a day). With this exclusive publication Van der Plasse hoped *Groot Liedt-Boeck* would appeal to Amsterdam's wealthy young people who could afford the fancier version.

It would be incorrect to suggest that Van der Plasse had profited from Bredero's notoriety and tragic love life.[39] However, Bredero's fame and idol-like status grew with his death and the publication of his last songbook. Van der Plasse used good marketing techniques when

selling *Geestigh Liedt-Boecxken* and *Groot Liedt-Boeck*. In the latter he used the same engraving of Bredero by Hessel Gerritsz that ornamented his funeral anthology and depicted Bredero as a handsome, young poet, sporting a mustache, and goatee beard, which were fashionable facial hair for that generation of young men in the 1620s.[40] His head was crowned with a laurel reef, signifying his status as an acclaimed poet. Above his head was engraved the title of Bredero's last poem '*'t kan verkeeren*' [Things Can Happen], which he dedicated to Magdalena Stockmans.

The lyrics and poetry dealt with rejection, unequal love (mainly older men with younger women), and the leisure activities of young people.[41] Besides writing about heartbreaks, Bredero had an affable side and wrote lyrics about lighter matters. He believed, as many did in the seventeenth century, that singing and making music in general were a good remedy against melancholy.[42] In *Zeeuwsche Nachtegael* [The Nightingale of Zeeland] (1623), the writer and acclaimed engraver, Adriaen van de Venne, remarked that 'I had a good lute for my entertainment, to soothe my melancholic temperament'.[43] Bredero, who was a proud citizen of Amsterdam, enjoyed poking fun at Haarlem, the city's rival. He was a member of the civic guard and challenged Haarlem's guard to a drinking competition in his lyrics. In the course of the song, Amsterdam's guard naturally wins. Bredero also showed levity in his farcical songs depicting peasants in unsavory predicaments.

Illustration 28 'The beloved poet and songbook writer, Bredero, posthumously honored with a laural reef and dressed as in the fashion of the 1620s' in: Hessel Gerritsz, Title page of *Lijkgedichten* of Garbrandt Adriaansz. Bredero in: G.A. Bredero, *Geestigh liedt-boecxken* (1621)

In the famous song 'Arent Pieter Gysen', the lyrics portray a peasant festivity that erupts into murder and manslaughter. With these stories, the author and others like him employed the same theme to portray Amsterdam as a haven of civility, and a contrast to surrounding towns and areas inhabited by peasants engaged in tumult.[44]

Jan Jansz. Starter was one of Bredero's greatest admirers. Starter was a fellow poet, playwright, and member of the d'Eglantier (the rival chamber of rhetoric to Bredero's). Starter gained fame after his songbook, the *Friesche Lust-Hof* [Frisian Paradise] (1621), was published. The work featured a special ode to Bredero and became the most popular songbook of the 1620s, and eventually the entire seventeenth century. This compilation included emblems, verses, wedding poems, and drinking songs. Its general gist was about finding a suitable marriage partner, and all the predicaments that young people endured in their search for the right spouse, including unrequited love and courting activities. Pictured on the title page, Starter – similar to Bredero – was dressed with trendy long hair, mustache, and goatee and donned a laurel reef on his head symbolizing his status as a poet.[45] Opposite the title page, Cupid is illustrated, positioned at the rudder of a boat drawn by two large swans.[46] In the middle of the vessel we see a large portrait of the book's 27-year-old author.

Starter's title page makes it clear for whom the book was intended. The illustration shows young people singing, dancing, and playing music on Leeuwarden's main square – the capital of Friesland. Besides the title and engraving alluding to Friesland, Starter also dedicated the first verse to the young women of that province, and included a few verses in the Frisian language. Despite *Friesche Lust-hof*'s regional reference, it was popular throughout the Republic. Between 1621 and 1634 the compilation was a bestseller and was reprinted 31 times. If we assume that 500 copies were produced for each reprint, a conservative estimation would be as many as 15,500 copies.[47] Luxurious editions cost between one and two guilders, while inexpensive versions were sold for only three stuivers (fifteen cents).[48]

At first glance, *Friesche Lust-Hof* appealed to wealthy young people for various reasons. The first editions were luxurious and accompanied by elaborate illustrations. These copies contained popular love songs, and perhaps the handsome face of its author captured the attention of young women, who would want it as a gift. But on a second glance, we can speculate that the success of *Friesche Lust-Hof* was due to good marketing. Starter had the compilation published in Amsterdam instead of Leeuwarden, where he lived at the time. He had literary contacts in Amsterdam, which was the publishing heart and distributor for the Republic. As the talented son of poor English immigrants who had settled in Amsterdam in the late 1590s, Starter grew up in the city during the heyday of Dutch poetry and cultural growth, especially between 1600 and 1620s, when Amsterdam was the Republic's cultural metropolis. In this period, the city was home to Vondel, Hooft, Bredero, and Visscher, who were some of the most famed poets, playwrights, authors, and songwriters of that day, with whom Starter was probably associated with, as well as influential publishers such as the Cloppenburghs and Colyns for whom he composed a marriage poem in 1622.

When *Friesche Lust-Hof* was first published, Starter was living in Leeuwarden where he

worked as a publisher. Due to the popularity of *Friesche Lust-Hof* and his satire, *Jan Soetekauw* – a play so successful that it was reprinted 19 times – Starter had become a celebrity especially among Amsterdam's affluent young people.[49]

His popularity had parallels with Bredero's. For seventeenth-century standards, Starter lived an adventurous and somewhat bohemian lifestyle. His personal life was chaotic. He had his fair share of failed business ventures, was involved in numerous lawsuits, and even had to declare bankruptcy. His plays, which often glorified romance and exessive drinking, were banned several times by ministers who protested about their corrupting content. In 1625 at the height of his success, Started died on the battlefield at the age of 32. We can speculate that he either must have been consumed with the political and religious conflict of the Thirty Years' War and joined the forces of the Protestant Count von Mansvelt to became his army reporter, or sought out adventure and was in awe of Von Mansvelt as a masculine role model, or perhaps a combination of both.[50] In any case, Von Mansfelt was an esteemed hero in the Republic in the 1620s. David Beck, a schoolmaster in The Hague, noted in his diary in October 1624 that he and his children watched the count eat his dinner in an inn for an hour.[51] For Starter to join Von Mansfelt's forces should not come as a surprise, therefore. In the supplement to *Friesche Lust-Hof* entitled *Boertigheden* [Farces], Starter dedicated a drinking song to the German count, which honored him for fighting the Spaniards and Frederick of the Holy Roman Empire, and bringing 'Protestant' freedom to Germany.[52] Similar to the contemporary love story *Wonderlicke Avontuer* (1624), Starter was passionate about the Protestant cause and also sought adventure. When he died young just like his esteemed Bredero, this factor must have contributed to his fame among young people.

Arcadian songbooks

During the 1620s and 1630s a new sub-genre of songbooks became popular. The Arcadian songbook was known for its idyllic lyrics and illustrations of pastoral settings. This genre was part of a growing theme in literature and art as well. A school of painters oriented especially around Amsterdam, Utrecht, and Haarlem produced numerous works that featured Arcadian surroundings and were considered modern and popular among the art-buying public. Although foreign painters also produced pastoral paintings, they never surpassed the quantity of the paintings produced in the Republic during the seventeenth century. Holland's elite was especially fond of paintings that depicted pastoral settings. Around 1650 an estimated 30 to 40 percent of all the paintings produced were landscapes.[53]

In the early seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, the idolized version of Arcadia was a shrill contract to the untamed nature of the Middle Ages, when remote areas such as forests symbolized shelter and escape and had been known to be a haven for social outcasts and criminals. By the early modern period, residents of urbanized areas of Europe, especially the densely populated and highly industrialized Republic, yearned for Arcadian surroundings – or at least a *tamed* version of it. These settings radiated a magical ambiance that was romanticized in literature.[54] However, for the dwellers of the province of Holland, there was little nature left untouched. De-

spite its medieval name which derived from *holt-land*, meaning 'wooded country', seventeenth-century Holland was not a forested area and did not have many natural landscapes, let alone Arcadian settings inspired by landscapes of Ancient Greece. With the exception of the sandy area around Haarlem, the province was primarily urbanized and intensively farmed. The little nature in the Dutch countryside was pruned, prodded, and meticulously cultivated by farmers and engineers who had drafted plans for reclaiming land from inland lakes and inclosed pockets of water from the North Sea. The few wooded areas and pastoral surroundings in Holland were crowded locations, especially on Sunday afternoons when urbanites sought leisure and relaxation outside the city.[55] The pastoral setting adjacent to Amsterdam offered physical and mental relief to its residents in the early seventeenth century when the city was undergoing a building boom and its geographic size more than doubled as the city's three major canals (Herengracht, Keizersgracht, and Prinsengracht) were built. The constant noise from construction, traffic, and the stench of polluted canal water during the warm summer months must have been unbearable, let alone the constant threat of social tumult when residents were forced to sell their property to municipal authorities for less than market prices.[56] Inhabitants of Haarlem sought refuge in the nearby dunes and Haarlemmerhout woods. Local writers such as Karel van Mander praised the natural beauty of the white dunes near his hometown, known as the Witte Brink [The White Crest]. He compared them to the mythological Greek mountain of poetry, the Helicon, where the Muses resided. In the seventeenth century the Witte Brink were the highest dunes (thirty meters high) and formed a sharp contrast to the monotonous flat landscape of the rest of Holland. For Dutch poets the Witte Brink became an inspirational source and initiated a new trend in poetry. It was based on the classics but was written in Dutch and used local subjects and landmarks found in the Dutch topography.[57] Even Haarlem's Calvinistic minister, Samuel Ampzing, lauded the recreational areas (woods, lakes, and dunes) in his *Beschryving ende lof der stad Haarlem* [Description and Praise of the City of Haarlem] (1628) as being a part of the great 'earthly paradise' of that city. In this work, which was fashioned in the classic tradition of city descriptions popular in the early seventeenth century, Ampzing colorfully accentuated how Haarlem's residents traveled to nearby beach towns where they frolicked in the sand and enjoyed eating fresh fish.[58]

The illustrations in songbooks seldom portrayed groups of young people situated in an urban setting or interior, which would have been the natural habitat for young people more than three-quarters of the year. It is imaginable that these pastoral themes pictured in songbooks had a similar effect to modern glossy-covered travel brochures. By depicting good-spirited, fashionably dressed young people enjoying themselves in idyllic locations on a warm, summer days, buyers – young and old alike – would have been apt to purchase such a book. As songbooks usually contained a few wedding songs and May songs that praised springtime, it is likely they were sung on festive occasions such as wedding parties, picnics, and social gatherings that took place outdoors during the spring and summer. In the Zaan region of Holland, young women carried songbooks in a special *mopsjestrommel* (moppet box). These wooden boxes had an ornately decorated handle and lid, and were the pioneer of the women's purse.[59]

It is also possible that young people sang from songbooks more during the long months

of winter instead of during the spring and summer months. The early seventeenth century was known as the 'Little Ice Age'. The winters of 1620-1621 and 1621-1622 were severely cold with long periods of below-freezing temperatures, sometimes as lasting as long as eight weeks. Canals and waterways were frozen for months, and during the long winter evenings the sentiments about summer suggested by songbooks must have been a welcome joy and relief.[60]

Boat trips

For the Republic's youth, the countryside in the early seventeenth century must have represented freedom from the watchful eye of authorities such as city guards, schoolmasters, and parents. While municipal ordinances regulated and restricted the gathering and congregating of young people on the streets and squares of Dutch cities, the countryside was open. Beyond the city limits lay the domain where young people could be alone with their peers and members of the opposite sex. In songbooks about Amsterdam, for example, the lyrics idealized the tranquility and archaic beauty of the outer surroundings of the city. Lyrics often described young people strolling through the countryside and taking boat trips on the Amstel, Amsterdam's main river. In a country rich with canals, rivers, and lakes, taking boat excursions on a nearby waterway was a common leisure activity for youths living in the cities of Holland. On the title page of the songbook *Schoonhoofs Lust-Prieelken* [Schoonhoven's Summer Joy] (1624), which was published for the 'happy maidens and youngsters of Schoonhoven', the engraver illustrated a sailboat filled with young people fishing, singing, and being merry. The '*Mei-liedt*' (May Song) was accompanied by an illustration of Cupid, who was shown as the captain of a boat filled with young people. In this illustration the artist stressed that love and matters of the heart dominate the month of May *and* the life phase of youth. The lyrics also emphasized love nd youth:

> *De Speeljacht van Venus d'Godinne*
> *'k Sagh daer docht my met d'Jeught verselt*
> *Daer Cupido d'regent der Minne*
> *Als Meester was aen 't roer ghestelt*.
>
> (In the pleasure yacht of the Goddess Venus
> I saw myself in the same boat with the youth
> Where Cupid, the regent of love
> Is put as a skipper at the rudder.)[61]

For the youths of Dordrecht, a city located on the Merwede River, Abraham Aertsz. Plater wrote *Dordrechts Lijstertje* [Dordrecht's Lark] in 1624. The songs were mainly farces, and the young people of the city could easily identify with the lyrics because they emphasized the city's customs, culinary specialties of eating duck and salmon and drinking Rhine wine, which reminded readers of Dordrecht's long history as the staple market for Rhine wines in northern Europe. On the

title page, young couples were portrayed strolling in the countryside with the city's church towers looming in the background.[62]

Country rides

In the poem entitled 'Assorted poetry of idyllic' which was included in the songbook *Minne-kunst, Minne-baet*, Johan van Heemskerk romanticized the fresh air outside the city and taking rides in the countryside. Young men traveled in a cart, known as the *speelwagen*, the recreation wagon. This vehicle was often decorated with branches and leaves and usually had moss growing on the sides and was commonly depicted in many love emblem books. To take a long ride in the country was a popular recreational activity for young people.[63]

For some young men, the ride was the most pleasant part of the outing. The poet P.C. Hooft re-collected that in his youth he enjoyed sitting in the backseat of the recreation wagon because that was the best place to cuddle and kiss without being seen by others.[64] This suggests that physical contact between young men and women – without the presence of parents or chaperones – was an accepted part of Dutch courting practices in the early seventeenth century. As long as the kissing and cuddling did not lead to anything else, parents were lenient with their daughters, who were left in the company of young men without adult supervision.

However, this does not imply that sexual desires did not arise. In *Eerlycke Tytkorting* [Honest Recreation] (1634), Jan Harmensz. Krul portrayed the burning desire that a young man felt during the trip. The poem describes the agony of a young man sitting next to a girl in the recreation wagon who has no desire for him. The young man longs to kiss her, yet she continues to ignore him, and he ponders whether his fate will be the same as Acis, the lover of the Greek nymph Galatea, who turned him into a river after hearing his pitiful cries.[65]

The lyrics of songs in the songbook *Haerlemsche Duyn-Vreucht* [The Pleasure of Haarlem's Dunes] (1636) imply that there was sexual tension between young men and women in the wagon during the journey. The author, Wesbusch, ranted about Haarlem's youth going to the beach in Zandvoort and how excited young men became while they sat next to their girlfriends and kissed them. After they reached Zandvoort, the young people swam and cooled down their aroused state from the journey.[66]

Numerous songbooks referred to and included illustrations of the *speelwagen*, but the most defining evidence that this wagon was associated with being young – and part of the youth culture in the early modern period – came from the statesmen and poet, Jacob Cats. In his *Spiegel van den Ouden ende Nieuwen Tijdt* [Mirror of Old and New Times] (1632), Cats noted how an elderly farmhand suddenly became nostalgic about his own youth when he heard the galloping of horses, cracking of whips, and roar of laughter when a recreation wagon with young people passed. At that moment the old man reminiscences about his own youth and yearns to steer the horses and ride fast through the fields of heather, and to scream along with the young people as they ride over every bridge.[67]

Illustration 29 'Amorous young couples singing in the recreation wagon while traveling through the dunes' in: Johan van Heemskerk's *Batavische Arcadia* (1647/1637)

Merrymaking at the beach

In *Batavische Arcadia* [Batavian Arcadia] (1637), Van Heemskerk also idolized the enjoyment young people had while journeying in a *speelwagen* through the idyllic Dutch countryside. The story, which was drafted in 1626 or 1627, probably recounted Van Heemskerk's own experiences as a young man in his late twenties who traveled with a group of wealthy young people from The Hague and Leiden on a summer day. During the trip, they stopped at an inn, sang songs, and found their way to the beach, where they continued their merrymaking. According to Van Heemskerk, it was not uncommon for young women who were talking too much to be carried off and thrown into the water.

This horseplay among Dutch youths was known as '*in zee dragen*' (carrying off into the sea) and was another sort of innocent physical contact between the sexes and part of the courting game. Of course, the finely dressed young ladies did not go willingly. They yelled and screamed as they were dragged into the water. This whole performance of carrying the young women into the sea tempered the passions for both the young men and women who had become sexually excited from the kissing and cuddling that occurred during the ride. After having been plunged into the water, the young men carried them back to the beach where they helped them dry off in the sand. For some couples, this kiss-and-make-up interlude was foreplay before they headed towards the dunes and nearby woods.[68]

Besides danger, forests and rustic areas also radiated an ambiance of sexual excitement, especially under the auspices of darkness. The adjoining forest near The Hague known as the Haagse Bos and the woods near Haarlem, Haarlemmerhout, were not only common meeting places for young couples to be alone, but also locations where men sought sex with prostitutes.[69]

Moralists were well-aware of the dangers of the freedom that young people had when they played on the beach and or ventured into the woods. According to Gillis Quintijn's moralistic treatise, *De Hollandsche-Lijs met de Brabandsche Belij* [Holland's Tortoise with Brabant's Greenhorn] (1629), groups of young people from Haarlem's immigrant community partied into the early hours of the morning. At dawn the festivities dispersed, and the crowds of young people roamed the streets as they headed towards the dunes and beaches where the young men would splash the blouses of women and carry them into the water. As the story progressed, the innocent fun of Haarlem's youth from the lower social ranks turned into foreplay, and the couples retreated to the dunes where they had sex.[70]

Boundaries for the young

In actuality, there is no evidence of what really took place between young men and women in the recreation wagon, or in the dunes and woods. It should also be taken into account that paintings, engravings, and literary works such as songbooks did not always portray everyday life but sometimes manifested a cliché of early modern courting rituals in which young people were supposed to find a suitable marriage partner. However, we can assume that these were the parameters within which young people were allowed to manoever in early modern society. Seventeenth-century painters and writers only echoed these rituals in their works and elaborated on prevailing artistic traditions in combination with what buyers wanted, and thus projected an ideal of youth. As a commodity, depictions of well-dressed, carefree young people in love who were picnicing or boating sold well on the market.[71] It would be wrong to conclude that these portrayals of affluent young people went any further than perhaps heavy petting. In this regard, Dutch parents from the upper and middle classes were more indulgent in allowing their children freedom without supervision than, for example, English parents, who would have their daughters chaperoned when out courting with young men. However, parents only permitted children to interact with the opposite sex because they knew their offspring were aware of the accepted boundaries. Young men and women of Holland's regents knew the consequences of premarital sexual relations. In the world of the Republic's urban elite families, having children marry into other economically and politically powerful families was a means of securing their own family's wealth and position. Sexuality outside the realm of marriage for young people risked not only their own future but also that of their families. If both were from families of the same financial class, then an extramarital pregnancy would be tolerated provided it resulted in a prompt marriage. But if the young man or woman in question was from another social standing, the wealthier family's future was jeopardized. In general, the chastity of young elite women was safeguarded, and young women were not sexually active until after marriage, or at least until they were engaged.[72] Young men, on the other

hand, were urged to suppress their carnal urges or channel them. If young unmarried men had sex, then it was usually with women from lower social backgrounds, and never with women who were social equals.[73]

However, that does not imply there was no *permitted* physical contact between unmarried, wealthy young people. In the ritual of courting, young people flirted, touched, kissed, and innocently roughhoused. Similar to the illustration of the recreation wagon where a girl picks grass, this time the artist depicted five young women playfully throwing grass on a young man who is lying on the ground. As a result of horseplay, the young man is overtaken by the women, hence the Dutch expression for this scene: *te grazen nemen* (to be grassed under). In *Moortje* – a farcical play about the life of commoners – Bredero also referred to the custom of rolling around in the grass with a woman named Trijn.

> *'Hoe plech ick onse Trijn*
> *Int lange gras te graeslen'*
>
> (How can I get our Trijn
> for a romp in the tall grass).[74]

The caption reads:

> *Ick bin int soeet gewellt,*
> *en leg nu onverbaest/*
> *Neer in het groene vellt,*
> *Alwaer ick werd gegraest*
>
> (I am pleasantly rolled up,
> and now lie unsurprised/
> down in the green field
> where I am being grassed under).

Besides romping around, the most common innocent physical activity that young unmarried men and women did together was make music and sing. In *Ultrajectina Tempe ofte S. Jans Kerckof versch wandel-groen* (1640), Regnerus Opperveldt described Utrecht's youth dallying in the courtyard of Utrecht's medieval Saint John's Church during the evening hours, where the city's young people gathered to listen to flute music or a lute player accompanied by a singer.[75]

The lute was a popular instrument for young men to play. A common depiction in emblems and paintings in the early seventeenth century usually portrayed a young man playing the lute accompanied by a young lady singing. In the *Musical Company* (c. 1630) by Antonie Palamedesz., affluent youths are depicted in a landscaped garden. The division of men playing the lute and

Illustration 30 'Young man and women enjoy innocent roughhousing' in:
Gerard ter Borch, 'To Get Grassed Under' (c. 1620)

women singing becomes clear here. In this popular painting genre, which had its heyday between 1590 and 1630, the act of a young man and woman playing music initially represented the life phase of youth, the earth, a sanguine character, and the sense of hearing, which were each associated with love, and love was a matter for the young. This act also symbolized what the young were looking for: harmony in marriage and between partners. This was the essence of the whole courting ritual.[76]

In the depiction, a dashing gentleman in a broad-brimmed hat plays the lute while his female companion sings from a songbook. Three stages of love are portrayed: on the left, the first flirtation; in the middle, the kiss; and on the right, the harmonious companionship of the music-making couple. Perhaps Palamedesz. was inspired by the pictorial tradition of the garden of love in which young men and women in idyllic surroundings are more prone to surrender to the power of love.[77]

The harmony and compatibility between potential marriage partners also became evident while playing games. During winter months when people were confined indoors, playing games was a popular pastime. Jan Jansz. Starter's *Steeck-Boecxken, ofte't vermaak der jeugdelijker herten* [Pin Book or the Pleasure of Youthful Hearts] (1624) was a well-known game book and ideal for courting couples. Starter, who had published his best-selling songbook *Friesche Lust-Hof* [Fri-

Illustration 31 'Merry-making young men and women drinking' in:
Antonie Palamedesz, *Merry Company in a Chamber* (1633)

sian Paradise] three years earlier, now offered young audiences an alternative to playing cards, checkers, or the goose game. Starter's pin book could be played by groups of six to eight young people at wedding parties, dinners or picnics. The object of the game was to stick a long needle at random in the side of the book. On each page that was pricked, a character trait of a young man and woman were described. The facing page was decorated with a heart and other attributes that referred to the depicted character, and the players had to say if the character sketch was correct or not.[78] This pin book was by no means unique. It was part of the emblem book genre known as *ars amatoria* that was popular in the 1610s. In many respects, Starter's *Steeck-Boecxken* resembled Jan van de Velde's *Openhertighe Herten* [Open-Hearted Hearts] (c. 1618), which was also a game book for parties of wealthy young people.[79] In the foreword Starter encouraged his young joy-seeking readers 'to be virtuous and to keep the savior Jesus Christ faithfully in their hearts'. He was not providing his readers with an edifying or spiritual work, however. If the portrayal of the player fit, then the whole group would laugh, but even if the account was completely incorrect, it could be equally hilarious, especially because the rhymes in each description and the accompanying illustrations were often scabrous and had sexual innuendoes. According to the description on page 102, the word 'birding' meant 'copulating'.

'Ik dis wel gaeren met een hoek
Als bijten wil de baers of snoek
Maer of ik nog zo gaeren dis
Wanneer der maer te vogelen is
Daer is mijn hert meer toe gezind
Als 't gene mer ter wereld vind'

(I love to fish with the hook
If the pike or perch are biting,
But whether I would love fishing so much
I'd rather be birding instead,
That thrills my heart more,
Than anything else in the world.)[80]

If a young man stuck a pin on page 133 he would have seen a tennis racket, tennis balls, and a tennis court. On the facing page he reads:

Hoe wel 't een vreugd is in de baen
Te kaetzen en de bal te slaen.
Zo is 't nogtans veel meer plezier
Te kaetzen met een Venus-dier.
Ja zulken baen, daar koord nog, Net
Dan doen is/ maer het zagte bed.

(Even though it is a pleasure to be on the court
To chase after and hit the ball
It is even more delightful
To chase after a woman
Yes such a court, would be a catch
Then to do it, in a soft bed).

Similar to the songbooks, the descriptions in Starter's pin book were risqué, which was an aspect that young people enjoyed. Parents most likely disapproved of such books with their sexual undertones. Alas, there are no surviving copies of *Steeck-Boecxken* from the seventeenth century, but from a 1725 edition we get the impression that Starter must have intended his readers to enjoy this book in secrecy. Its minute size (10 x 8 cm) suggests that young people could easily have hidden the book under a skirt or placed it in a pocket to hide it from disapproving parents.[81] This game book added to Starter's growing fame in the 1620s. Boat trips, country rides in the recreation wagon, horseplay at the beach, making music, and playing games at parties defined the courting boundaries of youth culture during the 1620s and 1630s. It became the accepted physical domain where urban elite youths courted and discovered if a partner was compatible for marriage.

Conclusion

In the realm of gender, the songbook was a token given by young men to their sweethearts. Singing was a feminine trait, and young men usually accompanied their female companions by playing the lute. This was the essence of becoming a harmonious couple. Before harmony could be found, a young man had to find a partner through trial and error by using specific courting practices. Young acclaimed songwriters such as Bredero and Starter voiced the ups and downs they endured in the quest to find the ideal marriage partner. Especially in cities such as Amsterdam, these songwriters were commonly seen in the streets, taverns, at the local chamber of rhetoric or as honored guests at wedding parties. Contemporaries revered them as celebrities. After the 1640s the originality and vigor of this youth culture went into decline. The songbooks produced since the 1610s and 1620s with their new size, scale, and elaborate editions had a profound impact on that generation of young people. They were specially compiled for young audiences, manifested a distinctive urban youth culture and helped mold a Dutch national identity. With their themes of boating, taking rides in the recreation wagon, merrymaking at the beach, and singing and playing at garden parties, songbooks were instrumental in creating a cohesive identity for young men growing up in the cities of the Holland, and perhaps also in the rest of the country as well. The recreational acts described in songbooks helped cast a notion of 'youth' behavior and leisure activities that were related to being young, as well as a sense of camaraderie or oneness with young people in other towns. Youths throughout the Republic could easily identify with other young people from the recreational activities described in songbooks. After 1640 the number of new songbooks published declined drastically. The same songbooks were either reprinted, or more spiritually oriented songbooks were produced for youths.

By the 1650s the pastoral theme went out of fashion and was replaced by topics about fairs and drinking binges. Moreover, in the 1670s and 1680s a new genre of books on the clandestine market started to attract the interest of young men, namely pornographic novels like *De Haagsche Lichtmis* [The Courtesan from The Hague] (1679), *De Leidsche Straatschender* [The Street Offender of Leiden] (1679), and *D'Openhertige Juffrouw* (1680) – a translation of *The London Jilt*. In many respects these autobiographical novels with revealing sex stories left little to the imagination of young men and resembled the twentieth-century version of Xaviera Hollander's *Happy Hooker*.[82]

EPILOGUE

EPILOGUE

In the 30 years that passed between 1620 and 1650, the world changed drastically. The Dutch Republic gained its independence from Spain with the treaty signed at Westphalia in 1648. The prosperity and economic growth of the early part of the century began to wane. Peace throughout Europe also brought economic hard times to the Republic, as the trade in armaments, weapons, and supplies had proved to be lucrative for Dutch merchants. The economic conjuncture went into decline, social mobility became more rigid, and the Dutch Reformed Church began to recognize its failure at not becoming a state church as the Roman Catholic Church was before the Revolt. During the 1650s and 1660s the Republic experienced a series of setbacks: in 1651 a devastating tide flooded parts of Amsterdam, the first Anglo Dutch War (1652-1654), the Republic's economy went into further decline, the loss of Brazil to the Portuguese, the burning of the village of De Rijp in 1654 and 1658, the loss of the Nieuw Nederland colony in North America to the British in 1664, and the outbreak of plague in Amsterdam in 1665. Moral crusaders attested these misfortunes to be the sign of God's wrath on the Republic for its licentiousness, and at the forefront of the country's wayward lifestyle were the country's young people. However, this time it was a new generation of young men, those born in the 1630s and 1640s. This time moralists accused them of lewd behavior because they had succumbed to excessive drinking, engaging in premarital sex, and squandering their leisure time with randy books.[1]

For the generation of young men from the 1620s and 1630s, their lives changed drastically as well. By 1650 Otto Copes, the drunken young man arrested in 1629 for firing weapons at Groningen's municipal guard, was married and the father of five children. After his ruckus with the municipal guard in December 1629, he left that city and enrolled four months later as a law student at the University of Leiden. By the mid-seventeenth century he had become a successful municipal administrator, regent of the city of 's-Hertogenbosch, and representative of the generality region of North Brabant for the States-General in The Hague, where he developed strategic relations with the House of Orange. Copes was an elder in the Walloon Church and, ironically

enough, had become an officer of the local municipal guard in 's-Hertogenbosch, and perhaps even dealt with rowdy drunken students.[2]

According to early modern standards, Copes had passed through all the rites of passage, biological and cultural, and had become a fully fledged adult and reached middle age. He commissioned Theodoor van Thulden (1606-1669) to paint an allegorical family portrait of his wife, Josina Copes-Schade van Westrum, and their children. In the painting his wife is shown pointing towards heaven, symbolizing her choice for good over evil in the upbringing of her children. In the lower left-hand corner of the painting, vice is represented with images of Bacchus, Venus, and Cupid – the Roman gods of wine and love, which symbolized excessive drinking and promiscuous sexual behavior, vices that Otto was well acquainted with.[3]

His behavior as a young man was not out of the ordinary for his cohort of young university students in the 1620s and 1630s, the generation that grew up during the Republic's economic and cultural golden years. During his formative years, the province of Holland had the largest population of young people, many of whom were immigrants seeking employment, adventure, religious freedom, and the prospect of a prosperous future. These economic and demographic factors along with social and culture elements had a profound impact on young men from the 1620s and 1630s and allowed them to create an idiosyncratic youth culture. Young men expressed themselves differently from previous generations through hairstyle and clothing, drinking rituals, were more apt to refrain from using lethal violence, became sexually mature at a much later age than teenagers do today and learned to channel their sexuality and carnal urges. Also, smoking was a new leisure activity that had not been done in Europe before. They participated in other leisure activities such as singing from songbooks, rides in recreational vehicles through the countryside and taking boat trips.

While sex, drugs, and recreation might have been important *pull* or luring factors for the generation of young men of the 1620s and 1630s, the Republic's new institutions, including universities and municipal councils, were filled with humanist-educated members who focused more on the union of *mercantile and state* instead of *church and state.* These institutions served as key *push* factors in molding a new mentality among young men in the Republic during the 1620s and 1630s. Contrary to contemporary notions that youths are more likely to be more progressive, young men from the lower echelons of society tended to uphold traditional stances such as Catholic holidays and feasts and were more apt to conform with conservative religious ideologies like those backed by Counter-Remonstrant supporters. The new institutions of the state established during the Revolt in 1575, including its universities, had a great impact on civilizing young Dutch men, as well as numerous foreign students from the German states and northern European countries. By prohibiting the use of lethal violence, including dueling, and banning medieval brotherhoods such as the nations, university officials were instrumental in restraining the use of violence among students. After students graduated, they returned to their homes throughout Europe and brought with them a new norm of non-violent mediation. The banishment of regional brotherhoods such as the nations had a similar effect. Within the short span of a couple of decades, using violence for the sake of defending one's honor and reputation – also those of friends and students

from the same region or country – was considered barbaric and uncivilized behavior for the new elites of Europe. For young men from the upper and middle classes, non-lethal violence and negotiation became an ideal trait of manhood. A man who resorted to violence lost his masculinity and social status because he no longer had control over his emotions.

In this respect, ordinances passed by Dutch municipal councils and the regulations imposed by the States-General were responsible for changing and 'molding' young men in Dutch cities, in essence creating a 'modern', non-violent form of masculinity. On the one hand, Holland's cities witnessed a traditional collective socialization of young men from the lower echelons of society, who often came from rural backgrounds. Their behavior became more regulated when tough municipal authorities implemented civil order through force and the use of civil guards. On the other hand, the impact of stable diets, of a growing consumer-oriented economy based on mercantile trade with luxuries such as silks and tobacco, of humanism through state-backed educational institutions, of travel, and of literary societies helped churn out a unique youth culture and form of masculinity.

Young men of this generation looked up to role models, both in the secular and non-secular domain, to mirror and guide them through the transition to adulthood. The typical masculine traits included excessive drinking, womanizing, and smoking. In the Dutch Republic, the men who represented these traits more than any other were usually military men, soldiers, and sailors. According to Willem Frijhoff, role models and examples were key pedagogical mediums in Western culture, and their subliminal function as educators should not be underestimated. Throughout Judeo-Christian history, icons, saints, and the stories of Biblical figures served as important examples in educating young people. In the Northern Netherlands, the Reformation and Iconoclastic Fury of the sixteenth century had removed the Roman Catholic Church and its iconic traditions from public life. The pedestals were empty where martyrs and saints had once stood as examples of spiritual and secular lives. For church congregations and youngsters in particular, this caused a large pedagogical vacuum. In the post-Reformation era, Dutch youths – regardless of their religious denomination – were apt to search for new edifying heroes and idols. Frijhoff argues that Protestant ministers were quick to fill the void. 'Their portraits resembled the icons, radiating spirituality and modest piety, precisely complying with the church codes of clothing, pose, gesture, and hairstyle.'[4] The increasing level of literacy and cheaper production of printed matter in the Republic enabled the writings of the clergy to fill the spiritual void once occupied by the saints of the Catholic Church. There was a continuous demand for exemplary lifestyles throughout the century. Deathbed stories of pious children were published, for example, and used as an illustration for children and adults to live a virtuous Christian life. Publications about pious children who died during the plague outbreak in 1664 were role models for other children.[5]

Moralists fulfilled an essential role when it came to spiritual matters in the secular domain of daily life, but adolescents and young men were likely to seek role models in men from another caliber for matters such as eating, drinking, attending school, working, and recreation. Especially gender role models that projected contemporary notions of manliness and embodied masculine character traits.

Masculine role models and a national identity?

Role models played a significant part in helping young men establish identities for themselves. In that regard, the newly unified country and its young people had psychologically much in common in the early seventeenth century. They were in search of a common and cohesive identity.[6] Current research headed by Lotte Jensen addresses the shaping of a national identity affected by war and martial propaganda in the period 1648-1815, but leaves the 1620s and 1630s period open.[7] However, for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Dutch historian Judith Pollmann argues that the country was in the throes of reinventing identities through the production of pamphlets giving a national identity of what the Northern Netherlander was portrayed to be, or at least what the Southern Netherlander was not.[8] Early-seventeenth-century contemporaries including Johan van Beverwijck emphasized the need for the young republic to have a common identity, in which a cohesive education of the country's young people was key. A common identity for its young people was a necessity for the young republic to survive: 'Republics that set more store by their good citizens give more attention to the upbringing of their children', and 'the depravity of republics proceeds from the inattention and oversight of their good upbringing'.[9] In other words, Van Beverwijck pleaded not only for a moral and civic education in the home but also one that exceeded beyond into the realm of Dutch society where good citizenship and ideal burghers stood on pedestals.

According to research conducted to discover what makes individuals successful in society today, the psychologist Stephan R. Covey interviewed numerous people who have prospered financially, socially, and emotionally. The model deduced from his research has been published in the popular self-help book, *The Seven Habits of Highly Effective People* (1989), which has sold more than 15 million copies worldwide. Unfortunately for the seventeenth century, we cannot implement such a study. There are clues that point in the direction of men who embodied masculine habits and were 'role-model material' for young men in the 1620s and 1630s. During the war against Spain, the men who fit the bill of being role models were those who fought for the country's independence. According to the research of D.F. Scheurleer, contemporaries in the early seventeenth century idolized their naval and military men with numerous verses, poems, songs, and satires. Every naval hero and battle became the talk of the nation and was expressed by writing poetry, which was a common pastime.[10] One of the most heralded was Admiral Jacob van Heemskerk. He was killed by a cannon while trying to approach the Spanish mainland during the Battle of Gibraltar (1607) and was given a state funeral upon the navy's return home. It was the first state funeral since the death of William the Silent in 1584. The Republic honored Van Heemskerk by burying him in the Oude Kerk (Old Church) in Amsterdam and commemorating him with a mausoleum designed by one of the country's most acclaimed architects, Hendrick de Keyser. The inscriptions on Van Heemskerk's shrine, which can still be seen today, emphasize his courage, skill, and leadership. Shrines like these had a didactic purpose and were intended to encourage Dutch youths. According to the art historian Cynthia Lawrence, 'the unprecedented intensity of the country's response to Heemskerk's victory and death was also a consequence of the lack of contemporary flesh-and-blood idols with which the Dutch could identity'. Heemskerk

as a role model was a contemporary who was neither remote in history, like the Batavians were, nor socially removed, like the stadtholders Maurits, Frederik Hendrik, and the other members of the House of Orange were. He was a commoner just like the rest, and his popularity extended through all classes of Dutch society.[11]

Dutch naval officer Piet Hein was an even greater example of a national naval hero for the country's young people. In 1628 Hein (1577-1629) managed to capture the Spanish fleet carrying a booty of eleven and half million guilders worth of gold and silver off the coast of Cuba. The treasure turned Hein into an instant hero, and upon the fleet's return to the Republic, Hein was heralded as a national hero in Amsterdam, Leiden, and Haarlem with parades and fireworks. The news of Hein's capture of the Spanish fleet even brought the population of Madrid, who strongly opposed their leaders, out into the streets to honor him. Little did they know how great a blow had been struck to the Spanish economy and what the long-term consequences would be. With a profit of 50% dividend, the booty from the silver fleet was quite lucrative for the shareholders of the West India Company and the Dutch stadtholder, Frederik Hendrik, who received 10% of the treasure. After Hein died, a national monument in the Old Church of Delft was erected in 1637 to honor him. Although richly decorated tombs in Protestant churches were frowned upon in the seventeenth century, they were tolerated because of their didactic purpose.[12] Youths looked up to commemorated war heroes. Frijhoff argues that the power of the traditional role models of saints and icons lies not only in their divine powers but also in their human traits, which 'mortals' can easily associate themselves with.[13] For the early seventeenth century, young men also sought role models in real men who were alive and closer to the experience of daily life. If a youth lived in a Dutch city, he was likely to have been confronted by many civil guards and soldiers, especially in the cities along the eastern borders that were continuously under attack and where soldiers were regularly quartered. Youths had already imitated the conspicuous and colorful clothing of soldiers, and envied them their right to bear arms. In addition, their reputation for great courage in fighting against the Spanish tyrant did not go unnoticed. Some residents were required to house Spanish soldiers, but the general public noticed their presence in the streets, markets, shops, at the city gates and guardhouse, and in taverns and smoke houses.[14]

During the first decades of the seventeenth century, the positive image of civil guards and military men in the Dutch Republic was a relatively new phenomenon. The public's perception of the armed military men at the beginning of the Revolt in 1568 was quite different from that held at the end of the Twelve-Year Truce in 1621. In the early years of the revolt, soldiers were renowned for pillaging and plundering the peasant populations, and their moral fabric was anything than holy. The womanizing, excessive drinking, and playing frivolous games such as backgammon and cards had earned them a licentious reputation. However, in the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the Dutch army underwent a positive transformation. Olaf van Nimwegen, scholar of Dutch military history, argues that especially during the last decades of the sixteenth century and early ones of the seventeenth century, the Dutch army transformed from an 'unreliable band of mercenaries into a disciplined force that could hold its own against the might of Spain'. Under the helm of Stadtholder Maurits, the Dutch armed

forces – and military men in general – became more disciplined and professional and had earned more respect from the civilian public.[15]

The restored, positive representation of the militia went hand in hand with the increase in war propaganda, which was needed to support the war. During the war the population was eager to know about its progress. In the pre-newspaper era, updates on war developments and war propaganda in general were distributed by prints. Art historian of the early modern period Christi Klinkert points out that the military triumphs of Maurits, especially those in the period 1590-1600, were recorded in elaborate prints that were published and distributed to the civilian population by well-established publishing houses such as Hogenberg in Cologne. Hogenberg fulfilled an important role in providing news similar to the news agency Associated Press today. The States-General as well as other foreign heads of states were dependent on accurate news reports of the war. In the late sixteenth century the publishing houses Hogenberg and others made pictorial reports of the capture of Breda (1590), the sieges of Zutphen and Deventer (1591), the campaign of Groningerland (1591), the sieges of Nijmegen (1590-1591), Steenwijk (1592), Coevorden (1592), Groningen (1594), and Hulst (1596), as well as the Battle of Turnhout (1597), the defense of the Bommelerwaard (1599), and the most important one that is etched in Dutch minds, the Battle of Nieuwpoort (1600). These prints were based on chronicles, journals, pamphlets, political songs, maps, and illustrations from books and gave an accurate overview of the military engagements. Pictorial reports played a key role in highlighting Maurits's military accomplishments as well as re-enforcing his position and that of his successors such as Frederik Hendrik in maintaining the office of stadtholder.[16] This was not an exaggeration. Due to the dynamics of the Revolt against Spain and the numerous men born in the family who chose a career in the army, the military became a family business for the Nassaus.[17]

Another means of keeping the general populace informed about the war was through songs. The events of a battle or the progress of the war were often turned into the lyrics of a familiar tune, so that it could easily be remembered and relayed to others. These *geuzenliederen* (rebel songs) were informative, but also served as propaganda in keeping the war effort alive and the population in a state of fear.

After the Twelve-Year Truce ended in 1621, the oral transmission continued but was also turned into imagery on political prints, broadsheets, and paintings that depicted a national mythology. Town councils and government buildings commissioned paintings illustrating military battles to commemorate the Revolt and the war for independence.[18] By the end of the Eighty Years' War in 1648, the image of the soldier in Dutch art had undergone a major change. From their criminal-like status in the mid-sixteenth century, they became transformed into heroes and courtiers.[19]

In the cities of the Republic, youths were likely to be aware of the prominent presence of the civic guards responsible for maintaining law and order. During peacetime the urban militia walked a tightrope between protecting citizens on the one hand and enforcing laws on the other. The latter became difficult when the guard had to enforce unpopular laws such as tax increases, which had been dictated by the town regents. During the Twelve-Year Truce, tensions erupted

between Remonstrant and Counter-Remonstrant supporters. The frictions in church and politics quickly spilled over and extended to the civic militias, consistories, schools, and universities. Hormone-crazed youths tended to preserve conservative rural norms and values through the sanctioned violence of the charivari. City-dwelling youngsters, thrill-seeking and out for adventure, were often instrumental in implementing violence towards minority groups such as Remonstrant supporters in Amsterdam.

In the absence of a common foreign enemy, the young republic was almost in a state of civil war. The stadtholder's purpose and role in the political domain was weakened considerably. When the war resumed in 1621, social unrest in the cities subsided as the different factions and general populace once again had to focus their attention on Spain, the common enemy.[20] Consequently, the law-enforcing status of the civic guard changed, as they also were required to defend the city until the army arrived.

Under the new circumstances, urban populations respected civic guards because they were seen as their immediate defenders. Civic guards also cultivated their heroic image by parading in processions and commissioning large portraits of themselves. Especially in the 1620s and 1630s, life-size depictions of civic guards decorated the various halls of the guards' buildings. In these portraits, the civic guardsmen were portrayed dressed in military costume, sometimes wearing helmets and carrying muskets and flags, and of course having a heroic allure. The most famous example of this genre is Rembrandt's *Nightwatch* (1642), where the guards are shown arranged around their captain, armed, decorated with banners, and looking very brave.[21]

In the period 1621 until the end of the war in 1648, military men started to represent good patriotic – and masculine – virtues such as courage and perseverance. At the crown of this heroic imagery stood the republic's stadtholder, Prince Maurits, who turned the Dutch army into the most modern of the early modern period.[22] Counter-Remonstrant-backed town councils honored the stadtholder by having large portraits of him painted. Haarlem's town council, for example, commissioned Hendrick Pot in 1620 to honor the House of Orange with an allegorical painting that displayed leading members of the Orange dynasty and glorified their Christian and political virtues and military skills.[23] Maurits, a bachelor who never married and fathered eight children with six different mistresses, was by no means a saint in real life, but a moral image of him – even if it was fabricated – served for the sake of national unity. During the 1620s and 1630s, paintings, prints, and pamphlets depicting military men as being virtuous were used to create a unified war effort and cohesive feeling of Dutch identity and played a potential exemplary role for the Republic's adolescent boys and young men.[24] Undoubtedly, Maurits and his cousins Willem Lodewijk van Nassau, the stadtholder of Friesland, and Count Johan VII of Nassau-Siegen (1561-1623) were instrumental in modernizing the Dutch army and bringing allure to the military profession. Maurits was inspired by Leiden's professor, Justus Lipsius, who in 1596 published a commentary on the work of the Roman Polybius (second century BC) on the *De Militia Romana*. The work described the lessons of the legionaries of the Ancient Romans which were relevant for the Republic at that time. Maurits learned how important it was to re-organize and re-build his army. It needed to be well disciplined, drilled and trained daily, and the soldiers

needed to know skills to build redoubts and field fortifications. In theory, Lipsius's philosophy called for well-trained officers who could lead, educate, and be a good example for their men. He also believed that the infantrymen should receive daily training and recognized the need for a better schooling of the officers. In the same period, Johan VII of Nassau-Siegen founded a *Schola Militaris*, a military academy, in Siegen in 1616 where he used his own manual, *Kriegsbuch* [War Book], to teach young princes, counts and sons from the noble and patrician families the art of logistics, arming, tactics, field operations, and military strategy. The young men who attended were usually between 17 and 25 years old and primarily from the Netherlands, the German states, and Bohemia. The cadets learned how to build forts and encampments, as well as the fine art of fencing, horseriding, good manners, and French. The school's advertisement brochure boasted that young men would have a unique chance to learn the 'art of war as it is best practiced and implemented in the Netherlands'. A year's tuition cost a hundred Thaler.[25]Aspiring young noblemen who later sought a commission in the army of the States-General like Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen (1604-1679) (the son of Johan VII) probably underwent an officer's education at the *Schola Militaris*.[26] In the period between taking on the stadtholdership after his father's murder in 1584 and his own death in 1625, Prince Maurits managed to lay the foundation for extensive military reforms in the army of the States-General. His reforms were backed by the financing of the States-General to expand and maintain the army as well as laying the groundwork for proper housing, clothing, supplies, and providing medical treatment for soldiers. In addition, soldiers were paid on a regular basis. All in all, the reforms were instrumental in modernizing the Dutch military, and they were copied by many of Maurits's adversaries in Europe during the early seventeenth century.

In addition, modern media such as songbooks and pamphlets became propaganda tools for the stadtholder and the States-General, and helped keep the war effort alive. Each time Maurits conquered or re-conquered a city, a new song was added to the rebel songbook glorifying his military victory. Even military mishaps such as a failed expedition at Duinkerken and an invasion in Brabant were still portrayed in pamphlets as military triumphs. Visitors to The Hague's hall of knights, the Ridderzaal, still viewed the military banners as if they were military victories. Maurits's war machine was intricately aided by influential members of society like Minister Johannes Uytenbogaert and Haarlem's writing master, D. van Horenbeek, who were commissioned by the stadtholder to compose poems honoring his military achievements – whether true or not.[27] After Maurits's death in 1625, Frederik Hendrik continued the same practices to ensure a positive image of the military endeavors and war in general. When Frederik Hendrik conquered towns, he founded homes for poor children who could be identified with an orange-colored 'N' for Nassau embroidered on their sleeves. War propaganda tactics like these managed to elevate the public's image of the soldier in general, and particular for young men who sought masculine role models.[28]

The dark passenger of male role models

After recognizing the positive masculine impression that soldiers and military men in general must have made on adolescents and young men in the 1620s and 1630s, we must also be aware of their dark passenger or negative side. Paintings showed a darker or immoral facet to the life of a soldier and the municipal guard. In the painting genre known as *kortegaard* or *corps de garde*, military men were portrayed during their hours of leisure in guardrooms, passing time with idle vanities such as loose women, consuming alcohol, gambling, and smoking. According to the art historian Jochai Rosen, the *kortegard* or guardroom scene type of paintings by Pieter Codde and his followers became popular in the 1620s in Amsterdam, and did not portray the reality. They were an elaboration of the Prodigal Son and merry company genre that was popular among elites and the middle class.[29] Contrary to the life-size heroic military men portrayed in town halls and other official buildings, the immoral activities of the militia depicted in this genre were not intended for public viewing. Paintings of the guardhouse genre are small, and their details are minute, such as in Antonie Palamedesz's. *Two soldiers and an officer playing dice* (21.8 x 19 cm in size).[30] During the 1620s other Dutch painters influenced by Codde developed the genre even further, including Willem Duyster and Jacob Duck. Many of these painters were already known for their portraits of merry companies.[31] In Jacob Duck's *Soldiers in Guardhouse*, the soldiers are womanizing, drinking, playing cards and backgammon, and smoking. Pipes are laid out on the foreground. Just as in the merry companies, the activities of these soldiers were intended as comic relief instead of moral caution. In the early seventeenth century, there was still a relaxed attitude towards sensual matters in telling jokes, books, and paintings. Long before the Freudian cigar, the projectile shape of the tobacco pipe was an added attribute for painters, and a woman holding a pipe was a common innuendo for sexual intercourse.[32]

The prominent youth culture of the 1620s and 1630s had a strong affinity with military role models in dress, hairstyle, weapons, drinking, womanizing, and smoking habits, and became a precedent for a new urban 'republican' youth culture which lasted until the end of the Republic itself. One characteristic factor remained constant until the end of the eighteenth century. Young men, as well as older men, continued to let their hair grow or wear wigs with long hair from the 1620s until the 1790s. In all likelihood, the generation of young men from the 1620s and 1630s had cast a new mold for educating young men in a republican state, which continued until its end. In hindsight, after having been a republic in Europe for more than two hundred years, the regression of the country in 1814 to an absolute monarchy with the Orange-Nassau dynasty as its hereditary sovereigns must have seemed like turning back the clock, especially while the rest of Europe at the beginning of the nineteenth century basted in the sun of Enlightenment thought and the advent of the new American republic in North America. For Dutch citizens in the early nineteenth century, it must have entailed a profound cultural shift and change in *mentalité*. Besides the new style of short hair on men, the generation of young people of the new Kingdom of the Netherlands in the early nineteenth century must have been educated differently and manifested a new youth culture with their own clothing, games, rites of passage, tomfoolery, recreational activities, and music. They were quite different from their forefathers who grew up

in a Republic without a nobility and monarchy. However, that is a presumption which requires in-depth inquiry, just as all generations deserve – and are worthy of – historical investigation as unique actors in time.

NOTES

Prologue

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Chapter 1

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12 Ed Taverne, *In 't Land van Belofte: In de nieue stadt. Ideaal en werkelijkheid van de stadsuitleg in de Republiek 1580-1680* (Maarssen: Gary Schwartz, 1978), 143-156; M. van Nieuwkerk & C. Kroeze, *De Wisselbank. Van Stadsbank tot Bank van de Wereld* (Amsterdam: Sonsbeek Publishers, 2009).

13 GAA, DTB, 451, page 242. Ondertrouw: September 4, 1626 Jacomo registered to marry Emerentia Roseboom of Amsterdam.

14 Willem Frijhoff & Marijke Spies, *Dutch Culture in European Perspective. 1650 - Hard-won Unity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 103-104; J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795 I.* (Haarlem: Vincent Loosjes, 1903-1905), 191-199.

15 GAA, DTB, no. 428, page 90. Ondertrouw: June 10, 1623 to marry Jannetgen Elberts.

16 Paul Spies & Koen Kleijn et al., *Het Grachtenboek II.* (The Hague: SDU, 1992),130.

17 Willem Frijhoff, 'Neglected Networks: Director Willem Kieft (1602-1647) and his Dutch Relatives' in: Joyce D. Goodfriend (ed.), *Revisiting New Netherland. Perspectives on Early Dutch America* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2005), 149-204. See also: E.B. O' Callaghan, *History of New Netherland* (New York: Applelton, 1846) 174; *New York Historical Manuscripts I.* 2.

18 GAA, DTB, 451, page 242. Ondertrouw July 18, 1624 to marry Maria Vogelaers. Sjoukje Colenbrander, *Zolang de weefkunst bloeit. Zijdeweverijen in Amsterdam en Haarlem, 1585-1750* (Amsterdam: Dissertation University of Amsterdam, 2010), 28.

19 Hendrick's father was Jacob Pietersz. Hoochkamer who ran a silk merchant business in the Nieuwezijds Arm in 1601, thereafter in the Betanienstraat (Oudezijds). In 1631 he resided on the Fluweelenburgwal (today Kloveniersburgwal), and his wealth was estimated to be fl. 150,000. J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795 I.* (Haarlem: Vincent Loosjes, 1903-1905), 323.

20 J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795 I.* (Haarlem: Vincent Loosjes, 1903-1905), 191-456.

21 J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam 1578-1795 II.*, 672.

22 GAA, DTB, Ondertrouw, 670, page 61. May 17, 1625. He married Margarieta Boulen. He lived on the Nieuwebrugsteeg.

23 GAA, DTB, no. 433, page 149. Ondertrouw July 27, 1628 to marry Maria van Offenbergh.

24 The exceptions were Gaspar van Wickevoort de Jonge who remained a bachelor until he finally married in 1640 at the age of 40, and the only Roman Catholic of the group, Pedro Occo, who never married and chose the priesthood.

25 D. Haks, *Huwelijk en gezin in Holland in de 17de en 18de eeuw* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1982), 114-118, 157-158.

26 GAA, DTB, Ondertrouw, 430, page 332. Ondertrouw November 24, 1625; P.H.J. van der Laan, 'The Poulle brothers of Amsterdam and the North Sea and Baltic Trade, 1590-1620' in: W.G. Heeres et al. (eds.), *From Dunkirk to Danzig. Shipping and Trade in the North Sea and the Baltic, 1350-1850. Essays in Honour of J.A. Faber* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1988), 317-330.

27 Clé Lesger, *Handel in Amsterdam ten tijde van de Opstand: Kooplieden, commerciële expansie en verandering in de ruimtelijke economic van e Nederlanden ca. 1550-ca. 1630* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2001), 161-168.

28 Amsterdam had grown from 65,000 inhabitants in 1600 to 104,932 in 1622. De Vries and Van der Woude 1995, 88; De Vries, *European urbanisation*, appendix 1.

29 According to the schepenregister and certificatieboeken there were 24 known sugar manufacturers in Antwerp in 1566. They included Hendrick van den Broecke and Jan van den Broecke, one of whom was probably the father of Pieter van den Broecke, Guilliame's father, who settled in Hamburg. Alfons K.L.Thijs, 'De geschiedenis vande suikernijverheid te Antwerpen (16de-19de eeuw): Een terreinverkenning' in: *Bijdragen tot de Geschiedenis 62* (1979): 23-50.

30 Robert van Roosbroeck, *Emigranten. Nederlandse vluchtelingen in Duitsland (1550-1600)* (Leuven: Davidfonds, 1968), 245-271

31 J. Materné, 'Antwerpen als verdeel- en veredelingscentrum van specerijen en suiker van de late 15de eeuw tot de 17de eeuw' in: F. de Nave & C. Depauw (eds.), *Europa aan tafel. Een verkenning van onze eet- en tafelcultuur* (Antwerp, 1993), 48-61.

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33 Arjan Poelwijk, *'In dienste vant suyckerbacken'*, 56, 162-163, 256-257, 281.

34 GAA, DTB, no. 668, page 388. Ondertrouw April 9, 1621. His first child, Gregorius, was baptized on April 10, 1623, in the Evangelisch-Luthers Kerk.

35 Erika Kuijpers, *Migrantenstad. Immigratie en sociale verhoudingen in* 17^{e}*-eeuws Amsterdam* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), 174-175.

36 GAA, DTB, no. 675, page 206.

37 Many silk merchants and manufacturers fled Antwerp after the siege in 1585 and settled in Amsterdam. By the Twelve Year's Truce in 1609, Amsterdam had surpassed Antwerp as the center of the silk trade. Alfons K.L. Thijs, *Van 'werkwinkel' tot 'fabriek'. De textielnijverheid te Antwerpen (eind* 15de*-begin* 19de *eeuw)* (Brussels: Gemeentekrediet, 1987), 123-128. According to Sjoukje Colenbrander, approximately 10,000 immigrants from the Southern Netherlands settled in Amsterdam between 1578 and 1625. The largest proportion of them worked in luxury goods, like the silk industry. S. Colenbrander, *Zolang de weefkunst bloeit. Zijdewerverijen in Amsterdam en Haarlem 1585-1750* (Amsterdam, Dissertation University of Amsterdam, 2010), 27.

38 J.G. Frederiks & P.J. Frederiks, *Kohier van den tweehonderdsten penning voor Amsterdam en onderhoorige plaatsen* (Amsterdam: Ten Brink & De Vries, 1890).

39 J.E. Elias, *De vroedschap van Amsterdam I*, 323.

40 Arjan Poelwijk, *'In dienste vant suyckerbacken'*, 162-163.

41 Jan de Vries, 'De Huishoudportemonee en de spulletjes. Een poging zicht te krijgen op de gezinshuishouding vanaf de vijftiende eeuw' in: Anton Schuurman, Jan de Vries & Ad van der Woude, *Aards Geluk. De Nederlanders en hun spullen 1550-1850* (Amsterdam: Balans, 1997), 29-79, here 48-49.

42 Lisa Jardine, *Worldly Goods. A New History of the Renaissance* (London: Macmillan, 1996), 37-39.

Chapter 2

1 Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (London: Allen Lane/the Penguin Press, 1999), 7; Gary Schwartz, *Meet Rembrandt. Life and Work of the Master Painter* (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum Amsterdam & Nieuw Amsterdam Publishers, 2009), 6-7; Gary Schwartz, *De Grote Rembrandt* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2006), 40.

2 Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (translation from the French by Robert Baldick) (New York: New York: Vintage Books, 1962 [orig. 1960]), 50.

3 Bianca M. du Mortier, 'Characteristics of Fashion in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century' (Forthcoming).

4 Saskia Kuus, 'Children's Costume in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries' in: Jan Baptist Bedaux & Rudi Ekkart (eds.), *Pride and Joy. Children's Portraits in the Netherlands 1500-1700* (Ghent: Ludion Press, 2000), 73-84.

5 Huygens described Rembrandt 'die nog geen baard heeft' (who still has no beard). Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn leven verteld aan mijn kinderen in twee boeken II.* (translated from Latin and edited by Frans R.E. Blom) (Amsterdam: Prometheus/Bert Bakker, 2003), 64.

6 J.A. Worp, *Oud-Holland* IX (1891): 106-136.

7 Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (London: Allen Lane/the Penguin Press, 1999), 27-29, 36-37.

8 There is also the possibility that Huygens referred to the young men not having a beard (*baardeloos* in Dutch), implying the Latin term 'imberbis', meaning that one had not yet reached the age of majority and did not have power of attorney. *Woordenboek der Nederlandsche Taal.* Chances are that Huygens considered them still very young, and without facial hair.

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10 Will Fisher, *Materializing Gender in Early Modern Literature and Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 83-128; Will Fisher, 'The Renaissance Beard: Masculinity in Early Modern England' in: *Renaissance Quarterly* 54 (2001): 155-187, here 172-173.

11 Herbert Moller, 'The Accelerated Development of Youth: Beard Growth as a Biological Marker' in: *Comparative Studies of Social History* 29 (1987): 748-762, here 755.

12 Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair. The First Five Thousand Years* (London: Peter Owen, 1965), 206.

13 German François Poullain de Saint-Foix, *The History of the City of Paris* I. (translated from the French by D.Y. Marbly (London: W. Whittingham, 1770), 59-60.

14 Toon Kerkhoff, 'Goed licht, een stevige tafel en veel kussens. De werkplaatsen van barbiers, heelmeesters en operateurs in de vroeg-moderne tijd, (1550-1750)' in: Guillaume van Gemert, Frans Korsten, Pieter Rietbergen & Jan de Vet (eds.), *Orbis doctus, 1500-1850* (Amsterdam/Utrecht: APA-Holland Universiteits Pers, 2005), 149-178.

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16 I.H. van Eeghen, *De Gilden* (Bussum: C.A.J. van Dishoeck, 1965), 72-73; M. Daem, *Van baardemaker tot barbier. Gentse chirurgijn-barbiers* (Brussels: Aurelia Books, 1976) 12-13, 30, 110.

17 Richard Corson, *Fashions in Hair*, 198-203.

18 German François Poullain de Saint-Foix, *The History of the City of Paris* I, 59-60.

19 Alessio Piemontese, *De Secreeten*. Part II (Amsterdam: Hendrick Laurensz., 1636), 11, 18, 46, 48, 80.

20 Ger Luijten and Adriane van Schutelen et al (eds.), *Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish Art, 1580-1620* (Amsterdam/Zwolle: Rijksmuseum & Waanders, 1993), 249.

21 Jan Jansz. Starter, Friesche *Lust-Hof. Beplant met verscheyde stichtelyke minne-liedkens, gedichten, en de boertige kluchten* (Amsterdam: Paulus van Ravesteyn, 1621), 22-23.

22 Irenæus Poimendander, *Absaloms-hayr off Discours, daerinne ondersocht wordt/wat haer te houden zy vande wilde vliegende hayr drossen/of hangende hayr-locken …* (Dordrecht: Fransoys Boels, 1643), 126-136.

23 Irenæus Poimendander, *Absaloms-hayr off Discours,* 139-154.

24 Irenæus Poimendander, *Absaloms-hayr off Discours,* 255-256.

25 Jacobus Borstius, *Predicatie van 't langh hair* (Dordrecht, 1645), 12-13, 64; Willem Frijhoff & Marijke Spies, *Dutch Culture in European Perspective. 1650 – Hard-won Unity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 363.

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27 Willem Frijhoff, *Wegen van Evert Willemsz. Een Hollands Weeskind op zoek naar zichzelf* (Nijmegen: Sun, 1995), 810-811.

28 G.D.J. Schotel, *De Openbare Eeredienst der Nederlandsche Hervormde Kerk in e zestiende, zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* edited by H.C. Rogge (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1906 [1870]), 162; G.D.J. Schotel, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de kerkelijke en wereldlijke kleeding Vol. 1 & 2* (The Hague: P.H. Noordendorp 1854-1856),

29 Jacobus Hondius, *Swart Register van Duysent Sonden* (Amsterdam: Gerardus Borstius, 1679), 276.

30 Claudius Salmasius, *Brief van Cl. Salmasius aen Andream Colvium, over langh hair der mannen ende de lokken der vrouwen* (Dordrecht: Jan Ambrullaert, 1645), 33.

31 Claudius Salmasius, *Brief van Cl. Salmasius aen Andream Colvium, over langh hair der mannen ende de lokken der vrouwen* (Dordrecht: Jan Ambrullaert, 1645), 480-481.

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34 Alessio Piemontese, *De Secreeten* Part I. (Amsterdam: Hendrick Laurensz, 1636), 170, 165-169.

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37 Sara Pendergast, *Fashion*, *Costume, and Culture*, 516-516.

38 Janet Arnold, *Patterns of Fashion. The Cut and Construction of Clothes for Men and Women ca. 1560-1620* (London: Drama Publishers, 1985), 76-77.

39 Sara Pendergast, *Fashion, Costume, and Culture,* 542-543.

40 Sara Pendergast, *Fashion, Costume, and Culture,* 545-550.

41 Sara Pendergast, *Fashion, Costume, and Culture,* 529-530.

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45 Simon Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes* (London: Allen Lane, The Penguin Group, 1999), 7.

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50 Louis Crompton, *Homosexuality and Civilization* (Cambridge, Mass.; Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 228-333, 335-339; A. Lloyd Moote, *Louis XIII, the Just* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), 283-286.

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52 'Eenighe om welt te cleeden/eten qualijck. Andere om welt t' eten, cleeden qualijck', Milo. Stefano Guazzo, *Van den heuschen burgerlycken ommegangh* (Alkmaar: Jacob de Meester, 1603), 372; Bianca du Mortier, 'Characteristics of Fashion in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century' (forthcoming).

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Soo ick wat maken laet van Schoen-maker of suyer/ Sy moeten strack riet staen/en schickent mijn voort weer:
En wat ick van de Borduur-wercker begeer
Dat moet hy mijn voor eerst iens fraey of conterfeyte/ Want ick soeck anders niet als brave rariteyte: W. D. Hooft, *Heden-daegsche Verloren Soon. Gespeelt op de Amsterdamsche Schouwburgh op Vasten-avont, Anno 1640* (Amsterdam: Nicolaes van Ravensteyn, 1640 [orig. 1630]), 7-8.

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is een glaesje voor de gezondheid.
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Het derde een slaapdrankje,
De rest kan niet dienen voor vermaek'

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71 NA, VUL, no. 10, p. 171. Daniel van der Meulen enrolled in Leiden on 10 June 1619; Litterarum (age 28 years old).

72 Reinerus Leuwenhuysen enrolled for the first time at Leiden on July 9, 1620. His request to the Academic Vierschaar was honored, and he was re-enrolled at the university again on October 23, 1623. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), 148, 172; Vierschaar der universiteit Leiden, no. 33: Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, dated July 18, 1623.

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Chapter 4

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1569-1628. Letters to the English Ambassador (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1986), 44-45; Jacobus Trigland, *Kerckelycke Geschiedenissen* (Leiden: Adriaen Wyngaerden, 1650), 912-917.

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57 Charles C.M. de Mooij, *Geloof kan Bergen verzetten. Reformatie en katholieke herbeleving te Bergen op Zoom 1577-1795* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1998), 373-374.

58 W. Bergsma, *Tussen Gideonsbende en publieke kerk. Een studie over het gereformeerd protestantisme in Friesland, 1580-1650* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), 363.

59 Peter C. Sutton, 'A Life in Full: Artistry, Invention, and Patronage' in: Peter C. Sutton (ed.), *Jan van der Heyden, 1637-1712* (Amsterdam & Greenwich, Conn.: Rijksmuseum & Yale University Press, 2006), 22; Lettie S. Multhauf, 'The Light of lamp-lantern street lighting in 17th-century Amsterdam' in: *Technology and Culture* 26 (1985): 236-252; C. Koslofsky, 'Court Culture and Street Lighting in Seventeenth-Century Europe' in: *Journal of Urban History* 28 (2002): 743-768.

60 Lotte van der Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerdom. Prostitutie in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: Wereldbibliotheek, 1996), 284-286.

61 H. Pleij, *De sneeuwpoppen van 1511. Literatuur en stadscultuur tussen middeleeuwen en moderne tijd* (Amsterdam: Meulenhoff 1988), 148-150.

62 Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Educational Ambitions in History. Childhood and Education in an Expanding Educational Space from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2010); Jeroen J.H. Dekker, *Het Verlangen naar Opvoeden. Over de groei van de pedagogische ruimte in Nederland sinds de Gouden Eeuw tot omstreeks 1900* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2006), 43-53.

63 Dirk van Miert, *Illustre onderwijs. Het Amsterdamse Athenaeum in de Gouden Eeuw, 1632-1704* (Amsterdam: Bert Bakker, 2005), 31-32.

64 Willem Frijhoff, 'L'École illustre' in: Guillaume van Gemert, Frans Korsten, Pieter Rietbergen & Jan de Vet (eds.), *Orbis doctus, 1500-1850* (Amsterdam/Utrecht: APA-Holland Universiteits Pers, 2005), 67-88; J.C. van Slee, *De illustre School te Deventer 1630-1878* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916); Ferdinand Sassen, *Studenten van de illustre school te 's-Hertogenbosch, 1636-1810* (Amsterdam: Noord-Hollandsche Uitgeversmaatschapij, 1970); G.D.J. Schotel, *De Illustre school te Dordrecht. Eene bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van het schoolwezen in ons vaderland* (Utrecht: Kemink, 1857).

65 J.C. van Slee, *De Illustre School te Deventer 1630-1878.*

66 Jan de Vries, *Barges and Capitalism. Passenger Transportation in the Dutch Economy, 1632-1839* (Utrecht, 1978); John Dehé, *'Een slaafsch en ongezondbedrijf' De geschiedenis van het openbaar vervoer in Waterland, 1630-1880* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2005), 308-316.

67 P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, II. 8 Febr. 1610-7 Febr. 1647* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916), 220, 221; Dirk van Mierts, *Illustre onderwijs*. 32; Willem Frijhoff, 'What is an early modern university? The conflict between Leiden and Amsterdam in 1631' in: Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 149-168.

68 Both cousins enrolled on September 21, 1633. Their other cousin Adriaen van Brederhoff and Cornelis Sonck enrolled two days later on September 23, in the same faculty. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), 257; According to Allard Merens, Johannes Merens was born in Hoorn on December 20, 1617. This age does not correspond with his age of 17 when he enrolled at Leiden in 1633. Allard Merens, *De geschiedenis van een Westfriesche regentenfamilie* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1957), 90-94.

69 Adriaen van Bredehoff became bailiff in 1646. Allard Merens, *De geschiedenis van een Westfriesche regentenfamilie* (The Hague: Nijhoff, 1957), 93,

70 Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame. Het bolwerk van de vrijheid. De Leidse universiteit 1575-1672* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Prometheus, 2000), 261.

71 W.J.J.C. Bijleveld, 'De Prins van Polen' in*: Leids Jaarboekje* 36 (1944): 147-157.

72 R. Muchembled, *De uitvinding van de moderne mens,* 236-241.

73 Willem Frijhoff, 'What is an early modern university? The conflict between Leiden and Amsterdam in 1631' in: Helga Robinson-Hammerstein (ed.), *European Universities in the Age of Reformation and Counter Reformation* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1998), 149-168, here 151.

74 W.Th.M. Frijhoff, 'De betekenis van de Harderwijkse universiteit in nationaal perspectief' in: J.A.H. Bots, M. Evers, W.Th.M. Frijhoff et al. (ed.), *Het Gelders Athene. Bijrdagen tot de geschiedenis an de Gelderse universiteit in Harderwijk (1648-1811)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), 15-36; W.Th.M. Frijhoff, 'Hoger onderwijs als inzet van stedelijke naijver in de vroegmoderne tijd' in: P.B.M. Blaas & J. van Herwaarden (eds.), *Stedelijke Naijver. De betekenis van interstedelijke conflicten in de geschiedenis. Enige beschouwingen en case-studies* (The Hague: VUGA, 1986), 82-127.

75 Ronald Rommes & J. van der Spek, *Met Hand en Hart. Zeven eeuwen smedengilde en St. Eloyengasthuisin Utrecht 1304-2004* (Utrecht: SPOU, 2004), 47-68, namely 53; H.Ph. Vogel, 'De Republiek als Wapenexporteur 1600-1650' in: Jan Piet Puype & Marco van der Hoeven (eds.), *Het Arsenaal van de Wereld: De Nederlandse Wapenhandel in de Gouden Eeuw* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1993), 13-22.

76 Hester C. Dibbits, *Vertrouwd bezit. Materiële cultuur in Doesburg en Maassluis 1650-1800* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Pers, 1998), 133.

77 The procession of the municipal guard is portrayed in 'Civil Guard Procession', ca. 1610-1630, by an unknown painter (Amsterdam Museum, Amsterdam, the Netherlands).

78 R. Muchembled, *De uitvinding van de moderne mens,* 236-241.

79 Sydney Angelo, *The Martial Arts of Renaissance Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 99-102.

80 Pieter Spierenburg, *A History of Murder. Personal Violence in Europe from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 74.

81 The term 'swashbuckler' first appeared in 1560 and was used to describe a rough, noisy swordsman. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

82 I. van Dijk, *Academia Groningana 1614-1914: Gedenkboek ter gelegenheid van het derde eeuw feest der Universiteit te Groningen* (Groningen: Noordhoff, 1914).

83 In his article, Frijhoff contemplates whether early modern students contributed to municipal taxes in the towns where universities were located after being exempt from tariffs and excises on various goods and services. W.Th.M. Frijhoff, 'Hoger onderwijs als inzet van stedelijke naijver in de vroegmoderne tijd' in: P.B.M. Blaas & J. van Herwaarden (eds.), *Stedelijke Naijver. De betekenis van interstedelijke conflicten in de geschiedenis. Enige beschouwingen en case-studies* (The Hague: VUGA, 1986), 82-127.

84 Marc Wingens, 'Jeugdige lichtzinnigheid en losbandigheid: Seksueel gedrag en seksuele beleving van studenten ten tijde van de Nederlandse Republiek' in: G. Hekma, D. Kraakman & W. Melching (eds.), *Balans en perspectief van de Nederlandse cultuurgeschiedenis. Grensgeschillen in de seks. Bijdragen tot een culturele geschiedenis van de seksualiteit* (Amsterdam/Atlanta: Rodopi, 1990), 8-23; see also Marc Wingens's more elaborate research on the scandalous behavior of students in Leiden in the early modern period. Marc Wingens, 'Zur Vermeidung der Schande: Organisation und strafrechtliche Tätigkeit der Universitätsgerichte in der Republik der Niederlande (1575-1811)' in: Heinz Mohnhaupt & Dieter Simon (eds.), *Vorträge zur Justizforschung: Geschichte und Theorie* Vol. I. (Frankfurt am Mainz, 1992), 79-101.

85 A.C.J. de Vrankrijker, *Vier Eeuwen Nederlandsch Studentenleven* (Voorburg: Boot, 1939), 162.

86 Joel F. Harrington, '"Singing for his supper": the reinvention of juvenile street singing in early modern Nuremberg' in: *Social History 22* (1997): 27-45.

87 A.C.J. de Vrankrijker, *Vier Eeuwen Nederlandsch Studentenleven,* 162.

88 J.C. van Slee, *De Illustre School te Deventer 1630-1878* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1916), 50-51.

89 Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame,* 267.

90 Pieter Spierenburg, *A History of Murder,* 102.

91 Nationaal Archief, Vierschaar der universiteit Leiden, no. 33: Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, no. 33, 13 December 1627; Anselmus Deurverden à Voort registered on October 6, 1627. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), 204.

92 RAG, Archieven van de senaat en de faculteiten van de Groningse universiteit, no. 30, 23 September 1629. Cornelis Damman, 20 years old at the time, enrolled at the University of Groningen on April 20, 1629, as a student of philosophy. *Album Studiosorum Groninganae* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1915), 21; A.J. van der Aa, *Biografisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden IV.-44.* (online: http://www.inghist.nl/retroboeken/vdaa/#aa__001biog05_01.xml:46).

93 Paul Knevel, 'Armed Citizens: The Representation of the Civic Militias in the Seventeenth Century' in:

A.K. Wheelock Jr & A. Seeff (eds.), *The Public and the Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age* (Newark, Delaware: University of Delaware Press, 2000), 85-99; Paul Knevel, *Burgers in het geweer: De schutterijen in Holland, 1550-1700* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1994), 225-227.

94 Von Waldo enrolled on February 18, 1637, together with his 18-year-old brother, Joachimus Ernestus von Waldo. The faculty was not listed. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), 284.

95 NA, VUL, no. 33, boek C, p. 167-168, 198; Henricus van Alevelt enrolled on October 1, 1632 and Johannes Graro enrolled on April 25, 1637 at the University of Leiden. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), 247, 286.

96 Julius R. Ruff, *Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800*, 161-183.

97 Kloep et al. identify three types of risk-taking behavior in modern adolescents in both western and non-western cultures: irresponsible behavior, audience-controlled behavior, and thrill-seeking behavior. M. Kloep et al, 'Motives for risk-taking in adolescence: A cross-cultural study' in: *Journal of Adolescence* 32 (2009): 135-151.

98 J.C. van Slee (ed.), *Diarium Everardi Bronchorstii sive adversaria omnium quae gesta sunt in Academia Leydensi (1591-1627)* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1898) on citation in Ilja M. Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure: Print Books by Crispijn de Passe* (Rotterdam: Sound & Vision Publications, 2001), 47; Willem Otterspeer, *Het bolwerk van de vrijheid. De Leidse universiteit, 1575-1672,* 218.

99 G. van der Keijst, *Geschiedenis van Schiedam* (Schiedam: Interbook International, 1975), 212-217.

100 Besides breaking windows, students in Harderwijk (after 1648!) were also known for splattering tar on buildings and 'graduating' chickens, that is stealing and eating them. I have not found similar cases reported in Leiden or Groningen. J. Duinkerken, 'De plaats van de Gelderse Universiteit in de Harderwijkse samenleving' in: J.A.H. Bots, M. Evers, W.Th.M. Frijhoff et al. (ed.), *Het Gelders Athene. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis an de Gelderse universiteit in Harderwijk (1648-1811)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2000), 37-49.

101 NA, VUL, Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, no. 33: 18 Dec. 1623, p. 100; Lucas van Hulten enrolled at Leiden on June 2, 1623, as a law student, aged 22. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1875), 169.

102 P.J.C. Elema, 'De mimmorie van Lucas van Hulten' in: *De Nederlandsche Leeuw* 123 (2006): 77-89.

103 NA, VUL, Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, no. 33: 18 Dec. 1623, p. 100; Lucas van Hulten enrolled at Leiden on June 2, 1623, as a law student, aged 22. Before that, he had enrolled as a law student at the University of Groningen on November 9, 1620. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, 169; *Album Studiosorum Groninganae*, 10; *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, 169.

104 In 1632, Daniel Schonk was arrested for assaulting students with a weapon and breaking windows in 'lichten dag' (broad daylight). NA, VUL, no. 33, Book C, p. 164.

105 P.J.C. Elema, 'De mimmorie van Lucas van Hulten', 77-89.

106 NA, VUL, Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, no. 33: 16 Dec. 1623, p. 101; Otto Farmesom was enrolled as a philosophy student at the University of Groningen on October 18, 1619. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Groninganae,* 8. Otto Farmesom enrolled at the University of Leiden on May 27, 1623, five days before Lucas van Hulten. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae,* 168. Farmesom later held important administrative positions in Groningen and in the Republic: member of the Council of State, advocate of the province of Groningen, secretary for the court of Groningen, etc. Farmesom was originally from Friesland. Samme Zijlstra, *Het Geleerde Friesland. Een mythe? Universiteit en maatschappij in Friesland en Stad en Lande ca. 1380-1650* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1996).

107 NA, VUL, Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, no. 33: 26 Dec. 1622, p. 101.

108 [4 maii 1621] Johannes Pauli ten Holte, Vollenhovius, nunc J.U.D. et urbis Steenvicensis consul. Filius

posuit. Otto Schutte, *De Wapenboeken,* 42. Johannes Pauli married Doreathea ter Steege (later spelled Ter Stege) who was the daughter of Everhardt ter Steege, lawyer and secretary to the city of Steenwijk, and Aeltjen Hermans. Doreathea's brother Seyger ter Steege was still a lawyer and secretary to the city of Steenwijk in 1650. Seyger ter Stege [Zigerus ter Stege] enrolled as a law student at Leiden and member of the Gelderland-Overijssel nation on 8 October 1634. Schutte, 67.

109 Vierschaar der universiteit Leiden, no. 33: Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, November 26, 1624, p. 103. Jacob Velius name is not listed in the university register. Possibly, he might have been the son of Theodorus Velius (1572-1630), chronical writer and magistrate of the city of Hoorn. According to the university register, Theodorus Velius had two sons enrolled at Leiden: Volcardus Velius, born in 1601, enrolled on October 1, 1618, and Martinus Velius, born in 1604, and enrolled on October 3, 1619. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae,* 137, 143; H.A. van Vessem, 'Driehonderdvijftig jaar geleden stierf Theodorus Velius' in: *West-Friesland Oud en Nieuw* 47 (1980): 8-11; F. Wijdenes Spaans, 'Dr. Theodorus Velius' in: *West-Friesland Oud en Nieuw* 9 (1935): 20-27.

110 Vierschaar der universiteit Leiden, no. 33: Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, November 26, 1624, p. 103. Jacob Beets (Beetz) enrolled at Leiden on April 12, 1624, aged 20, from Hoorn, law student. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae,* 175.

111 NA, VUL, Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, no. 33: 24 Nov. 1624, p. 103, 18 Dec. 1624, 129. NA, VUL, no. 11, 107-109. Caspar Nostitz enrolled in Leiden on 30 January 1624 as a law student. He was 20 years old and from Silesia. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae,* 174.

112 Th.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C. Willemijn Fock & A.J. van Dissel, *Het Rapenburg. Geschiedenis van een Leidse gracht IV*. (Leiden: Universiteit van Leiden, 1989), 345.

113 NA, VUL, no. 11, p. 107-108; P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, II. 8 Febr. 1610-7 Febr. 1647*, 125-126.

114 NA, VUL, Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, no. 33: 3 April 1626, p. 104.

115 Isaac Doreslaer (1595-1649), son of Lieven Dorselaer, became professor in history at Cambridge in 1628, and later envoy to The Hague in 1649 where he was murdered by Scottish royalists. H.C.G. Matthew & Brian Harrison (eds.), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* 16 (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004), 569-571; J.P. Arends, *Algemeene geschiedenis des Vaderlands IV*. (Part 1) (Leiden: P. van Santen, 1877), 83-84; A. de Ribe*, Doreslaar, of achttien jaar later. Eene oorspronkelijke Nederlandsche Geschiedenis uit de eerste helft van de zeventiende eeuw* (Amsterdam: G. Portieltje, 1841).

116 Ottavia Niccoli, 'Rituals of Youth: Love, Play, and Violence in Tridentine Bologna' in: K. Eisenbichler (ed.), *The Premodern Teenager: Youth in Society 1150-1650* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2002), 75-94, here 79-81.

117 Riita Laitinen, 'Nighttime Street Fighting and the Meaning of Place. A Homicide in a Seventeenth-Century Swedish Provincial Town' in: *Journal of Urban History* 33 (2007), 609.

118 M. Engels, 'Een tuchtkwestie aan de Franeker universiteit, 1627-1629' in: *De Vrije Fries* (1978): 101-109.

119 Doeda Nauta, *Samuel Maresius 1599-1673* (Amsterdam: Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 1935), 388.

120 W.J.A. Jonckbloet, *Gedenkboek der Hoogeschool te Groningen ter gelegenheid van haar vijfde halve eeuwfeest* (Groningen: J.B. Wolters, 1864), 363-370.

121 C.M. Ridderikhoff, 'De Franequer Los-Kop' in: G. Th. Jensma, F.R.H. Smit, F. Westra (eds.), *Universiteit te Franeker 1585-1811* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy, 1985), 119-132, namely 129.

122 Alan Macfarlane, *Glass. A World History* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2002), 70.

123 Paul Griffiths, *Youth and Authority: Formative Experiences in England 1560-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 128.

124 H. de Ridder-Symoens, 'Buitenlandse studenten aan de Franeker universiteit 1585-1811' in: G.Th. Jensma,

F.R.H. Smit & F. Westra (eds.), *Universiteit te Franeker 1585-1811. Bijdragen tot de geschiedenis van de Friese hogeschool* (Leeuwarden: Fryske Akademy 1985), 73-89; W.T.M. Frijhoff, *La Société néerlandaise et ses gradués, 1575-1814: une recherche sérielle sur le statut des intellectuels* (Amsterdam: APA, 1981), 78-79.

125 G.J. Quintyn, *De Hollandsche-lys, met de Brabandsche-bely: Poeetischer wijse voorgestelten gedicht* (The Hague: Joost Ockersz., 1629).

126 G.A. Bredero, *Moortje, waer in hy Terentii Eunuchum, heeft nae-ghevolght* (Amsterdam: Cornelis Lodowijcksz. van der Plasse, 1633 [orig. 1617]); E.K. Grootes, *G.A. Bredero's Moortje en Spaanschen Brabander* (Amsterdam, Delta, Athenaeum, Polak & Van Gennep, 1999), 396, 07.

127 Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame,* 267.

128 M.H. Würzner, 'Duitse studenten in de 17de eeuw te Leiden' in: *Leids Jaarboekje* 67 (1975): 63-76.

129 C.M. Ridderikhoff, 'Het academisch leven in de Republiek. Een breuk met middeleeuwse tradities?' in: *Utrechtse Historiche Cahiers* 18 (1997): 9-18.

130 Otto Schutte, *De wapenboeken der Gelderse-Overijsselse studentenverenigingen* (Zutphen: De Walburg Pers, 1975), 1-29; Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame,* 277-278.

131 NA, VUL, Repertoria op de criminele klacht en civiele dingboeken 1594-1686, no. 33: 22 July 1624, p. 101-102; NA, VUL, no. 11, p. 64. Cuno von Brodenhausen enrolled at Leiden on July 22, 1623, aged 21, law student. Johannes Vossius enrolled on February 15, 1620. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae,* 170, 145.

132 A.C.J. de Vrankrijker, *Vier Eeuwen Nederlandsch Studentenleven,* 117-119.

133 Marian Füssel, 'Riten der Gewalt. Zur Geschichte der akademischen Deposition und des Pennalismus in der frühen Neuzeit' in: *Zeitschrift für Historische Forschung* 32 (2005): 605-648; Rainer Müller, 'Student education, student life' in: H. de Ridder-Symoens (ed.), *A History of the University in Europe II. Universities in Early Modern Europe 1500-1800* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 349-352.

134 According to Veldman, although De Passe started the book in Cologne, after he was forced to leave the city and settle in Leiden, many of the presentations of student life were based on student life in Leiden, 36. Ilja M. Veldman, *Profit and Pleasure. Print Books by Crispijn de Passe,* 154.

135 A.C.J. de Vrankrijker, *Vier Eeuwen Nederlandsch Studentenleven,* 122.

136 Alexandra Robbins, *Secrets of the Tomb: Skull and Bones, The Ivy League, and the Hidden Paths* (New York: Little and Brown, 2002).

137 Marian Füssel, 'Riten der Gewalt. Zur Geschichte der akademischen Deposition und des Pennalismus in der frühen Neuzeit', 605-648.

138 The three young brothers enrolled on 26 July 1638, Franciscus and Georgius both aged 22, as law students. Johannes's study is not stated. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae* 297; August Müller, 'Schlesier auf der Hochschule in Leiden von 1597-1742' in: *Archiv für Schlesische Kirkengeschichte* 17 (1959): 164-205; here: 197.

139 When the Protestants gained political power again in Silesia sometime after 1633, Schönborner changed back to Protestantism. In 1635, the Catholics regained power, and Schönborner was dismissed from his positions. The last two years of his life he was mentally and physically devastated. Marian Szyrocki, *Andreas Gryphius. Sein Leben und Werk* (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1964), 25.

140 Heinz Schneppen, *Niederländische Universitäten und deutsches Geistesleben: Von der Gründung der Universität Leiden bis ins späte 18. Jahrhundert* (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1960), 35-36.

141 NA, VUL, no. 33: 19 June 1641. (p. 161); Book C: 5 Dec. 1640; 10 April 1641; 1 May 1641; NA, VUL, no. 12, 10 April 1641, p. 67-68.

142 Willi Flemming, *Andreas Gryphius* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1965), 36; Stefan Kiedroń, *Andreas Gryphius und die Niederlande. Niederländische Einflüsse auf sein Leben und Schaffen* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1983) 27.

143 C.V. Wedgewood, *The Thirty Years War* (New York: New York Review Books, 2005 [orig. 1938]), 414-444.
144 B. Ann Tlusty, *Bacchus and Civic Order*, 127-128.
145 *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, 296-319.
146 Heinz Schneppen, *Niederländische Universitäten und deutsches Geistesleben*, 32.
147 This conclusion is based on the high percentage of Silesian students who are recorded in the Academic Vierschaar of Leiden during the period of 1620-1640. For a list of Silesian students that studied in Leiden see: W.A. Fasel Kampen, 'Die Schlesier an der Universität Leiden im 17. Jahrhundert' in: *Jahrbuch der Schlesischen Friedrich-Wilhelms Universität* 6 (1961): 331-350; Stefan Kiedroń, 'Noch einmal über die Schlesier an der Universität Leiden im 17. Jahrhundert' in: *Neerlandica Wratislaviensia* IV (Wroclaw: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 1989): 269-277.
148 Dionysius Christianius enrolled at the University of Leiden on 24 January 1639 from Hafniensis Danus, as a law student, aged 24. He enrolled on the same day as Severinus Matthias, also from Denmark, aged 22 years, medicine student. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae*, 300.
149 According to Tlusty, in the unwritten rules of the duel, penetrating jabs and drawing blood were considered inappropriate, and if a fatal jab was inflicted, it was not uncommon for the survivor to flee. B. Ann Tlusty, 'Violence and Urban Identity in Early Modern Augsburg: Communication Strategies between Authorities and Citizens in the Adjudication of Fights' in: James Van Horn Melton (ed.), *Cultures of Communication from Reformation to Enlightenment. Constructing publics in the Early Modern German Lands* (Aldershot: Ashgate; 2002), 10-24.
150 A (Jo)Han(ne)s Christopher von Schönborn(er) enrolled at the University of Jena in 1646. Georg Mentz & Reinhold Jauernig, *Die Matrikel der Universität Jena I. 1548 bis 1652* (Jena: Verlag von Gustav Fischer 1944), 391.
151 NA, VUL, no. 33: 19 June 1641. (p. 161); Book C: 5 Dec. 1640; 10 April 1641; 1 May 1641; NA, VUL, no. 12, 10 April 1641, p. 67-68.
152 August Müller, 'Schlesier auf der Hochschule in Leiden von 1597-1742' in: *Archiv für Schlesische Kirkengeschichte* 17 (1959): 164-205: here 190. (k.k. Rat, Generalmajor, seit 1672, *Laudeshauptmann von Jauer-Schweidnitz*, Codex 27, 293).
153 *Hollandts Placaet-boeck 1645. 1580 tot 1645* (Amsterdam: Jan Janssen, 1645), 320-323; (P.C. Molhuysen, *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit, II. 8 Febr. 1610-7 Febr. 1647*, 326-329.
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Chapter 5

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93 Enrique Fernández, *Pornoboscodidascalus Latinus (1624),* 385.

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95 Crispijn de Passe, *Spieghel der alder-schoonste Cortisanen des Tijts* (Amsterdam: published by the author, 1631).
96 *De Criminele Vonnisboeken,* 166
97 Kees Walle, *Buurthouden. De geschiedenis van burengebruiken en buurtorganisaties in Leiden (14e-19e eeuw)* (Leiden: Gingko, 2005), 62 66.
98 J. Cats, *Spiegel,* 146-147.
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100 J. Cats, *Spiegel*, 138-139
101 J. Cats, *Spiegel,* 138-139.
102 N.F. Noordam, 'Cats als volksopvoeder' in: *Paedagogische Studiën* 38 (1961): 1-13; K. Hazelzet, 'De vermakelijke lasten van het huwelijk. De *Huwelijksfuik* van Hendrick Noorderwiel, Jacob Cats en Adriaen van de Venne' in: *Jaarverslag Koninklijk Oudheidkundig Genootschap* (1991): 56-70.
103 Peter N. Stearns, *Sexuality in World History,* 67-68.
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105 J. Cats, *Spiegel,* 143.
106 NA, VUL, no. 11: 10 April 1625. No record indicates that the child was baptized. Jacobus Porret registered twice at the University of Leiden, the first time on February 13, 1612, at the age of 15 as a student of the humanities and a second time on May 4, 1617, as a student of medicine. He was a resident of Leiden. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875,* 98, 130.
107 Rijksarchief Groningen (abbreviated: RAG), Ondertrouwboek 1624-1640.
108 RAG, Archieven van den Senaat en de faculteiten van de Groningsche Universiteit (abbreviated AA), inv. 46, nrs. 14 & 30, 30 March 1633.
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114 J. Fabricius, *Syphilis in Shakespeare's England,* 7.
115 A. Frank-van Westrienen, *De Groote Tour,* 177.
116 M. van der Merwede, *Uyt-heemsen oorlog, ofte Roomse Min-triumfen* (The Hague: Isaac Burghoorn, 1651), *ii.*
117 M.A. Schenkeveld-Van der Dussen, 'De geestelijke (?) minnevlammen van Matthijs van de Merwede van Clootwijck' in: M.A. Schenkeveld-van der Dussen & A.J. Gelderblom (eds.), *In de Boeken, met de Geest.*

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118 Theo van der Meer, '*Die een man soo min kan missen*… Seksualiteit in de 16de en 17de eeuw' in: V.T. van Vilsteren (ed.), *100.000 jaar Sex. Over liefde, vruchtbaarheid en wellust* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2003), 66-73.

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Chapter 6

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11 Jan Jansz. Starter, *Friesche Lust-Hof,* 34-38.

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14 Jacob Cats, *Proteus ofte minne-beelden verandert in sinne-beelden,* 74-75.
15 Th. van der Meer, *Sodoms zaad in Nederland,* 168-169; Voetius complained about students smoking - which was also known as drinking (tobacco) and had the same addictive effects. He referred to their clouds of smoke resembling those of Sodom and Gomorrah. G. Voetius, *Inaugurele rede over godzaligheid te verbinden met de wetenschap gehouden aan de Illustre school te Utrecht op de 21ste augustus 1634* (Latijnse tekst opnieuw uitgegeven met Nederlandse vertaling, inleiding en toelichtingen door Dr. Aart de Groot) (Kampen: Kok, 1978), 63.
16 H.A. Bosman-Jelgersma, 'De lotgevallen van een apothekersleerling in het 17de-eeuwse Leiden' in: *Leids Jaarboekje* 79 (1987): 62-79.
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19 This testimony is included in Johann Neander, *Tabacologia: hoc est, tabaci seu nicotianae descriptio Medio-Chirurgico-Pharmaceutica* (Leiden: Isaac Elzevier, 1622), 221-225; J. Neander, *Traicté du Tabac ou Nicotiane, Panacee, Petun* (Lyon: Barthemy Vincent, 1626), 276-277. G.A. Brongers, *Nicotiana Tabacum. The History of Tobacco and Tobacco Smoking in the Netherlands* (Amsterdam: H.J.W. Brechts Uitgeversmaatschappij, 1964), 18-20.
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21 A.C.J. de Vrankrijker, *Vier eeuwen Nederlandsch Studentenleven*, 107.
22 I. van Dijk, *Academia Groningana 1614-1914.*
23 C.M. Ridderikhof, 'Het academisch leven in de Republiek. Een breuk met middeleeuwse tradities?' 15.
24 Elmer Kolfin, *The Young Gentry at Play,* 21-24; P. Ackermann, *Textfunktion und Bild in Genreszenen der niederländischen Graphik des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Alfter: VDG, 1993), 62-63.
25 J. Kiers & F. Tissink, *De Glorie van de Gouden Eeuw. Nederlandse kunst uit de 17de eeuw. Schilderijen, beeldhouwkunst en kunstnijverheid* (Zwolle: Waanders, 2000), 63.
26 R. Augustin, *Der Geschmack des Neuen. Das Motiv des Tabakrauchens und seine Modernität in niederländischen Kunst* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1998), 15-26.
27 R. Visscher, *Sinnenpoppen* (Amsterdam: Willem Jansz. Blaeu, 1614), 10.
28 D. Harley, 'The Moral Symbolism of Tobacco in Dutch Genre Painting' in: S. Lock (ed. et al), *Ashes to Ashes. The History of Smoking and Health* (Atlanta: Rodopi, 1998), 78-88.
29 Elmer Kolfin, *The Young Gentry at Play,* 21-24.
30 Johan Neander enrolled on September 12, 1616. Otto Sperling enrolled on July 18, 1619. Johan Neander also had a younger brother (or relative), Everardus Neander, who was enrolled at the age of 14 in the literatum faculty on January 1, 1617. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae,* 126, 132, 142.
31 Neander included the testimonies of Joost van Ravelingen (1573-1628), enrolled as a student of medicine at the University of Leiden on May 6, 1602, aged 29 years old of Antwerp, doctor of medicine; Adrianus Falcoburgius (1581-1650), who taught medicine at the University of Leiden from 1619-1650, Willem van der Meer, and Johann Neander, *Tabacologia: Hoc est tabaci seu nicotianae descriptio* (Leiden: Isaac Elzevier, 1622); In the 1626 French translation Neander states that smoking tobacco is a good antidote for syphillis: 'Il y en a qui tiennent, que le parfum du Tabac est un puissant antidote pour extirper la verolle'. J. Neander, *Traicté du Tabac ou Nicotiane, Panacee, Petun* (Lyon: Barthemy Vincent, 1626), 203-204; Roland Augustin, *Der Geschmack des Neuen,* 19-20.
32 H. Veendorp & L.G.M. Baas Becking, *Hortus Academicus Lugduno Batavus,* 38, 58.

33 Van Beverwijck studied at Leiden from 1611-1614. Johan van Beverwijck, *Schat der Gesontheyt,* 136.

34 Perk bases this statement on Van Beverwijck but does not reference which publication it is based on, and it cannot be found in *Schat der Gesontheyt*. M. Perk, *Schetsen en Beelden* (Haarlem: H.D. Tjeenk Willink en Zoon, 1900), 241.

35 IJsbrandt van Diemenbroeck, *Traktaat vande Peste, Tweede Boek* (Middelburg: Pieter van Goetthem, 1671), 25. [Original: *Tractatus de Peste Neomagensi* (Nijmegen: 1646). See also Willem Th. M. Frijhoff's analysis of Van Diemerbroeck's treatise. Willem Th. M. Frijhoff, 'Gods gave afgewezen. Opzoek naar genezing van de pest: Nijmegen, 1635-1636' in: *Volkskundig Bulletin* 17 (1991): 143-171; Van Diemenbroeck enrolled at Leiden on November 1, 1627, aged 19 years old. *Album Studiosorum Academiae Lugduno Batavae 1575-1875,* 205.

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37 P. Scriverius, *Saturnalia. Ofte Poetisch Vasten-avond spel. Vervatende het gebruyk ende misbruyk van den Taback* (Haarlem: Adriaen Roman, 1630), 21.

38 B.B. Roberts, 'Drinking Like a Man. The Paradox of Excessive Drinking for Seventeenth-Century Dutch Youths', 237-252.

39 Th. van der Meer, *Sodoms zaad in Nederland,* 168-169.

40 D. Sturkenboom, *Spectators van Hartstocht,* 106-111.

41 D. Souterius, *Nuchteren Loth,* 242.

42 Dirck Pieterz. Pers, *Iconologia, of Uytbeeldinghe des Verstants van Cesare Ripa van Perugien* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 1644), 213-214.

43 L. F. Groenendijk, 'Pietistische vademecums voor zeevarenden', 126-139.

44 Eddy de Jong, 'Vluchtige rook vereeuwigd. Betekenissen van tabaksgebruik in zeventiende-eeuwse voorstellingen', 85-126, namely 92; G.A. Brongers, *Nicotiana Tabacum,* 72.

45 Piero Camporesi, *Bread of Dreams,* 137.

46 Timmermans does not reference his suggestion of the use of hemp in Brouwer's biography. F. Timmermans, *Adriaen Brouwer* (Amsterdam: P.N. van Kampen & Zoon, 1946), 26.

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50 H.K. Roessingh, *Inlandse Tabak,* 85; G. Knuttel, *Adriaen Brouwer. The Master and his Work* (The Hague: L.J.C. Boucher, 1962), 26; F. Timmermans, *Adriaen Brouwer,* 26.

51 Rembert Dodoens, *Cruydt-Boeck* (Leiden: Françoys van Ravelingen, 1608 [orig. 1554]), 805-806.

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Chapter 7

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12 Kees Zandvliet, *Mapping for Money: Maps, plans and topographical paintings and their role in Dutch overseas expansion during the 16th and 17th centuries* (Amsterdam: Batavian Lion International, 1998).
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14 R. van Gelder, *Het Oost-Indisch Avontuur. Duitsers in dienst van de VOC* (Nijmegen: Sun, 1997), 118-121; R. van Gelder, 'Noodzaak of nieuwsgierigheid. Reismotieven van Oostindiëgangers in de zeventiende en achttiende eeuw' in: *Indische Letteren* 8 (1993): 51-60.
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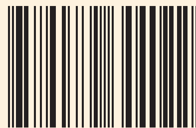
Sex and Drugs before *Rock 'n' Roll* is a fascinating study that presents an engaging overview of what it was like to be young and male in the 1620s and 1630s of Holland's Golden Age. Well-known cohorts from the generation such as Rembrandt van Rijn (born in 1606) are examined for the ways in which they expressed themselves by defying conservative values and norms. This study reveals how these young men rebelled, breaking from previous generations: letting their hair grow long, wearing colorful clothing, drinking excessively, challenging city guards, being promiscuous, smoking, and singing lewd songs.

Cogently argued, the study paints a compelling portrait of the youth culture of Holland's Golden Age, at a time when the rising popularity of print made dissemination of new cultural ideas possible, while rising incomes and liberal attitudes created a generation of men behaving badly.

Benjamin B. Roberts is an independent American historian and journalist based in Amsterdam.



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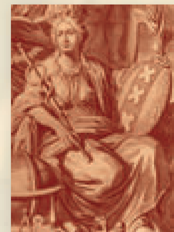

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