Notes

- 1 Dominicus Marius Niger, *Geographiae commentariorum libri XI*, Basel 1557, 57. See Chapter 10 for a detailed discussion.
- 2 Cf. e.g. Leerssen 2006; Klaniczay, Werner & Gecser 2011. For the Low Countries cf. e.g. Leerssen 2011; Mathijssen 2013.
- 3 Cf. Marcu 1976; Cochrane 1981; Asher 1993; Kidd 1999; Helmrath, Muhlack & Walther 2002; Enenkel & Ottenheim 2017; Enenkel & Ottenheim 2018.
- 4 Melville 1987; Lamazou-Duplan 2012.
- 5 Cf. Burke 1969; Neddermeyer 1988.
- 6 Schnapp 1993; Schnapp 1996; Hakelberg & Wiwjorra 2010.
- 7 Cf. Weiss 1988; Daly Davis 1994; Herklotz 1999; Lemerle 2005; Fiore & Nesselrath 2005.
- 8 Cf. Hoppe 2003; Wood 2008; Nagel & Wood 2009; Wood 2012; Hoppe 2018.
- 9 Serlio 1540; Palladio 1570, Libro IV.
- 10 Published by Picard, Paris, *De Architectura* series. Guillaume 2003.
- 11 Cf. e.g. Schofield 1992; Porter & Teich 1992; Farago 1995; Andersen, Bøggild Johannsen & Johannsen 2011.
- 12 Cf. Günther 1999; Günther 2009; Günther 2018a and 2018b; Hoppe 2003; Hoppe 2008; 2011; Hoppe 2018; Wood 2005; Wood 2008; Nagel & Wood 2009; Wood 2012.
- 13 'PRIN 2008. Architettura e identità locali: identità civica, presenze di antichità e storiografia locale quale fattori determinanti gli stili regionali e locali in Italia e in Europa durante il "lungo" Rinascimento', resulting in two volumes: Corrain & Di Teodoro 2013 and Burns & Musolin 2013.
- 14 'COSMED. Dalla stereotomia ai criteri antisismici: crocevia di sperimentazioni progettuali. Sicilia e Mediterraneo (XII–XVIII secolo)'. See <http://www.cosmedweb.org/cosmed.php>.
- 15 *HistAntArtSI. Historical Memory, Antiquarian Culture, Artistic Patronage: Social Identities in the Centres of Southern Italy between the Medieval and Early Modern Period*. See <http://www.histantartsi.eu/project.php>.
- 16 Christian & De Divitiis 2019.
- 17 A Dutch version of the present book was published in 2017 (Enenkel & Ottenheim 2017).
- 18 Enenkel & Ottenheim 2018. Also available in Open Access: see <https://brill.com/abstract/title/36000>.
- 19 On this, cf. e.g. Graus 1987; Münkler & Grünberg 1998.
- 20 Jones 1974, 176–239; Bartoli, Donati & Gamba 2001, 66–72 and 89–101; Falcioni 2006; and cf. the article in the *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, available digitally at: [http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sigismondo-pandolfo-malatesta_\(Dizionario-Biografico\)](http://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/sigismondo-pandolfo-malatesta_(Dizionario-Biografico)).
- 21 Piromalli 2002.
- 22 Pieper 2012; Peters 2016.
- 23 For Duccio, cf. Barsali 1960.
- 24 Cf. e.g. Helmrath, Muhlack & Walther 2002; Enenkel 2012; Enenkel, Laureys & Pieper 2012.
- 25 Cf. Heitmann 1981; Franke 1997.
- 26 Divaeus 1610.
- 27 Enenkel 1998.
- 28 Piur 1925.
- 29 Cf. the critical edition by N. Festa, Florence 1926.
- 30 Cf. the critical edition by G. Martellotti, Florence 1964.

- 31 Caleca & Toscano 2009.
- 32 For Francesco da Fiano, cf. Bacchelli 1997 and Billanovich 1963–64.
- 33 Beyer 2000, 30–36 ('Alphonsus triumphans—Alfonso's Triumphzug durch das antike Neapel') and 37–58 ('Der Triumphfries des Arco Alfonso').
- 34 Melville 1987.
- 35 Drummond 1681.
- 36 An overview of the European legends of Trojan descent is given in Homeyer 1982. More copious on Troy and the *translatio imperii* are: Romein 1948; Heisig 1974; Graus 1989; Fochler 1990; Shepard & Powell 2004; Keesman 2017.
- 37 For this new method of painting *ad vivum*, cf. Thomas Balfe, Joanna Woodall and Claus Zittel (eds.), *Ad vivum? Visual Materials and the Vocabulary of Life-Likeness in Europe before 1800*, Intersections. Interdisciplinary Studies in Early Modern Culture 61 (2019).
- 38 E.g. Keith Christiansen—Stefan Weppelmann (eds.), *Gesichter der Renaissance. Meisterwerke italienischer Portrait-Kunst*, Berlin 2011; Enenkel—de Jong-Crane—Liebregts 1998.
- 39 Rohrmüller 2006.
- 40 Wemyss 2014, 34–36. For the whole collection, see <https://www.royalcollection.org.uk/collection/403311/charles-ii-king-of-great-britain-1660-85>.
- 41 Scriverius 1650, with 40 engravings by Cornelis Visscher.
- 42 "the right of having Images with their Ancestors, was the same as the right of having Arms now with them". Brydall 1675, 54.
- 43 Flower 1996; article 'Imagines maiorum', in: *Der Neue Pauly* 5 (1998), cols. 946–947. On the right to possess *imagines*, see Cicero, *In Verrem* II, 5.36: "ius imaginis ad memoriam posteritatemque prodendae[...]".
- 44 Bianchi Bandinelli 1984.
- 45 Kennett 1696 (ed. 1754, 99).
- 46 Bijker 2010, 91 ff.
- 47 Manuscripts: Antwerp, Erfgoedbibliotheek Hendrik Conscience, B 15828 (Cat. 78); Brussels, Koninklijke Bibliotheek/Bibliothèque Royale, 11616. Textual edition by H. Swinnen 1986; Gerven 1980; Anrooij 1993a; Anrooij 1993b; Anrooij 1994.
- 48 Tigelaar 2006.
- 49 Porck 2006; Hage 1998. Cf. also Chapter 9 of the present book.
- 50 Virgil, *Aeneid* III.325–6: "Fuimus Troies, fuit Ilium et ingens / Gloria Teucrorum ...".
- 51 Anon., *Opusculum de gestis illustrium dominorum de Egmonda* (c. 1475–1478), Leiden, UB, ms. BPL 133c; Janse 2001.
- 52 Such as e.g. in van Leeuwen 1685, 179. For the various interpretations made of Roman Utrecht, see Broer & de Bruijn 1997.
- 53 van Laarse 2011.
- 54 Buijtendorp 2019, 34–35.
- 55 Rill 2012; for the prior mediaeval history of Papal State, see Noble 1991.
- 56 Heckscher 1955; Buddensieg 1983.
- 57 Parisi Presicce 2000; Carruba 2006; Radnoti-Alföldi, Formigli & Fried 2011; von Hase-Salto 2012.
- 58 Venturi 1919; Venturi 1928.
- 59 Chambers 2006.
- 60 Fehl 1974. Digital: doi:10.2307/750854. JSTOR 750854.
- 61 Aschieri 2013.
- 62 For southern Italy, see e.g. Divitiis 2013, Divitiis 2018, Divitiis 2019.
- 63 Lenzo 2011; Taylor 2015.

- 64 Hughes & Buongiovanni 2015.
 65 Bentley 1987, 118; Beyer 2000, 14–16.
 66 “Fu Napoli a duecento anni prima dell’edificio di Roma”; Marino 2011, 42.
 67 Fazello 1558. An Italian translation was published in 1574.
 68 Spatrisano 1961; Piazza 2019; Garofalo 2019; Nobile 2019.
 69 Spatrisano 1961, 115–127; Nobile 2007, 25–27; Nobile 2016, 29–43.
 70 Spatrisano 1961, 148–158; Nobile 2009; see also Nobile 2016, 36–40; Alessandro & Alessandro 2014, 83–115.
 71 Zanca 1952, 21–37 and 306–307; Nobile 2007.
 72 Spatrisano 1961, 148.
 73 Virgil, *Aeneid* 1.242–9.
 74 Witt 2000; Billanovich 2002.
 75 Fabris 1932; Gorgi 2017.
 76 *Historiae* 1.1; Helmrath, 2013, 201 ff.
 77 Bruni, *Historiae* 1.13.
 78 Bruni, *Oratio in funere Nanni Strozzae*.
 79 Chastel 1959; Cipriani 1983.
 80 *De re aedificatoria*, Vol. VI, Chap. 3; Vol. VIII, Chap. 3 (discussing Porsenna’s tomb in Chiusi).
 81 Gáldy 2009, 124–132; Gáldy 2012.
 82 Cristofani 1979; Cristofani 1985; Maggiani 1990; Gáldy 2006.
 83 Vasari, *Ragionamenti*, 1558; Pallottino 1977; Macintosh Turfa 2013, 1137.
 84 Lemerle 2005; Lemerle 2018; Stenhouse 2019.
 85 Scheller 1981/82.
 86 Asher 1993; Cooper 2013.
 87 Le Rouillé 1546; Postel 1553, fol. 29r.; de Billon 1555 (Asher 1993, 56).
 88 *Chronique de Frédégaire*, seventh century; *Liber historiae Francorum*, eighth century; *Grandes Chroniques de France* (13th/14th century).
 89 Cenau 1557.
 90 Not long after this, the Prince of Moscow would claim title to the Eastern Roman Empire and start calling himself ‘Caesar’ → ‘Tsar’.
 91 Borchardt 1971; Hutter 2000; Wood 2005.
 92 Garber 1989.
 93 Ott 2002.
 94 Peutingen 1520; for this collection of inscriptions, see Ott 2002, 100–122; Ott 2010b.
 95 For the image, see <https://bildsuche.digitale-sammlungen.de/index.html?c=viewer&bandnummer=bsb00031405&pimage=00001&v=2p&nav=&l=it>.
 96 Huttich 1534.
 97 Kirgus 2003, 25–62.
 98 Müller 2010; Noelke 2010.
 99 Kirgus 2003, 280–290.
 100 Ibidem, 63–160; Tussenbroek 2006, 62–66.
 101 Kirgus 2003, 49–58, 291–298.
 102 Tacitus, *Germania* (Penguin Classics edition, J.B. Rives 1999); Enenkel 2004; Beck 1998; Lund 1991.
 103 First printed in 1496 as *De ritu, moribus et conditione Germaniae descriptio*, Leipzig 1496. Modern edition by Schmidt 1962.

- 104 Moreover, this anecdote was derived from a different description of the battle, the one given by the late classical Roman historian Florus (IV.12).
- 105 Tacitus, *De origine et situ Germanorum liber* [Vienna] [c. 1498/1500], fol. a <1>v.
- 106 Joachimsen 1910 (1968 reprint), Chap. VI, 155 ff. (https://de.wikisource.org/wiki/Geschichtsauffassung_und_Geschichtsschreibung/VI._Germania_illustrata).
- 107 Werminghoff 1921; Fink 2000; Arnold 1988; Arnold 2004; Meyer 2009.
- 108 Haari-Oberberg 1994; Günther 2018b.
- 109 van Leeuwen 1685, 167.
- 110 Kidd 1999.
- 111 Walker 2018.
- 112 Jones 1655; van Eck 2009.
- 113 Schultz 2018.
- 114 Schmidt-Voges 2004; Neville 2009; Neville 2012.
- 115 Johannesson 1991; Santini 1999.
- 116 Steinacker 2009.
- 117 Ottenheim & De Jonge 2013, 113.
- 118 Neville 2012, 448–449.
- 119 Rudbeck 1679–1702; Neville 2009; Neville 2013; Neville 2018.
- 120 Svaning 1561.
- 121 Svaning Jr. 1650; Neville 2009, 220–221.
- 122 Newton 1728.
- 123 Ussher 1658, p. 1: “In the beginning, God created Heaven and Earth, Genesis 1, verse 1. Which beginning of time, according to our chronologers, fell upon the entrance of the night preceding the 23rd day of October in the year of the Julian Calendar, 710 [marginal note: the year before Christ, 4004]”, Burke 1969, 48.
- 124 Neddermeyer 1988.
- 125 Carion 1533; Prietz 2007.
- 126 Pohligh 2007, 175 ff.
- 127 Jerome, *Comment. in Daniele*, I, 11, 31–35 (CC 75A, 1964), 387–795, 414, 794; Bracht 2007.
- 128 Uppenkamp 2014; Uppenkamp 2015.
- 129 Kess 2008.
- 130 Petrarch sporadically supplemented his ideal Roman antiquity using figures from Greek history of c. 500–300 BC. For Petrarch, Greek history is merely an afterthought. His grasp of Greek was slight, certainly not sufficient to read classical Greek authors in the original. In addition, Greek antiquity was ideologically less appealing to him; his touchstone was above all Rome, Italy and the Ancient Roman Empire.
- 131 Ghiberti, *I commentari* (1998 edition), introduction to Volume II.
- 132 Vasari, *Vite*, 1550. An excellent introduction to the work is provided by Henk van Veen in the 1990 Dutch edition.
- 133 Vadianus (von Watt), *De orbis situ libri tres*, 1522. Idem, *In farraginem antiquitatem* 1537. Neddermeyer 1988, 108–114.
- 134 For epigraphy as a scholarly tool in the 15th and 16th century, see Stenhouse 2005.
- 135 It is now known that the temple stood immediately beside the Forum of Nerva, which now largely lies under the Via dei Fori Imperiali.
- 136 In 80 AD.
- 137 Biondo Flavio, *Roma instaurata* I, 100; Günther 2007, 798.
- 138 Günther 1999; Günther 2007.

- 139 For a facsimile edition, see *Tabula Peutingeriana. Codex Vindobonensis 324*, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Wien, Graz 1976 (with commentary by Ekkehard Weber); for the *Tabula*, see Talbert 2010; Miller 1916 (1988 reprint); Stuart 1991. Museum Het Valkhof in Nijmegen has a printed copy of the map on display, from 1598.
- 140 Schnapp 1996.
- 141 Jones 1655; van Eck 2009.
- 142 Hoppe 2003; Nagel & Wood 2009; Hoppe 2018.
- 143 Gidon 1935; Williams 1985; Frankl 1960, 507.
- 144 Ott 2002, 263–266; Ott 2010a, 144; Hoppe 2018, 535–537.
- 145 “Ferunt vulgo illud quosdam Dianae fuisse phanum eiusque rei argumentum adducunt idolon veteresque quasdam et incogniti simulacra imagines, quod ego [...] non quidem affirmaverim”, Konrad Celtis, *Norimberga* (ed. Fink 2000, 39); Hoppe 2011, 55.
- 146 “[...] entweder das alte römische oder je sonst ein uraltes Gebäu, dessen etliche alte Gesims und abgöttische Bilder daran Zeignis geben”, Müllner, *Annales*, 1623 (Ott 2010a, 145).
- 147 Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 15362; Ott 2002, 231–235; Hoppe 2011, 55.
- 148 “Si orthodoxa fides tum fuisset huic populo praedicata, haud dubie aliquid Christiani operis de dominica passione aut sacris historiis incidissent. Nunc cum nihil harum rerum cernatur, coniicio ante plantatam iis locis fidem non Germanos, sed Romanos id aedificii struxisse. Nam et populares mei ab paganis—ita ethnicos appellant—extractum praedicant”, Althamer, *Commentaria Germaniae*, 15362; Hoppe 2011, 55; Hoppe 2018, 540–542.
- 149 Schrenk 2005; Hoppe 2011, 51–52.
- 150 For Scotland, see Campbell 1995. For southern Italian examples, see De Divitiis 2013; De Divitiis 2018.
- 151 Neville 2013.
- 152 Neville 2018.
- 153 Construction began in 1580 but was interrupted in 1593. The walls and columns had already been completed, however. The church was not completed until the 17th century with the installation of the vaulting by Hans Ferster of Danzig in 1642–43.
- 154 Ferretti 2013; Carrara & Ferretti 2019.
- 155 Quattrini, Rizzi & Zanzoterra 2008, 58–69.
- 156 *Roma instaurata* 1, 81.
- 157 Venuti 1763.
- 158 von Busch 1973, 44–60.
- 159 Schütte 1748, 164; Buggenhagen 1795, 12.
- 160 Pighius, *Hercules Prodicus*, 1587, 35; ed. 1609, 3.
- 161 Pighius 1609, 3; von Busch 1973, 252, footnote 228.
- 162 Pighius 1609, 3–5. More information on *Hercules Prodicus* is found in Laureys 2000; for Pighius’ life, see Jonkees 1954; for his archaeological endeavours, Hiller 1989.
- 163 E.g. in Wagener 1842, 187.
- 164 Günther 2012 (*RIHA Journal* 0058), URL: <http://www.riha-journal.org/articles/2012/2012-oct-dec/special-issue-scamozzi/guenther-scamozzi-kommentiert-serlio> (consulted 21 April 2016). Günther 2018a.
- 165 Cf. Cafà 2013.
- 166 Sarayna 1540.
- 167 Count Lodovico Nogarola reported in a letter of 1526 to Federico Gonzaga (the ruler of Mantua) that an Augustinian monk had told him about this stone in the San Frediano in Lucca. Biadego 1904–1905.

- 168 *Der neue Pauly* 10, cols. 708–709, under ‘Quinctius’, no. 1, 13.
 169 *Ibid.*, cols. 709–711, under ‘Quinctius’, no. 1, 14.
 170 Livy, *Ab urbe condita* xxxv, 22 and 40.
 171 Welch 2007.
 172 Bomgardner 2000, 64–72.
 173 Alberti 1550, 413.
 174 According to Scamozzi, the inscription reads: Q.L. FLAMINEUS. COS. ROM./AC.VNIVERSÆ GRÆCIÆ DO /MINATOR. AMPHITHEATRŪ / VERONE PROPRIIS SUM /PTIBVS. A FONDAMENTIS / EREXIT. ANNO. AB.VRBE / CONDITA. DIIL. Source: handwritten note by Scamozzi in Sebastiano Serlio, Vol. III, p. 72 (collection of the Zentralinstitut für Kunstgeschichte, Munich), Günther 2012.
 175 Günther 2018a.
 176 Rowland 2004; Callard 2011.
 177 Inghirami 1637.
 178 Issued in 1640, 1642, 1643, 1648 and 1696.
 179 Leone Allacci, *Animadversiones* ..., Paris 1640, Chap. XIV, p. 17.
 180 Ligota 1987; Collins 2000.
 181 Annii, *De marmoreis Volturrhenis tabulis*, 1492.
 182 Annii, *Antiquitates*, Antwerp 1552, 380; Curran 2007, 106.
 183 Mattiangeli 1981, 297–301; Wood 2012, 159.
 184 Annii, *Antiquitates*, Antwerp 1552, 71.
 185 Curl 2005, 88; Curran 2007, 107–131.
 186 Annio, *Auctores vetustissimi* (...), Venice 1498; and *Commentaria* (...), Rome 1498.
 187 Burstein 1980; Verbrugghe & Wickersham 1996, 2001; De Breucker 2012.
 188 Asher 1993, 191–233: Appendix 1, text and translation of Annii’s texts of Pseudo-Berosus and Pseudo-Manetho.
 189 Kidd 1999, 9–33 (‘Prologue: the Mosaic foundations of Early Modern European identity’).
 190 According to Annio, the Flood occurred in the year 1657 from creation, and the birth of Christ in the year 3962 from creation.
 191 John 1994; Parry 2001.
 192 Published as Aventinus, *Annalium Boiorum libri septem*, Ingolstadt 1554; Aventinus, *Chronica*, Frankfurt am Main 1566; Ott 2010a, 131–132.
 193 Ook in Caius, *Historia Cantabrigiensis Academiae* (1574); Harrison, *Description of England* (1577); Munday, *A briefe chronicle* (1611). Kidd 1999; Parry 2001.
 194 Wifstrand Schiebe 1992; Neville 2007; Neville 2013; Neville 2018.
 195 Asher 1993, 9–43; Cooper 2013, 288–295.
 196 Postel, *Le trésor des prophéties de l’univers*, Grafton 1990, 108.
 197 Asher 1993, 13–15; Staubach 1988.
 198 Petrus, *De Frisiorum antiquitate* 1590, Vol. I Chap. 21 and Vol. III Chaps. 8–10; van der Woud 1990, 19–20; Grafton 1990, 121–123.
 199 Goropius, *Origines Antwerpianae*, 1569; ed. de Glas 2014.
 200 Celtis, *De situ et moribus Norimberga* 1502. The discussion concerns Speinshart Abbey near Eschenbach, which was entirely renovated in the 17th century. Wood 2008, 1–13.
 201 Christopher Wood introduced the notion of the ‘chain of substitutes’ to discuss this: Wood 2012; Wood & Nagel 2010.
 202 Karsenti 2010.
 203 Kühlmann 1994; Akkerman & Vanderjagt 1988.

- 204 Agricola's masterpiece on rhetoric, *De inventione dialectica*, did not become widely known until it appeared in print in the 16th century, which only happened 30 years after his death (1515, at Leuven, by the printer Dirk Martens), edited by the Northern Netherlands Humanist Alard (Alaard) of Amsterdam.
- 205 For the Latin text of this *Adagium* with commentary, see *Opera omnia Desiderii Erasmi Roterodami* (ASD) 11,8, ed. A. Wesseling (Amsterdam etc. 1997), *Adag.* 3535 (pp. 36–44); for more on this, see Wesseling 1993.
- 206 Tacitus' work was not yet circulating under this name. For the details of Erasmus' use of the source, see commentary by Arie Wesseling *ad loc.* pp. 37–39.
- 207 *Adag.* 3535, *loc. cit.* p. 38: "Convenit inter plerosque doctos [...] eam insulam cuius meminit Tacitus, esse, quam nunc Hollandiam vocant, terram mihi semper et celebrandam et venerandam, ut cui vitae huius initium debeam". ("Most scholars are in agreement that the island reported by Tacitus is what is now called Holland, a land that to me is always to be praised and honoured, seeing that I owe my life to it").
- 208 *Ibidem*, 42: "Proinde negant aliam inveniri regionem, quae simili spacio tantum oppidorum contineat mediocri quidem magnitudine, sed incredibili politia. [...] Mediocriter eruditorum nusquam gentium frequentior numerus. [...] apud illos plus honoris habetur egregiae morum integritati quam egregiae doctrinae".
- 209 *Ibidem*, 40.
- 210 See e.g. Willems 1986; Willems 1981; Willems 1984; Roymans 2004.
- 211 Tilmans 1987; Tilmans 1988. On the 'Batavian myth', see also Schöffner 1975; Langereis 2004.
- 212 For bibliographical details, *vide infra*.
- 213 Bejczy 1996; Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 'Inleiding' (Introduction). Schöffner does not assume early dating for Aurelius' works, but Langereis seems to see some validity in Tilmans' dating (Langereis 2004, 76).
- 214 This does not seem necessary, given the substantial points already identified by Bejczy 1996 and Bejczy & Stegeman 1998 ('Inleiding').
- 215 E.g. in Bejczy & Stegeman 1998 ('Inleiding'); cf. e.g. p. 17: "Misschien is het meer een kwestie van geluk dan van wijsheid geweest, maar Geldenhouwer had het bij het rechte eind. Het hedendaagse onderzoek naar de Bataven (...) bevestigt in grote lijnen Geldenhouwers beeld van de Bataafse vestigingsgeschiedenis" ["It may have been more of a matter of luck than of wisdom, but Geldenhouwer was on to something. Present-day research on the Batavians (...) essentially confirms Geldenhouwer's portrayal of the history of Batavian fortifications"].
- 216 On Geldenhouwer, see Tournoy 2003; on Aurelius: van Leijenhof 2003. Geldenhouwer attended the school run by the Brothers in Deventer, headed by Alexander Hegius.
- 217 Cf. *loc. cit.* 83 and 89.
- 218 Erasmus, *Epistolarium*, ed. Allen, epp. nos. 17–30.
- 219 Printed in Cologne by J. Gymnich.
- 220 Namely, of the works *De constructione* (1514), *Paraboliae* (1515), *Opuscula aliquot* (1515) and *Institutio principis Christiani* (1516).
- 221 Aurelius, *Defensorium gloriae Batavinae* (= *Batavia sive de antiquo veroque eius insulae, quam Rhenus in Hollandia facit, situ et laudibus adversus Gherardum Noviomagum libri duo ad Reinerum Snoyrum virum doctissimum et medicinae professorem, liber primus*), in: Petrus Scriverius, *Inferioris Germaniae provinciarum unitarum Antiquitates, scilicet De Rheni tribus abeis ostiisque, et de Toxandris, Batavis, Caninefatibus, Frisiis, Marsacis aliisque populis* [...] Ex Musaeo Petri Scriverii, Leiden, Ludovicus Elzevirius 1611 (1609), 76–107.

- 222 Aurelius, *Elucidarium scopulosarum questionum super Batavina regione et differentia* (= *Batavia sive de antiquo veroque eius insulae, quam Rhenus in Hollandia facit, situ et laudibus adversus Gherardum Noviomagum libri duo ad Reinerum Snoyem virum doctissimum et medicinae professorem, liber secundus*), in: *ibidem*, 108–126. For a text-critical analysis, see unpublished Latin doctoral thesis by R. Lingstuyl: Cornelius Aurelius, *Elucidarium scopulosarum questionum super Batavina regione et differentia*, with introduction by and published by R. Lingstuyl, supervised by K.A.E. Enenkel (2005).
- 223 Ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 34–45; ed. Petrus Scriverius, *Inferioris Germaniae provinciarum unitarum Antiquitates* (Leiden, 1611), Vol. II, 1–8.
- 224 Ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 50–150; ed. Petrus Scriverius, *Inferioris Germaniae provinciarum unitarum Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611, Vol. II, 9–73.
- 225 Ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 154–157; ‘G<erardus> N<oviomagus> Thomae Zegero S.P.’, in: Petrus Scriverius, *Inferioris Germaniae provinciarum unitarum Antiquitates* (Leiden, 1611), Vol. II, 61–62.
- 226 Letter ‘Adelardus Amsterodamus Cornelio Aurelio S.’, in: Petrus Scriverius, *Inferioris Germaniae provinciarum unitarum Antiquitates* (Leiden, 1611), Vol. II, 76, dated “Lovanii anno MDXV”.
- 227 *Ibidem*.
- 228 *Ibidem*.
- 229 *Ibidem*.
- 230 See above, and Tilmans 1987.
- 231 Poem ‘Cornelius ad suam Bataviam’, in: Petrus Scriverius, *Inferioris Germaniae provinciarum unitarum Antiquitates* (Leiden, 1611), Vol. II, 125–126.
- 232 *Ibidem*, p. 125: “Ausoniis hostes adimis”.
- 233 *Ibidem*: “... Hierosolyma per te [sc. Batavia] / Excisa est; Anglos te duce Caesar habet. / Germanis placido Gallosve favore tenebas / Sub fidei officio Romulidumque jugo”.
- 234 *Ibidem*.
- 235 *Ibidem*, 104–105.
- 236 Geldenhouwer, *Lucubrationcula*, in: *ibidem*, Vol. II.7–8: “fortissimos ... formosissimos ... Tot sunt inter Batavos equestris ordinis viri ... opulentissimi ... fortes ac statuosi et ad bellorum subeunda pericula ut promptissimi et aptissimi” (ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 42).
- 237 *Ibidem*, II.
- 238 *Historia Batavica*, ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 42: “His [sc. Batavis] primam aquilam in dubiis bellis credidit”.
- 239 *Ibidem*.
- 240 *Lucubrationcula*, ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 42: “Tot sunt inter Bathavos equestris ordinis viri, ut in proverbium apud finitimos abierit ‘Bathavus eques’ ac ‘Domina Bathava’ ...”.
- 241 *Ibidem*, 56.
- 242 *Ibidem*: “non paucos ... vicos, pagos, municipia et arces extrueret, eas nobilitatis suae nominibus appellandas curavit”.
- 243 Geldenhouwer, *Historia Batavica*, ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 56–58.
- 244 *Ibidem*.
- 245 For archaeological data on Roman Nijmegen, see e.g. Willems 2009 and Letema 1979.
- 246 Cenau 1537.
- 247 Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, fols. 11r–v.
- 248 Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, fol. 11v.
- 249 *Ibidem*, fol. 12r.
- 250 Aurelius, *Defensorium*, ed. Scriverius, 106.

- 251 Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, fol. 91v: “De outheit van onsen desen lande betughen ons die oude sloten voermaels hier in dit lant vanden romeinen ghesticht teghens den overvalle der barbaren ende andere zeeroveren. Welcker vervallen husen ende stenen met zekere opschriften op huden bi onsen tiden noch gevonden worden in vele diverse plaetsen [...] als tot Romenburch buten Leyden daermen huden dages vint meenigherlije vreemdhede van bouwinghe ... Voert to Voerburch ... dat oec een groot ghevaert is geweest ... als dat fundament bewijst datmen daghelixs wtgraeft ...” [“Testifying to the antiquity of this land of ours are the old castles previously founded in this country by the Romans against the attacks of barbarians and other pirates. Their decrepit houses and stones with some inscriptions are still found in various places to this day [...] as at Romenbur[g] outside Leiden, where one can still find many architectural oddities ... Also at Voorburg [near The Hague] ... which likewise was a great wonder, as proven by its great foundations, which are daily being excavated ...”].
- 252 Aurelius, *Defensorium*, ed. Scriverius, 106: “Quid denique loquar de Latinorum schola literarum, quam ibidem ad Rhenum haud procul a castro (quod Arcem dicemus Romanorum) aperuerunt?”
- 253 Ibidem, 11.
- 254 Ibidem: “Horum [sc. cohortum Batavorum] tanta virtus et fortitudo fuit, ut Senatus populusque Romanus Regem et gentem Batavorum amicos Senatusconsulto ac Plebiscito declaraverit”.
- 255 “seditione domestica pulsi”.
- 256 Incidentally, the current location where the Nether Rhine branches off is not the same today as it used to be. Around 1500, it forked off at a point closer to Lobith.
- 257 Geldenhouwer, *Lucubrationcula*, in: Scriverius, *Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611 (1609), II.6: “Helini nomen obscurius nobis est quam et quo loco fuerit, certo indicare possumus”.
- 258 *Defensorium*, Chap. VIII (= *Batavia* 1, Chap. VIII), in: Scriverius, *Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611 (1609), 107: “Helinum ... prope VValachriam, extremam Rheni et Selandiae insulam, Oceanum petit”.
- 259 In the *Elucidarium*, he has a different definition of “Flevum”, stating that it is a branch of the Rhine connecting Leiden with Haarlem and flowing into the sea at IJmuiden; *Elucidarium*, ibidem, 112–113.
- 260 *Defensorium*, Chap. VI (= *Batavia* 1, Chap. VI), in: Scriverius, *Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611 (1609), 96–101.
- 261 This dating depends on the title used for Caracalla: he is called *Caesar* in the inscription, which rank he obtained in 195 AD and which remained applicable to him until 28 January 198. From the start of February 198 onwards, Caracalla was appointed by his father Septimius Severus’ official co-regent, and thus from then on held the title *Augustus* rather than *Caesar*.
- 262 Here, Aurelius incorrectly read “Volscorum (vel Volusianae)”;
- 263 Here, Aurelius incorrectly read “Augustali”;
- 264 Here, Aurelius read another incorrect form, “praefecto praetorio”;
- 265 *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* XIII, 8824; Brandenburg & Hessing 2005, 30.
- 266 Ibidem.
- 267 *Defensorium*, Chap. VI (= *Batavia* 1, Chap. VI), in: Scriverius, *Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611 (1609), 97: “... fundamentis magni Palatii. Cuius sane muri senos in latitudine, ducentos

- in longitudine pedes habebant; et in singulis eius quadraturae angulis singulas opere sphaerico mirae amplitudinis turres”.
- 268 Brandenburgh & Hessing 2005, 67–68 (‘Het kasteel Rodenburg’).
- 269 *Defensorium*, Chap. VI (= *Batavia* I, Chap. VI), in: Scriverius, *Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611 (1609), 98.
- 270 http://paxromana.eu/nl/xv_geschiedenis.php.
- 271 Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, fol. 91v.
- 272 Aurelius, *Defensorium*, Chap. VI (= *Batavia* I, Chap. VI), in: Scriverius, *Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611 (1609), 99.
- 273 Ibidem, p. 100.
- 274 Ibidem, p. 100: “Credo igitur te, quisquis es, et tantis testibus et tantis rerum monumentis ita obrutum confutatumque esse ipsa etiam veritate, ut nihil ultra quaerere debeas”.
- 275 Geldenhouwer, *Historia Batavica*, ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 62.
- 276 Ibidem, 60–62.
- 277 Scriverius *Inferioris Germaniae provinciarum unitarum Antiquitate ...*, Leiden, Ludovicus Elzevirius 1611 (1609), 194.
- 278 Ibidem.
- 279 Ibidem.
- 280 Enenkel 2013, 42–43.
- 281 Martial, *Epigrammata* VI.82, 4–6.
- 282 Aurelius, *Defensorium*, Chap. VIII (= *Batavia* I, Chap. VIII), in: Scriverius, *Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611, 106.
- 283 Ibidem, Chap. V (= *Batavia* I, Chap. V), in: Scriverius, *Antiquitates*, Leiden 1611, 95.
- 284 Geldenhouwer, dedicatory letter in the *Lucubrationcula*, ed. Scriverius, Leiden 1611, II, p. 1: “ut gloriosi iactabundique Itali res gestas parentum nostrorum cogente invidia suppresserint, quamquam non paucis in locis vel nolentes nostrorum virtutes prodant” (ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 34).
- 285 Geldenhouwer considers the importance of Celtis in his overview of Dutch cities: cf. *Insignium locorum ac oppidorum Bataviae nomina ...*, ed. Scriverius, Leiden 1611, II.52.
- 286 Geldenhouwer, dedicatory letter in the *Lucubrationcula*, ed. Scriverius, Leiden 1611, II.2: “Nam qualis sit in sacris Humanisque literis Desiderius Roterodamus, Batavorum Germanorumque immortale decus, totus novit orbis” (ed. Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 34).
- 287 Ibidem: “Quantumque multi alii bonarum litterarum professores eruditione eloquentiae praestent, ipsi Romanenses quotidie experiuntur”.
- 288 In: Scriverius, Leiden 1611, II, 69.
- 289 For an overview, see Clerinx 2014; Lendering & Bosman 2012.
- 290 Lemerle 2005, 126. Bavay was incorporated into France in 1660.
- 291 According to Simon van Leeuwen (*Korte besgryving* 1672), the canal dates from Emperor Nero’s day, 50 AD.
- 292 Joan Blaeu reports in his *Toonneel der Steden* (1652) regarding Delft that it was founded in 1075. However, he argues, the name Delft is derived from the Dutch verb *delven* ‘to dig (a ditch), delve’, after the old village of Delft which had stood on the canal “which Corbulo, the Roman general, once constructed there” (*die Corbulo, Romeynsch overste daer eertijts heft doen graven*).
- 293 “Armipotens Mosae sociat dum Corbulo Rhenum, / huc geminas egit moenibus auctor aquas. / Sin haud tuta fides annalibus; aspice cives, / culta tot ingenii pectora dote sui, / quae Delphis habitat Paean praelata vetustis. / Esse hanc Romanum non dubitabis opus”. The concluding lines of the poem *Ad Spectatorem* printed with the prospect of Delft in

- the *Kaart Figuratief van Delft* (here given in an English onward-translation of the Dutch translation by A.W. Grootendorst). Weve 1997, 247.
- 294 Since 1863, the original has been held at the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden. The inscription reads: M[ARCUS] TRAIANU[S]/ GUMATTIUS GAI/ SIONIS F[ILIUS] VET[ERANUS] ALAE/ AFROR[UM] T[ESTAMENTUM] P[ONI] I[USSIT].
- 295 Underneath, there were also finds from Roomburg near Leiden and from the Brittenburg at Katwijk beach (Laarse 2011).
- 296 Sterk 1980; Bass 2016. For a comparable and even contemporary process in the Southern Low Countries, see Wouk 2012.
- 297 Mousset & De Jonge 2007; De Jonge 2019.
- 298 IMP[ERATORI] CAES[ARI] / M[ARCO] AVREL[IO] ANTO / NINO AVG[USTO] PONT[IFICI] / MAX[IMO] TR[IBUNICIA] POT[ESTATE] XVI / CO[N]S[ULI] III ET / IMP[ERATORI] [C]AES[ARI] / L[UCIO] AVREL[IO] V[E]RO AVG[USTO] / TR[IBUNICIA] POT[ESTATE] [II] CO[N]S[ULI] II / A M[UNICIPIO] A[ELIO] (or: AURELIO) C[ANANEFATUM] / M[ILIA] P[ASSUUM] XII (or: VII).
- ("For Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, Pontifex Maximus, tribune for the 16th time, consul for the third time, and for Emperor Lucius Aurelius Verus, tribune for the second time, consul for the second time. From the municipality of Aelium [*or Aurelium*] of the Cananefates, 12 [*or 7*] miles.") (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden). Stuart 1986, 16–18.
- 299 IMP[ERATORI] CAES[ARI] / DIVO CAROLO V / MAXIMO AVG[USTO] P[ATRI] P[ATRIAE] / FRANC[IAE] GERMA[NIAE] REG[I] / HISPAN[IAE] NEAP[OLIS] SIC[ILIAEQUE] ET / PHILIPPO PIO / DIVI CAROLI CAES[ARIS] / AVG[USTI] F[ILIO] REG[I] HISP[ANIAE] NEAP[OLIS] / ARCID[UCI] AVST[RIAE] DUC[I].
- ("To Emperor Charles v, King of Germany, France, Spain, Naples and Sicily, and to Duke Philip the Pious, son of Emperor Charles, King of Spain and Naples, Archduke of Austria") (Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden).
- 300 When the house was demolished in 1780, the pillars were transferred to Huis Baak outside Zutphen, where they were discovered by Reuvens in 1827 and donated to the museum in Leiden in 1838 by Baron van der Heyden of Baak. Langereis 2007.
- 301 Anon., *Heydensche Afgoden, Beelden, Tempels, en Offeranden; met de vreemde Ceremonien naer elcks Landts wijze*, Haarlem 1646, 178–179 (ed. Deventer 1984, 97–98). Grateful acknowledgements to Friso Lammertse.
- 302 van Alkemade 1713. (Frontispiece J. Goeree inv. et fec.).
- 303 Dijkstra & Ketelaar 1965; Buijtendorp 2019.
- 304 Megank 1999.
- 305 Johnson 1987, 162–179.
- 306 Dijkstra & Ketelaar 1965, 93–94.
- 307 Sketch by Dirck Wouters of c. 1572 in the genealogy of the kings of the Batavians and Frisians, and of the Viscounts of Leiden (NA 3.20.87, Van Wassenaer-van Duvenvoorde Archive, 1226–1996, inv. no. 3).
- 308 "die hoge burch tot Leyden die noch staet, ende die burch tot Nijemagen int lant van Gelre, ende dat starcke slot tot Beverwaerde tusscen Utrecht ende Wijck te Duersteden, dese houde ic al bi Julius tijden oft daer na ghetimmert ende ghebouwt te wesen", Aurelius, *Divisiechroniek*, f. 16v.–17r. Tilmans 1989, 85. Beverweerd Castle was never again mentioned by anyone in this respect. Possibly, Aurelius saw a linkage between it and the Roman fort of Fectio, which had indeed stood in that locality. For early opinions on Fectio, see: Broer & de Bruijn 1997.

- 309 “Verum etiam donaria vetusta nec non vasta templi antiqui bis terve incendio conflagrati ac saepius demoliti fundamenta muri latissimi septaque lapidea perampla ipsius collegii, cum altissimo fornicibus ingentibus imposito castello, ex ipsis, ni fallor, Ulpiorum castrorum praecipuis ruinis excitata clare demonstrant” (Pighius, *Hercules Prodicus*, 1587, 74).
- 310 “De structuer van den raren en swaren vierkanten Toorn, die Croonenburgh, de Hof-Capelle, den Bier-keller, als zijnde de oudste stucken deses machtigen Huyses, geven overvloedigh te kennen, dat dese stucken zijn Roomsche wercken”, Picardt 1660, 94.
- 311 “het oude Roomse gebouw van den Leydsen Burg [...]. Dat dit Leydse gebouw wel soo oud is, wijst den ommegang van het bovenwerck, de welke met het maaksel van andre Burghten en kastelen van die tijd overeenkomt. [...] gelijke verwulffde bogen ende schietgaten ende even op deselve manier gebouwd. [...] De Oudheid van desen Leidsen Burg kan men sien uyt den ouden overgebleven romp van deselve”, van Leeuwen 1672, 23 and 42–45.
- 312 Schofield 2019.
- 313 De Divitiis 2008; De Divitiis 2013; De Divitiis 2018.
- 314 De Jonge 2003.
- 315 De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007, 20–53 (‘Anticse Wercken. Architecture in the Antique Manner 1500–1530’, and ‘Standardizing “Antique” Architecture 1539–1543’).
- 316 This section is a reworking of Ottenheym 2018.
- 317 Ottenheym, Rosenberg & Smit 2008; van der Blom 1995.
- 318 De Jonge & Ottenheym 2007, 111–136.
- 319 Ottenheym 1999.
- 320 Ottenheym 2010.
- 321 Hopkins & Witte 1997; cf. also the introductory Chapters to the recent Dutch editions: Vroom *et al.*, *Scamozzi III*, 2003, 8–34; Vroom *et al.*, *Scamozzi VI*, 2008, 8–50.
- 322 Blom, Bruin & Ottenheym 1999; Vlaardingerbroek 2001.
- 323 Buvelot 2014, 19–54.
- 324 Huygens, *Domus*, ms. written in 1639; coll. of the Koninklijke Bibliotheek (The Hague), ms. KB 48, fols. 733–753 (published with Dutch translation in: Blom, Bruin, Ottenheym 1999); Huygens *Hofwijck*; van Strien & van der Leer 2002.
- 325 “Defaecatissimi temporibus Graecorum ac Romanorum”, *Domus* fol. 743r. (ed. Blom, Bruin, Ottenheym 1999, 19).
- 326 “Dus wat er onder het volk ook gekletst werd, men moet niet luisteren naar mensen die beweren dat naar ieders smaak de schoonheid van gebouwen verschillen en veranderen kan”, Huygens, *Domus*, fol. 743r. (ed. Blom, Bruin, Ottenheym 1999, 19).
- 327 “Waer uyt oock de dolinghe en het gemeen gevoelen is ontsaen, de outste wyse van Bouwen, rechts als een nieuwigheyt te houden”, Salomon de Bray, conclusion of his introduction to the reader (“Aen den leser”), in: *Architectura Moderna*, Amsterdam 1631, p. 5.
- 328 Blom, Bruin & Ottenheym 1999; Vlaardingerbroek 2001.
- 329 Jongh 1973.
- 330 Huygens, *Hofwijck*, vv. 618–620.
- 331 Worp, *Gedichten*, Vol. 6, 247.
- 332 Stuart 2013. The stones found in 1647 were kept at Domburg Church; many of them were lost in the fire of 1848 there. However, some of the altarpieces had already been transferred to other collections by that time and survived. The 20th century saw fresh finds of comparable Nehalennia stones in Zeeland, this time outside Colijnsplaat. The finest examples from both find locations are now at the *Rijksmuseum van Oudheden* in Leiden.

- 333 Letter of Huygens to Scriverius of 15 February 1647. Worp, *Briefwisseling*, Vol. 4, no. 4548: “Aras hasce Neptuno et Nehelenniae sacras, Domburgi nuper, Principis mei territorio, effossas mitto at te, animo partim meo, partim suae celsitudinis mandato morem gerens. [...]”.
- 334 Mekking 1997.
- 335 Perlich & van Tussenbroek 2008.
- 336 DIS MANIBUS / G[AIO] IVLIO CLAU[DIA TRIBU] / PVDENTI LIOVIA (?) / VET[ERANO] LEG[IONIS] / X G[EMINAE] P[IAE] F[IDELIS] / AN[NORUM] L ET IUL[IO] / IVNIO F[ILIO] EIVS / O[PTO] S[IT] T[IBI] T[ERRA] L[EVIS] H[ERES] F[ACIENDUM] C[URAVIT]. (“To the divine shades [of the deceased]. For Gaius Iulius Pudens, of the Claudia tribe from Liovia [?], veteran of the Tenth Legion *Gemma Pia Fidelis*, 50 years old, and for Iulius Iunius, his son. May the earth be light [*in weight*] for you. Their heir had [this gravestone] made”). (Museum Het Valkhof, Nijmegen).
- 337 The chronicler of Guelders, Willem van Berchen, wrote in *De nobili principatu Gelrie et eius origine*, c. 1465, that it had originally been a temple founded by Julius Caesar (ms. held by Gemeentearchief [Municipal Archive of] Nijmegen, published in Sloet van de Beelde 1870, 4–5). Half a century later, Geldenhouwer suggested that it had previously been a temple to the gods of the underworld that Charlemagne converted into a church: Bejczy & Stegeman 1998, 63.
- 338 Junius, *Batavia* (1588), ed. de Glas 2011, 191–193.
- 339 Not until 1823 did the first claim come, namely from Caspar Reuvens, that the chapel on the Valkhof had never been a temple at all but had been built as a ‘Christian labour’ (*Christenarbeid*) in the Middle Ages: Reuvens 1823.
- 340 van Leeuwen, *Batavia Illustrata*, 1685, 177.
- 341 Lemmens 1968; Lemmens 1982, 29.
- 342 “1670. Den 1 April zijn de Grafzarken van de Romeinsche Krijgslieden van de tiende Legioen of Keurbende C. Julius Pudens en Julius Junius; van Q: Bifius Secundus, van L. Valerius Maternus; van T. Aurelius Flavius; M. Aurelius Festus, en Aurelius Flavinus: en de Altaaren van Licinius Seranus; van Brato; van T. Albinus Januarius; van M. Liberius Victor; van C. Candidinius Sanctus; van M. Sabinus Candidus en M. Valerius Honoratus, met de Mijlpaal van Keiser Trajanus en andere merkwaardige gedenkstukken der Oudheid op de Galderije van het Raadhuis ten beiden zijden geplaatst”. Smetius, *Chronijk*, 1784, 204.
- 343 Langereis 1999.
- 344 Langereis 1999, 30–47; a catalogue of the entire collection appeared posthumously: Johannes Smetius (sr. & jr.), *Antiquitates Neomagenses*, 1678. Parts of the Smetius Collection are now kept at the Valkhof Museum in Nijmegen and the Reiss-Museum in Mannheim, Germany.
- 345 Published ten years later in Smetius, *Oppidum Batavorum*, 1644 (edition 1999, 86–88).
- 346 Smetius, *Oppidum Batavorum* 1644. Dutch translation and introduction: Bastiaensen, Langereis & Nellissen 1999.
- 347 Schöffer 1981; Swinkels 2004.
- 348 Very influential among these were Scriverius, *Batavia illustrata*, 1609, and Hugo de Groot (Grotius) 1610. Langereis 2004.
- 349 van de Waal 1952, 181–235; Buchbinder-Green 1974, 181–235; Goossens 2010; Cohen Tervaert & van der Zwaag 2011.
- 350 Tacitus, *Germania*, sections 16–24 (ed. Rives 2009, 42–46).
- 351 Willems 1990; Swinkels & Koster 2005; Willems & van Enckevort 2009.
- 352 Lemmens 1980; Peterse & Verhoeven 2014.

- 353 Picardt 1660; reprinted 2008, with an introduction by Wijnand A.B. van der Sanden.
 354 Tacitus, *Germania*, section 34.
 355 “Sane non possum hic praetenire Columnas illas Herculis, quam Tacitus in Frisiis fuisse magna celebritate commemorat, quarum reliquiae hoc tractu Trenterorum, hoc est in Drenta, adhuc visuntur, vico Roelden, haud procul a Coevordia, non sine spectantium admiratione. Sunt enim singuli lapides (quorum non parvus acervus est) tantae magnitudinis, ut nullus currus, nullasque naves admittere posse videantur neque ibi fodinae lapidum sunt, ut loco paludoso, quare suspicio est, eos illuc a daemonibus, qui Herculis nomine ibi colebantur, adductos fuisse. [...]”. Van Schoonhoven’s manuscript was first published in A. Matthaeus, *Veteris Aevi Analecta*, Vol. 1, 1698; Bakker 2010, 37 footnote 83.
 356 Schoonhoven *ibid.*: “Haec eo paulo latius retuli, ut eximatur Commentariis Althameri error; qui hunc Taciti locum explicans, has Herculis columnas pro iis accipit, quas in Gadibuz [= Cádiz] ille statuit”. Andreas Althamer’s commentary on Tacitus’ *Germania* was published in 1529.
 357 Heijden 2004, 112–116. For the history of the *Duvelskut*, see Bakker 2002; Bakker 2010, 38–40.
 358 Bakker 1992; van Ginkel, Jager & van der Sande 2005.
 359 Klindt-Jensen 1975; Stephens 1989; Schnapp 1996.
 360 Magnus, *Historia de gentibus septentrionalibus*, 1555; Jonsson 1609; Roling 2010.
 361 E.g. in Num. 13:28–33; Deut. 3:11; Deut. 20:16,17; 1 Sam. 17:4.
 362 “het getuygenisse Taciti, in zijn Boeck van het Leven der Duydschen waerin hy verhaelt dat’er geruchte liep dat in Vrieslandt de Herculis Columnae noch souden in wesen zijn: doch hier door verstonden zy de groote Steen-hoopen met menigte gelegen in de Drenth, zijnde Sepultuyren van de Herculeuse Reusen”, Picardt 1660, 128.
 363 Picardt 1660, 27–30, 132.
 364 Picardt 1660, 34. Moreover, the people in this depiction are wearing similar clothing.
 365 These prints were engraved (and may also have been drawn) by Pieter Holsteijn (“P. Holsteijn schulp”), probably based on instructions by or even sketches by Picardt himself (since the map states: “int ruijge geteijckent van Doctor I. Picard” [“drawn in rough by Dr J. Picardt”]).
 366 “In het ondersoecken deser Antiquiteten onses vaderlandts, en vindt ick onse Landtsaten niet seer curieus. Sy bekommeren haer doorgaens meer met vreemde, en uytlandtsche, als eygene en In-landtsche geschiedenissen”, Picardt 1660, “Dedicatie” [p. 3].
 367 “Immers, dese Antiquiteten en zijn geen wercken der natuur: Uyt de hemel en zijne oock niet gevallen; noch uyt de Wolcken geregent; noch van den Windt aldaer gewaeyt; maer van menschen handen verordineert. En soo wanneer een goetd Historicus, en Ondersoecker der Antiquiteten, zijn verstandt daerop scherpt, sal hy gewaer werden, dat men in dese verborgene en vergetene Antiquiteten, van welcken men geen schriftelick bewijs der oude Scribenten heeft, Characteren vindt; letteren, segh ick, Vestigia en verborgene Merck-teyckenen, die den ondersoecker leyden sullen tot de Autheuren deser Antiquiteten”, Picardt 1660, “Dedicatie” [p. 5].
 368 For instance, Picardt regarded the prehistoric tumuli in the area as the grave-mounds of Roman officers: Picardt 1660, 43–46.
 369 “En hier uyt kan men klaerlijck afnemen dat dese *Stupendae Antiquitates* al in wesen geweest zijn eerdat Romeynen, Vriesen, Sweven, of andere Natien in dit Landt geweest zijn”, Picardt 1660, 131.
 370 “aengaende het pleyen alwaer dit oude Gestichte voortijds ghestaen heeft, is seer ampel en ruym, met eenen heelen hoop Straten die met vlinten of keselinck-steenen geleght

- en bestraet zijn. [...] en tusschen dese Straten kan een verstandigh oogh perfect sien de pleyen daer voortijds de Huysen of Hutten gestaen hebben. In summa, men kan sien dat'er in ouden tijden een populeuse woonplaetse zy geweest, bewoont van een hoopen menschen", Picardt 1660, 166.
- 371 The end of the Roman presence in the country also brought an end to the knowledge of brickmaking. Only around 1200 would this technique be recommenced in the Northern Netherlands.
- 372 "Ick houdet gantschelijck daer voor dat'et in 't eerste geweest zy een recht Nest der Reusen, dewelcke aldaer zijn t'samen vergadert geweest en hebben aldaer haer hutten en gemeyne by-samenkomst en wooninge gehadt", Picardt 1660, 167.
- 373 Picardt 1660, 42.
- 374 "Sy zijn al te samen gegraven soo regulier als of se van Landt-meeters waren af-gesteken", Picardt 1660, 41.
- 375 Brongers 1976.
- 376 Kempius 1588, 29–30; Bakker 2002, 64–68.
- 377 Stevin, *Van de Oirdering der Steden*; Stevin, *Castrametatio* 1617; Taverne 1978; Heuvel 2005. The Roman military camp and Roman battle tactics were also studied by 16th-century Italian architects: see Beltrami 2009.
- 378 Taverne 1978, 49–81; Muller & Zandvliet 1987, 23–27; van den Heuvel 2004.
- 379 Ahlberg 2005; Lombaerde & van den Heuvel 2011.
- 380 Picardt 1660, 42. On p. 3 of his introduction, Picardt gives a list of 87 Classical and contemporary authors whom he had consulted for his research, including the Bible, Caesar, Tacitus, Pliny, Augustine, Olaus Magnus, Lipsius, Mercator and Grotius. Stevin is not named; Kempius' history of Friesland is listed as "Chron. Fris".
- 381 For early modern printed series of the Counts of Holland, cf. de Jong 1997. Jan de Jong examines the question of how authentic or realistic the printed portraits were regarded, but does not discuss their political and ideological significance. For the portraits of the counts cf. also Weissman 1917. The portrait series in town hall of Haarlem was researched by Wim van Anrooij, Truus van Bueren, Reindert Falkenburg and Marijke Moijaart in: Anrooij 1997. On this series, cf. also Kurtz 1958. For historical questions regarding the Counts of Holland, see Boer & Cordfunke 1995, *inter alia*.
- 382 For the development of the Dutch Revolt and the political thought connected with it, cf. Parker 1977; Parker 1992; Elias 1977; Lem 2014; Gelderen 1992); Gelderen 1993; and furthermore Baalbergen 1979; Bremmer 1984; Demandt 1969; Deursen 1996; Duke 1982; Groenveld & Mout 19913); Groenveld, Mout & Leeuwenberg 2008; Groenveld 2009; Israel 1995; Israel 1997; Mout, 1986; Mout 1999; Arnade 2008; Saage 1981, *inter alia*.
- 383 Cf. Koenigsberger 2001; Dunthorne 2013; Oosterhoff 1988, *inter alia*.
- 384 Cf. Groenveld 2009; Lem 2009, *inter alia*.
- 385 For the question of the new Dutch identity, cf. Duke 2004; Groenveld 1980; Groenveld 1998, 77–109, and 524–534; Groenveld 1999; Kossmann 1994; Pollmann 2009; Pollmann 2011, *inter alia*.
- 386 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*.
- 387 Ibidem, fol. A2r. However, circa 1576 he seemed to have moved to The Hague, which is not mentioned by Vosmeer. Nevertheless, Sasbout's salary as counsellor to Philip was still being paid as of 1579. For Sasbout, cf. Baelde 1965, 304; and *Nieuw Nederlands Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 11, cols. 1264–1265.
- 388 A curious interpretation of Vosmeer and Galle's series is that of Miriam Volmert (Voltmert 2013, 75): she asserts that the publication was intended to express the rebels' new political

- stance; in place of the old counts, it was now the Seven United Provinces which were claiming the right to rule in defiance of the sovereign Philip II. It will be evident that this cannot be a correct understanding, even discounting what Vosmeer himself says. After all, the book was dedicated to none other than the chairman of Philip's privy council and was published at Antwerp "with royal privilege" (*cum privilegio regis*)—i.e., by permission of Philip II himself. A book supportive of the rebels would never have obtained such publishing privileges. Volmert erroneously supposes that the lion coat of arms was new and was intended to represent the new-born state of Holland. In fact, the lion is nothing more than the old heraldic symbol of the Counts of Holland.
- 389 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 78: "Haec ego (continua veniens de stirpite) Philippus / Sceptra gero, innumeris tradita nuper avis".
- 390 Ibidem: "Auspice me [...] / Turcorum [...] phanlanx funditus acta ruit".
- 391 Ibidem, fol. A2r: "Didericus Aquitaniae, Sigiberti ducis Aquitaniae filius minor".
- 392 Ibidem, p. 8: "Trojae dinumerandus avis".
- 393 For Dirk I and his father Gerulf cf. Boer & Cordfunke 1995, 13–17. Dirk I was regarded as the first Count of Holland even as early as in the chronicle of Melis Stoke. Boer & Cordfunke 1995, 14 emphasise that, according to the documents, the first Count of Holland was actually a certain "Gerul" who is mentioned in a document of 889 (kept at Egmond Abbey). In this view, Dirk was the second Count of Holland.
- 394 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, 5–6.
- 395 Ibidem, p. 6: "[...] genus alto a sanguine regum, / Patre Sigisberto [...]".
- 396 Ibidem: "Sic placitum superis, sic magnus Rector Olympi / Annuit" ("So it was decided by the gods, so it was ratified by the great ruler of Mount Olympus").
- 397 Virgil, *Aeneid* I, 282–283.
- 398 Cf. the marginal note added by Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 8: "Uxor Theodorici Gena, seu Gunna, filia Pippini minoris, regis Italiae" ("The consort of Dirk [was] Gena or Gunna, a daughter of Pepin the Younger, the King of Italy"). In Vosmeer's poem, line 8: *uxor regia Gena fuit* ("his wife was Gena the descendant of a king"). Pepin was appointed King of Italy as early as 781, when he was only some eight years old, but the actual regent was of course his father Charlemagne.
- 499 Cf. Boer & Cordfunke 1995, 13.
- 400 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, fol. A2r: "Didericus Aquitaniae, Sigiberti ducis Aquitaniae filius minor". For the origins of the connection with Aquitania, see: Anrooij 1991; Peeters 1990; and recently, Keesman 2017, esp. 543–550, and 555–557. According to Keesman, the genealogical construction of the Trojan origins of the Counts of Holland did not yet exist in the 14th and in the early 15th century (cf. ibidem 543); she traces them back to chronicles that were composed in the second half of the 15th century, for example to Jan Gerbrandzoon van Leiden's Brederode chronical or Dirk Frankenzoon Pauw's chronical (esp. 544–545). For the historical genealogy, see Dek 1969.
- 401 Siegbert I had a son called Childebert, who also became king of Austrasia (570–595).
- 402 Keesman 2017, 544, gives the puzzling information that Dirk I, Count of Holland, was an offspring of the "Merovingian Chilperik, Duke of Aquitania and brother of King Dagobert II [...] Chilperik's descendants, the last of the Trojan royal lineage and those truly entitled to the throne, stayed ruling Aquitania after the succession of Pepin" (*English translation of Keesman*). However, Dagobert II's brother was not a "Chilperik" (or Chilperic) but rather Childebert (i.e., Childebert the Adopted), who from 656 to 657 (or 662) was king of Austrasia (Aquitania being the most important domain of Austrasia). Moreover, Chilperich was surely not a Merovingian but a Carolingian (Pippinide), being the true

- son of the Frankish *Hausmeier* (steward) Grimoald (c. 615–657 or 662). Childebert the Adopted was killed very early on by Clovis II. Childebert cannot possibly have been a forebear of Dirk I, because he died without issue. The same applies to another Chilperic who only very briefly (in the year 632) occupied the throne of Aquitania, as infant son of Charibert II, Duke of Aquitania, who had died at the young age of 18. This Chilperic was killed shortly after he came to power by order of king Dagobert I. He was a Merovingian, but not the brother of a 'King Dagobert II'.
- 403 Cf. Anrooij 1991; Keesman 2017, 543–545. Keesman says that Dirk Pauw's chronicle is the oldest known source for the Trojan origin of the Counts of Holland (ibidem 545, note 220); according to van Anrooij, the myth existed already in the 14th century. Boer & Cordfunke 1995, 13, call the Trojan ancestry of the Counts in the 15th century a "success story".
- 404 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 12: "Sic Arnoldus eram, quem *Dardanus induperator* / Lutcharidis natae praetulit esse virum" ("Such was I, Arnout, whom the *Trojan emperor* chose as husband for his daughter Lutcharis") (emphasis Karl Enenkel).
- 405 For the genealogical construction supposedly tracing the Brederodes back to Arnout I, cf. Lulofs 1987.
- 406 Cf. e.g. *Aeneid* II.618; IV.662; V.119; VI.57; VII.219; XI.287. For *Dardanius* cf. e.g. *Aeneid* I.494; 602; 617; II.582; III.596; IV.163; 224; 626; 640; 647; 658; V.30; VII.1; VI.169; X.92; 133; 603, etc. *Dardanus* (note spelling) the founder of Troy is mentioned in e.g. *Aeneid* III.167; III.503; IV.365; VI.650.
- 407 Cf. ibidem I.560; II.59; 72; 242; 445 etc.
- 408 Cf. ibidem, e.g. IV.662; XI.287.
- 409 Cf. ibidem, II.618 "Dardana arma"; IV.662 "Dardana pubes"; V.119 "Dardana tela"; XI.287 "Dardana pubes".
- 410 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 12: "Lutcharis, Theophanis Byzantiae Imperatoris filia, Arnoldo nupsit".
- 411 Other princesses with this name were Theophanou of Athens (d. after 811), the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor Nikephorus I and the wife of Emperor Stauriakos (after 778–812); Theophanou (d. 893), the consort of Byzantine Emperor Leo the Wise (866–912); and Theophanou of Sparta (941–978), the wife of the Emperors Romanos II and Nikephoros II Phokas.
- 412 For Theophanou cf. Davids 1995; Wolf 1991; von Euw & Schreiner 1991.
- 413 See below, in the next section.
- 414 E.g. the historiographer Theophanes of Byzantium (sixth century), the monk and chronicler Theophanes the Confessor (c. 758–c. 817), the monk and hymnographer Theophanes the Branded (775–845), Theophanes the chief minister of Emperor Romanos Lekapenos (tenth century), Theophanes Nonnus, a Byzantine physician who authored a medical compendium dedicated to Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (tenth century), etc.
- 415 For Lutgardis, see Boer & Cordfunke 1995, 23–24.
- 416 Her sisters were Cunigunda, Eva, and Ermentruda, her brothers Henry (later Henry I Luxembourg), Siegfried, Dietrich II (later bishop of Metz), Adalberon, and Gislebert.
- 417 Vosmeer, *Principes Hollandiae*, p. 12: "Didericum prius, hinc Zyphridum sustulit uxor".
- 418 Cf. ibidem, 'Bijlage II', p. 125, lines 68–69.
- 419 For the series, see Anrooij 1997, for the dating, see 16–18.
- 420 Falkenburg 1997, 71.
- 421 Cf. Winter 1971; Ruyven-Zeman 1993.
- 422 Cf. the edition in Anrooij 1997, 119–120, 'Aquitanië en de herkomst'.

- 423 Ibidem 119.
 424 Ibidem.
 425 Ibidem, 123: "tjaer viiic lviii beghan / Sijn regijment [...]" ("His reign began in the year 858 [...]").
 426 Anrooij 1997, 119–120.
 427 Cf. the edition in Anrooij 1997, 123, 'Dierderick I', lines 44–47.
 427 Cf. the discussion in the previous section.
 429 The author of the Haarlem captions was not aware of the tradition that Dirk II was married to Hildegard, who is regarded a daughter of Count Arnulf I of Flanders. If Hildegard was indeed the daughter of Arnulf of Flanders (and not his wife), she could boast of a descent from Charlemagne. Because the Carolingians traced their family tree back to King Priam of Troy, this would mean that, via Hildegard, another line of Trojan blood would be added to the genealogy of the Counts of Holland. Boer & Cordfunke 1995, 23, plainly state that "Graaf Arnulf [...] via zijn moeder stamde hij [...] af van de Karolingen".
 430 Cf. the edition in Anrooij 1997, 125, 'Aernout I', lines 66–70. The French version of 1516/1518 renders 'Lutgaert's' pedigree thus: "Lutgaert [...], / La fille Teophanus [sic], empereur de Grece, tant renomme, / Et lemperesse de Romme tant louable fut sa soeur" (ibidem, 'Bijlage III', p. 167, lines 71–72).
 431 Cf. Boer & Cordfunke 1995, 23.
 432 Ibidem 125.
 433 He was brother-in-law of Emperor Johannes Tzimiskes I (Skleros' sister Maria had been the first wife of Johannes Tzimiskes).
 434 The prints were used as illustrations for the book Galle Philip, *Les vies et alliances des comtes de Hollande et Zélande, signeurs de Frise*, published at Antwerp by Christopher Plantin (1583 and 1586); and in 1584, to illustrate Hadrianus Barlandus' Latin prose series on the Counts of Holland, *Hollandiae Comitum historia et icones [...]*, Leiden, Christopher Plantin, 1584.
 435 The work was originally published under the title Barlandus Hadrianus, *De Hollandiae principibus*, Antwerp, Johannes Theobaldus, 1519. Cf. Haitsma Mulier & van der Lem 1990, 21.
 436 Bueren 1997.
 437 Ibidem 73.
 438 Volmert 2013, 75. Incidentally, the conclusions that Volmert draws from the publication of the series by Vosmeer and Galle are wrong; see footnote 388.
 439 Cf. Winter 1971.
 440 Leiden, Museum De Lakenhal, inv. nos. 349–360.
 441 Cf. Vogelaar 1996; Pelinck 1951; Ruyven-Zeman 1993, 493–500; de Jong 1997, 209, no. 13.
 442 Steur 1975.
 443 Cf. also Beelaerts van Blokland 1933.
 444 Cf. Pelc 2002.
 445 Pantaleon. *Prosopographia heroum atque illustrium virorum totius Germaniae opus plane novum [...]*, 1565.
 446 Pantaleon, *Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch [...]*, 1567; Pantaleon, *Der ander Theil Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch [...]*, 1568; Pantaleon, *Der dritte und letzte Theil Teutscher Nation Heldenbuch [...]*, 1570; Pantaleon, *Teutscher Nation warhafften Helden [...]*, 1578. For this work cf. especially Buscher 1946 and Rave 1959, esp. 147–148.
 447 Published and printed by the same Hieronymus Cock. For Lampsonius and his gallery of portraits cf. Denhaene 1990; Puraye 1950; Galley 2005, 99–155 (Chapter 2, 'La genèse d'une

- histoire de l'artiste nordique'). For Hieronymus Cock cf. van Grieken, Luijten & van der Stock 2013.
- 448 Printed at The Hague.
- 449 Antwerp, Philip Galle, 1572. Cf. also Philip Galle's *Imagines L doctorum virorum qui bene de studiis literarum meruere*, Antwerp, Philip Galle and Franciscus Raphelengius, 1587.
- 450 For Perna, cf. Rotonò 1974; Welte 1985, 25–135; Perini 2002, with a numbered catalogue of the 430 editions printed by Perna (1549–1582).
- 451 Giovio Paolo, *Elogia virorum bellica virtute illustrium*, Basel, Petrus Perna, 1575; idem, *Elogia virorum literis illustrium*, Basel, Petrus Perna, 1575. Cf. Rave 1959, esp. 150–153.
- 452 Anrooij 1997, 159. The text of the French translations was published by van Anrooij; ibidem, 161–197.
- 453 For the wood carvings, see Beelaerts van Blokland 1933; Nijhoff 1938–1939; Ward 2006.
- 454 Barlandus Hadrianus, *De Hollandiae principibus*, Antwerp, Johannes Theobaldus, July 1519, followed very quickly by a second edition in idem, *Libelli tres [...] uno principum Hollandiae, altero episcoporum insignis ecclesiae Traiectensis, tercio res gestae continentur invictissimi principis Caroli Burgundiae ducis [...]*, Antwerp, Michael Hillenius, January 1520. For Doen Pieterz' publication with the title *Catalogus comitum Hollandiae*, Amsterdam 1519/1520, see Ward 2006. Doen Pieterz' publication is apparently not mentioned in Haitsma Mulier & van der Lem 1990. Ward 2006, 75, has identified the author of the texts accompanying Doen Pieterz' publication as Hadrianus Barlandus.
- 455 For Barlandus, see Daxhelet 1938; Bietenholz 1985–1987, 95–96.
- 456 Barlandus Hadrianus, *De literatis urbis Romae principibus opusculum*, Louvain [publisher unidentified] 1515; also in idem, *Historica*, Cologne, Bernardus Gualtherus, 1603, 1–13. Cf. Haitsma Mulier & van der Lem 1990 21, no. 27a.
- 457 Barlandus Hadrianus, *De Hollandiae principibus*, Antwerp, Johannes Theobaldus, July 1519; idem, *Libelli tres [...] uno principum Hollandiae, altero episcoporum insignis ecclesiae Traiectensis, tercio res gestae continentur invictissimi principis Caroli Burgundiae ducis [...]*, Antwerp, Michael Hillenius, January 1520. For both publications cf. Haitsma Mulier & van der Lem 1990, 21, no. 27b. Cf. also: <http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geschied-schrijvers/Pages/Barlandus.aspx>.
- 458 For this series, see Ward 2006.
- 459 Barlandus Hadrianus, *Hollandiae Comitum historia et icones. Cum selectis scholis ad lectoris usum [...]*, Christopher Plantin, Leiden, 1584.
- 460 Barlandus Hadrianus, *Hollandiae Comitum historia et icones [...]*, Frankfurt-am-Main, Johannes Wechel for Sigmund Feyerabend, 1585.
- 461 For Scriverius' editions, see below.
- 462 Suetonius, *De vita Caesarum*, 'Galba' 21: "excreverat etiam in dexteriore latere eius caro [...]" ; Barlandus, *Principes Hollandiae*, ch. on "Godefridus": "[...] gibbosus dictus, quod grandis ei pectore gibbus excreverat".
- 463 Galba was Emperor only from June 8, AD 68 to January 15, AD 69; Godfrey the Hunchback had expelled Count Dirk v in 1075 and was murdered as shortly thereafter as February 27, 1076.
- 464 As seen from Chapter 32 of the *Principes Hollandiae*, Barlandus expresses the hope that it might prove possible to secure a peaceful succession to Maximilian.
- 465 Ibidem, fol. Aiii r: "[...] Theoderico cuidam, Troiani sanguinis viro, ut annales tradunt".
- 466 See the letter of dedication: "Amplissimis prudentissimisque Hollandiae provinciae Ordinibus Christophorus Plantinus S.D.," in: Barlandus Hadrianus, *Hollandiae comitum historia et icones [...]*, Leiden, Christopher Plantin, 1584, fol. *2r–v.

- 467 Ibidem, fol. *2r.
- 468 Moreover, this Leiden version of the counts omits John III, Duke of Bavaria (the twenty-eighth Count of Holland), who was bishop-elect of Liège and the rival of Jacqueline of Hainaut (alias Jacoba, Countess of Bavaria). It would seem that this episcopal usurper of the county was no longer counted worthy of gracing the history of Holland.
- 469 *Principes Hollandiae et Westphrisiae*, Haarlem, Pieter Soutman, 1650.
- 470 It is a curious detail that another important historian of the Dutch Republic, Hugo Grotius, acknowledged even in 1610 the fantastical marriage of Count Arnout I with the daughter of a Byzantine emperor, and moreover accepted the forgery that Arnout's wife was the sister of the Byzantine princess who married the German Emperor (i.e., Theophanou). Cf. Grotius Hugo, *De antiquitate Reipublicae Batavicae*, Chapter v, 22: "Arnulfo comitum tertio coniunx Constantinopolitani Imperatoris filia, cuius soror Germaniae Imperatori nupserat"—"The third Count of Holland, Arnout, obtained as his consort the daughter of the Byzantine Emperor, whose sister married the German Emperor" (translation Karl Enenkel). Cf. Grotius, *Liber de antiquitate reipublicae Batavicae*, Leiden, Franciscus Raphelengius, 1610; idem, *The Antiquity of the Batavian Republic*, ed. and transl. by Jan Waszink *et al.* Assen 2000, 96 (v, 22; in their commentary, the editors do not identify the sister mentioned by Grotius as Theophanou). The proliferation of this error is all the more remarkable, because Grotius' work was reprinted a couple of times.
- 471 Benedicti Georgius, *Poemata posthuma, in quis Epigrammata, Epitaphia, Elegiae*, ed. Petrus Scriverius, Leiden, Christoph Guyot, 1601.
- 472 For Benedicti's biographical details, see Schepper 1984, 244–245.
- 473 Benedicti Georgius, *Carmina quaedam in funere Guilielmi, Principis Arausionensis, Delphis parricidali manu occisi anno LXXXV. Additus est Epigrammatum libellous*, Delft, Albertus Henricus, 1585.
- 474 Benedicti Georgius, *De rebus gestis Principis Guilielmi comitis Nassovii, Principis Nassovii, libri duo. Item Epinicia, Epigrammata varia et Epitaphia comitum Hollandiae*, Leiden, Joan. Paetsius, 1585. The epos has been republished in modern times, along with a Dutch translation, by the Leiden *collegium classicum* E.D.E.P.O.L.: *De krijgsdaden van Willem van Oranje*, Leiden, stichting dimensie, 1990 (A. de Best *et al.*). For the epos, see also Wijdeveld 1984.
- 475 Gruterus Janus, *Chronicum chronicorum politicum, in quo Imperatores, Reges, Duces, Principes, Marchiones etc. recensentur [...]*, Frankfurt-am-Main, Aubriana, 1614, 1007–1018.
- 476 Gruterus Janus, *Delitiae C poetarum Belgicorum, huius superiorisque aevi illustrium*, Frankfurt-am-Main, Aubriana, 1614.
- 477 Scriverius Petrus, *Illustrissimorum Hollandiae Zelandiaeque Comitum ac dominorum Frisiae Icones et historia*, in: idem, *Batavia illustrata [...]*, Leiden, Ludovicus Elzevir, 1609 and 1611; idem, *Principes Hollandiae et Westphrisiae*, Haarlem, Pieter Soutman, 1650.
- 478 Cf. Benedicti, 'Godifredus Gibbus', in: Scriverius 1611, p. 20: 'Quid male parta meis, hospes, regna obiiis armis? / Quid poenam exposcis? [...]'.
- 479 Ibidem: 'Respice fundatas celebres me Principe Delphos. / Mox tangent ipsis sidera verticibus'.
- 480 Meier 2010.
- 481 Benedicti, ch. XVIII, 'Gulielmus II': "Quid gemis, hospes? / Insanis, ni optes sic quoque posse mori".
- 482 Ibidem, ch. XVII.
- 483 Ibidem, ch. xv: "Foemina quid possit, cerne hospes!"

- 484 Ibidem, ch. v: "Quid vitam carpis, quid prelia gesta, Viator? / Sit satis hostili me periisse manu".
- 485 Boer & Cordfunke 1995, 51.
- 486 Benedicti, 'Theodericus tertius', in: Scriverius 1611, ch. iv, p. 10: "Defendi patrium, patre non minor ipse, Leonem, / Proque parente parens, proque Leone Leo".
- 487 Benedicti, 'Theodericus primus', in: ibidem, ch. i, p. 4: "peace-loving, but mighty in war".
- 488 E.g. ibidem, chs. i and iii.
- 489 Cf. van Anrooij 1993c.
- 490 Benedicti, 'Theodericus quintus', in Scriverius 1611, ch. x, p. 22.
- 491 Benedicti, 'Philippus Rex Hispaniae', in: ibidem, ch. xxxvi, p. 154.
- 492 Ibidem, ch. i.
- 493 For Scriverius' biographical details, see Langereis 2001, 104–112.
- 494 For Scriverius as an antiquary and keen national historian, cf. ibidem, 112 ff.
- 495 For his series of counts, cf. ibidem, 255–264.
- 496 See following footnote.
- 497 E.g. Tuynman 1977 and Haitisma Mulier & van der Lem 1990, 376, under no. 436b, where we read that the texts accompanying the woodcuts of the *Illustrissimorum Hollandiae Zelandiaeque comitum ac dominorum Frisiae icones et historia* were a Latin "adaptation" by Scriverius of a text whose title is given as "Duyms History of the Counts of Holland, Zeeland and Friesland". Langereis 2001, 125, rightly points out that these were texts which Scriverius had taken from Plantin's edition of 1584, particularly of Barlandus' *Principes Hollandiae*. However, Langereis does not mention the poems by Georgius Benedicti, which incidentally were not included in Plantin's edition. Scriverius took these from the 1586 Leiden edition, published by Benedicti himself.
- 498 Leiden, Lodewijk Elzevier, 1609.
- 499 Scriverius Petrus, *Principes Hollandiae et Westphrisiae*, Haarlem, Pieter Soutman, 1650.
- 500 This Chapter has also been published in Enenkel & Ottenheim 2018, 330–360. For the influence of Scamozzi on Dutch Classicist architecture (with further bibliography), see Ottenheim 2010; Ottenheim 2016, *inter alia*.
- 501 Cf. e.g. Jongh 1973.
- 502 Celebrated examples are the 16th-century designs for the façade of San Petronio in Bologna, the mid-17th-century new Marian chapel beside the choir of the Gothic cathedral of St Goedele in Brussels, and Nicholas Hawksmoor's towers for Westminster Abbey, dating from the early 18th century. Wittkower 1974; Hall 2002; Rousteau-Chambon 2003.
- 503 Dunk 1993; Dunk 2015; Tussenbroek 2017.
- 504 Sutthoff 1990; Hipp 2008.
- 505 Ottenheim 2015.
- 506 Coulson 1982; Olde Meierink 1996; Wemyss 2014, 18–37 ('Ancestry and Architecture').
- 507 Letter of 20 December 1632 of Sir Robert Kerr to his son, Lord Lothian, on the rebuilding of Ferniehirst Castle. Laing 1875, 64; Wemyss 2014, 21.
- 508 Schmidt 1999, 101–122, 124–130; Girouard 2000, 54–65; Müller 2004, 151–156, 235–246.
- 509 For Guelders (Gelderland), see Olde Meierink & Storms-Smeets 2015; for Overijssel, see Gevers, Mensema & Olde Meierink 2015.
- 510 Ottenheim 2008.
- 511 Such as Amerongen in 1597, Broekhuizen in 1629 and Drakestein in 1642. Drie 1995.
- 512 See the heraldic chart of the *ridderschap* of Utrecht in Olde Meierink 1995, 48 and plate 1.

- 513 “die Vesten ende Huysen ende opgetogen Bruggen hebben, [...] Dat die Bouwhuysen binnen het begryp vande Ridderhofsteden sullen zijn”, Citations of the legend on the heraldic chart of the *ridderschap* of Utrecht of 1674. The same descriptions can be found on documents as early as 1512. Drie 1995.
- 514 Het Utrechts Archief [Archive of the City and Province of Utrecht], 233 (Staten van Utrecht 1581–1819), inv. no. 364-9-157. ‘Van de ridder-woningen ende edele hoffsteden’: 1) “de audste ende rechte ridderhoffsteden”; 2) “die over de 200 jaeren bekendt sijn geweest ende cort daernaer bekendt geworden sijn”; 3) “die voor lusthuysen offte steene cameran geacht”.
- 515 Bullinga & Kamphuis 1995.
- 516 Olde Meierink 1995b.
- 517 Wyck 1983, 29–40; Meischke 1985; Verschuure-Stulp & Renes 2015.
- 518 Meischke 1966; Ottenheim 1995, 161–163.
- 519 Ottenheim 1989, 34–45.
- 520 Aalbers 1987, 62–64.
- 521 Eeghen 1976, 11–12.
- 522 Kooijmans 1987; Bok 1996.
- 523 Olde Meierink 1997; Olde Meierink 2004.
- 524 “Die man noch an etlichen Orten sihet, werden also geduldet mehr zum Gedächtnüss der Antiquitet als dass man sich derselben höchlich zu erfreuen oder nützlich zu gebrauchen hette”, Sardi 1623, 51 (this passage is missing in the original Italian edition of 1618); Schütte 1994, 197–203.
- 525 Meischke 1981; Bosch van Drakestein 1995.
- 526 Olde Meierink 1995a.
- 527 Lisman 1973; Wyck 1983, 157–175; Wevers 1991.
- 528 Den Ham, Sterkenburg and Hinderstein, for instance, were castles arranged around a tall square donjon, whereas Oud Zuylen has four striking, slim, octagonal corner turrets rising clear of the roof and largely determining the profile.
- 529 Schaik 1995.
- 530 Judging by the minor irregularities in the plan of the new central tower.
- 531 Boer & Bruch 1985, 21–28, 63–70.
- 532 Ernst Koning 1836. In the mid–17th century, Ilpenstein was owned by the powerful de Graeffs, a family of Amsterdam burgomasters.
- 533 Olde Meierink 1995, 542.
- 534 Reinink 1994. Schaik 1999.
- 535 Preserved as a manuscript in Stadsarchief [City Archive] Rotterdam, published in: Unger & Bezemer 1895, vol. II, 546–621.
- 536 Lois’ copy was published by in 1895. Unger & Bezemer 1895, Vol. II, 11–25.
- 537 Scholte 1978 and Scholte 1980.
- 538 Oud Archief Delfland (Archive of Delfland, Delft), inv. no. 3510/28, first document, page 2. (Scholte 1980, 250).
- 539 Posthumously published as *Beschryving der Stad Rotterdam, van haar eerste opkomst en aanleg af, en van de publyke gebouwen; gedeeltelyk getrokken uit nagelaate geschriften, van wylen den heer Jacob Kortebrand*, Rotterdam 1786–1787.
- 540 “met een achtcantige toren, sijnde een proper gebouw”. Unger & Bezemer 1895, 609.
- 541 Namely by M.C.P. Scholte (see Scholte 1978 and 1980).
- 542 This Chapter is a slightly adapted version of Chapter 16 in Enenkel & Ottenheim 2018, 418–454.

- 543 Together with the other titles which combined to make up the collective term “Lord of the Low Countries”: these included the titles of Duke of Guelders, Count of Zeeland, Lord of Utrecht and the Oversticht, and Lord of Friesland.
- 544 Israel 1996, 305–314.
- 545 Henderikx 2005.
- 546 Rutte 2002, 123–143.
- 547 Beverwijck 1640, 76–82.
- 548 Stades-Vischer 1985.
- 549 Meffert & Schook 1985, 29–35.
- 550 Ampzing 1628, 48–50.
- 551 Cerutti 2001, 48–52.
- 552 Glas 2011, 323.
- 553 Ampzing 1628, caption for engraving by Jan van de Velde after Pieter Saenredam: “De Grote Markt met het stadhuis in Haarlem”, Schwartz & Bok 1989, 42, 266, cat. no. 88. Also featured in this sense in Blaeu 1652, no page numbering: “het koninglijck paleis. Dit is nu 't Raethuijs” (“the royal palace, which now is the town hall”).
- 554 Royaards, Jongens & Phaff 1961.
- 555 Ampzing 1628, 53.
- 556 The attire of the figures in the foreground indicates that this must have been intended as a contemporary design for the 17th century, rather than being any kind of fantasy reconstruction of mediaeval Haarlem. This drawing is also attributed by some to Pieter Saenredam, and is known only from black-and-white reproductions (current whereabouts of original unknown). Schwartz & Bok 1989, 58 (Fig. 59), 266, cat. no. 89.
- 557 Ampzing 1628, 53.
- 558 For the history of this series of portraits, see Chapter 8, and Cerutti 2001, 257–267.
- 559 Groot 1984.
- 560 Terwen 1967; Ottenheym, Rosenberg & Smit 2008, 106–109.
- 561 Oerle 1975, 88–91.
- 562 Meischke 1989.
- 563 Oerle 1975, 67–72.
- 564 Vlaardingerbroek 2011; Vlaardingerboek 2018.
- 565 Fremantle 1959; Goossens 2010.
- 566 Sprokholt 2001.
- 567 Pot 1950; Scheygrond 1952; Denslagen 2001, 212–225.
- 568 During the 1947–1952 restoration, the Gothic elements on the rear and side façades were reconstructed.
- 569 Tilmans 1989; Verbaan 2011.
- 570 Beverwijck 1640, 75–82.
- 571 Beverwijck 1640, 118.
- 572 Tussenbroek 2006, 163.
- 573 “[...] & oppidum ab Antonino Pio, ut fertur, conditum ‘Benefacta’ nomine, quod nunc ‘Dodrana’ dicitur in aquilonari parte insulae ubi Mosa in mare vadit. Quam qui habitant Dordranesii appellantur, qui & praecipui habentur. Quae civitas egregie munita est, divitiis abundans, negotiationique maxime accomoda”, Dominicus Marius Niger 1557, 57.
- 574 Ibidem.
- 575 In 1634, Marcus Zuerius Boxhorn strongly rejected this idea in his *Tonneel ofte beschrijvinghe des landts ende steden van Hollandt* (Boxhorn 1634, 71). In 1640, Johan van Beverwijck,

- in his official history of Dordrecht, also referred to Dominicus Marius' founding story, remarking that its ancient sources are somewhat "uncertain". Beverwijck 1640, 119–120.
- 576 Moolenbroek 2016.
- 577 Ruyven-Zeman 2000.
- 578 Bleysweijck 1667, 45: "het onderste van de Oude-Kercks Toorn wel eer (als het Landt noch wilt en woest en weynich bewoont was) tot een Redoute ofte Wachttooren ten opsichte over de Gracht soude zijn ghestelt gelijk verscheyde van die nature hier en daer in sonderheydt langers den Rijn waren gheordonneert".
- 579 Bleysweijck 1667, 60: "gelijck de grijze Duijfsteeenen onder aen de Fundamenten dat eenigermaelen uytwijzen". Evidently, van Bleysweijck believed that tufa was an artificial stone, perhaps something like Roman cement, whose production was a lost art: "welcke soort van Steen van soo hooghen ouderdom is, dat haer compositie en maecksel nu alt'eenemaal vergeten en uyt de wereldt is geraeckt" ("This kind of stone is of such great antiquity that its composition and production has now been entirely forgotten and lost to the world").
- 580 Bleysweijck 1667, 60: "in voortijden de grootste van begrip en best ghefortificeerde is geweest van gansch Hollandt".
- 581 Bleysweijck 1667, 59–60.
- 582 Orlers 1614, 13–14: "Leyden [is] niet alleen out maer de outste ende voornaemste Stadt van Hollandt, seeckerlijck ouder als Dordrecht ende Haerlem".
- 583 Orlers 1614, 59: "Den Burch wesende een viciersel deser Stede is niet alleene het eerste ende alderoutste gebou het welcke eerst buyten en de over eenige Honderden Jaren binnen Leyden gelegen heeft maer selfs een van de alleroutste gestichten ende Sterckten van gantsch Hollant".
- 584 Aurelius 1517, f. 16v.–17r. Tilmans 1989, 85.
- 585 van Leeuwen 1672, 23 and 42.
- 586 Oerle 1975, 37–41; van der Vlist 2001, 9–18.
- 587 Junius Hadrianus 1588 (edition Glas 2011, 338); Orlers 1614, 59.
- 588 Vlist 2001, 82–87.
- 589 Moerman 1981.
- 590 Terwen & Ottenheym 1993, 195–197.
- 591 Nationaal Archief (National Archive, The Hague), Van Wassenae van Duvenvoorde Family, access number 3.20.87, inventory number 3A, fols. 10 and 27.
- 592 Dapper 1663, 69: "Gysbert verdreven, en het kasteel, dat noit weder opgemaekt is, tot den gront toe vernielden en sloopten".
- 593 "Post eiusdem domicelli mortem Ghiselbertus de Aemstel oppidum suum ligneis pontibus et turritis propugnaculis undecum munivit, sed vulgus Waterlandie cum opidanis de Haerlem profugato Ghiselberto pontes et municiones favillatenus inflammavit", Johannis de Beke, *Chronographia* (ed. 1973), 253.
- 594 Verkerk 1995.
- 595 Gemert 1993.
- 596 Vondel, *Gysbreght van Aemstel*, stanzas 1829–1840.
- 597 Thus also in 1663 in Dapper 1663, 69: "het Kasteel, dat aen d' Oostzyde van den Damrak stont" ("the castle that stood on the eastern side of the Damrak").
- 598 Such as the find of foundations in 1564, described by Cornelis Haemrodus in his guide to the city, which Pontanus in 1611 included as an appendix (Pontanus 1611).

- 699 Roever 1995; Toebosch 2011.
- 600 Besides, it is not evident whether the building was ever completed. Speet 2004, esp. 50–59.
- 601 The only building that could perhaps stand comparison with Leiden's Burchtpoort and Amsterdam's Leidsepoort was Utrecht's Wittevrouwenpoort (former city gate on the east side), built in 1649–1652. Cuperus 1952; Terwen & Ottenheym 1993, 193–195.