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30

STUDIES IN EUROPEAN URBAN HISTORY (1100–1800)

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**THE POWER OF SPACE
IN LATE MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN EUROPE**
The Cities of Italy, Northern France and the Low Countries

EDITED BY

MARC BOONE & MARTHA HOWELL

BREPOLS

10. SACRED SPACE CONTESTED: AMSTERDAM IN THE AGE OF THE REFORMATION

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Thursday, June 12, 1533, was as cold, wet, and windy as it gets in an Amsterdam summer. It was also Corpus Christi day, the feast of the Holy Sacrament. Corpus Christi was celebrated with special devotion in Amsterdam, famous for a holy shrine dedicated to a miraculous host. But this year the feast that should have been the apogee of the liturgical year was a washout. Torrential rains lashed the town's wooden-gabled houses and narrow streets, along with the magistrates and citizens, laymen as well as clergy, who made up the procession. By the time the procession left the relative shelter of the houses of New Side Parish to cross the Nieuwe Brug (New Bridge, the northernmost of the bridges across the river Amstel) and entered the Old Side Parish, the participants were drenched. The wind was so strong and gusty that the parish priest had difficulty keeping the monstrance with the Holy Sacrament aloft. The weather was not, however, the worst of it. A group of townsmen, who were sheltered in a small wooden office building situated near the middle of the bridge, ostentatiously closed the shutters of the windows that looked down onto the passing circumambulation, as a sign of their disrespect. They then brazenly interrupted the sacred procession, insulting the priest and the marchers by yelling "Rain better! Rain better! So may the priest and his God get wet!"²

The incident illustrates how urban unity and solidarity increasingly came under pressure during the Age of Reformation. Urban harmony was traditionally symbolized in the Holy Sacrament, which in Amsterdam was worshipped in a special chapel aptly called the *Heilige Stede* (Holy Stead). Civic unity of course always was an ideal rather than reality. Nevertheless, magistrates and ordinary town-folk cherished a common vision of the urban community as a voluntary alliance of citizens confirmed by an oath, or a quasi-kinship. In times of distress the citizens were bound to assist each other with their life and property and defend the freedom of the city, if need be by force of arms. Key concepts shaping the communal ideal were peace, friendship, brotherhood, unity, and concord.³ The urban community was commonly represented as a body (*corpus*) with a head (the magistrates), that had to give orders, and members (the citizens, organized in several corporations), that had to obey.⁴

¹ An earlier version in Dutch was published as "De strijd om de sacrale ruimte", in *Amstelodamum. Maandblad voor de kennis van Amsterdam*, 91, 2004, pp. 3-14.

² "Regent bet, reghent bet, zoe mach die paep met zijn God nat worden!" ; *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica*, ed. Albert F. MELLINK, vol. 5, Leiden, 1980, p. 7.

³ Eberhardt ISENMANN, "Norms and Values in the European City, 1300-1800", in *Resistance, Representation and Community. The Origins of the Early Modern State in Europe. 13th to 18th Centuries*, ed. Peter BLICKLE, Oxford, 1997, pp. 185-215.

⁴ James D. TRACY, *Europe's Reformations, 1450-1650*, Lanham MD, 1999, p. 342, n. 366.

Magistrates and citizens had different prerogatives and duties, but formed a single, organic entity. This urban community, articulated in many ways yet essentially one, was symbolically represented and reproduced in the Corpus Christi procession, with all urban corporations – magistrates, parish priests, monastic orders, craft-guilds, civic militias – having their own place, closer to the Sacrament or farther removed from it according to their rank and status.⁵

The evangelical movements, which first manifested themselves in Amsterdam in the 1520s, subverted this ideal of civic concord.⁶ The magistrates initially attempted to prevent unrest by tacitly agreeing to look the other way. They left religious dissidents alone as long as they did not disturb the public peace. This policy quickly resulted in a substantial increase of the number of the evangelically-minded, as well as bitter conflicts between Amsterdam's magistrates and the Habsburg authorities in The Hague and Brussels, who insisted that the harsh anti-heresy legislation be observed to the letter. Only in November 1523, three years after Emperor Charles V's first edict against heretical books, did the Amsterdam magistrates issue an ordinance against religious innovations. It was not, however, the eradication of the unorthodox that they stated as their goal, but the re-establishment of urban consensus. "Good cities and communities are strengthened by concord, yet greatly offended by dissension and strife," is how they phrased the preamble to the ordinance.⁷

The emergence of evangelical ideas caused dissension between reform-minded and conservative citizens, divisions within the governing elite, with rival factions fighting each other with unprecedented vigor, and conflicts between the city and the central government of the Low Countries. Twice, in May 1535 and in February 1567, the Amsterdammers rose in arms against their magistrates as well as against each other. During the regime of the duke of Alba (1567-1573) a faction of ultra-conservative Catholic magistrates to some extent succeeded in restoring civic unity, but at the price of expelling, with Alba's help, the entire political and religious opposition. The open warfare that broke out in Holland and Zeeland in 1572 was in essence a civil war.⁸ While most of the towns of Holland and Zeeland rose in rebellion, Amsterdam remained staunchly Catholic and loyal to the government of the ruler of the Netherlands, King Philip II of Spain.⁹ The exiled Amsterdammers, however, fought with the rebel forces against their fellow-citizens. Amsterdam's civil war ended only in 1578 with the *Alteratie* ("Alteration," or revolution), when the town joined William of Orange and the States of Holland in the revolt against the King of Spain. This time the Catholic magistrates, in their turn, were sent into exile.

1. Sacred space

In the sixteenth century the sacral character of urban space became a fiercely contested issue between Catholics and Protestants. To put it simply: Zwingli, Calvin, and the other reformers firmly rejected the hallowed character of churches, chapels, and shrines. For them God was spiritual, fundamentally distinct from the material world. Matter could

⁵ Marijke CARASSO-KOK, "Ter ere van God en tot aanzien van de stad", in *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam. Een stad uit het niets. Tot 1578*, ed. Marijke CARASSO-KOK, Amsterdam, 2004, pp. 419-421.

⁶ Henk VAN NIEROP, "De eenheid verbroken 1522-1566", in CARASSO-KOK, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, pp. 313-363.

⁷ *Corpus documentorum inquisitionis haereticae pravitatis Neerlandicae. Verzameling van stukken betreffende de pauselijke en bisschoppelijke inquisitie in de Nederlanden*, ed. Paul FREDERICQ, vol. 4, Ghent/The Hague, 1889, pp. 239-240.

⁸ Henk VAN NIEROP, *Treason in the Northern Quarter. War, Terror, and the Rule of Law in the Dutch Revolt*, Princeton, 2009.

⁹ Henk van Nierop, "Confessional Cleansing: Why Amsterdam did not join the Revolt (1572-1578)", in *Power and the Cities in the Netherlandic World*, (eds.) Wim Klooster & Wayne Te Brake, Leiden/Boston, 2006, pp. 85-102.

FIGURE 10.1: Cornelis Anthoniszoon, *Birds-eye view of Amsterdam*, woodcut, 1544, 109 x 107,5 cm. University of Amsterdam Library, Special Collections (The town is viewed from the north, with the Old Side Parish on the left and the New Side Parish on the right side of the river. The Nieuwe Brug is the bridge nearest to the harbor. Dam Square with the town hall is in the middle).

not possibly serve as a bridge between on the one hand the material and the imperfect, and on the other hand a transcendental God, who is spiritual. A Christian may pray anywhere. A church building, in the eyes of the Reformed, was just that: a building with walls and a roof, a preaching barn which sheltered the faithful against wind and rain whilst they were engaged in praying, singing, and listening to the Word of God. Recent research, however, shows that the dichotomy between a Catholic and a Protestant notion of space is more complex than suggested in Max Weber's notion of the "disenchantment of the world."¹⁰

This chapter will argue that not even the evangelicals could resist the appeal of the geography of the sacral. It will also argue that the urban geography of sixteenth century Amsterdam formed a useful grid for mapping out religious strife (Figure 10.1.). The

¹⁰ Will COSTER & Andrew SPICER, "Introduction. The Dimensions of Sacred Space in Reformation Europe", in *Sacred Space. The Redefinition of Sanctity in post-Reformation Europe*, eds. Will COSTER & Andrew SPICER, Cambridge, 2005, pp. 1-16.

mentalities of the inhabitants of Amsterdam, both Catholics and Protestants, were deeply informed by the spatial articulation of the urban landscape in which they played out their religious struggles.

2. Catholic space

So let us begin with Catholic space, and take our starting point from the mocking of the Holy Sacrament on that rainy and windy Corpus Christi Day in 1533. The site where the incident took place, atop the bridge that connected the western and eastern halves of the town, was rich in symbolic connotations. The Corpus Christi procession represented the sacral unity of the city not only from a social and corporative point of view, but also spatially. The procession followed a circular route through the city, starting from the Heilige Stede, navigating through Kalverstraat, Dam Square, Nieuwendijk, then crossing the Nieuwe Brug, through Warmoesstraat and Nes, and back over the Lange Brug.¹¹ In so doing it bonded the city's two parishes, the Oude Zijde (Old Side Parish) in the east and the Nieuwe Zijde (New Side Parish) in the west. The procession's northernmost point, the Nieuwe Brug (appropriately also known as Papenbrug or "Priest's Bridge") formed an essential and meaningful link in the ceremony. The bridge marked the crossroads of the two axes of Amsterdam's economy, the place where the outer harbor of the River IJ connected to the inner harbor of the Damrak. In the middle of the bridge the priest would stop and pray for God's blessing over Amsterdam's shipping, while the militiamen discharged a thundering volley from their harquebuses. This was where the New Side's parish priest solemnly handed over the monstrance with the consecrated host to his colleague of the Old Side.

The route followed by the Corpus Christi procession suggests that solidarity between the inhabitants of Amsterdam's two parishes was one of the many shapes of concord that the procession was supposed to represent and effectuate. The parishes were physically separated by the River Amstel, yet connected by a number of wooden bridges, as well as by the dam around which the settlement had originated and which had rendered it its name. The two parishes formed one inseparable urban community, straddling the River Amstel. Yet there must have been forms of rivalry and perhaps animosity. These became manifest during the annual ritual of *hoopvechten* ("heap fighting") during which youths from the Old and the New Sides fought each other with stones, sticks, and wooden knives, sometimes with lethal results. These brawls invariably took place on one of the bridges between the two parishes.¹² The fact that they took place during a fixed period of the year, the last week of July, and on a settled space – a bridge – suggests that heap fighting was highly ritualized.

The inhabitants of the Old and New Side Parishes also had different interests. The Old Side accommodated most of Amsterdam's numerous convents and religious houses. Not all town dwellers were pleased with the presence of so many religious institutions. The convents claimed a disproportionate part of the town's scarce building area and were

exempt from paying taxes. The New Side, in contrast, outpaced the Old Side in wealth and status. Here was the town's central market square, just west of the Dam. Situated on Dam Square was the town hall, the center of political power. And the New Side's parish church, the Nieuwe Kerk or New Church, had more altars and was more lavishly decorated than was the Oude Kerk (Old Church) in Old Side Parish. Even more significant was the fact that the New Side accommodated the Heilige Stede, the chapel on Kalverstraat. This hallowed shrine was built on the site where in 1345 a miraculous consecrated host had failed to take fire after being thrown in a fireplace. Since then, the Miracle of Amsterdam drew large crowds of pilgrims to the city.¹³

The presence of numerous churches, chapels, and convents, each with its relics, miraculous and other, gave the city a more or less sacred character.¹⁴ Each church building was a sacred space, not just in an imaginative sense but also in a literal sense, for the Holy Mass could only be celebrated following the consecration of the church building by the Bishop. A church building could also be deconsecrated, for example because a crime had been committed within its walls, or by iconoclasm. Yet it would be erroneous strictly to separate "sacred" ecclesiastical space from "profane" urban space. Numerous processions, taking sacred objects out of the churches and carrying them along the perimeters of the city extended the hallowed character of churches into the entire urban space and its community. Significantly, the road leading to the Heilige Stede was called Heiligeweg, or "Holy Street" (as it is still called today).

Another incident, this one curiously gendered, suggests how the sacred character of the Heilige Stede encroached upon the space outside the shrine's walls.¹⁵ In May 1531, following the orders of the town government, construction of a commercial establishment had started, a wool hall dedicated to the inspection of bales of raw wool imported for processing in the local cloth industry. The city had for this purpose designated a plot of land adjoining the Rokin inner harbor, belonging to and situated next to the Heilige Stede. The magistrates declared that they deemed the site unconsecrated, yet apparently many of the faithful involved with the devotion of the Sacrament felt differently. On the Wednesday after Whitsun (Wednesday being the specified day for the veneration of the miraculous host), just after sunset, a crowd of some three hundred women, led by the four superiors of the Sacrament's Guild established in the chapel, converged on the building site and "with great boisterousness and force" began to fill the building excavation with dirt. The four ring leaders, all from elite families, were duly sentenced to be banished, although their punishment could be bought off with a stiff fine. An appeal to Emperor Charles V failed, and the construction of the wool hall was successfully completed. The incident shows that even the Catholic governing elite was divided even among itself.

3. Sword Runners

The attribution of sanctity to objects, space, and time was deeply repulsive to the newly emerging sect of the Anabaptists. Between 1530 and 1535 the Anabaptists turned

¹¹ Herman Roodenburg, *Onder censuur. De kerkelijke tucht in de gereformeerde gemeente van Amsterdam, 1578-1700*, Hilversum, 1990, pp. 61-64.

¹² *Ibidem*, pp. 47-48, 73; Marijke Carasso-Kok & Cornelis L. Verkerk, "Eenheid en verdeeldheid. Politieke en sociale geschiedenis tot in de zestiende eeuw", in Carasso-Kok, *Geschiedenis van Amsterdam*, p. 209.

¹³ Peter J. Margry, *Amsterdam en het mirakel van het heilig sacrament. Van middeleeuwse devotie tot 20e-eeuwse stille omgang*, Amsterdam, 1988.

¹⁴ Coster & Spicer, "Introduction".

¹⁵ Van Nierop, "De eenheid verbroken", pp. 327-328.

Amsterdam into the center of their radical movement, making it second only to Munster in Westphalia in this regard. They agreed with other evangelical dissidents in their distaste for the Holy Sacrament and all material expressions of the divine, indeed for the material world itself. Yet in contrast to previous dissidents they turned away on principle from the existing Church and the world, an attitude they expressed symbolically in the voluntary baptism of adults. The Anabaptists were millenarians, awaiting Second Coming of Christ and the End of Times, which they believed was imminent. Only those who joined their little flock would escape the coming wrath of the Lord. In Munster the brethren had founded a New Jerusalem, where they anxiously awaited the second coming. The city of Amsterdam was to become a second stronghold, whence the converted could morally support and materially provision their beleaguered co-religionists in Munster. In Amsterdam they could also await with some confidence the upcoming final judgment.

The Anabaptists' vision of Amsterdam was deeply ambiguous. A Catholic city, dedicated to commerce, it was part and parcel of the evil world, and thoroughly depraved. Yet at the same time, as the future Jerusalem-on-Amstel, the city was full of promise, and carried a potentially sacred character. That ambivalence became evident in the actions of the so-called *Zwaardlopers* or "Sword Runners." On March 22, 1534, the astonished Amsterdammers witnessed a small group of three or five Anabaptists running through the city with their swords unsheathed, uttering blood-curdling cries with which they announced the imminent coming of the Lord and summoned the godless to atonement. "The day of the Lord is coming!" they shouted, "The new town hath been given to the children of God!" and: "In the name of God, the benediction of God of stands over the right side, and the malediction over the left side of this city!"¹⁶

The fanatics were quickly captured and handed over to the authorities, who after a summary trial and without further ado condemned them to death. Yet the Anabaptists' strange and wondrous words continued to baffle their fellow-citizens. What was their meaning? I should like to suggest that the key to their prophecies is the urban map. With their exalted words, the Anabaptists projected their millenarianism onto the geography of the city. Seen from the river IJ, as in the well-known woodcut map by Cornelis Anthoniszoon, the right side of the city coincides with New Side Parish, and the left side with the Old Side. The New Side was the quarter where most of the Anabaptists were living and where they conducted their meetings in a house with a flat roof situated on the Nieuwezijds Achterburgwal (today's Spuistraat).¹⁷ However, for contemporaries their words may have had additional connotations of a spiritual nature. During the imminent Judgment the righteous were to sit on the right hand side of the Lord, while the damned would be thrown into the pit of hell from His left side. Contemporaries might also associate the Old Side with the Old Testament and hence with the Fall, the New Side with the New Testament and Redemption. In addition, it could hardly be a coincidence that many progressive

¹⁶ *Documenta Anabaptistica Neerlandica*, vol. 5, pp. 25, 26, 28; Albert F. MELLINK, *De Wederdopers in de noordelijke Nederlanden, 1531-1544*, Leeuwarden, 1981, p. 106; Albert MELLINK, *Amsterdam en de wederdopers in de zestiende eeuw*, Nijmegen, 1978, p. 31; Samme ZIJLSTRA, *Om de ware gemeente en de oude gronden. Geschiedenis van de dopers in de Nederlanden, 1531-1675*, Hilversum, 2000, p. 128; VAN NIEROP, "De eenheid verbroken", pp. 336-337.

¹⁷ J. G. KAM, "Over twee merkwaardige huizen op de Postzegelmarkt, vroeger genaamd de Deventer Houtmarkt", in *Amstelodamum. Maandblad voor de kennis van Amsterdam*, 60, 1973, pp. 15-19; Hendrik F. WIJNMAN, "Nogmaals de huizen met de zogenaamde palladiaanse gevel aan de Nieuwezijdsvoorburgwal en het platte huis aan de Spuistraat", in *Amstelodamum. Maandblad voor de kennis van Amsterdam*, 60, 1973, pp. 37-40.

priests (such as the evangelically-minded curates Adrianus Cordatus and Pieter Quadratus) were connected to the New Church, while the Old Church remained a stronghold of the orthodox clergy. And, finally, it was the accursed Old Side that was full of religious houses. It was evident: the New Side ("the new town" according to the Sword Runners) referred to heavenly Jerusalem, the Old Side to the profane and sinful world that the Anabaptists had left behind them. Such indubitable signs must have convinced the Anabaptists that the Lord was to deliver the city of Amsterdam to them as a second Jerusalem.

4. Iconclasts

Let us now turn to the Reformed. The iconoclastic riots that hit Amsterdam twice, in August and September of the "Wonder Year" 1566, were also rich in ritual meaning. On the one hand the iconoclasts simply wished to strip the existing church buildings from images, altars, and other Catholic attributes, so as to make them suitable for Reformed worship. On the other hand they attempted to deliver a blow to the clergy, publicly demonstrate the ineffectiveness of images and of the Catholic Mass, and more generally appropriate the spiritual space of the city.¹⁸ At both occasions the New Church narrowly escaped being vandalized. It was the churches of the Old Side that had to bear the brunt, the Old Church in August 1566 and the Franciscans' church in September. The attack on the Franciscans' Convent forced the magistrates to cede their church to the Reformed. During the winter of 1566-67 the Reformed used the church for worship and for burying their death. The town government, during the Catholic reaction that ensued, had the offensive corpses dug up and re-buried outside the city walls in unhallowed soil. Thus the desecrated church became again a sacred space.

Perhaps not coincidentally, it was a burial ceremony that had provided the occasion for the second round of iconoclasm in Amsterdam in September 1566. A deceased member of the Reformed community was to be buried in the New Church, an ordinary urban burial ground, yet sanctified soil according to the Catholics. The town guards, expecting trouble, refused access to the friends and relations of the deceased, and this caused an angry mob to force an entrance into the church building. Only with great difficulty were they persuaded to evacuate the site, following which they vented their fury on the convent of the hapless Franciscans.

In the end it was the Reformed who got the best of it in the struggle for Amsterdam's ritual space. Following Amsterdam's *Alteratie* on May 26, 1578, they received the Oude Kerk for worship. The next day they smashed the images for the second time; two days later the first Reformed service took place. The images of the Heilige Stede chapel, too, were demolished.

There is a revealing first-hand account of the event. Wouter Jacobszoon was the prior of an Augustinian monastic house in Gouda, who had fled wartime violence in his home town and lived as a fugitive in Amsterdam. He kept a diary, which has remained one of the most vivid and moving documents highlighting the history of Amsterdam in this era. This is how he described the iconoclasm in the Heilige Stede: "It was said that these wrongful people [i.e., the Reformed] spread out their excrements on the site where the

¹⁸ Alastair DUKE, "Calvinists and 'Papist Idolatry.' The Mentality of the Image-Breakers in 1566", in *Dissident Identities in the Early Modern Low Countries*, ed. Judith POLLMANN & Andrew SPICER, Farnham/Burlington VT, 2009, pp. 179-197.

Holy Sacrament had formerly been found, and where the ashes are still present today.”¹⁹ Interestingly, Wouter described the evil-doers as *verkeerde* people, a word meaning both “wrongful” and “inverted” or “topsy-turvy.”

How are we to interpret this ultimate profanation of a hallowed space? Perhaps we should for a moment shed our anthropological garb, and not think too much of it. Laurens Jacobszoon Reael, one of the Reformed leaders who wrote a vivid description of the 1566 iconoclast riots, blamed the troubles on nothing but hooliganism, conducted by rowdy “youths” and “rabble.”²⁰ But Reael in his memoirs was keen on disengaging the Reformed from the iconoclastic riots and making them appear respectable. Modern historians of religion have interpreted iconoclasm as a rational, informative demonstration, conducted by well-educated Calvinists for the purpose of the enlightenment of the ungodly, a demonstration that space, and generally things material, possess no sacral character whatsoever. But we may also read it as a carnival-like ritual of inversion, by which the Reformed re-appropriated their own church, which had been taken from them and perverted by the papacy.

Conclusion

Not only Amsterdam’s Catholics, but also the Evangelicals, the Anabaptists, and the Reformed iconoclasts had their ideas about spaces sacred and unsacred. Some of these ideas were articulated by Amsterdam’s specific urban geography straddling the River Amstel, with its two parishes on either side of the river, each with a distinct religious landscape. To what extent do these essentially local stories have a wider significance?

First, the Catholics. The Amsterdam Corpus Christi procession and its defilement by the Evangelicals might have taken place almost anywhere. All over medieval and early modern Europe Corpus Christi processions took a circular route, often skirting the city walls, thereby marking the border between inside and outside, and underscoring the unity of the urban community by linking the body social to the Body of Christ. In the words of Bob Scribner, Corpus Christi processions were “designed to redraw community boundaries and to reaffirm communal solidarity.”²¹ Protestants in all European cities therefore made a point of mocking the procession so as to deny the dogma of transubstantiation, demonstrate the ritual impotence of the Sacrament, and deny the sacredness of religious space and time. The story played out in Amsterdam in 1533 was only a variation on this theme. Yet its staging on the Nieuwe Brug added a new layer of meaning to a familiar repertoire.

The image breakers of 1566 and 1578, too, played out a script that was common to other cities in the Low Countries and Reformation Europe. Peter Arnade has explored the spaces, places, and timing of iconoclasm, all different, in Ypres, Ghent, and Antwerp.²²

In Amsterdam, too, the iconoclasts were sensitive to religious time and space. Yet common to all iconoclasts in the Low Countries was that they attempted to appropriate religious space for their own ends.

Only the Sword Runners, with their apocalyptic comments on Amsterdam’s distinct geography, were unique. With Munster in Westphalia, Amsterdam was the only city scripted to play a key role in the Second Coming and the End of Times. The Anabaptists, like all prophets, believed that it was the Holy Spirit who was speaking through their mouths. Prophets often imbue ordinary physical objects with transcendent meaning. This is what the Sword Runners were doing. They re-invented the physical map of their hometown as a certain pointer to the reign that was to come.

¹⁹ Isabella H. VAN EEGHEN (ed.), *Dagboek van broeder Wouter Jacobsz (Gualtherus Jacobi Masius), prior van Stein, Amsterdam 1572-1578 en Montfoort 1578-1579*, 2 vols., Groningen, 1959-60, vol. 2, p. 727.

²⁰ Amsterdam Stadsarchief (Municipal Archives), archive n° 231 (House Marquette), inv. n° 130, (Laurens Jacobsz. Reael), “*Een warachtigh ende cort verhael van 't gene gepasseert is inde principaelste troublen*”, fol. 16.

²¹ Robert W. SCRIBNER, *Popular Culture and Popular Movements in Reformation Germany*, London/Ronceverte WV, 1987, p. 3. Cf. John BOSSY, *Christianity in the West 1400-1700*, Oxford, 1985, pp. 71-72: “reconciliation of the parts and the whole, the union of social limbs in the body of Christ.”

²² Peter ARNADE, *Beggars, Iconoclasts, and Civic Patriots. The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt*, Ithaca/London, 2008, pp. 125-165.