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Staging Dutch History: Linking Past, Present and Future

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Abstract: In the *Ghedenck-boeck* (1606) Jacob Duym presents events from the Dutch Revolt as stage plays to argue that a fair war was better than a fake peace. Six plays show examples of the treacherous Spanish enemy and the brave and fearless actions of the Dutch. Some of these plays, such as the one about the siege and relief of Leiden in 1574, stage lower-class characters. This contribution will investigate the role of lower-class characters in this play as manipulations of the reader's cognitive frame by way of framing. Lower-class figures evoke a complex analogy with the reader that emphasises difference as well as similarity, and in any case empathy and responsibility. Reasoning devices invite the public to read a word or a message within a narrative account of a specific issue that has a causal interpretation, an evaluation and a solution. Moreover, the application of lower-class characters enables Duym to move over from ideas about general themes to the particular and the other way around, alternating thematic and episodic framing.

Keywords: Jacob Duym, Dutch Revolt / Nederlandse revolutie, episodic framing / episodisch kaderen, cognitive frame / cognitief kader, narrative account / vertelling, reasoning devices / redeneertechnieken, thematic framing / thematisch kaderen, siege of Leiden / beleg van Leiden

Introduction¹

In the spring of 2015, the Dutch ‘Nationaal Comité 4 en 5 mei’ published their ideas about the commemoration of World War II and the celebration of Liberation day in future years. Both commemoration and celebration are considered to be in danger, as the war is gradually disappearing from sight, being something of previous generations, of different people. Moreover, the content of WW II is so abundant and diverse, that it has become intangible for those who have not experienced that horrific time themselves, a large majority of the population by now. The suggestion of the National Committee is to make the commemoration more manifest in the near future, by recounting important events, revealing or retelling personal stories, for example about the Holocaust, the Putten raid,² and the Dutch famine of 1944. With these tangible recollections, the committee hopes to improve ‘transmission to young people’.³ Commemoration and celebration can only be maintained if there is a clear idea about how this type of recollection is designed, shaped and reconstructed in manageable and appealing contributions for a contemporary public. Which narratives, which form and content, and which personas are to be selected to convey a convincing message to the public?

Comparable issues must have moved Jacob Duym (1547–ca. 1615), a Leiden rhetorician (since 1588) as well as a Brabant exile with a military past in the southern Netherlands. In his *Memory Book* [*Ghedenck-boeck*] from 1606, Duym published a compilation of six stage plays dealing with sensational events of the Dutch Revolt and the ensuing war of liberation. The different plays are part of the war propaganda at the beginning of the seventeenth century. The selection of events and structure of the compilation steer public opinion away from ideas about a truce with the Spanish enemy. At a time when peace efforts were expressed in more concrete and structured terms, the *Memory Book* takes a clear position in this discussion.⁴ Jacob Duym was among the first to use the history of the Revolt to argue against a ceasefire with Spain, creating a storyline that remained important during the seventeenth century, as discussed by Jasper van der Steen.⁵

¹ I would like to acknowledge here the helpful suggestions of Carmen Verhoeven and the reviewers of this journal.

² In retaliation for an attack on German officers the village of Putten was subjected to a raid (*razzia*) on 1 October 1944. The entire male population was transported to various concentration camps. Only 48 of the more than 600 deported men returned after the war.

³ ANP (Algemeen Nederlands Persbureau), 6 March 2015. ‘Kom vanavond met verhalen. Toekomstvisie 4 en 5 mei herdenken, vieren en herinneren’ (www.4en5mei.nl). All translations are mine, unless indicated otherwise.

⁴ Earlier publications about this compilation mainly focus on its political tendency and propagandistic function: M. Meijer Drees, ‘Liever een rechtvaardige oorlog dan een geveinsde vrede. Politieke propaganda in een vroeg zeventiende-eeuws toneelstuk over het turfschip van Breda’, in *Jaarboek De Oranjeboom*, 43 (1990), p. 3; Juliette Groenland, ‘Playing to the Public, Playing with Opinion: Latin and Vernacular Dutch History Drama by Heinsius and Duym’, in *Literary Cultures and Public Opinion in the Low Countries, 1450–1650*, ed. by J. Bloemendal, A. van Dixhoorn & E. Strietman (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2011), pp. 135–38; H. Duits, ‘Om de eenheid en vrijheid van de gehele Nederlanden: Jacob Duym’s Ghedenck-boeck (1606) als politiek manifest’, *Voortgang*, 20 (2001), 7–45. For Jacob Duym, see K. Poll, *Over de tooneelspelen van den Leidschen rederijker Jacob Duym* (Groningen: J.B. Huber, 1898); J. Koppenol, ‘Jacob Duym en de Leidse rederijkers’ (2001), www.Neerlandistiek.nl, 01.11.

⁵ J. van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566–1700* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2015), p. 290.

Most of the stage plays in the *Memory Book* describe impressive events from the Dutch Revolt as historical narratives (stories) moulded into roles. What is most peculiar in this respect is the voice attributed to society's lower-classes. Some of these plays – especially the siege plays – leave considerable scope for the voices of ordinary women and men, recognisable for different Dutch audiences not only as reflections of their own past but also the past of their own people. In the play about the siege of Leiden, for example, (anonymous) citizens, soldiers, a small boy, a farmer, seamen and women with their children play a part. These characters are not comic or farcical, neither do they speak in coarser language, but they seem to accurately support the historical events.⁶ Admittedly, these marginal people are not the leading figures supporting the main plot of Duym's play,⁷ but they are numerous, multifarious and speak out at crucial moments in an emotional manner. Stories *about* the misery and suffering of ordinary people can be found in a variety of literary texts from this period, like songs and historical descriptions. Pamphlets sometimes contain complaints by farmers or soldiers but always in a more descriptive way.⁸ Duym may have used information from similar sources but he has changed their rather descriptive mode into dramatic interactions.

In this paper, I will discuss how the valuation of lower-class voices corresponds to the generic movements in the *Memory Book* and to its potential to persuade and involve the public into a discussion about war and peace in 1606. It will be necessary to further explore the extent to which the *Memory Book* contains specific 'frames' through which lower-class figures manipulate the readers' cognitive frame. Frames invite or incite to read a message in a particular way. They organise information within a narrative account of issues and provide the interpretive cues for otherwise neutral facts.⁹ Gamson and Modigliani (1987) and Robert Entman (1993) have described framing in terms of selection and salience.¹⁰ We can see how Duym uses the lower-class characters as a means of selection and salience (thus as framing), to highlight certain meaningful elements in actual history. In this way, framing analysis enlarges our understanding of how exactly Duym uses literary means to condemn the enemy, to sing the House of Nassau's praises, and to support his argumentation that continuing the war against Spain was to be preferred above peace or a truce. My hypothesis is that by using the voices of common people, Duym manages to connect his readers' mental dots in a specific way in order to establish a manipulated link between the often painful and sometimes glorious events from the Revolt and actuality (1606). We know little or nothing about the actual readers of the *Memory Book* in the early seventeenth century, and must therefore rely on the text.¹¹ The way

⁶ L. Rens, *Genres in het ernstige renaissanceetoneel der Nederlanden tot 1625* (Hasselt: Heidelberg-Orbis, 1977), p. 51.

⁷ Cf. H. Meeus, 'The Peasant as a Mouthpiece of Public Opinion in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-century Dutch Theatre', in *Theatre and Public Opinion in the Early Modern Period*, ed. by J. Bloemendal, P. Eversman & E. Strietman, (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2013), p. 200.

⁸ E.g. the pamphlet containing farmers' complaints about the war: 'Boeren-litanie, ofte Clachte der Kempensche Landlieden' (1607), discussed by Joost Vrieler, in *Drie literaire genres in zeventiende-eeuwse Nederlandse pamfletten* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2007), pp. 53–77.

⁹ J.A. Kuypers 'Framing Analysis from a Rhetorical Perspective', in *Doing News Framing Analysis. Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. by Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers (New York/London: Routledge, 2010), p. 301.

¹⁰ R.M. Entman, 'Framing Towards Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm', *Journal of Communication*, 43.4 (1993), 52.

¹¹ There is not the slightest indication that any of these plays were publicly performed in their own time. Koppenol, 'Jacob Duym en de Leidse rederijkers', p. 11.

in which characters from different social classes speak out using specific words and images, suggests that at crucial moments readers must have established small narratives in their minds with a forced interpretation, evaluation and/or solution. In order to take the specificities of the lower-class voices in Duym's play into account, I will complete my analysis of the play with the difference between thematic and episodic framing, as described by Shanto Iyengar (1991).

The *Memory Book* and the Siege of Leiden

As I have argued elsewhere,¹² the episodes of the Dutch Revolt that Duym has dramatised in the *Memory Book* were selected in order to increase the persuasive character of the compilation as a whole. All six dramas appeal to the collective memory of the young Republic by reviving traumatic and more successful episodes, framed to underpin and enforce Duym's conviction that continuing the war against the Spanish invaders was to be preferred above peace. The *Memory Book* contains different events from the Dutch revolt against Spain: the capture of Den Briel, the assassination of William of Orange, the siege of Leiden, Antwerp and Breda. The compilation was published at a time when a war-weary nation was receiving peace overtures, just before the Twelve Years' Truce. Despite the public's general desire for peace, pamphleteers in this period expressed their concerns that the people were too easily tempted by the promises of an untrustworthy enemy.¹³ Jacob Duym responded to this view, making his anti-peace propaganda explicit in the many prefaces, prologues and epilogues, as well as in the final play: *Een Bewys dat beter is eenen goeden Crijgh, dan eenen gheveynsden Peys* [Proof that a Fair Battle is Better than a Fake Peace]. This allegorical play was dedicated to Grand Pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, who had openly advocated peace in the discussion. References to military successes to come are not lacking in most of the plays, as William's (avenging) successor and son Maurice (1567–1625), the military leader from 1585 onwards, is encouraged to carry on his fight against the Spaniards. He had already liberated different cities and driven the enemy out of the north and east of the Dutch Republic. Not without reason the subtitle of the *Memory Book* contains opposing elements, on the one hand praise for the Dutch princes of the House of Nassau, and the memorisation of Spanish evil on the other.¹⁴ This contrast is palpable in each play, and reflects on a heroic past to strengthen resistance against any accommodation with a common enemy. They do so by abundantly sketching the misery and Spanish hate, ending each story with comfort and hope, sometimes an actual relief, like in the case of Leiden and Breda, at others a hopeful appeal to the House of Nassau (Maurice, Frederick Henry) to avenge the suffering, but always with the conviction of a better future

¹² J. Jansen, 'That is Where God Comes In. Jacob Duym's *Ghedenck-boeck* (1606) as Argumentative Discourse', *Arte Nuevo. Revista de Estudios áureos*, 1 (2014), 44ff.

¹³ Vincent van Zuilen, 'The "Netherlandish Beehive" (1608). Public Opinion and Identity as a Commonplace in Dutch Anti-Peace Propaganda', in *Commonplace Culture in Western Europe in the Early Modern Period II. Consolidation of God-Given Power*, ed. by Kathryn Banks & Philipe G. Bossier (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), p. 105.

¹⁴ Jacob Duym, *Een Ghedenck-boeck, het welck ons leert aen al het quaet en den grooten moetwil van de Spaingnaerden en haren aenhanck ons aen-ghedaen te ghedencken. ende de groote liefde ende trou vande Princen uyt den huysse van Nassau, aen ons betoont, eeuwelick te onthouden* (Leiden, 1606) [The *Memory Book*, which will teach us to commemorate all the evil and great malevolence inflicted upon us by the Spaniards and their supporters. And to remember forever the great love and loyalty that the Princes of the House of Nassau have shown us.]

without this threatening enemy, counting on the great love and loyalty of the Nassau family. Duym dedicated the *Memory Book* to Prince Maurice, and in a number of plays Maurice is even a speaking character, to encourage the Dutch people.¹⁵ Seventeenth-century Dutch history plays often use prophecies and premonition dreams,¹⁶ but Duym uses expectations, encouragements, and appeals, in addition to the pervasive confidence that God is on the Dutch side, offering courage and wisdom, and putting their faith to the test.¹⁷ This switch from tragic losses into a positive outcome in almost every play of the *Memory Book* must have suggested (or framed) to the readers that the Netherlands would be perfectly able to defeat the Spaniards as long as they kept hoping and fighting. The future was open to the prosperity that would result from the liberation from Spanish ‘slavery’. Duym’s plays allow the open-endedness of history itself to appear. Each play ends with ongoing hope and trust, not the formal conclusion of a tragedy or comedy with a death or a marriage.¹⁸

One of the events dramatised in the *Memory Book* is the 1574 siege of Leiden, a traumatic experience directly followed by a moment of some relief in the Dutch Revolt, months of fear, plague, hunger and misery, as well as a shift to freedom, food and hope after the relief.¹⁹ It was an event to be remembered as it offered new hope and faith to the Dutch people in 1606 in their fight against Spain. Duym interpreted the theatrical conventions in his own way. He characterises the play about Leiden as a tragicomedy,²⁰ a term he defined earlier (rather *ad*

¹⁵ Maurice and his half-brother Frederick Henry, as the real heirs of their father, were expected to continue the war against Spain. In the play about the assassination of their father, Maurice and Frederick Henry are ‘characters’, the latter a baby, the former encouraging the bereft people in the final act, preventing ‘Freedom’ to flee, and concluding with the promise to avenge his father’s assassination (J. Duym, *Het moordadich stuck van Balthasar Gerards*, ed. by L.F.A. Serrarens and N.C.H. Wijngaards (Zutphen: Thieme, 1976), pp. 103, 106–07, 128–31).

¹⁶ H. Duits, *Van Bartholomeusnacht tot Bataafse opstand* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1990), p. 26.

¹⁷ Jansen, ‘That Is Where God Comes In’, pp. 49–51.

¹⁸ Cf. G.K. Hunter ‘Truth and Art in History Play’, *Shakespeare Survey*, 42 (1989), p. 20; Benjamin Griffin, *Playing the Past. Approaches to English Historical Drama 1385–1600* (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), pp. 95–6. On endings and the experience of time in literature, see Frank Kermode, *The Sense of an Ending: Studies in the Theory of Fiction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967); Grootes, ‘Toekomstbeelden in Nederlandse historiespelen uit de zeventiende eeuw’, *De zeventiende eeuw*, 17.1 (2001), 18ff. Paulina Kewes, ‘The Elizabethan History Play: A True Genre?’, in *A Companion to Shakespeare’s Works*, ed. by Richard Dutton and Jean E. Howard, 3 vols (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2003), vol. 2, p. 171 (Kewes defines history plays in rather broad narrative and formal terms as ‘any play, irrespective of its formal shape or fictional element, which represents, or purports to represent, a historical past, native or foreign, distant or recent’).

¹⁹ Jacob Duym, *Benoude Beleggeringe der stad Leyden, uyt bevel des Machtighen Conincx van Hispaingnen, in den Iaere 1574. haer aen-ghedaen. Ende het wonderbaerlijck ontset daer op den derden dagh Octobris 1574 ghevolgt* (The frightening siege of the city of Leyden, caused to her on orders of the King of Spain, in the year 1574, And its miraculous relief, on the 3rd of October 1574). The play about Leiden was not published separately at the time, but only as a part of Duym’s *Memory Book* in 1606. Separate reprints were published in 1631 and in 1634, when it had been performed at the Leiden Orphanage (according to the title page). See Koppenol, ‘Jacob Duym en de Leidse rederijkers’, p. 11, nt 32.

²⁰ Duym, *Benoude Beleggeringe der stad Leyden*, dedication, fol. A2^v: ‘In dese Tragedi-Comedie, so men haer mach noemen, ...’ (in this tragicomedy, as one may call it...). Duym is the first in the Netherlands to use the term ‘tragi-comedie’. See G. van Eemeren, ‘Dramatische auteurs uit de periode 1600–1650 en sommige van hun voorkeuren. Een eerste overzicht’, in *‘Ondersoek leert. Studies (...) ter nagedachtenis van Prof. Dr. L. Rens*, ed. by G. van Eemeren & F. Willaert (Leuven/Amersfoort: Acco, 1986), p. 173.

hoc) as ‘a play about illustrious people, whose action is sad at first but with a happy ending’.²¹ Tragedy and tragicomedy of this period must have characters such as ‘reges, principes’ (kings, leaders), princes, prominent people, not, according to J.C. Scaliger, ‘lower-class characters like messengers, merchants and seamen’.²² In serious drama we mostly encounter this category of distinguished persons, together with allegorical and pastoral main figures. In a reasonable number of Dutch seventeenth-century tragic dramas, middle-class people, such as citizens and patricians, play a part, but (acting and speaking) characters of the lower class (farmers, ordinary women) are the exception and in fact contravene the drama rules if strictly applied.²³ However, ordinary people often have a role in local history.²⁴

The content and style of the various plays in the *Memory Book* are direct and emotive in a way. According to his own biography-tinged words in the dedication to this compilation, Duym had experienced the Spanish hate himself while at war, in prison, and losing his possessions.²⁵ Therefore, he presents himself both as a war victim and as a historical witness, though only some of the material may be based on his own experience.²⁶ Indeed, we know much about the

²¹ Jacob Duym, *Spiegel der Eerbaerheit*, part of his *Spiegelboeck* (1600, subtitle): ‘Tragi-comedie, dat is van heerlicke menschen, wiens bedrijf eerst droevich doch de uytcoemst blijde is’. For the authoritative definition of tragicomedy by Battista Guarini, author of the immensely influential pastoral tragicomedy *Il pastor fido* (1588), see B. Weinberg, *A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance*, vol. 2 (Chicago/Toronto: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pp. 659–60.

²² J.C. Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (Lyon: Ant. Vincentius, 1561), lib. 3, cap. 96 (‘Tragoediae [...] raro admittit personas viliores, cuiusmodi sunt nuntii, mercatores, nautae et eiusmodi’). For the early modern conception of tragedy, see Blair Hoxby, *What Was Tragedy? Theory and the Early Modern Canon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), pp. 8ff. In the Low Countries, Cornelis van Ghistele has described the traditional and authoritative difference between tragedy and comedy: comedies deal with ‘ordinary, simple people’, while tragedies are about emperors, kings, princes or great monarchs, in their narratives of high-born and ambitious characters brought low. Van Ghistele, *Comedien* (Antwerpen: Symon Cock, 1555), fol. *6^v.

²³ Rens, *Genres in het ernstige renaissance-toneel*, pp. 130–31, 216. See for the farmer, Meeus, ‘The peasant as a mouthpiece’, pp. 207–08.

²⁴ About (ordinary) women in the siege of Leiden, see Els Kloek, *Kenau & Magdalena. Vrouwen in de Tachtigjarige Oorlog* (Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2014), p. 220ff.

²⁵ Duym, *Ghedenck-boeck*, dedication to Maurice, fol. *2^v: ‘Al tghene daer ick nu teghenwoordelick af schrijve, en schrijf ick niet van hooren segghen: maer als meestendeel met miin ooghen ghesien, en met miin ooren ghehoort hebbende, ende als een die den Spaenschen haed soo in Crijchs-handel, soo in ghevanghenis, als in verlies van miine goederen ghenoech beproeft hebbe...’ (All what I write of at this moment, I do not write from hearsay, but as seen with my own eyes for the most part, and heard with my ears, and as one that has experienced enough the Spanish hate both at war, and in prison, as well as in loss of my possessions). Cf. Duits, ‘Om de eenheid en vrijheid’, pp. 25–6.

²⁶ The play about the assassination of William of Orange, for example, has a literary forerunner in Daniel Heinsius’ *Auriacus* (see the edition by Wijngaards and Serrarens of Duym, *Het moordadich stuck*, pp. 13ff.), while the play about Leiden is partly based on Jan Fruytiers’ *Corte Beschryvinghe vande strenghe Beleggheringhe ende wonderbaerlicke Verlossinghe der Stadt Leyden in Hollandt* (Delft, 1574). Moreover, in the preface to a play about the siege and relief of Breda in 1590 the author informs the reader that only the main parts of that play are a true story. Elsewhere in the play he added embellishments, in derogation from the ‘truth’. In fact, this remark applies to various degrees to every play in the compilation. (J. Duym, *De cloeck-moedighe ende Stoute daet, van het innemen des Casteels van Breda en verlossinghe der Stad* (Leiden: Henrick Lodewijcxsoon van Haestens, 1606), introduction to the reader, fol. A3^v: ‘Ende al word hier oft daer in dese Comedie wat by ghevoeght, oft anders dan de waerheyd was, tot ciersel van t’spel voort ghesteld, Wy bidden dat sulcx niet qualijck en worde ghenomen, want wij alleen de voornaemste stucken soecken naer de waerheyd voorts te bringhen’ (And although in this Comedy something has been added here and there, or is

narrator's ideas and motives, due to the all-pervasive paratextual and intertextual presence of the playwright ('Dichtstelder') in this book.²⁷ In almost each event Jacob Duym reveals his 'presence' as the steering narrative voice of the 'Dichtstelder'. This character introduces and concludes all the plays in the *Memory Book* by way of a prologue and epilogue. It enables the narrator voice to comment in verses on the content. In the printed edition, the prologue and epilogue serve as a paratext setting forth the outlines and intentions of the play or the conclusions. Each prologue introduces the public about what they will read in the next hour. In the play about the siege of Leiden the 'historical truth' is an explicit point of departure:

A very true but almost unbelievable story I will put here before your eyes, dear listeners.
What seemed to be great sadness first, but luckily the good Lord would not tolerate
The great bloodthirstiness of the enemy...²⁸

It is clear that the persuasive aim of the compilation prevails, not only in the way the different histories are introduced, told and explained, but also how they are constructed and commented. Thus, it seems interesting, when analysing the play about the siege of Leiden as part of this compilation, to learn how Duym seeks to impose his political opinion on 'the masses' and how he succeeds in 'bringing the historic event much closer to the common man'.²⁹

In the *Siege of Leiden*, Duym tells a story that lasted from May until October 1574, from the start of the siege until the retreat of the Spanish troops and the relief by the Dutch rebels.³⁰ This play contains the same contrast as conveyed by the subtitle of the *Memory Book*. Good and evil are clearly delineated. Not only does the siege illustrate Spanish hate and terror, it also shows how the Leiden population dealt with vices like fear, starvation and the plague through virtuous conduct: local or national concord, trust and perseverance. The use of both high-born and low-born characters in his play enables Duym to narrate on the one hand the big stories about national interest, freedom, government support, fate, and trust in God from different perspectives. On the other hand, ordinary people tell their own story that is emotionally charged with fear and pain. Their stories are connected with the different moods in the period between May and October 1574, as well as with the different parts of the play.³¹ At the beginning

presented by way of derogation from the truth, as an embellishment of the play, we ask you not to resent this, because we have tried to present only the most important parts truthfully).

²⁷ See J. Jansen, 'Heldendom in herinnering. Mythologie en geschiedenis in Jacob Duym's *Nassausche Perseus*', *Spiegel der letteren*, 56 (2014), 161–62.

²⁸ Duym, *Benoude Belegheringe der stad Leyden*, prologue by the playwright ('Dicht-stelder'), fol. B1r: 'Een heel warachtich, maer schier ongelooflicj stuck / Sal ick toehoorders u stellen hier voor ooghen, / Het scheen eerst groot verdriet, maer naer een groot gheluck, / T bleeck dat den goeden God, doch gheensins woud gedooghen, / Den grooten bloed dorst daer men vyand naer siet pooghen...'

²⁹ Serrarens and Wijngaards, in Duym, *Het Moordadich Stuck*, p. 48. Cf. Groenland, 'Playing to the Public', pp. 122, 146.

³⁰ Bettina Noak, *Politische Auffassungen im niederländischen Drama des 17. Jahrhunderts* (Münster: Waxmann, 2002), pp. 71ff. In her interpretation of Duym's play on the siege of Leiden, Noak focuses on political statements and propaganda.

³¹ For a historical overview on the Revolt of the Netherlands and the siege and relief of Leiden, see Geoffrey Parker, *The Dutch Revolt* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1979); Alistair Duke, *Reformation and Revolt in the Low Countries* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1990); Jonathan Israel, *The Dutch Republic: Its Rise, Greatness, and Fall, 1477–1806* (Oxford:

some Leiden citizens are hopeful. They prepare themselves to fight with courage and determination. By the third act a few months have passed: an anonymous farmer complains that he has to do unpaid work for the Spanish soldiers. He is forced to do hard labour and erect a fortification.³² Another few months later, in the fourth act, we hear two mothers complain in despair, both leading a child by the hand: the famine is immense and the children repeatedly ask for bread.³³ Throughout the play Spanish crimes against innocent citizens are mentioned. The horrendous description of the killing of babies in their cradle evokes the image of the enemy as a merciless, barbaric monster. At the end of the fourth act two seamen come on, discussing the journey of Boisot's fleet and the fights. They observe that the water has risen, resulting in flooding the surroundings of Leiden vicinity, and this would lead to the relief of the city, to be announced by a small boy who was an eyewitness of the enemy's departure.

In short, these scenes successively illustrate the point of departure: hope from determination, followed by despair, hunger and diseases, and the solution coming from the rising water, foreshadowing the relief. The three elements fit into the construction of the plot in terms of an introduction, a dramatic height, and an outcome. Through these scenes the public is involved in the situation in the city and in the different feelings of the local people on a level of everyday life.

A main source for Duym's play about Leiden is the aforementioned *Corte Beschryvinghe* (1574) by Fruytiers, which offers many details.³⁴ The historical characters in this play are the Leiden burgomaster Van der Werf, who inspired the citizens to keep going by offering his body as food,³⁵ Boisot, the commander of the Sea Beggars, and William of Orange, the leader of the Dutch rebels.³⁶ What they say and do in the play is predominantly associated with the historical situation in 1574 and, at a higher level, with the government and political situation in the Netherlands at that moment. By 1606 all three are dead. As I am interested in how past, present and future are connected, the question arises how the 1574 case of Leiden could have supported Duym's political view upon publication of the *Memory Book* in 1606. In my analysis, I will concentrate on the anonymous and more or less timeless lower-class characters in their representations of everyday life during a long siege.

Clarendon Press, 1995); and Peter Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots: The Political Culture of the Dutch Revolt* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2008). A short, illustrated overview on the Leyden situation in 1573–1574 can be found at Museum Lakenhal: www.lakenhal.nl/en/story/siege-and-relief-of-leiden.

³² Duym, *Benoude Belegheringe der stad Leyden*, fol. d4^v-e1^r. In serious drama peasants are sometimes portrayed as war victim (see Meeus, 'The peasant as a Mouthpiece', pp. 207ff). In the first play of Duym's *Memory Book*, *Nassausche Perseus*, a farmer is terrorised by Spanish soldiers.

³³ Duym, *Benoude Belegheringe der stad Leyden*, fol. f4^{ff}.

³⁴ Noak, *Politische Auffassungen*, p. 76ff.

³⁵ M. Meijer Drees, 'Burgemeester Van der Werf als vaderlandse toneelheld. Een politieke autoriteit in belegeringsdrama's', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 8 (1992), 169, focuses on Van der Werf as a character in early modern drama. According to Meijer Drees the character of Van der Werf is 'almost anonymous', but the emotive impact of the scene (fol. G2^v) is immense. Duym closely follows Jan Fruytiers' *Corte Beschryvinghe*, as Noak (*Politische Auffassungen*, p. 82) has demonstrated. Cf. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, p. 242.

³⁶ Cf. Noak, *Politische Auffassungen*, pp. 74–5.

Framing the Story: A Narrative Approach

In order to analyse the way lower-class characters frame the story into Duym's message and help to give meaning to the discussion of 1606, my interpretation of the framing process through a narrative approach should be explained first. According to Gamson and Modigliani (1987), a frame 'provides meaning', it weaves a connection between 'an unfolding strip of events', and 'suggests what the controversy is about', or what the 'essence of the issue' is.³⁷ Robert Entman (1993) refers in this context to the selection of 'some aspects of a perceived reality', making them 'more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described'.³⁸ Frames, mostly unconsciously adopted in the course of a communicative process, find expression in latent meaning structures that are not perceived directly by the readers. They structure and organise experience, and decide in a consistent way which parts of reality become noticed and how messages are processed. The ultimate goal is the construction of a particular point of view *with the reader* in order to encourage the facts of a given situation to be viewed in a specific way, with some facts made more noticeable than others.³⁹ By consistently using the same frames alternative reading is limited.⁴⁰

One of the basic elements of a narrative is 'event sequencing', the combination and sequencing of events that makes a story a story and not just an assemblage of events.⁴¹ Framing organises information within a narrative account of issues and provides the interpretive cues for otherwise neutral facts.⁴² This narrative account of events has been called a 'reasoning device'.⁴³ Reasoning devices are explicit or implicit narratives that deal with the cause, justification, reasons and consequences.⁴⁴ These bring to mind an account of events that describes the phenomena as an issue that has a causal interpretation, an evaluation, and a

³⁷ W. Gamson and A. Modigliani, 'The Changing Culture of Affirmative Action,' in R. Braungart (ed.), *Research in Political Sociology* (Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 1987), p. 143; Paul R. Brewer and Kimberly Gross, 'Studying the Effects of Framing on Public Opinion about Policy Issues. Does What We See Depend on How We Look?', in *Doing News Framing Analysis, Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. by Paul D'Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), p. 159.

³⁸ Entman, 'Framing towards Clarification', p. 52.

³⁹ Kuypers, 'Framing Analysis', p. 300.

⁴⁰ Ciaran McCullagh, *Media Power. A Sociological Introduction* (Basingstoke/New York: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 26–7; B. van Gorp, *Framing asiel. Indringers en slachtoffers in de pers* (Leuven/Voorburg: Acco, 2006), p. 58.

⁴¹ Cf. David Herman, *Basic Elements of Narrative* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 18–9, 75ff, 191.

⁴² Kuypers, 'Framing Analysis', p. 301.

⁴³ See B. van Gorp & M. van der Goot, 'Talking about Sustainability: Responses to Frames in Persuasive Messages about Sustainable Agriculture and Food', in *Bending Opinion. Essays on Persuasion in the Public Domain* ed. by Ton van Haaften et al. (Leiden: Leiden University Press, 2011), pp. 379–81; W. Labov, *Language in the Inner City* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972).

⁴⁴ See Van Gorp. B. & M. van der Goot, 'Talking about Sustainability', pp. 379–81; Labov, *Language in the Inner City*. See also Entman, 'Framing towards Clarification', p. 52, who distinguishes four functions of framing: defining the problem, assigning the causes, passing a moral judgment and suggesting solutions.

solution or recommendation.⁴⁵ After exposure to the framed message, the readers will more easily accept this ‘narrative’, having a specific interpretation of the event and thinking about a particular solution.⁴⁶ The voices of lower-class characters reflect impressive words and images, which are highly salient in their culture and emotionally charged. The subjects brought up by these lower-class characters, establish small narratives directly in the reader’s head that have to be recognised as important issues at that time, but also in 1606. The text spoken by the timeless and recognisable lower-class characters will have had greater potential for interpreting the case, for the public audiences that Duym may have sought to influence.⁴⁷ Let me clarify this by giving a few examples from the play about Leiden.

In the second act of the play, the Leiden burgomasters enumerate different cities that play a recognisable role in the Dutch Revolt, like Mechelen, Naarden, Haarlem and Alkmaar.⁴⁸ Just mentioning the names of these cities will have evoked complete stories of untrustworthiness, courage, and revenge with the public.⁴⁹ They activated a mental schema, i.e. the attitude toward a subject based on systems of knowledge, such as expectations or experience with similar situations. In this way, they construct a particular point of view that encourages the facts of a given situation to be viewed in a particular manner.⁵⁰ All readers, for example, will have known that the stories of these cities ended either with the killing of citizens, because of Spanish untrustworthiness, or with a relief after endurance, corresponding with the aim of the *Memory Book* to memorise Spanish evil and the praise of (the endurance and strength of) the Dutch princes of the House of Nassau.

Moreover, each lower-class character in the play about Leiden is automatically linked to a specific emotion that, in turn, may be related to a general war phenomenon. The women and children are in despair because of the starvation caused by Spanish crime (fol. f4^v), the men are afraid due to the hostile cruelty (c3^r), the soldier is vigilant due to the untrustworthiness of the Spaniards (f2^r), the farmer is highly indignant about the injustice he has suffered (d4^v, e1^r), the

⁴⁵ See Entman, ‘Framing towards Clarification’, p. 52; B. van Gorp, ‘The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In’, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (2007), 65; Van Gorp & M. van der Goot, ‘Talking about Sustainability’, pp. 379–81.

⁴⁶ M.C. Nisbet, ‘Knowledge into Action. Framing the Debates over Climate Change and Poverty’, in *Doing News Framing Analysis. Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. by Paul D’Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers (New York and London: Routledge, 2010), p. 47; R.M. Entman, ‘Cascading Activation: Contesting the White House’s Frame after 9/11’, *Political Communication*, 20 (2003), 417.

⁴⁷ See Angela G. Ray, ‘Making History by Analogy. Frederick Douglass Remembers William the Silent’, in G. van Eemeren & B. Garssen, *Exploring Argumentative Contexts* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012), pp. 97ff. Lower-class people can be used in drama to comment on society, as Meeus (‘The Peasant as a Mouthpiece’) has demonstrated.

⁴⁸ Duym, *Benoude Beleggeringe der stad Leyden*, fol. c3^v-4^r. Cf. Fruytiers, *Corte Beschryvinghe*, p. 20. In Naarden, for instance, there was a cruel massacre in 1572, when the city fell to Alba, who is said to have reported to the Spanish king Philip that ‘not a man born escaped’ (‘escarpase hombre nacido’). Geoffrey Parker, *Spain and the Netherlands, 1559–1659. Ten Studies* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1979), p. 46; Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, p. 233.

⁴⁹ The mentioning of such words functions as *framing devices*: textual or visual elements (specific words or images) as allusions to history, culture, or literature that communicate frames. Cf. B. van Gorp, ‘Strategies to take subjectivity out of framing analysis’, in: *Doing News Framing Analysis. Empirical and Theoretical Perspectives*, ed. by Paul D’Angelo and Jim A. Kuypers (New York, London, 2010), p. 91; Kuypers, ‘Framing Analysis’, p. 301. Cf. Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, p. 236.

⁵⁰ Kuypers, ‘Framing Analysis’, p. 300.

seamen are brave and decisive when luck turns (g4^v), and the young boy is wild with joy when the enemy withdraws (h4^v). Trust in God is a crucial motivation for all of them to continue. These emotions relating to a specific war situation evoke a causal and moral narrative in the mind of the reader, in which fighting against and defeating the criminal and untrustworthy enemy must have been the most obvious solution.⁵¹

In some cases, Duym did not want to leave anything to chance: some of the figures relate the whole 'narrative' in order to make the sequence explicit. These narratives suggest to the reader that any suggestion of making a (temporary) peace with the enemy should be strongly opposed. When, for example, in the third act one of the farmers complains about the atrocities committed by the Spaniards, he put his thoughts in the following consideration:

The devil should swiftly take this kind of people away into the air,
 They don't leave anything to us; it has all been taken,
 We barely have a horse or cow in our stable,
 And whatever they do to us, we must remain silent.
 We pray to God that they quickly get what they deserve.⁵²

The verses may explicitly create or confirm to the reader an image of a deterrent and dissuasive enemy (problem definition) who abuses the innocent Dutch people (causal interpretation) through the examples given here (moral evaluation). The passage is enclosed by solutions to the problem raised: in the first verse the farmer expresses the wish of what should happen to 'this kind of people' (the devil should take them), in the final verse he prays to God for revenge. Both solutions have their value for the discussion in 1606, supporting the argument to keep fighting and dealing with the intruders.

The same goes for a scene in the fourth act in which a child begs for bread. The mother comments:

Ah, these words cut through my heart.
 The Lord will hopefully drive away the hunger soon,
 This is my last child, once there were five,
 They all died from starvation.⁵³

As the cause of this problem is clear, the demand for food encourages a reaction about the effect (emotion), a solution (God) and an evaluation (four children have died of hunger already). But what effect do these voices-from-below have on what the reader should realise about over-

⁵¹ Cf. Erika Kuijpers, "'O, Lord, Save Us from Shame": Narratives of Emotions in Convent Chronicles by Female Authors during the Dutch Revolt, 1566–1635', in *Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder: Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. by S. Broomhall (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), p. 129: 'Whenever we express emotions in words, we use pre-existent narrative schemes. This is how we interpret, legitimize, and share emotions'.

⁵² Duym, *Benoude Belegheringe der stad Leyden*, fol. d4^v: 'De Droes moet alsulck volck wech in de locht haest voeren, / Sy laten ons doch niet, tis ons ontnomen al, / Wy hebben schier noch Paert, noch Koey op onsen stal, / En wat sy ons al doen, wy moeten noch stil zwiighen, / Wy bidden Godt, dat sy haest haren loon al krijghen'.

⁵³ Duym, *Benoude Belegheringe der stad Leyden*, fol. f4^v: '[Child] O Moeder gheeft my brood. / [Second woman] Och dat woord int hert snijt. / De Heer hoop ick sal ons den hongher haest verdrijven, / Dit is het laetste Kind, sy waren eens haer vijven, / Sij ziin door den nood van den hongher al ghereyst'.

arching and persistent problems at a higher level of government and collectivity? This is where the thematic frame comes in, as will be discussed below.

Episodic and Thematic Framing

The reason that the author has used such voices is particularly evident in the light of his main aim: the dichotomy between good and evil has to be deployed as effectively as possible to make his argument to continue the armed fight more persuasive. Common people contribute to the living portrait of man, viewing the agents of history as both familiar and distant.⁵⁴ Moreover, they enrich the main historical plot by drawing attention to themselves, engaging the audience with a frequently emotional appeal. Major events were appealing material for national tragedies. Fear, desire, deceit, cunning, pride, change of fortune and errors of judgment were traditional ingredients of tragedy and widely available throughout history. For a 1606 audience the voices of a lower social class represent a tangible memory of a recent past, the common people with whom the reader (could) strongly identify.⁵⁵ According to Peter Arnade, the narrative of the siege may have taken on ‘exaggerated, epic dimensions, in which the suffering of the citizens is miraculously relieved by Leiden’s deliverance at the hands of floodwaters’.⁵⁶ Lower-class characters contribute to this rhetoric as they are allowed to express real feelings and pathos, moved by common emotions. The audience is asked to comprehend the particular historical events as well as the actual situation through the traumatised eyes of common people.⁵⁷

The way the voice of personal witnesses affects readers, can be illustrated with the contrast between a thematic and episodic frame in broadcasting news, as described by Shanto Iyengar. He distinguishes two frames with regard to national newscasts.⁵⁸ The thematic frame focuses on issues and depicts them at a higher level of abstraction and generality. The episodic news frame focuses on the human being, on specific and particular events, on portraits and personal involvement, the individual cases, and the voices of lower-class characters. The main difference between thematic and episodic framing is the level of analysis: thematic framing presents issues at the level of the collectivity, while episodic framing considers issues at the level of concrete events or persons.⁵⁹ The two types have very different effects on how people view and interpret a given problem, on how they see possible solutions to that problem, and on how one may interpret what is represented. Without explicitly naming the terms, thematic and episodic

⁵⁴ Cf. Michael Ulliot, ‘Seneca and the Early Elizabethan History Play’, in *English Historical Drama, 1500–1660. Forms Outside the Canon*, ed. by T. Grant & B. Ravelhofer (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008), p. 114.

⁵⁵ In the last verses of the *Benoude Belegheringe der stad Leyden* Duym incites ‘the pious inhabitants never to forget this miraculous deed’ (fol. i4^r: ‘... o vrome Ingheseten, / En wilt dees wonderdaet, doch nimmermeer vergheten’).

⁵⁶ Arnade, *Beggars, Iconoclasts and Civic Patriots*, p. 241.

⁵⁷ Cf. Julie Sanders, *The Cambridge Introduction to Early Modern Drama, 1576–1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 97–105.

⁵⁸ Shanto Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues* (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1991).

⁵⁹ Shanto Iyengar, ‘Framing Research. The Next Steps’, in *Winning with Words. The Origins and Impact of Political Framing*, ed. by Brian F. Schaffner and Patrick J. Sellers (New York/London: Routledge, 2010), p. 186.

framing has been frequently applied in research about early modern literature in order to point at issues like public opinion. Van Zuilen, for example, describes how issues from everyday life illustrate abstract political principles and consequences in pamphlets. Tradesmen, artisans, farmers, soldiers and sailors speak in dialogues and in simple, colloquial language about their daily experiences, which helps to explain problems, in order to mobilise the support of the general public for further specific goals.⁶⁰

Duym's *Memory Book* contains different events from the Dutch revolt in which important topics, such as freedom of conscience, religious freedom and Spanish bloodthirstiness, are humanised in an episodic frame, in personal stories, in what Iyengar calls 'an event- or person-oriented report within these events that illustrates public policy debates in terms of particular instances'.⁶¹ These stories take the form of case studies or event-oriented reports and depict public issues with concrete examples. With the help of episodic framing Duym shows how collectivity prevails, especially unanimity, perseverance and a sense of responsibility amongst different sections of the population. High-born characters usually present ideas that go beyond temporality. By using episodic frames, it becomes clear how in the play about Leiden responsibilities and concerns are represented in a stratified structure, increasing from below to the top. Common people are concerned only about the welfare of their own: children begging for bread, mothers anxious about themselves but also about their children, men worried about their wives and children, citizens about the men, women and children in the city, while the burgomasters share responsibility and concern for all inhabitants.

In the final act, characters from different levels come on stage in a constructed gathering, from William of Orange himself and the prince's admiral Louis Boisot to the boy, seamen and citizens, in a final evaluation of the situation at hand. They sing together a hymn of thanks to God, paying tribute to the Prince as well. While shared concern strengthens the image of solidarity, this manipulated 'assembly' may have provided an important contribution to the ultimate purpose of the *Memory Book* as a compilation, namely by persuading the readers towards the side of those who wanted to continue together the fight against Spain, in order to obtain total freedom for the Netherlands. Moreover, episodic framing in the play reduces the political complexities to the level of anecdotal evidence, leading the readers to issue-specific attributions of recognition and responsibility. Important issues such as the (accusation of) Spanish crime, untrustworthiness, the terror of war, starvation and guilt are traced to private action and motives rather than discussed as deep-seated social, moral, institutional, economic or polemological problems.⁶² In other words, the readers are confronted with individual problems and characteristics rather than with their historical or political background, or similar structural and rather abstract forces. In this respect, episodic framing encourages the reader to reason by resemblance – people choose causes and treatments that 'fit' the observed problem.⁶³ As a result, specific questions have a 'face', evoking identification and emphatic feelings. The reader must have heard the voice of recognisable citizens telling their tale of woe and not only the opinion of commanders-in-chief, or leaders with their general and abstract ideas that surpass the particular.

⁶⁰ Van Zuilen, "The "Netherlandish Beehive"", p. 91.

⁶¹ Iyengar, 'Framing Research', p. 186.

⁶² Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?*, pp. 82 ff, 136–37; Iyengar, 'Framing Research', p. 186.

⁶³ Iyengar, *Is Anyone Responsible?*, p. 137.

The different episodes of the *Memory Book*, with their recognisable everyday characters, make sense of something new by comparing it to the familiar, in order to shape and revise the reader's understanding of how a specific interpretation of the past can be linked to an actual situation. Thus, the past is constructed strategically to support the author's argumentation, but also to reconstruct his credibility and to express alignment with the readers, on the basis of common ground and group coherency.⁶⁴ The ultimate goal may have been to shape feelings of unity, or to camouflage disunity, by connecting readers to a meaningful and shared past.⁶⁵

The thematic frame reminds the reader of the higher interests, the superordinate objectives in terms of coordinating collectivity, the help from above, and faith in the government of the country. These interests have a longer life than the random indication of the event involved, and thus they are still valid in 1606. Episodic framing, which considers issues at the level of concrete persons, affects the reader in a different way. It stirs emotions and increases the involvement of the reader in events from the past. One could even say that a thematic frame rather relies on reason, while episodic frames involve emotions and empathy.

The lower-class characters in Duym's plays do not really represent individual cases, as these voices illustrate the opinion of their group, e.g. the group of hungry children and desperate mothers. As such they express views at a higher level of collectivity. By presenting a mixture of both frames, a greater appeal to the commitment of the spectator/reader is made. The memories produced are emotionally charged with fear, pain and anger, and are easy to approach for readers from a different time, as they represent the collective emotions of individuals from a group.⁶⁶ By combining the individual cases with the wide-angle lens of contexts and responsibilities, the future aim of continuing the war against the enemy is highlighted again and again, at a level of government and state interest.

Conclusion

In the *Memory Book* Duym presents himself as a passionate writer, highly motivated from personal experience, and thus adding a pathetic and ethical appeal to his logical argumentation.⁶⁷ He has taken up his pen to demonstrate his service and devotion to the Dutch cause, never losing sight of what in his opinion was the country's interest. Implicitly and explicitly, in the paratext as well as in the text of the different dramas, the author confronts his readers with different war events, which teach them not only to remember that the House of Nassau was commendable and the Spaniards deleterious, but consequently also that a fair battle was to be preferred above a fake peace, the title of the final play in the compilation.

This purpose made great demands on the content and form of his plays, on his persuasion powers and the effectiveness of the representation. Ordinary people were seen as having value,

⁶⁴ Van der Steen (*Memory Wars*, pp. 200ff) has noticed that the same strategy is used in pamphlets, for example those from the South Netherlandish propagandists who bolstered their condemnation of the hostile invaders with historical parallels. The author shows how these appeals to the public memory (of the Revolt) were used to stir up people against the enemy.

⁶⁵ Cf. Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, p. 292. See E. Kuijpers, 'War and Violence', in *Early Modern Emotions. An Introduction*, ed. by S. Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2017), p. 203.

⁶⁶ Cf. Kuijpers, "O, Lord, Save Us from Shame", p. 144.

⁶⁷ Cf. Aristotle, *Rhetoric*, 1355b35-1356a1.

as victims, bearing witness to Spanish wrong. In the play about the siege of Leiden, Duym shows how they suffered from the Spanish oppression. The lower-class characters are a representation of people threatened in their own environment, whose hardships and inner struggle are powerfully heard. But although they complain, they prove to be united as well; they are frightened but also brave, desperate but keeping their hopes in God. Readers will have experienced the emotions of recognisable citizens, such as fear, regret and despair. These emotions make abstract aims tangible, closing the gap between past, present and future. In 1606, they reveal the urgency of the situation and the importance relevance of an answer to a problem. In their role in this play (what they say and do, with whom they interact, etc.), the soldiers, farmers, children and mothers vent natural and recognisable emotions on the reader, and in doing so they support the linking of a constructed past to the present, and increase the persuasion of the *Memory Book* as a whole.⁶⁸

Readers might experience a frame as ‘a particular problem definition’ of an item, in which case a causal interpretation, moral evaluation and solution are suggested. As we have seen, Duym’s play contains both explicit and implicit reasoning devices, utterances shaped like a little story that deal with the cause, give a justification, reasons and consequences.⁶⁹ Different words in the play, such as ‘Naarden’, ‘tyrant’ and ‘slaves’, evoke for the reader complete stories as general-known events and shared (collective) memory. But lower-class characters, like the farmer, also tell ‘new’ stories, reconstructed to fit their own experience and insights. General ideas about virtue, politics and society are presented as individual portraits of those who speak about these subjects from their own everyday context and background. Thus, national issues are extended to private actions and motives rather than presented as deep-seated societal or structural forces.⁷⁰ With an alternating application of episodic and thematic framing, past, present and future are linked. The past has been used strategically to support the author’s argumentation for future conduct. Higher ideals are formulated in small, concrete stories about everyday situations, from common people, in the same way as the Second World War and Liberation are to be remembered and commemorated.

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⁶⁸ Cf. Jansen, ‘Heldendom in herinnering’, pp. 167–69.

⁶⁹ See Van Gorp & Van der Goot, ‘Talking about Sustainability’, pp. 379–81; Labov, *Language in the Inner City*. Cf. Entman, ‘Framing towards Clarification’, p. 52.

⁷⁰ Iyengar, ‘Framing Research’, p. 186.

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