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Van Haren's Church (1682-1686)

Contested space and other paradigms for the construction of early modern nobility

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Introduction

In the history and anthropology of religion, the concept of contested space has for some time been a useful analytical tool to visualise religious conflict or interaction. Where religions coexist, sacred spaces are often contested among them, at times violently (e.g. the conversion of a mosque into a cathedral in Córdoba, Spain, in 1523-1526, or the destruction in 1992 of a mosque in Ayodhyā, India, allegedly built on top of a Hindu sanctuary), at other times peacefully (e.g. the appropriation of sacred mountains in China by Buddhists and Daoists).¹ In 2011, at a symposium in Amsterdam on medieval and early modern funeral culture, I introduced contested space as a possible dimension to the analysis of elite shifts in the early Dutch Republic.² That same year, Matthew Romaniello and Charles Lipp published an international collection of essays applying this concept to the study of early modern European elites.

- 1 See e.g. J. Robson, 'Polymorphous space. The contested space of Mt Nanyue', in: J. Einarsen (ed.), *The sacred mountains of Asia* (Boston, 1995) 121-124; R.E. Hassner, *War on sacred grounds* (Ithaca, 2009); D.F. Ruggles, 'The stratigraphy of forgetting. The Great Cathedral of Cordoba and its contested legacy', in: H. Silverman (ed.), *Contested cultural heritage. Religion, nationalism, erasure and exclusion in a global world* (New York, 2011) 51-67.
- 2 K. Kuiken, '"Denkend aan Holland. Grafcultuur van immigranten in Het Bildt (Friesland) 1547-1649', in: P. Bitter et al. (eds.), *Graven spreken. Perspectieven op grafcultuur in de middeleeuwse en vroegmoderne Nederlanden* (Hilversum, 2013) 231-232. The *locus classicus* for the theory of elite shifts is C. Wright Mills, *The power elite* (Oxford, 2000, originally published 1956), 27: 'Shifts in the structure of society open opportunities to various elites and [...] various elites take advantage or fail to take advantage of them.'



Willem van Haren (r. 1652-1698) after a painting by B. Vaillant (1680; private coll.)

Rather than as an ‘essence’ with a fixed (legal) definition, the authors contextualised nobility as a space challenged and contested in a variety of manners.³ As one reviewer wrote, a case study on the Dutch Republic, so often misrepresented as a ‘non-aristocratic’ society, is dearly missed in this overall stimulating book.⁴

³ E. Haddad, ‘The question of the imprescriptibility of nobility in early modern France’, in: M.P. Romaniello and C. Lipp (eds.), *Contested spaces of nobility in early modern Europe* (Burlington-Farnham, 2001) 148.

⁴ J. Geraerts, ‘Noble resilience in early modern Europe’, *Virtus*, XIX (2012) 209.

The Dutch case I presented at the Amsterdam symposium is elaborated in the following paragraphs. It is about the construction of a mausoleum by a Dutch aristocrat in the village of Sint Annaparochie in Het Bildt, a polder ten miles to the northwest of Leeuwarden, the capital town of the Dutch province of Friesland. In this case, the contest for the public space of a village church was between two elites: a rural gentry of mixed Christian (yet largely Protestant) denominations, and the aristocratic clients of the counts of Nassau-Dietz, hereditary governors (*stadhouders*) of Republican Friesland and champions of the Calvinist cause. An unanswered question in Romaniello's and Lipp's volume is whether the concept of 'contested space' is more helpful to our understanding of elite shifts than Pierre Bourdieu's more generally received 'theory of practice', and especially the idea of a *lutte de classement* proposed in his writings.⁵ Het Bildt under its aristocratic sheriff Willem van Haren (r. 1652-1698) offers a suitable testing ground.

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A topic that appears closely related to the Van Haren case is discussed by Cornelia Soldat: the sepulchral monuments of early tsarist Muscovian aristocrats.⁶ Her essay touches upon yet another body of research, led by such scholars as Otto Gerhard Oexle in Germany and Truus van Bueren in the Netherlands: the field of so-called *memoria* studies. A pragmatic definition of *memoria* is the organisation and/or institutionalising of collective memories. I have analysed elsewhere how changes in *memoria* culture often follow elite shifts.⁷ The following paragraphs describe and analyse one of such shifts: the rise of the Van Harens through their organisation and institutionalisation of aristocratic and, eventually, noble identities. Their progress is tracked from an urban patriciate through administrative offices and services at the Nassau-Dietz court to a truly dynastic presence in Het Bildt.

This essay can be read as a Chinese box. Rather than adopting a sole paradigm such as contested space, it presents a contest of paradigms. At every stage, the relevance of constructs like *memoria*, *lutte de classement* and contested space are examined. This is followed by a balance of these comparisons in the end.

Patricians to courtiers

In the late 1580s, the Van Harens came to Leeuwarden to help the counts of Nassau-Dietz set up court. Their own roots were urban patrician.⁸ The blazon of Evert van

5 P. Bourdieu, *Outline of a theory of practice* (Cambridge, 1977).

6 C. Soldat, 'Sepulchral monuments as a means of communicating social and political power of nobles in early modern Russia', in: Romaniello and Lipp (eds.), *Contested spaces*, 103-126.

7 Soldat, 'Sepulchral monuments', note 71; T. van Bueren et al., 'Researching medieval *memoria*. Prospects and perspectives', *Jaarboek voor middeleeuwse geschiedenis*, XIV (2011) 183-234; C.J. Kuiken, *Het Bildt is geen eiland. Capita cultuurgeschiedenis van een vroegmoderne polder in Friesland* (Groningen-Wageningen, 2013) 235, 250-252, 263.

8 *Nederland's Adelsboek*, LXXXIV (1994) 169-170.

Haren, alderman of Aachen in 1526, was barry of eight with a franc-quarter (three bends).⁹ His family was introduced into the urban elite of Aachen by the Buck family.¹⁰ The blazon is not listed in late medieval armorials such as *Bellenville* or *Gelre*.¹¹ It does appear in an armorial published in 1760 by the Frisian printer Abraham Ferwerda, which includes genealogies of 'prominent noble and distinguished families'. Ferwerda had invited subscribers to submit their own pedigrees.¹² The brothers Willem (1710-1768) and Onno Zwier (1711-1779) van Haren produced an affidavit of 1663 claiming that 'the noble house of Haren' had resided in Aachen for several centuries and was akin to 'many distinguished noble families'; that daughters had been admitted to noble convents; and that five sons of this noble family had served as aldermen. The brothers added a patriline of seventeen generations, beginning in 1240.¹³ It was copied lock, stock, and barrel into Ferwerda's armorial.

However 'noble' the Van Harens presented themselves in the 1760s, their names were not included in a key document that defined the early Protestant nobility of the sixteenth-century Habsburg Netherlands: the Petition of Compromise presented to the royal regent Margaret of Parma in 1566.¹⁴ There is no doubt that they were Protestants, however, for another Evert van Haren and his son Adam were expropriated and exiled by the Council of Troubles in 1567. In 1534-1546, Evert had been sheriff of Boxmeer in Brabant in the Southern Netherlands. Adam was appointed as such in 1566 in Kranendonk near Eindhoven by William of Nassau, prince of Orange and lord of Kranendonk and Boxmeer.¹⁵ Father and son were apparently clients of the Nassaus. In 1567, Adam joined the Sea-Beggars. After Orange had been assassinated in 1584, his nephew Count Willem Lodewijk of Nassau-Dillenburg, the new Frisian Stadtholder, appointed Adam as his steward in Leeuwarden. His son Willem (I) van Haren succeeded his father. Two of Willem's sons became sheriff of a Frisian shire: Willem (II) in 1652 in Het Bildt and Ernst van Haren in 1673 in Weststellingwerf.

9 J.T. De Raedt, *Sceaux Armoriés des Pays-Bas et des pays avoisinés* (Brussels, 1898), II, 33 (Everhart van Hairen).

10 L. Freiin Coels von der Brügghe, 'Die Schöffen des Königlichen Stuhls von Aachen von der frühesten Zeit bis zur endgültigen Aufhebung der reichsstädtischen Verfassung 1798', *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, L (1928) nos. 138, 146, 162, 167.

11 P. Adam-Even, *L'armorial universel du Heraut Gelre* (Louvain, 1992); M. Pastoureau and M. Popoff (eds.), *Armorial Bellenville* (Lathuille, 2004). The 'Haren' blason listed as *Bellenville* no. 1102 is unrelated to these families.

12 A. Ferwerda, *Adelijk en aanzienlijk wapenboek van de zeven provincien; waarbij gevoegd zijn een groot aantal genealogien van voornaame adellijke en aanzienlijke families* (Leeuwarden, 1760-1781); *Leeuwarder Courant* (June 6, 1759) 2.

13 Tresoar, Leeuwarden, Van Haren family archive, inv.nr. 6.

14 J.W. te Water, *Historie van het verbond en de smeekschriften der Nederlandsche edelen* (Middelburg, 1779) 247, 450, assumes that Adam van Haren signed the Petition, although he is not on any list (*schoon zijn naam op geene der lijsten gemeld staat*).

15 Nationaal Archief, The Hague, Archives of the Nassause Domeinraad, inv. nos. 713-715; Te Water, *Historie*, 450.

Around 1600, the Van Harens are best described as loyal clients with a long tradition in administrative office. Friesland had lost most of its Catholic administrative elite in 1580, when it joined the Dutch Republic. This elite shift opened perspectives for the clients of Protestant aristocrats in the *entourage* of the Nassaus. Willem van Viersen, for instance, came to Leeuwarden in 1586 as mint master. His father had been mint master to one of the leaders of the Protestant Uprising, Sir Hendrik van Brederode (1531-1568), also known as *le grand gueux*. The Van Viersens would be mint masters in Friesland until 1652. In 1606, Willem van Viersen married off his daughter Magdalena to Willem I van Haren: an *ebenbürtige* wedding between two ambitious immigrant families who were both soon to join the mighty regional elite of Frisian sheriffhood.¹⁶

Courtiers to sheriffs¹⁷

42 Under the Dutch Republic, sheriffs (*grietmannen*) were the most powerful regents in Friesland. From 1580 to 1795, they were elected for life by the owners of qualified houses or lands in their jurisdictions (*grietenijen*). Wealthy families secured these offices through strategic marriages, the acquisition of voting assets (titles to lands with attached voting rights), and occasional alliances with major local vote owners, concluded at so-called 'spoils parties' (*kuippartijen*).¹⁸ Table 1, below, shows how the voting assets owned by the Van Harens multiplied between 1640 and 1728. The result was that around 1700, they held sheriff's offices in Het Bildt, Doniawerstal and Weststellingwerf, three shires where they also owned several dozens of voting assets.

Unlike the other 29 shires of Republican Friesland, Het Bildt did not elect its own sheriff. The polder was a dominion of the Frisian States, who directly appointed the local *grietman*. Until 1637, nearly all inhabitants of Het Bildt were tenants of the States. Farmers with qualified land holdings elected local church, village, and dike administrators. Unlike landowners elsewhere in Friesland, they were formally not allowed to send delegates to the States. By custom, however, two delegates from Het Bildt were elected every year by the local farming elite to join the States. In 1640 Het Bildt was represented by the nobleman Philips van Boshuisen and by Dr Assuerus van Viersen, steward of the States and an in-law of Willem I van Haren. Van Haren was then serving as a rittmaster under Count Willem Frederik of Nassau-Dietz, Willem Lodewijk's nephew and successor.

¹⁶ See the Appendix.

¹⁷ Unless specified otherwise, this section refers to J.I. Israel, *The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall 1477-1806* (Oxford, 1998); H.F.K. van Nierop, *The nobility of Holland. From knights to regents, 1500-1650* (Cambridge, 1993); J. Visser (ed.), *Gloria parendi. Dagboeken van Willem Frederik, stadhouder van Friesland, Groningen en Drenthe, 1643-1649, 1651-1654* (The Hague, 1995); and M. Prak, *The Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century. The Golden Age* (Cambridge, 2005).

¹⁸ H. Spanninga, 'Patronage in Friesland in de 17de en 18de eeuw. Een eerste terreinverkenning', *De Vrije Fries*, LXVII (1987) 11-26; idem, 'Kapitaal en fortuin. Hessel van Sminia (1588-1670) en de opkomst van zijn familie', *De Vrije Fries*, LXXXI (2001) 9-52.

For financial reasons (the Republic, including Friesland, was still at war with Spain), the Frisian States decided to privatise parts of Het Bildt in 1637. With these lands the new owners, mostly aristocrats and urban gentry plus a few local farmers, also acquired voting rights for the States. It was decided to discontinue the voting privileges of non-landowning farmers. Among the new owners of Bildt lands were Van Boshuisen, the Van Viersens and the Van Harens. In 1644, Van Boshuisen was appointed by the States (including himself) as sheriff of Het Bildt.¹⁹ Van Viersen's election to the States in 1640 was supported by a broad group of kinsmen with voting assets in Het Bildt, most importantly Dr. Gellius van Jongestel (8½ votes), a judge on the Provincial Court of Appeal. He had married off his adopted son in 1639 to a daughter of Willem I van Haren.²⁰ Van Viersen's father-in-law, mayor Bruyn Geersma of Harlingen, owned three votes and his brothers-in-law Hobbe Baard and Dr Abraham Schuurmans one vote each. Friends and colleagues may have lent Van Viersen four more votes. Members of the Hemmema and Schwartzenberg families were serving at the Count's court as close colleagues of Van Haren.²¹

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In spite of such friendly arrangements, seats were often hotly contested, even among kinsmen. In 1645 Van Jongestel's son ran for Van Viersen's seat. Count Willem Frederik discussed this with Van Haren, with whom he dined, drank, rode or gambled on a nearly daily basis. Van Haren was a useful source of information on local nobles such as the Eysingas and their in-laws, the Boshuisens, whose political influence both the Count and Van Haren sought to contain. In late 1646, Van Haren wished to succeed Philip van Boshuisen as delegate to the States. Once Van Boshuisen heard of this plan, he offered the Count exclusive hunting rights in his shire. To Van Haren, he offered his seat on the States General in The Hague, one of the most prestigious and best-paid offices in the Republic. Van Haren was about to accept this offer when he was told by Van Jongestel in February, 1647, that the Count would veto his appointment in The Hague. This innuendo was more telling of the atmosphere at court than of the Count's real intentions, yet Van Haren initially believed it. Before long, however, a direct and emotional conversation with the Count cleared the air, and Van Haren vowed to support Van Viersen's ambitions henceforth. 'At last we parted as good friends,' a satisfied Willem Frederik wrote. Van Haren 'was now at peace and would forever be my friend and servant, as he had always been of our House.'

In January, 1648, Van Haren secured the last ten votes needed for his mandate. He profusely thanked the Count for his good offices and also started campaigning for a seat in the States General. In an inn at Leeuwarden, he held a spoils party to which the Count was invited as well. Van Haren eventually obtained his seat and was even elected Chairman of the States General. As such, he was involved in the administra-

¹⁹ Sannes, *Geschiedenis*, I.

²⁰ See the Appendix.

²¹ *Nederland's Adelsboek*, LXXXIV (1994) 170-171; *Nederland's Adelsboek*, XCI (2007) 568.

tion of the Southern parts of the Republic where, to his dismay, the Catholic clergy was still very influential. He shared his concerns with the Count, an orthodox Calvinist like himself. In his diary, the Count describes the rapid deterioration of Van Haren's health. On 12 November, 1649 he sat at Van Haren's deathbed: 'I watched Mr Van Haren dying at half past nine, entirely God-blessed and quiet.' In December, he wrote that 'young Haren' had, without complications, succeeded to his father's seat in the Frisian States.

When Van Boshuisen died in 1652, the Count and the executive committee of the Frisian States started procedures for the appointment of a new sheriff in Het Bildt. Willem II van Haren was an obvious candidate. The Count may have told the committee that Van Haren was supported by many local landowners, most of whom were his kinsmen. Two electors, Sir Oene van Grovestins and Alle van Burum, attended Van Haren's inauguration as sheriff in October.²² Both men most probably had supported his candidature. Before long, the Van Burums would become kinsmen to the Van Harens.²³ In 1659, Van Haren signed a so-called 'contract of correspondence' with the Van Grovestins family to share several lucrative offices among themselves.²⁴ These are only some examples of the two-pronged strategy which eventually gave the Van Harens power in three different Frisian shires. Vertically, the family went on cultivating its old and trusted ties with the ruling House of Nassau-Dietz. Horizontally, they formed alliances with local elite families.

Willem Frederik's diary is an important source for the wherewithals of Willem van Haren on his way to political prominence through a *lutte de classement* with social, financial-economic as well as cultural aspects. The lands acquired by Van Haren and his kinship group were not only financial assets but also yielded social status which was capitalised in the form of political office. The Count was able to manipulate these capital markets to such a degree that not only aspiring courtiers like Van Haren but also old local families had to seek his support. In early Republican Friesland, Willem Frederik was the dominant provider of social capital. Power and influence, not nobility was the real issue at stake, both at court and in the provincial and national parliaments. These socio-political arenas can be described as 'contested spaces', but that metaphor in itself adds little to our understanding of the dynamics of what happened inside these arenas. The Nassau court, where tensions between competing elites sometimes led to physical conflict, is a good example. In March, 1648, for instance, a few days before Willem van Haren was elected to the States General, he fell out with a Frisian fellow-officer during a luncheon hosted by the Count. Both brawlers were arrested, but only Van Haren wrote an apology. He was released, but his opponent, a kinsman of the Van Eysingas, refused and remained in custody.

²² Sannes, *Geschiedenis*, I, 257.

²³ See the Appendix.

²⁴ In the Van Haren family archive at Tresoar, Leeuwarden, inv.nr. 448.

Nobility and social capital

Elie Haddad has argued that nobility in early modern Paris was 'the result of social interactions and conflicts, which tested the social representations, social practices, and the juridical elements on which these representations and practices were founded. "Nobility", therefore, was a contested space, and the law was its battlefield.'²⁵ This is an eloquent plea for contested space as a paradigm for nobility studies, but does it also fit early modern Friesland? The Frisian jurist Ulricus Huber (1636-1682) has given a much quoted common law definition of nobility: 'an excellence of pedigree, inherited by the descendants from their ancestors' dignity'.²⁶ In pre-Republican Friesland, nobility had been clearly defined by statutory law as well. The relevant statute, published in 1500, was one of a range of measures to transform Friesland, until then a typical feuding society, into a relatively stable early modern state. When Friesland acceded to the Dutch Republic in 1580, the province kept most of these new institutions in place. At that time, *jonker* ('squire') had already become generally recognised as an exclusively noble predicate.²⁷

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There were two roads to this noble status in Republican Friesland: *de iure* by elevation or *de facto* by acknowledgment. For an elevation, citizens of the Dutch Republic had to approach a foreign monarch, for the Republic and its provinces did not bestow nobility on this footing. Foreign titles of nobility also enjoyed limited recognition. They did not qualify its bearer for admission to the regional colleges of nobles (*ridderschappen*) which in most provinces of the Dutch Republic (but not in Friesland) constituted one of the *états* represented in the provincial parliaments. But although provincial governors such as Count Willem Frederik of Nassau-Dietz in Friesland could not formally bestow nobility by elevation, they could always more or less informally acknowledge the noble status of their *protégés* by treating them *as if* they were nobles. Although Republican Friesland did not have a college of nobles, several seats in the Frisian States were reserved by tradition for individual noblemen. By admitting a delegate to one of these 'noble' seats, his fellow delegates and the governor *de facto* acknowledged his noble status.

It thus appears that 'nobility' in early modern Friesland is best described as one of several forms of social capital which were primarily distributed by the counts of Nassau-Dietz. This mechanism became particularly visible in 1632, when Willem I van Haren was first mentioned as a *jonker* on the official record of the funeral of Count Ernst Casimir, Willem Frederik's father. '*Jonker* Willem van Haren, rittmaster', joined the procession, not with his fellow-officers but as representative of Prince Frederik Hendrik, the acting *chef de famille* of the Nassaus. It was a place of honour illustrative

²⁵ Haddad, 'Early modern France', 148.

²⁶ E.g. in Y. Kuiper, *Adel in Friesland 1780-1880* (Groningen, 1993) 68.

²⁷ P.N. Noomen, *De stinzen in middeleeuws Friesland en hun bewoners* (Hilversum, 2009) 223; Kuiper, *Adel*, 65.

of the confidence Van Haren enjoyed at the Frisian court. Yet when his son Willem II van Haren went to study in Franeker in 1640, he did not register as a *nobilis* like the Schwarzenberg brothers did in 1645 and 1650 respectively. The Schwarzenbergs were already taxed as nobles in a Frisian census of 1578. The funeral record of 1632 listed them as barons. In 1699, Adam Ernst van Haren was the first of his family to register at Franeker as a *nobilis Frisius*.²⁸

This legal fiction, which was supported by the Frisian Nassaus, put the Van Harens socially and politically at a par with the indigenous Frisian *jonkers* and their kith and kin. The latter also included such recent immigrants as Philips van Boshuisen, whose forebears had been part of the college of nobles in the county of Holland.²⁹ Van Boshuisen and Willem I van Haren both became ‘noble’ delegates to the Frisian States. We have observed that these positions were hotly contested, but not that noble status in itself was an issue in these contests. Power and influence were the real bones of content. Even the incidental flaring up of old feuding mentalities among Willem Frederik’s courtiers, for instance in March, 1648, must be understood in different terms. In a classic *histoire des mentalités*, Conrad Gietman contextualises these brawls in terms of honour.³⁰ Honour never was an exclusive marker of nobility, but it certainly is a form of social capital. As such it lends itself to an analysis in the broader terms of Bourdieu’s theory of practice, which offers a hermeneutic framework for such different aspects as mentalities and material culture.³¹ Honour belongs to the former category, but can also be expressed in terms of material culture. In the following paragraph, therefore, the expression of honour in early modern *memoria* culture is analysed.

Visibility and *memoria*

It can be argued that *memoria* culture was (and is) one of the essential markers of noble identities – at least when nobility is defined on Huberian lines in terms of excellent pedigrees and ancestry. This was indeed how the Van Harens ‘remembered’ their noble descent in the 1760s, although it appears from our earlier observations that their noble status was acquired rather more recently. In her analysis of the transformations of *memoria* culture, Aleida Assmann notices that in the transition from the late Middle Ages to the early modern period, display of status (*fama*)

²⁸ S.J. Fockema Andreae and T.J. Meijer (eds.), *Album studiosorum Academiae Franekerensis* (Franeker, 1968); P.L.G. van der Meer et al. (eds.), *Administrative en fiskale boarnen oangeande Fryslân yn de ier-moderne tiid* (Leeuwarden, 1993) 223.

²⁹ F.J.W. van Kan et al., ‘Het nageslacht van Willem Luutgardenzn., schepen van Leiden V: De takken van Willem Cuser en Floris van Boschuyzen’, *De Nederlandsche Leeuw*, CX (1993) 116–118.

³⁰ C. Gietman, *Republiek van adel. Eer in de Oost-Nederlandse adelscultuur (1555-1702)* (Utrecht, 2010) 238–239.

³¹ C. Gietman, ‘Adel tijdens Opstand en Republiek. Oude en nieuwe perspectieven’, *Virtus*, XIX (2012) 59–60.



The three original parish churches in Het Bildt on a map of 1545: from left St James', St. Anne's and Our Lady's (coll. National Archive, The Hague)

took precedence over traditional forms of piety aimed at the salvation of the dead.³² *Fama* can be understood as an 'outsider' equivalent to the 'insider' concept of honour. The transition from piety to *fama* was especially visible in the Dutch Republic, where Calvinist notions of predestination had officially replaced Catholic dogmas of purgatory and redemption. For the same reason, burial *ad sanctos* was no longer seen as particularly salutary. Yet in many Dutch church buildings which had been adapted to Calvinist liturgy, a grave in the former chancel was still perceived as prestigious.³³ Hence, Count Ernst Casimir (†1632) was buried in the chancel of the former church of the Blackfriars in Leeuwarden, *jonker* Willem I van Haren (†1649) in the chancel of the village church at Blije, and *jonker* Philips van Boshuisen (†1652) in the chancel of the village church at Stiens: the Count under an elevated tomb, Van Haren under a slab with his and his wife's coats of arms, and Van

³² A. Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume. Formen und Wandlungen des kulturellen Gedächtnisses* (München, 1999) 33-43.

³³ See, for instance A. Spicer, *Calvinist churches in early modern Europe* (Cambridge, 2007) 152-153.

Boshuisen under a slab with the coats of arms and portraits of himself and his Frisian wife.³⁴

Such displays of financial, social and cultural capital were part of the *memoria* culture of the early modern Frisian nobility, from the Nassaus down to their clients such as Van Haren and Van Boshuisen. Calvinist churches were public places. How well the Nassaus understood the importance of visibility is demonstrated by William of Orange's monumental tomb at Delft.³⁵ The Frisian Nassaus created their own *lieu de mémoire* at the political centre that was Leeuwarden. At first sight, it appears odd that Van Boshuisen, sheriff of Het Bildt, was buried at Stiens, a village near Leeuwarden, rather than in his shire. The likely reason is that his Frisian in-laws, the Eysinga's, owned a castle in Stiens, which had become Van Boshuisen's country seat. To honour his *memoria*, his widow founded a hospital at Leeuwarden in 1652. The arms of Boshuisen still adorn its entry on Blackfriars' Churchyard, straight opposite the church where the Nassaus rest.³⁶

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Compared to this cult of visibility in their hometowns and in the provincial capital, Van Boshuisen and his predecessors had kept relatively low profiles as sheriffs of Het Bildt: from father and son Van Loo, career administrators who held the office in 1530-1557 and 1580-1587, down to the nobles Allard van Sierksma (r. 1557-1580), Jelger van Feitsma (r. 1587-1620), *jonker* Idsard van Burmania (r. 1620-1632), *jonker* Epo van Aylva (r. 1632-1639), and the commoner Dr Martinus Gravius (r. 1639-1644). None had a fixed abode in Het Bildt and, except Dr Gravius and his wife, none were registered as confessing members of the local church. Their official duty was to preside over the local law court, but most sessions were chaired by a senior local judge. In 1585-1589, for instance, the brewer and tenant farmer Jan Bonteman of Sint Annaparochie acted repeatedly in his capacity of substitute sheriff. At one time, he even appeared before the Court of Appeal as 'sheriff of Het Bildt'.³⁷ When the sheriff was away, the local gentry would indeed play. Bonteman's wife Elisabeth Boom died in 1608. He had her buried under a large slab adorned with Renaissance motifs and with her and his own ancestral coats of arms, on the site of honour in the church: the chancel. It appears from Elisabeth's arms that her mother was descended from the Booms, a family of urban regents in Dordrecht. In 1612, Bonteman was buried next to her.³⁸

All this changed after Willem van Haren had been appointed sheriff of Het Bildt in 1652. During his first years in office, he was not seen in the shire very often either.

34 H. de Walle, *Friezen uit vroeger eeuwen* (Franeker, 2007 and www.walmar.nl/links.htm, last visited March 2, 2014) nos. 419, 3552, 7824.

35 Spicer, *Calvinist churches*, 153.

36 Van Kan et al., 'Willem Luutgardenzn', 117-119; Dutch national monument no. 24224 (Jacobijnerkerkhof 7).

37 Sannes, *Geschiedenis*, I, 474; W.T. Vleer, *De Friese Wassenaars* (Drachten, 1963) no. 49; Tresoor, Archives of the Frisian Court of Appeal (*Hof van Friesland*), inv. nos. 16701, fol. 176, 16702 fol. 308, and 16703 fol. 204.

38 H. Sannes, *Grafchriften tussen Flie en Lauwers*, II: *Het Bildt* (Leeuwarden, 1952) no. G30 (= n. G33).



Van Haren's Church at St. Annaparochie in Friesland (*photo by Regnerus Steensma*)

Most of his time was spent in Leeuwarden and The Hague. In 1657-1658, however, Van Haren was staying with the Hemmemas on their estate 'Nijefenne', a few miles to the southwest of Sint Annaparochie. In August, 1658, he was married in Leeuwarden to Elisabeth van Hemmema, with whom he registered in October as confessing members of the Reformed Church at Sint Annaparochie. From his secretary Albert Wijn-
gaarden, he rented a house opposite the church. Van Haren bought this house in 1664 or 1665 and had it transformed into an aristocratic estate with ornamental gardens. The ground on which the house was built, added another vote to the dozen he already owned.³⁹

Compared with this stylish residence, the dilapidated village church across the canal was an embarrassing eyesore. On behalf of the local landowners, Van Haren in 1680 requested and obtained permission from the States to have this 'slight and very decrepit church' torn down. In 1681, the landowners gave him full authority to over-
see the building of a new church. Van Haren had some previous experience as a project developer, not only during the reshaping of his own residence, but also in the neighbouring village of Vrouwenparochie, where the simple single-hall church had been rebuilt in 1670 according to its original sixteenth-century floor plan. Van Haren, who had secured the financial means for this project from the States, left his mark on both the exterior and the interior of this church. Above the western main entrance, his name was inscribed on a memorial stone. His coat of arms and that of his spouse adorned a new pew opposite the pulpit: the seat of honour reserved in many Dutch Reformed churches for the local nobility. It was perhaps no coincidence that Vrou-
wenparochie was the first village church where Van Haren invested in his own visibility. In 1655, he had drawn up a register of voting rights in his shire with notes on the religious denominations of all voting landowners. In Vrouwenparochie, four out of five voters were Calvinists. In Sint Annaparochie, the majority was also Calvinist, either confessing or merely a *dooplid* (baptised member), yet one out of every three local voters was a Mennonite.⁴⁰ The Bontemans and their kith and kin had been rather prominent among them. In 1632 the farmer Steven Dirkszoon of Sint Annaparochie, a kinsman of Jan Bonteman, even held one of the 'noble' seats in the Frisian States, although his claim to noble ancestry was dubious at best.⁴¹ Was it not about time that the Calvinist congregation became more visible as the 'public church' that it officially was? Van Haren obviously was the right man at the right time in the right place to organise (and visualise) this type of 'home mission'. It will be argued in the following paragraphs that he also took this opportunity to organise and visualise the *memoria* cult of his own family.

39 Sannes, *Geschiedenis*, I, 289-290.

40 Sannes, *Geschiedenis*, I, 250, and Table 2, below.

41 Kuiken, *Het Bildt*, 83, 122, 124, 169 244; see also K. Kuiken, 'Heraldic imagination and legal fiction', in: H. de Boo et al. (eds.), *Regional heraldry. Report XII. International Colloquium of Heraldry* (Bedum, 2005) 164-170.

A princely temple

Van Haren's design for a new church at Sint Annaparochie radically departed from its original floor plan. Instead of a single hall with a transept, as in the former parish church, he wanted a compact octagonal amphitheatre with a central belfry on top: a princely temple to the Word of God, modelled after the church which Prince Maurits of Orange (1567-1625), like Van Haren a zealous Calvinist, had commissioned in Willemstad in Brabant in 1597-1607. The prince had sponsored the latter on condition that it 'shall [...] be made in a round or octagonal form'.⁴² Van Haren's choice for this obvious icon of the Mauritian Renaissance seems rational in view of the local religious landscape. It appeared as a warning to the Mennonites in particular: the Reformed church was to be recognised irreversibly as the only public church at the very heart of the shire. Already when he was reading law in Leiden, Van Haren must have been familiar with this type of church building. In the 1640s, the town architect of Leiden had built the Marekerk, an octagon with a round dome on top.⁴³ It can be argued that the Marekerk was a political gesture, too, for Prince Maurits had installed an exclusively Calvinist government in Leiden some years earlier.

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The earliest records of such Calvinist *plan centré* churches, or *preekkerken* ('preaching churches'), as they were sometimes called, are from Antwerp and Ghent. A drawing in Marcus van Vaernewyck's diary of 'the troubled times in the Netherlands, and chiefly in Ghent' shows an octagonal wooden church, erected outside the city in 1566 and demolished briefly after.⁴⁴ At first sight, it looks like the type of wooden theatre built in Elizabethan England around the same time. Contemporaries, however, saw a different perspective. An anonymous sixteenth-century chronicle of Antwerp, for instance, describes the local 'Walloon [i.e. Calvinist] temple', also built in 1566, as 'all round, very antiquish, in the manner of Solomon's Temple at Jerusalem and in the fashion of the Latron Temple at Rome'.⁴⁵ The 'Temple' is the archbasilica of St John Lateran, or rather: the late antique baptistry next to it. The octagonal design of this baptistry has been seminal in Early Medieval Italian church architecture, not only for baptistries but also for royal burial chapels.

Curiously enough, this design was not associated with the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, commissioned in 326, but with a structure that had for several centuries been mistaken for Solomon's Temple: the Rock Mosque, an early Medieval octagonal prayerhouse on Temple Mount.⁴⁶ In the words of the medieval-

⁴² M.D. Ozinga, *De Protestantsche kerkenbouw van Hervorming tot Franschen tijd* (Amsterdam, 1929) 17; Spicer, *Calvinist churches*, 134-135.

⁴³ K.A. Ottenheym, 'Opdrachtgevers, architecten en de traditie van het classicisme', in: K. Bosma et al., (eds.), *Bouwen in Nederland, 600-2000* (Amsterdam-Zwolle, 2007) 375, 378-379.

⁴⁴ Spicer, *Calvinist churches*, 113-115.

⁴⁵ Anonymous, *Chronycke van Antwerpen sedert het jaer 1500 tot 1575*, quoted in Ottenheym, 'Opdrachtgevers', 374.

⁴⁶ Ottenheym, 'Opdrachtgevers', 374-375.

ist Kathryn Smith, 'a single well-chosen architectural element could [...] evoke a complete building, [...] whether or not it replicated the exact proportions of the original.'⁴⁷ The helical pillars donated by Constantine the Great to Saint Peter's basilica in Rome are a good example. Legend has it that they had been taken from the Temple at Jerusalem. So strong was the synecdochal impact of these ornaments that eight of them were given conspicuous locations when the old basilica was replaced by the present building in the sixteenth century.⁴⁸

'Solomonic columns', as art historians call them, are a decorative feature inside Van Haren's Church. In this early modern Calvinist 'temple', they adorn the pulpit, the family pew, and the entrance to the burial chapel. Together with the octagonal design of the building, this decorative program may be read as a successful evocation of Solomon's Temple. But whether Prince Maurits or King Solomon was the inspiration for Van Haren's Church and burial chapel, this *plan centré* building was clearly meant to convey princely authority. There is no doubt, either, that this church was built to immortalise the orthodox zeal of its aristocratic patron who, somewhat like an early modern king Solomon, presided over the local finding of law.

Aristocratic presence

Unlike his predecessors, who were typical absentee administrators, Willem van Haren made his mark on the local community as a modern, highly visible *premier* with clearly delineated policies on matters worldly and religious. But he was also a delegate to the Frisian States and the States General in The Hague. In the latter capacity, he was frequently sent on international diplomatic missions. In several ways, the interior of Van Haren's Church reflects his intention to remain visibly present even *in absentia*. The conspicuous pew with his coat of arms was the first element in this strategy.⁴⁹ Assmann's observation that in the transition from late medieval to early modern *memoria* culture display of status took precedence over piety, must be taken very literally in this particular case. As the budget for the new church had no room for both a decorated pew and a new pulpit, it was decided that the pulpit could wait, even if it was by definition the centerpiece of a *preekkerk*. The new pulpit was completed in the 1690s – with external funds.⁵⁰

A *preekkerk*, like all Protestant church buildings, is not only an auditory for the Word of God, but also the setting for a performance in which the congregation takes

⁴⁷ K.A. Smith, 'Architectural mimesis and historical memory at the Abbey of Mont-Saint-Michel', in: K.A. Smith and S. Wells (eds.), *Negotiating community and difference in Medieval Europe. Gender, power and the authority of religion* (Leiden, 2009) 68.

⁴⁸ J. Ward-Perkins, 'The shrine of St. Peter's and its twelve spiral columns', *Journal of Roman Studies*, XLII (1952) 21-33.

⁴⁹ Sannes, *Grafschriften*, no. B1.

⁵⁰ Assmann, *Erinnerungsräume* 33-43; S. ten Hoeve, 'De preekstoel', *Alde Fryske Tsjerken*, IX (2013) 20-22.

an active part: the celebration of the Lord's Supper. In 1668, Willem van Haren made an investment to ensure that his aristocratic presence was duly noticed at these celebrations too, even when he himself was away. The goldsmith Peter Faber of Leeuwarden, whose own wedding had been solemnised in Sint Annaparochie in 1658, was commissioned to make two silver wine cups for the Lord's Supper, with the crests of the Van Harens and with an inscription dedicating them to the congregation.⁵¹ When this gift was about to be handed over, there was some embarrassment. It appeared that the local village judge and a retired court secretary had commissioned a set of silver cups, too. As could be expected, the gift from the noble *maecenas* was graciously accepted. The commoners were thanked politely for their intentions.⁵² So the Van Harens, who were already visibly dominating the space of the church auditory, also won the contest over the Communion table.

The outcome of this *lutte de classement* reflected social status as well as political clout. In Sint Annaparochie, like in Vrouwenparochie, Van Haren's vote in church matters weighed heavily. In both villages, he used his powers to order the installation of exclusive pews. In Sint Jacobiparochie, the third village in Het Bildt, Van Haren did not own any voting assets at all. The silverware for the Lord's Supper in this church was sponsored in 1662 by Willem Dirk Arjens, a local farmer and landowner. He also had his coat of arms proudly engraved on the bottom of the wine cups.⁵³

Some aristocratic owners of exclusive pews in the early modern Northern Netherlands made a dignified ceremony of their entry in church. In Leeuwarden, for instance, the counts of Nassau-Dietz had their own private portal in the southeastern wall of the chancel of Blackfriars Church, where they also had their mausoleum. Shortly before the service began, their coaches would arrive at this portal. From there, a private staircase led up to their elevated stall against the south wall of the chancel.⁵⁴ In the church of Uithuizen, the Van Alberdas, lords of the local manor, owned a stall on top of the rood screen between chancel and nave. Once the commoners had gathered in the nave, the family would ceremoniously enter the stall from the back of the screen.⁵⁵ In Sint Annaparochie, the Van Haren pew could not be accessed directly from outside. The family probably entered the church through the southeastern portal, which was adorned with their crests. The entrance to their burial chapel was to the immediate left of their pew, which makes it likely that the chapel was also a private *antichambre*. While waiting here for the beginning of the service, the family could muse on the Latin epitaph in the chapel which exhorted them to trust in God

51 M. Stoter, *De Zilveren Eeuw. Fries pronkzilver in de zeventiende eeuw* (exhibition catalogue, Franeker, 2000) 61.

52 Sannes, *Geschiedenis*, I, 339-340.

53 Sannes, *Grafschriften*, nos. G39, Z7, Z8. In 1655, Willem Dirk Arjens owned one farm with full voting rights.

54 R. Stenvert et al., *Monumenten in Nederland. Fryslân* (Zeist-Zwolle, 2000) 193-195.

55 K. Kuiken, 'Heer en heraldiek. Ereplaatsen in Ommelander kerken en hun beeldtaal', in: J. Kroesen and R. Steensma (eds.), *De Groninger cultuurschat* (Groningen-Assen, 2008) 136-137.

and scorn the world, and also extolled their noble virtues.⁵⁶ In this secluded space, there was room for piety and *fama*. As soon as they came out of the chapel through its brass-decorated *porte brisée* into the public space of the auditory, *fama* would be their primary concern.

A dynastic mausoleum

It is perhaps no coincidence that Van Haren's Church was commissioned during an era which is considered by some as 'the heyday of exclusive dynastic burial sites' in Europe.⁵⁷ In the seventeenth century, prestigious *lieux de mémoire* were created in the immediate proximity of Het Bildt for the counts of Nassau-Dietz (1622) and for some of the most senior indigenous noble families such as the Camminghas (1666) and the Burmanias (1693). In 1643 Watze van Cammingha († 1668), Lord of Ameland, bought from the joint landowners of Tjerkwerd the upper part of the chancel of the local church 'as a burial place or tomb'. Unfortunately, as his line ran out in 1681, he did not leave much of a dynasty to be buried in it. On the other hand, the Nassau-Dietz and Burmania mausoleums, erected in the chancels of churches in Leeuwarden and IJsbrechtum respectively, remained in use by their founding families and their descendants until the Dutch Revolution of 1795.⁵⁸ The burial chapel of the Van Harens was even used after that period.⁵⁹

It can be understood as a relict of the Catholic era that even in the seventeenth century, burial in the chancel of a Protestant church was still perceived as a prestigious privilege. For the funeral culture of the European aristocracy, the shift to Protestantism appears to have had only limited consequences. Old burial traditions were still respected by monarchs of all denominations. Roskilde Cathedral, for instance, has remained an exclusive necropolis for Danish kings from 1332 to date, even after it became a Lutheran church in 1536.⁶⁰ But that was a medieval church with a traditional layout, not a new *preekkerk* like in Willemstad, Leiden, or Sint Annaparochie. In these buildings, the topography and dramaturgy of a new funeral culture had yet to come of age.

This new culture hardly left any marks in the *preekkerken* of Willemstad and Leiden. The domed octagon at Willemstad was originally a garrison church. Its creator and maecenas, Prince Maurits of Orange, had his dynastic *lieu de mémoire* elsewhere:

⁵⁶ Sannes, *Grafschriften*, nos. Me1, E1.

⁵⁷ A.-J. Bijsterveld, 'Royal burial places in Western Europe. Creating tradition, succession and Memoria', in: R. de Weijert et al. (eds.), *Living memoria. Studies in Medieval and early modern memorial culture in honour of Truus van Bueren* (Hilversum, 2011) 32.

⁵⁸ F. Scholten, *Sumptuous memories. Studies in seventeenth-century Dutch tomb sculpture* (Zwolle, 2003); S. ten Hoeve, *Epematsate en de kerk te IJsbrechtum* (n.p., 1989); A. de Boer et al., 'Het praalgraf van Tjerkwerd', *Keppelstok*, LXX (2005) 7-9.

⁵⁹ L. Ferwerda, *Een Uytland gheheten Bil. De geskiedenis fan de gemeente 't Bildt* (Sint Annaparochie, 2005) 173.

⁶⁰ Bijsterveld, 'Royal burial places', 32-33.

the chancel of the New Church at Delft, where his parents were buried in 1584 and 1621 and Maurits himself in 1625. As a burial site for local aristocrats, the Marekerk at Leiden has always been less attractive than the two impressive medieval churches in that town: the former parish churches of Saint Peter and Saint Pancras. In the absence of a chancel, the inside of the Marekerk offered two feasible locations for aristocratic burial: a central tomb, or an epitaph in the ambulatory. The former would have been *anathema* to orthodox Calvinists, for it would have turned their temple for God's word into a pantheon.⁶¹ There are no records of epitaphs or hatchments. In Willemstad, there is only one epitaph for a local garrison commander who died in The Hague in 1749. It is not a dynastic *lieu de mémoire*. It was commissioned by a brother of the deceased officer, who left no offspring.⁶²

Van Haren's Church was the first *preekkerk* in the Netherlands where a *plan centré* was combined with a dynastic burial site. The decision to locate it in an annex was predicated on local circumstances. As the new *preekkerk* was built on the site of the former parish church, its floor was already studded with tombstones, some of which belonged to the families of the local landowners on whose support Van Haren's project depended.⁶³ This also precluded burial at the foot of the pulpit, which would otherwise have been rather viable.⁶⁴ As there was no ambulatory (the backbenches for the commoners stood directly against the outer walls of the octagon), only a secluded chapel would befit the status of the dynasty as Van Haren wanted it to be remembered.

Van Haren's first choice would perhaps have been a burial chapel on the vestiges of the chancel of the old parish church. Again, he was prevented by local circumstances, or, more specifically, by the Bonteman slabs. Although that once wealthy family had been in decline since Jan Bonteman's burial in 1612 (his only heiress went bankrupt in 1625) and the political rights of their kith and kin were reined in during the following decades (by the time Van Haren took office in 1652, it was inconceivable that one of them would sit on the Frisian States as a 'noble'), they still had a say in local church matters.

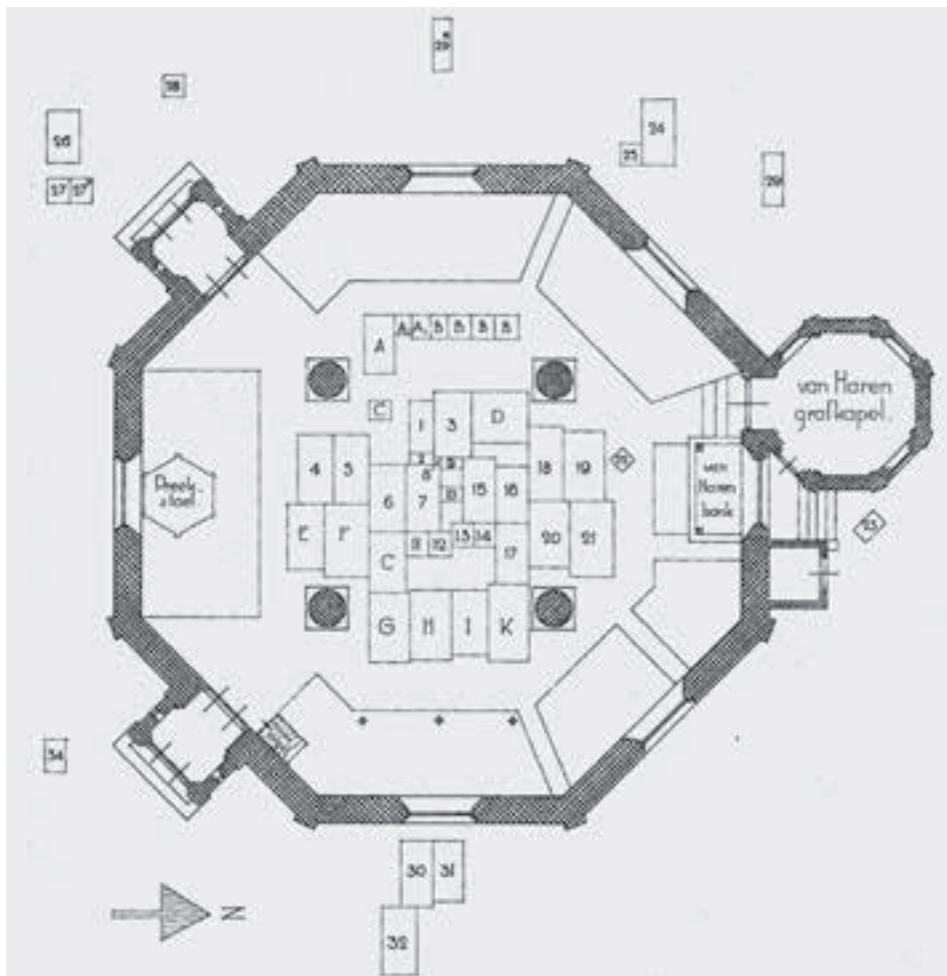
Van Haren's eventual decision to have his burial chapel to the north of the octagon and refrain from rebuilding the chancel, disposed of the Bonteman heritage symbolically. Instead of being cleared, their graves were now left exposed to the east of the new church, not even inside it, as would have been suitable to their former status. To the embarrassment of the Bontemans *cum suis*, it was now clear to all that their political heyday was over. That they had been prominent dissenters, adds another

⁶¹ Cf. Spicer, *Calvinist churches*, 231-232.

⁶² P.C. Bloys van Treslong Prins, *Genealogische en heraldische gedenkwaardigheden in en uit de kerken der provincie Zuid-Holland* (Utrecht, 1922) 247-248; idem, *Genealogische [...] gedenkwaardigheden in [...] Noord-Brabant*, II (Utrecht, 1924) 170.

⁶³ See the descriptions of the older tombs in Sannes, *Grafschriften*, 10-22, and the floor plan in the back of that book.

⁶⁴ Spicer, *Calvinist churches*, 153.



Plan of Van Haren's Church with chapel and tomb slabs. The Bonteman slabs are nos. 30-32 (after Sannes, 1952)

dimension to Van Haren's *grand design* for a church built expressly to visualise the triumph of orthodox Calvinism. This triumph was also expressed on the outside of the church building. It had two entrances: one adorned with Van Haren's own crest, and one with the arms of two local commoners who had supported the building of the church in 1681. One was a Mennonite turned Calvinist.⁶⁵ His elevation to visible

⁶⁵ Sannes, *Grafchriften*, nos. Me1, Me3; Kuiken, *Het Bildt*, 118.

prominence, while contrasting with the exclusion of the Bonteman tombs, symbolises the impact of Van Haren's home mission. Between 1613 and 1680, the number of confessing Calvinists in Sint Annaparochie tripled.⁶⁶ The Mennonite community shrank rapidly between 1655 and 1698, as did the already small number of Catholics. In 1792, only one 'Papist farmer' was living in the village.⁶⁷

Conclusion

Van Haren's Church, built in Sint Annaparochie between 1682 and 1686, was primarily a public sacred space that was appropriated by the ruling Van Haren family as a dynastic mausoleum. In this sense, it can literally be called a contested space. The ousting of the Bonteman slabs, not by removing them but by excluding them from the floor plan of the new church, was symbolic of an elite shift with unmistakable consequences for local *memoria* culture. From the 1680s on, that culture would be dominated by the aristocratic presence of the Van Harens, both living and dead. Depending on one's perspective, the essence of this aristocratic *memoria* cult can be described as honour or *fama*. The maturing of this cult kept pace with the social ascendancy of the Van Harens, from newcomers and courtiers to aristocratic regents with a dynastic ambition of their own. In their early modern *luttet de classement* with Frisian commoners, nobles, and 'nobles', the Van Harens came out on top, both financially and economically, as well as culturally and socially. The family's genealogy in Ferwerda's armorial in 1760 was printed testimony to their success.

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But how did they succeed so well? By the time Willem II van Haren became sheriff, he had almost certainly already internalised the necessary skills and mentalities, in brief: the *habitus*, to deal with the rural gentry. Like a Machiavellian prince, he divided and ruled, favouring Calvinists and ignoring dissenters, and building 'coalitions of the willing' for projects such as his new church. Although the latter was realised with public funds from the Frisian States, it was effectively appropriated by Van Haren. His aristocratic presence became visible everywhere in church, from his pew and burial chapel to the silverware for the Lord's Supper. This presence was probably also marked by a ceremonial entry like the Nassaus were given in Leeuwarden. In the end, there was apparently not much of a contest left. Van Haren's Church may not only have looked but even functioned like an Elizabethan theatre where the family, thanks to their political clout and other forms of capital, were able to direct the *mise-en-scène* of their aristocratic presence.

To acknowledge that the sacred space of Van Haren's Church was in some sense and at some time 'contested' is one thing, but to apply Romaniello's and Lipp's contested

66 W. Bergsma, 'Een dorp op Het Bildt. Gereformeerden in St.-Annaparochie in de zeventiende eeuw', in: M. Bruggeman et al. (eds.), *Mensen van de nieuwe tijd. Een liber amicorum voor A. Th. van Deursen* (Amsterdam, 1996) 148.

67 Sannes, *Geschiedenis*, I, 247-249; Kuiken, *Het Bildt*, 123.

space paradigm to this case is another. As Jaap Geraerts has noticed in this *Yearbook*, many contributors to their collection only casually refer to this organising concept, which is introduced as ‘an innovative approach that views noble history as a series of “contested spaces”, including those personal, physical, social, and political.’ The sociologist Henri Lefebvre is credited for this ‘method’ and the ‘spaces’ studied include the body, gender, courts, architecture, literature, law, and education.⁶⁸ All this reads like a blurred rehash of Bourdieu’s theory of practice, with some flaws of its own. One is that the organisation of ‘noble history’ around a spatial metaphor risks giving short shrift to temporal aspects. The lives of early modern aristocrats may at some times have looked (and felt) like a contest, but at other times not. Of course one can frame the historical *lutte de classement* of the Van Haren family as a progress through a series of competitive environments: the urban elite at Aachen, the Nassau courts, the Frisian States, and eventually their elevation to sheriffship. But their ‘noble’ status was only acknowledged towards the end of this progress, and by that time it would merely take a few decades before they were able to rule their shires virtually *hors concours*.

Romaniello and Lipp furthermore suggest that the ‘contested spaces of early modern European nobility [...] challenge Whiggish notions of modernity,’ but these notions had already been skilfully deconstructed in the 1980s by Henk van Nierop and other scholars.⁶⁹ The success story of the Van Harens was contextualised by themselves in their entry to the 1760 armorial, perhaps not in Whiggish terms, but cer-

TABLE 1 VOTING ASSETS OWNED BY THE VAN HAREN FAMILY IN FRIESLAND 1640-1728

Jurisdiction	1640	1698	1728
Aengwirden	–	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$
Baarderadeel	–	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$
Barradeel	–	1	–
Het Bildt	$1\frac{1}{2}$	15	24
Dantumadeel	–	1	–
Doniawerstal	–	30	50
Ferwerderadeel	3	9	–
Franekeadeel	–	1	1
Haskerland	–	–	1
Hennaarderadeel	–	–	8
Subtotal	$4\frac{3}{4}$	$58\frac{1}{2}$	86

Jurisdiction	1640	1698	1728
Idaarderadeel	–	–	2
Leeuwarderadeel	1	8	8
Lemsterland	–	2	–
Menaldumadeel	–	2	–
Oostdongeradeel	–	5	–
Opsterland	–	5	–
Schoterland	–	31	9
Utingeradeel	–	4	–
Westdongeradeel	–	2	–
Weststellingwerf	–	7	32
Total	$5\frac{3}{4}$	$117\frac{1}{2}$	144

⁶⁸ Geraerts, ‘Resilience’, 211; M.P. Romaniello and C. Lipp, ‘The spaces of nobility’, in: idem (eds.), *Contested spaces*, 4-5.

⁶⁹ Romaniello and Lipp, ‘Nobility’ 10; Gietman, ‘Adel’, 54.

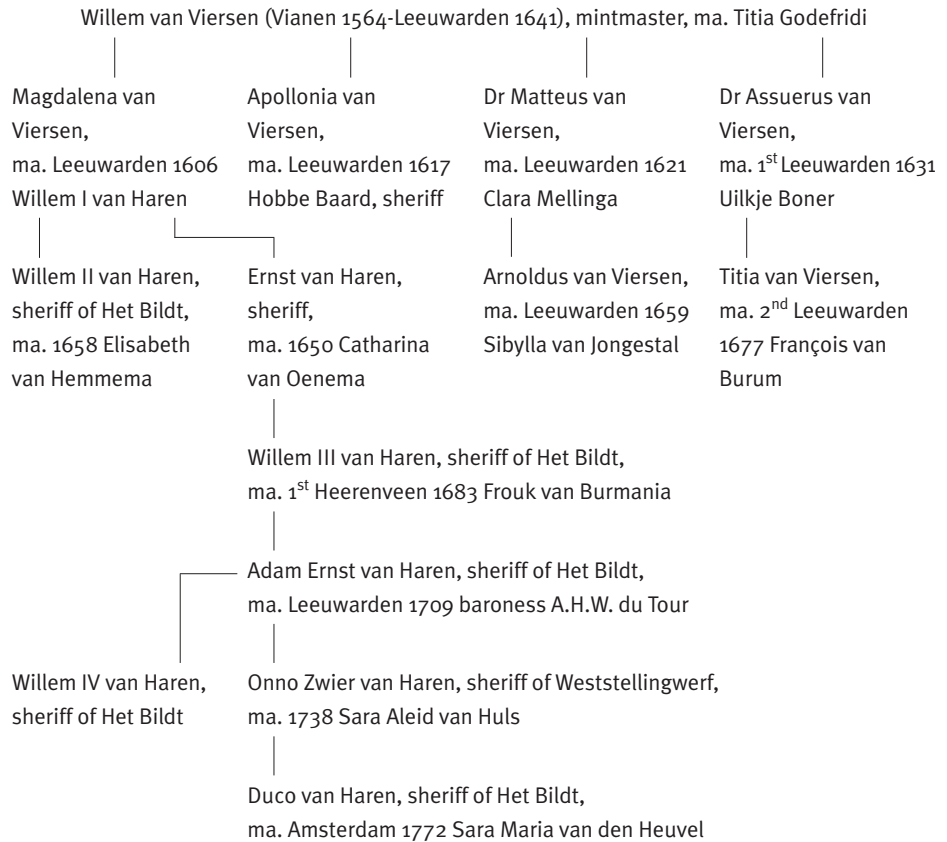
tainly with the family ideology of predestination on their minds. That ideology had become part of their *habitus* and of their cultural capital. It was also a matter of honour and *fama*, proudly expressed in their ultimate *lieu de mémoire*: their ‘own’ church.

TABLE 2 RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN HET BILDT IN 1655

Village	Votes	Calvinists	Mennonites	Catholics
Sint Jacobiparochie	64 (100%)	50 (78%)	12 (19%)	2 (3%)
Sint Annaparochie	57 (100%)	36 (63%)	20 (35%)	1 (2%)
Vrouwenparochie	66 (100%)	54 (82%)	11 (17%)	1 (1%)

Appendix: some descendants of Willem van Viersen and Titia Godefridi,
1564-1772

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Kees Kuiken

Van Haren's Church (1682-1686)

Contested space and other paradigms for the construction of early modern nobility

In the history and anthropology of religion, the concept of contested space has for some time been a useful analytical tool to visualise religious conflict. This essay probes the applicability of this concept to the field of elite studies in a Dutch case study: the construction of a mausoleum in 1682-1685 by Willem II van Haren. His family proceeded from the urban patriciate of Aachen through administrative offices and services at the Nassau-Dietz court to a dynastic presence in the shire of Het Bildt in Friesland. In 1632, Willem's father Willem I van Haren was first mentioned in an official record as a *jonker* ('squire'). This 'noble' status confirmed his accumulation of financial and social capital. Van Haren's construction of a new church with an exclusive funeral chapel for his family assured his aristocratic presence in his shire and also visualised the power of the Calvinist congregation as the official 'public church'. Metaphorically, Van Haren's Church could be described as a space contested between older local and new aristocratic elites and between Calvinists and other denominations, yet the dynamics of this *lutte de classement* are understood better in terms of Bourdieu's theory of practice. By the time Van Haren's Church was completed, his status was already uncontested. This allowed him to appropriate that public and sacred space for his own *memoria* cult.

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