THE PROMOTION OF CIVIC IDENTITY THROUGH MAPS OF LEIDEN: 1574-1700

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Introduction

In recent years, urban administrators in the Netherlands have taken up city marketing as a tool to draw more tourists, citizens and consumers to their cities. Many Dutch bus stops currently display posters of a city with slogans like Rotterdam’s “make it happen”, or Amsterdam’s “IAmsterdam”. These urban marketing campaigns advertise cities as exciting places to visit and live in. Contemporary urban governments use marketing campaigns to frame and present a city’s reputation to the outside world. Amsterdam’s open and inclusive character is promoted by presenting the city as a place of tolerance and culture. However, the creation of brands to promote urban identities and reputations in the Netherlands is no recent development. City governments in the Netherlands engaged in urban promotion during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

This thesis focuses on how Leiden’s government used maps to promote the city’s urban identity and reputation between 1574 and 1700. The main research question is: how was Leiden’s civic identity established and promoted through urban maps of Leiden between 1574 and 1700, and to whom was Leiden’s civic identity promoted through these maps? The establishment of a city’s identity was an important prerequisite for urban promotion in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Dutch Republic. Leiden is an interesting case to research urban promotion for because of the impact that the city’s textile industry, the university and the siege by the Spaniards had on its identity. We already know that these three aspects of Leiden’s identity were often promoted in the city’s history. In fact, the relief of Leiden is still promoted yearly through the ‘3 October’ celebrations.

One of the most fundamental principles that urban magistrates adhered to in the Dutch Republic was the conviction that city governments were responsible for the welfare of their communities. The responsibility for urban welfare was mostly expressed in providing justice and security within the city’s jurisdiction, safeguarding urban morality, and maintaining sufficient amounts of food to feed the urban population. To secure sufficient sustenance for their urban communities,

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1 These city marketing campaigns may even have too much success in Amsterdam, creating an overflow of tourism in its city center and surrounding neighborhoods. See: https://www.lexisnexis.nl/nieuws/city-marketing.
4 Friedrichs, Urban politics, 28.
magistrates tried to increase the economic prosperity of their cities. Increased wealth also provided urban communities with prestige. In Holland, high urban prestige increased a city’s power in the political arena formed by the States of Holland. To increase prestige and political power, early modern cities in Holland vigorously competed with each other to attract foreign merchants and artisans to their cities. Relations between towns with voting rights in the States of Holland were governed by their contrasting economic experiences during the seventeenth century. In the last decades of the sixteenth century, and the first decades of the seventeenth century, most cities in Holland benefited from continued economic growth. After the first decades of the seventeenth century, however, some towns began to decline in population and wealth while others continued to grow. Larger cities continued on the path of economic growth and urban expansion, while smaller towns declined in wealth and population. The economic and political inequality that resulted from the contrasting growth of cities in Holland spurred urban competition in the province.

Representatives of the cities in Holland convened within the assembly formed by the States of Holland. Cities first formed the States of Holland to mediate in conflicts between towns and to represent them as a collective in negotiations with their overlord, the Count of Holland. By forming a collective, cities in the States of Holland were often able to achieve a more beneficial result in negotiations with their seigneur than if they negotiated separately with the Count. Since 1588, the assembly had supreme political authority within the province. In practice, the States of Holland were an expression of the predominance of urban power. In the early years of the Dutch Revolt, twelve cities joined the original six towns already represented in the States of Holland. After the Revolt consolidated, joining the States of Holland became impossible for many smaller towns in the province. Leiden was one of the original six members in the States of Holland, and the largest and most important town in the province during the middle ages. Leiden lost its dominant position to Amsterdam in the sixteenth century. Formally, every town represented in the States could cast one vote. Deliberation was based on the principal of equality of power and influence between cities, despite the large differences in population size and wealth. In practice however, population size and economic power were two of the most important

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5 Because magistrates were often involved in urban trade and commerce, they personally profited from economic prosperity in their city as well.
9 Ibid, 123.
factors in the political interplay between cities in Holland. That is why larger cities had more influence in the States of Holland than smaller towns, albeit informally.

Long-term tensions, determined by conflicts of interest between the voting towns of Holland, existed parallel to a political consensus between cities that was centered on the protection of trade and manufacture for the urban economy.\(^\text{10}\) Looming over all rivalry and tension in Holland was threat that the wealth and power of Amsterdam posed to other cities. Amsterdam was by far the largest and wealthiest city represented in the States of Holland. Amsterdam established economic and political dominance in Holland in the first half of the seventeenth century, and maintained this lead during the rest of the century. However, this dominance in wealth and power was not formally recognized within the political system of Holland.\(^\text{11}\) Its disproportionate size and wealth compared to other cities made Amsterdam difficult to incorporate into a political system based on the principle of equality and one city, one vote. The city often claimed leadership over other cities in the States of Holland and demanded special consideration for its views on important issues. Price argues that Amsterdam’s input on matters of trade and industry could not be ignored in the province.\(^\text{12}\) The largest city in the province could informally veto matters based on its influence in the States of Holland, but still remained an integral part of the political system that dominated inter-urban relationships.

To counter the political dominance in Holland by Amsterdam, Leiden needed to cooperate with other influential cities in the States of Holland. Leiden was the second largest city in the province during the seventeenth century with approximately 44,700 inhabitants in 1622 and 65,000 inhabitants in 1675.\(^\text{13}\) Through new production methods used in its textile industry, Leiden grew to be the largest and most important textile manufacturer of in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century.\(^\text{14}\) Because the States of Holland was the most important medium in the province to settle disputes between cities, political influence was very important. If urban representatives wanted to settle a dispute in their favor, they needed to use their political influence to gather support from other cities in the province. To increase political influence in the province, magistrates engaged in reputation management and promotional efforts to improve their city’s prestige. The continuous negotiations in the States of Holland necessitated urban promotion because cities in high esteem had more persuasive power than cities held in low regard. Leiden engaged in urban promotion to increase the reputation of the city so it could

\(^{10}\) Price, *Holland and the Dutch Republic*, 172.
\(^{11}\) Ibid, 173.
\(^{12}\) Ibid, 178.
\(^{13}\) Ibid, 15.
\(^{14}\) N. W. Posthumus, *De geschiedenis van de Leidsche lakenindustrie. II De Nieuwe tijd* (’s-Gravenhage, 1939).
secure political alliances in the province. The city used these alliances to form a counterweight against Amsterdam’s dominance in the States of Holland. The urban promotion of cities in Holland spawned works of art, city descriptions, plays, sermons, processions and other forms of expression focusing on portraying the greatness of each city. Leiden’s prestige and position in the urban hierarchy of the Dutch Republic was threatened by the textile industry of Haarlem. As the industry that employed over half of Leiden’s urban population during the seventeenth century, the textile industry impacted Leiden’s identity as an industrial town. Leiden was also known for its identity as a center of knowledge. The new university founded in Utrecht in the seventeenth century endangered this element of Leiden’s identity in the Dutch Republic. Leiden needed to engage in urban promotion to maintain its position as the second city in Holland in terms of wealth and population, and to remain relevant in the urban competition with Amsterdam. The new university in Utrecht made it more difficult for Leiden’s government to promote the city as a center of learning in the Dutch Republic and Europe. Leiden’s reputation as a university town was important in Europe because it attracted students from the European elite. The promotion of the siege and relief of Leiden (1574), and its position as a large industrial town appealed more to regional interests and contributed to the position of Leiden as an important city in Holland. That is why the city’s civic identity and reputation often display these elements.

Much has been written about the creation and influence of urban identity. Christopher Friedrichs provides an overview of different forms of urban politics in Early Modern European cities. He demonstrates that European cities were characterized by plurality in their political systems. The competition between different urban groups influenced the identity of European towns. Urban identities were also shaped by a city’s rights, privileges and measure of independence extended by its formal overlord. In the case of Leiden, the city’s identity and reputation in the sixteenth and

15 J. Roding, A. A. Sneller & B. Thijs (eds.) Beelden van Leiden.; B. Bakker, ‘Het imago van de stad: zelfportret als propaganda’ in B. Bakker & E. Schmitz (eds), Het aanzien van Amsterdam. Panorama’s, plattegronden en profielen uit de Gouden Eeuw (Amsterdam, 2007).
17 Moe & de Vries, Stof uit het Leidse Verleden.
18 Friedrichs, Urban politics, 5.
19 Ibid, 37.
20 Ibid, 4.
seventeenth centuries was influenced by its relationship with the States of Holland. Judith Pollmann and Andrew Spicer have written on the creation of urban identities in the Dutch Republic, and the promotion of urban identities outside of the city. They argue that memories of the Dutch Revolt frequently shaped urban identities of Dutch cities and their reputations abroad.\textsuperscript{21} Pollmann argues that anti-Spanish feelings created a common identity between cities in the young Netherlands during the Dutch Revolt. Efforts to keep memories of the Revolt alive as a common struggle against a foreign oppressor functioned as a unifying theme within the Dutch Republic.\textsuperscript{22} A unifying theme was often necessary within cities to counter urban division caused by opposing groups during the revolt. These unifying themes created a new urban identity for cities in the Dutch Republic. Andrew Spicer analyzed the use of glass stained windows as a means to formulate and extend a city’s identity. He claims that “the patronage of windows allowed donating magistrates to establish and publicize their own urban identity within the public sphere”. The subject matter enabled city administrators to deploy particular iconography that reflected the importance of the donating city within the Republic.\textsuperscript{23} According to Spicer, the donation of stained glass windows to the Sint-Janskerk in Gouda shows the competition for prestige between cities in Holland. For example, Leiden’s and Delft’s donations of stained glass windows to the Sint-Janskerk both depicted biblical analogies to the relief and the siege of Leiden. By donating windows referring to the relief of Leiden, both cities expressed their role in this important episode of the Dutch revolt to improve their standing amongst the other cities in Holland. Dordrecht tried to improve its own standing by donating a window that depicted its pre-eminence within the province and its position as the most senior city of the great towns of Holland.\textsuperscript{24} Spicer characterizes these windows as “expression[s] of strong urban identity”.\textsuperscript{25}

Several important works have been written on the identity and reputation of Leiden. One book has been of particular influence in writing this thesis. The collection: Beelden van Leiden. Zelfbeeld en representatie van een Hollandse Stad in de Vroegmoderne Tijd, 1550-1800 (2006) has articles by historians and art historians that discuss different ways of reputation management and identity promotion by Leiden’s urban government. The articles in this collection were of great inspiration to me in the research process of this thesis. For example, Marike Hoogduin-Berkhout demonstrated that the

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\textsuperscript{22} J. Pollmann, “Brabanters do fairly resemble Spaniards after all”. Memory, propaganda and identity in the twelve years truce’ in Pollmann & Spicer, Public Opinion, 219-220.
\textsuperscript{24} Spicer, ‘So many painted jezebels’, 265.
\textsuperscript{25} Ibid, 277.
\end{flushright}
deliberate positioning of paintings in Leiden’s city hall was a form of reputation management because of the messages that the works of art imbued on visitors that were received there.²⁶ Leonore Stapel argues that Leiden’s textile industry was a dominant feature in chorographies supported by the city’s magistrate, while the university and lush and fertile surroundings of the city dominated the image of Leiden in urban descriptions not supported by Leiden’s political leaders.²⁷ In addition to the articles in Beelden van Leiden, several other works have been written on Leiden’s reputation management. In her master’s thesis, Lotte Bons provides an overview of the different materials and media that were used to influence Leiden’s identity and reputation between 1574 and 1672.²⁸ Johan Koppenol argues that plays were a form of reputation management. He uses the play het Loterijspel (1596) as a case study to argue that the city’s government used theater as a means to promote Leiden’s identity and reputation.²⁹ The publication of Reynerius Bontius’s play about the siege and relief of Leiden (1646) is a telling indicator of how (published) plays contributed to the city’s reputation.³⁰ Eddy Verbaan analyzed urban representation in chorographies in the Dutch Republic with specific emphasis on Leiden in the famous city description by Jan Jansz. Orlers.³¹ Interesting chorographies of Holland and the Dutch Republic that feature exemplary descriptions of Leiden’s reputation before the siege of 1574 are Hadrianus Junius’ Batavia (published in 1588 but written before 1574) and Lodovico Giucciardini’s Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferior (1567).³²

Leiden’s magistrates often wanted urban promotion to emphasize the siege and relief of 1574 to demonstrate the city’s relevance in Holland for the Dutch revolt. In relation to the Dutch revolt, Judith Pollmann describes how city administrators used the shared memories of the relief of Leiden to emphasize a common urban identity in the city. She explains how the perpetuation of the image of a population suffering from hunger worked as a unifying theme after the relief to promote civic unity and peace between opposing groups in the city. After the siege and relief of Leiden in 1574, the city quickly

²⁷ Stapel, “Tuyn van heel Holland, Moeder der Wijsheyt en bequam tot de drapery’ Reputatie en zelfbeeld van Leiden in beeld en tekst (circa 1590-1660)’, in Roding, Sneller & Thijs, Beelden van Leiden, 168-169.
³¹ E. Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam. Grondslagen van de stadsbeschrijving in de zeventiende eeuwse Republiek (Leiden, 2011).
adopted the event into its cultural identity through its annual ‘3 October’ celebrations. The story of the siege and relief of Leiden became known throughout the Dutch Republic as one of the great successes of the 80-years war. The city used the relief of Leiden to increase its standing in Holland and the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century. Marianne Eekhout analyses the impact of the Dutch Revolt on urban memory culture in the Dutch Republic. Regarding Leiden, she mentions how the relief of the city affected the formation of its urban identity. She also discusses the different media used by urban actors to influence Leiden’s civic identity. Eekhout’s book has many interesting references for research on identity creation in the Dutch Republic. Her book has given me the inspiration to dive deeper into the literature on urban identity and reputation management for this thesis. Jori Zijlmans has described how Leiden’s residents used artifacts remaining from the siege, and new materials created after the relief, to influence the city’s civic identity through a material memory culture. She analyzes the contribution of different artifacts to the memory culture and urban identity of Leiden.

Historians have looked at written media, art and artifacts when researching Leiden’s identity and reputation management. A study on the use of maps in the promotion of Leiden’s reputation is necessary because this medium had the potential to cheaply spread the city’s reputation on a larger scale than written sources, works of art, and yearly commemorations could in Holland and the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century. Maps have the capacity to show a city from a viewpoint that is difficult, if not impossible, to describe in text. A map can tell a story about a city that written sources cannot easily duplicate. In contrast with written accounts, urban maps could easily be adjusted to changing circumstances, and could incorporate visual and textual representations in one image. Historians have not written about Leiden’s urban promotion through the use of maps to any significant extent in recent literature on the city’s reputation and identity. This medium presented Leiden’s magistrates with a potentially important tool for reputation management and identity promotion in the seventeenth century. Leiden’s government could use maps as gifts to the governing elite in Holland to emphasize the city’s importance in the province. Leiden’s representatives shared committees in the States of Holland and the States-General with magistrates from other cities in the province. Maps of

34 Eekhout, ‘Material memories’.
37 Bakker, ‘Het imago van de stad’, 56-57.
Leiden could have functioned as prestigious gifts in these committees to settle negotiations in Leiden’s favor or secure an alliance against Amsterdam. Urban maps could also be spread cheaply in relatively large quantities to people that do not belong to the traditional urban elites of Holland.

Of over fifteen maps of Leiden that have been created between 1574 and 1700, eight maps of the city have been selected for analysis in this thesis. These maps have been selected because of their contribution to the development of Leiden’s cartographic image during the research period. The selected maps are divided into four chapters, and discussed chronologically. Each chapter discusses a map’s creator, the commission for the map (if present), the different editions, its audience, the elements of Leiden’s identity that are established and promoted by the map, and the reasons for the map’s creation. These chapters are preceded by a discussion on the theoretical framework for the use of early modern maps in the analysis of urban identity and city promotion. Images of a map and its copies are included in each chapter. The urban maps of Leiden discussed in this thesis were found in the collections of Museum de Lakenhal, the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the Leiden University Library, and in the Topographical Historical Atlas of the Leiden Regional Archives. I found these maps by researching the cartographic collections of these institutions, and by using the historiographical literature on urban maps of Leiden. Especially the Bodel Nijenhuis collection in the Leiden University Library has an impressive assortment of original drawings, sketches and (re)prints of early modern maps of Leiden. For the maps in chapters two, four and five, the city archives at the Leiden Regional Archives provided insights on commissions by the magistrate, the date of these commission, what price the city paid for a map, and who they were meant for. The inventory numbers and locations for each map discussed in this thesis can be found in the bibliography.

The first chapter of this thesis presents an overview of the theoretical discussion on the use of maps for the analysis of urban identities and city promotion. A brief discussion on the early modern architectural theory of the ‘ideal city’ is presented because of the influence it had on the cartographic presentation of cities in the Dutch Republic during the research period. Categories introduced by cartographic historians A. H. Huussen jr. and Boudewijn Bakker are discussed for their use in characterizing the maps in each chapter. The first chapter introduces four questions, formulated by historian Paul Regan, which are used to analyze the promotion of Leiden’s civic identity for each map in this thesis. The second chapter discusses designs by cartographer Hans (Johannes) Liefrinck (1528/1548-
1599) at the end of the sixteenth century. The story of their creation is a complicated affair because of the multiple editions attributed to Liefrinck, and because of their copies made by other cartographers and publishers. The first map that is discussed is an image made by Liefrinck for display in the chorography of Lodovico Guicciardini (1521-1589). This image of Leiden is one of the oldest maps of the city, and the first map to be produced after the siege of the city (1574). Secondly, Liefrinck’s designs for the historical maps of the siege of Leiden are discussed. These images tell the story of the siege by the Spanish forces and the relief of Leiden by the beggar ships. Each map was copied multiple times over the course of the research period. In the third chapter, maps of Leiden made by cartographer Pieter Bast (c. 1550-1605) and publicist Joan Blaeu (1598/1599-1673) are analyzed. Bast designed the original edition of this map in 1600. Blaeu made a copy of Bast’s design for publication in his atlas Toonneel der Steden (1649). The fourth chapter discusses the map made of Leiden and its surrounding area by Johannes Dou (1615-1682) in 1649. This chapter differs from the other chapters in this thesis because Leiden is arguably not the subject of this image. Leiden’s countryside and its lordships are the main focus instead of the city. This gives the image made by Dou a different perspective than the other maps discussed in this thesis. The fifth and final chapter discusses two urban portraits that were engraved by Christiaen Hagen (c. 1635-1687) between 1670 and 1675. These maps carry the name of the engraver instead of the original author. The maps engraved by Hagen are special because they present multiple perspectives on Leiden and its famous landmarks in the same image. This thesis ends with the conclusion and the answer to the research question.
1. Theoretical framework

Historiographical sources on the use of maps for promoting urban reputations are widely available. Contributors to the collection *Stad in kaart* (1984) review the different uses of urban maps as historical sources and the methods necessary for their analysis. In 2009, Ariane van Suchtelen & Arthur Wheelock Jr. discussed the importance of urban perspectives in artwork and cityscapes for managing the reputations of cities in Holland during the Dutch Golden Age. They demonstrate that civic pride played an important role in the characterization of urban cityscapes in Holland in the seventeenth century. Van Suchtelen & Wheelock argue that cityscapes reflected the political power of cities in the Dutch Republic. According to Paul Regan, maps became “objects of beauty” and gained a broader utility for a wider audience from the sixteenth century onwards. A growing number of historians think that sixteenth and seventeenth century maps expressed and propagated a sense of civic pride in cities by providing inhabitants with a visual display of their homeland. Maps depicted stark borders like city walls, that showed clear boundaries between a viewer’s place of residence and the ‘outside world’. This visualization of boundaries contributed to the growth of (a shared) urban identity in cities because they portrayed a sense of unity in a certain area.

The contemporary conceptualization of maps as perspectives from above was not as narrowly defined in seventeenth century cartography as it is now. Urban representations took the form of cityscapes, maps and images of single buildings. In this thesis, the terms maps, urban portrait, image and urban representation are used interchangeably because the seventeenth century sources do not make a distinction between the different depictions in the genre.

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44 Regan, ‘Cartography, chorography and patriotic sentiment’, 50; Richard Helgerson was one of the first historians to argue that maps could promote civic pride. R. Helgerson, ‘The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England’, *Representations* 16 (1986), 52, 56.
45 Regan, ‘Cartography, chorography and patriotic sentiment’, 60.
46 Ibid, 65, 68.
Urban representations have the capacity to display an idealistic reality; to depict the city at the center stage of an area in which it has the most power and influence. When city maps functioned as propaganda tools for the urban space, they constructed a civic identity, and differentiated the city from the surrounding countryside. Urban maps instilled a sense of greatness in a city’s population. Urban portraits visualized virtues that magistrates wanted to associate with a city’s reputation, like order, economic prosperity or morality. City governments wanted morality visualized in their urban portraits because humanist theory on the essence of the city equated the physical city with its residents. The visualization of morality exemplified the good governance of its magistrates, symbolizing urban harmony, which would increase the government’s prestige amongst other cities. Urban magistrates in the Dutch Republic were greatly influenced in the design of their cities by the ideal of the perfect city as described by Simon Stevin (1548-1620) in his treatise *Vande oirdeningh der stedenn* (c. 1600). This treatise established a normative theoretical framework in the vernacular, with illustrations of the perfect city layout based on Italian conceptions of the *città ideale*, to provide Dutch engineers and city governments with an image that they could strive for in their own urban planning. Symmetry was very important in Stevin’s theory of the perfect city. The desire for a symmetrical layout is especially noticeable in the many maps of cities in Holland in the seventeenth century. For example, most of the

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50 Regan, ‘Cartography, choreography and patriotic sentiment’, 60.


54 Amsterdam functions as a classic example of an expanding city trying to maintain a symmetrical form with access to the sea. With Amsterdam’s expansion in 1690, the city built a large neighborhood on its western side. This completed the symmetrical picture of the city bordering the lough *IJ*. J. E. Abrahamse, ‘De ruimtelijke ontwikkeling van Amsterdam in de zeventiende eeuw en de opkomst van de stedenbouw als wetenschap’ in B. Bakker & Erik Smit (eds), *Het aanzien van Amsterdam. Panorama’s, plattegronden en profielen uit de Gouden Eeuw*
maps of Leiden discussed in this thesis show the city as a symmetrical object approaching a perfect circle.

There has been a recent increase in the historiographical interest for maps and cartography from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. French historian Pierre Lavedan first introduced urban portraits as important sources for historiographic research in 1954. For almost three decades after Lavedan’s introduction of maps as historical sources, the historiography on city portraits was characterized by a focus on the accuracy of urban representations and on the use of maps as literal accounts of the past. Historians studying urban maps tended to equate a visual representation of a city with an accurate demarcation of a real locality. Cartographic historian A. H. Huussen jr. presented three general categories to analyze historical maps in his contribution to the collection *Stad in kaart* in 1984:

1. **The original/authentic urban map** that presents the most up-to-date and accurate depiction of a city (or other urban object).
2. **The historicizing map** that depicts a situation that did not exist (anymore) at the moment of completion. The aim of a historicizing map is to reconstruct a situation from the past.
3. **Maps made with future spatial planning in mind.** These maps show a mix of real and fictional objects. Sections of these maps may become reality in the future, while other parts already exist or are never built.

The criteria presented by Huussen jr. in 1984 show an emphasis on the accuracy of maps in the study of cartography. Especially authentic maps that are meant to provide the viewer with a representation of the current state of a city, and maps with future spatial planning in mind require a high level of accuracy according to Huussen jr. Historians in the 1980’s viewed inaccurate maps as flawed representations due to incompetence of the mapmaker or a lack of technology. In a contribution to the same collection as Huussen jr., C.J.A.C. Peeters also argues that historians should judge historical maps by their accuracy. According to Peeters, mapmakers should be careful not to idealize images, because “once a

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58 Ibid, 10
frame is constituted in a certain way it is not easily changed. He criticizes historical maps for their lack of accuracy because of the common practice of map copying in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He argues that when a mapmaker copied an inaccurate map, or when critical elements are repeatedly incorporated into new maps, the wrong image of a city is maintained and passed on to viewers. Therefore, mapmakers should always strive for the highest degree of accuracy. For historians like Huussen jr. and Peeters, the history of mapmaking is a history of increasingly accurate urban representations. However, since the writings of Huussen jr. and Peeters, the historiographical study of cartography has evolved.

Recent studies on the nature of city maps acknowledge that urban portraits “can never be ‘objective’ renderings of the past” because of an underlying subjectivity. Since the end of the 1990’s, historians argue that maps do not only represent a physical space, but also visualize an ideological construct that duplicated a social order. Art historian Jurgen Schulz was ahead of his time when he argued in 1978 that urban portraits functioned as subjective representations that propagated the superiority of cities. Schulz argued that cartographers did not try to depict cities as realistically as possible, but instead wanted to express an ideal image. His research shifted the historiographic paradigm on urban portraits from the analysis of accuracy and degree of realism, to the underlying discourse of subjective stories that cartographers and their clients wanted to convey to viewers. In the Netherlands, H.C. Poul continued the historiographical shift towards the importance of subjectivity. In the same collection as Huussen jr. and Peeters (Stad in kaart, 1984), Poul argued that historians should discover why a map is produced, because it tells the researcher whether accuracy and reliability were important factors in its creation. Thus, the collection Stad in kaart incorporates a historiographical turn on the use of cartographic material as a historical source.

Since the writings of Poul and Schulz, historiographic cartography evolved into the modern paradigm in which historians agree that early modern artists and mapmakers rarely tried to picture an

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urban image as a realistic representation. In 2009, Ariane van Suchtelen & Arthur K. Wheelock Jr. described the importance of urban perspectives in artwork and cityscapes for managing the reputation of cities in Holland during the Dutch Golden Age. They demonstrate that civic pride played an important role in the characterization of urban cityscapes in Holland in the seventeenth century. Jelle de Rock argues that urban portraits were mainly commissioned for private and commercial interests before the 1550s, while city governments got strongly involved in commissioning urban visualizations during the second half of the sixteenth century. He argues that city magistrates commissioned urban representations with three general functions: a practical political-administrative function, an urban planning function (mainly for fortifications), and an ideological-commemorative function to emphasize the greatness of a city. According to De Rock, the ideological-commemorative function was often the main motive for urban magistrates to commission maps. Lichtert, Dumolyn & Maertens importantly note that “every representation of urban space was simultaneously a political practice.” Urban portraits functioned as gifts that magistrates and merchants offered to domestic and foreign relations. The gift of an original city map by the urban magistrate can be viewed in the same light as the gifts of stained glass windows at the Sint-Janskerk in Gouda mentioned in the introduction. Lichtert, Dumolyn & Maertens argue that maps were often used to convey a sense of urban identity to the viewer. Urban governments promoted the individuality of their cities through the display of unique urban objects on city maps. When city maps were presented as gifts, magistrates intended to show the civic greatness of their community to the recipient. However, urban portraits were not exclusively presented as gifts. They also had an administrative function that required accuracy to detail borders between properties on the map. The accurate representation of borders helped to visualize property disputes and made it possible for magistrates to arbitrate more effectively between neighbors.

Maps were often spread outside of the city as prints (prenten). Printed maps were used in atlases or sold as loose prints. Many copies of atlases were printed in the last thirty years of the sixteenth century. Atlases remained very expensive for most residents in the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. To make affordable urban portraits available to a wider audience

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67 Van Suchtelen & Wheelock, Hollandse stadsgezichten.
68 Ibid, 258.
70 Ibid, 7.
71 Suchtelen & Wheelock Jr., Hollandse stadsgezichten, 53.
72 Ibid, 45.
73 Regan, ‘Cartography, chorography and patriotic sentiment’, 54.
for affordable prices, loose leaf maps were printed in large quantities and distributed across the Dutch Republic. The international networks of many publishers in Europe ensured the wide dispersal of printed maps during the seventeenth century.

Historian Boudewijn Bakker divides urban maps into three general categories based on their point of view.

1. **The bird’s eye perspective.** Maps in this category are often displayed from above, with features of the map in a built-up position; giving the image a sense of depth.
2. **The bird’s eye image.** Maps with this perspective take a bird’s eye view of a city at a slanted angle.
3. **The profile.** Maps using this perspective display a city from an elongated sideways view at eye level.

The first category that Bakker identifies was often used in urban portraits during the first half of the sixteenth century. The second and third perspectives gained popularity amongst mapmakers in the second half of the sixteenth century and during the seventeenth century. Bird’s eye depictions were meant to show as much of a city as possible. Bakker’s categories represent the contemporary paradigm in the historiography on mapmaking because they incorporate the subjectivity of maps. The perspective taken by the cartographer characterizes the story that the creator wants to tell about a city. The bird’s eye perspective allowed urban governments to imagine and present the city as a unified object from a holistic viewpoint. The contemporary reader who uses airborne travel might take the bird’s eye view for granted. For cartographers in the sixteenth century it was a great imaginative leap. However, displaying a city from a bird’s eye perspective inherently meant the subjective display of urban space.

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74 Regan, ‘Cartography, chorography and patriotic sentiment’, 56.
75 Ibid, 53.
76 Bakker, ‘De stad in beeld’, 13. Bakker was not the first historian to use these categories for the classification of urban portraits. In 1983, C. Koeman already divided maps into four categories. The categories that Koeman discerned were the traditional map in the form of a ground plan, the perspectivist view at a slanted angle, the profile at a distance or close-up, and the panorama or bird’s eye view. Bakker identified his three groups based on Koeman’s classification. C. Koeman, *Geschiedenis van de kartografie van Nederland. Zes eeuwen land- en zeekaarten en stadsplattegronden* (Alphen aan den Rijn, 1983) 2-3; Hilary Ballon and David Friedman identify two additional variants of the viewpoints mentioned by Bakker. They identify: 1. a foldout map which is not restricted to a single dimension but largely ignores scale and spatial accuracy, and 2. a ground plan created by Leonardo Da Vinci in 1502 as a flat image without any structures displayed. The ground plan variant is similar to the traditional map mentioned by Koeman. Ballon & Friedman, ‘Portraying the City’, 688-689.
78 The first appearance of the urban bird’s eye perspective is credited to Jacopo de’ Barbari’s woodcut map of Venice. The bird’s eye view was developed as a successor to the elevated views that were commonly used before the sixteenth century. These earlier perspectives typically had a lower vantage point similar to the viewpoint from a hilltop. Ballon & Friedman, ‘Portraying the City’, 687.
Because of the restrictions placed on cartographers by technological limitations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, they could not create an accurate top-down image of a city. At the same time, a lack of accuracy might cast doubt on the reliability of an urban portrait. To increase the credibility of a city map and the underlying message that magistrates wanted to convey to the viewer, cartographers deployed “a variety of selfauthorizing [sic] conceits to establish the authority of the image and to create a sense of actuality about an unseen subject. [...] The claim that an image was lifelike was part of a rhetorical strategy to authenticate the image.”

Artistic liberty and subjectivity provided city portraits with credibility during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The fact that bird’s-eye perspectives were inherently inaccurate did not diminish the persuasiveness of urban maps.

The combined categorizations of Huussen jr. and Bakker create an overall framework, incorporating different historiographical perspectives, with which Leiden’s urban maps can be effectively categorized. For example, a historicizing map can simultaneously be characterized as a bird’s eye perspective. In the discussion of maps in each chapter, I will combine the two categorizations of Bakker and Huussen jr. to provide a clear definition of Leiden’s maps in my analysis.

Paul Regan argues that historians studying city portraits must ask the sources several questions to effectively analyze the influence of urban maps on the reputation of a city:

1. Does the map express a form of identity?
2. How did the map influence the people that collected and viewed them?
3. What were the potential markets for the map under study? Was the map only meant for elites or distributed to a wider audience?
4. How many prints/editions were produced?

When these questions are applied to Leiden’s maps, their answers provide a helpful framework with which to analyze the establishment and promotion of the city’s civic identity and reputation through urban portraits of Leiden. In subsequent chapter, the categorizations offered by Bakker and Huussen jr., and the questions presented by Regan, are used to analyze influential maps of Leiden, created between 1574 and 1700, to determine if, and how, they were used to establish and promote the city’s identity. However, Regan’s the second question is almost impossible to answer in this thesis because no sources are available that detail the influence of Leiden’s maps on its viewers. Therefore, the second question presented by Regan is disregarded in chapters below.

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79 Ballon & Friedman, ‘Portraying the City’, 688.
80 Ibid, 690.
81 Ibid.
82 Regan, ‘Cartography, chorography and patriotic sentiment’, 52.
2. The urban portraits made by Hans Liefrinck

Hans Liefrinck made three designs for the visual representation of Leiden: one design of an urban portrait that focused solely on the city, and two designs of the city and its surrounding countryside during its siege and relief in 1574. Before their analysis, a brief overview is presented to identify and distinguish between the various versions of the maps.

2.1. Liefrinck’s map of Leiden focused solely on the city

1576 Liefrinck created a hand drawn map of Leiden in 1576 for a reprint of Lodovico Guicciardini’s *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania inferior*, a description of the Low Countries originally written in Italian.83

1578 He continued to work on his original hand drawn map, and gave his map a new date after completion: 1578. After completion, the map of Leiden was hung at city hall. The original version of this map was lost. Only a hand drawn copy from 1744 remains of this drawing (figure 1), which is currently owned by Museum de Lakenhal in Leiden.84

1580 Liefrinck sent a copy of the map he made in 1578 to Antwerp to be used in a new edition Guicciardini’s chorography published in 1581 (figure 2).85 This map can be found in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the Leiden University Library.86

2.2.-2.3 Liefrinck’s maps of the relief of Leiden

1573 Liefrinck draws a historical map of the relief of Leiden. The original map he completed was a colored version, which does not exist anymore. Only a hand drawn copy from the seventeenth century (figure 3) and an etch (figure 4) made at Liefrinck’s house on November 17, 1574 survive from this map. The hand drawn copy and etch can be found in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the Leiden University Library.87

1574-1575 Publishers Georg Braun (1541-1622) and Franz Hogenberg (1535-1590) used a copy of Liefrinck’s historical map of the siege and relief of Leiden for their atlas (figure 5) that

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83 The original version of Guicciardini’s chorography of the Low Countries was published in 1567. Regan, ‘Cartography, chorography and patriotic sentiment’, 55.
84 Jacob van Werven.”Plattegrond van Leiden”, Museum de Lakenhal, inv. nr: z.n. 1382.
85 E. Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond van Leiden en de oudste kaarten betreffende het beleg en ontzet der stad, in Leids jaarboeke (40) (1948), 94.
87 For the hand drawn copy of the map see: Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN 009-11-027; For the etch see: Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN 009-11-026.
was published in 1575. This copy had an enlarged view of the city but the rest of the map remained identical to the original version made by Liefrinck.  

1587

Liefrinck contributed with another historical design of the relief of Leiden to a woven tapestry made by Joost Jansz. Lancaert (figure 7). This tapestry was made in collaboration with Leiden based painter and magistrate Isaac Claesz. Van Swanenburg. The tapestry was finished in 1587. The tapestry is available in the collection of Museum de Lakenhal.

1614/1641 Author and publisher Jan Jansz. Orlers (1570-1646) used Liefrinck’s designs for the siege and relief of Leiden as illustrations for his city description. A copy of Orler’s chorography is available at the Special Collections of the Leiden University Library.

2.1. Liefrinck’s map of Leiden focused solely on the city

In November 1573, shortly before the siege of Leiden, mapmaker Hans Liefrinck started working on a map commissioned by publisher Willem Silvius (ca. 1520-1580). The map needed to accurately depict the houses and buildings within the city because Liefrinck was designing the map as an illustration for a reprint of Lodovico Guicciardini’s Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi. This was a travel guide/chorography of the Dutch Republic for Italian readers interested in visiting the province, that was first published in 1567 by Willem Silvius in Antwerp. Guicciardini dedicated one chapter in his book to Leiden. Silvius wanted to reprint Guicciardini’s chorography with an updated map of Leiden. Liefrinck agreed to make an urban portrait of the city for Guicciardini’s new edition, and also settled the reimbursement with Silvius. However, Leiden’s mayors also decided on November 30, 1574 to pay Liefrinck for the creation of this city map. In return, Liefrinck was required to show his drafts to the magistrate before sending

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88 A copy of the map made by Braun and Hogenberg can be found online on the website of the Hebrew University of Jeruzalem. See: http://historic-cities.huji.ac.il/netherlands/leiden/maps/brun_hogenberg_II_25_b.jpg.
89 Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond’, 96.
91 Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: 458 B 24.
92 RAL, SAII, Register Diversorum AB, inv. nr. 42, (22 oktober 1576), fol. 66 vo.
93 Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond’, 101; A Dutch translation of Guicciardini’s book was published in 1612. For the chapter on Leiden see pp. 206-210; Silvius also published the first edition of Guicciardini’s chorography in 1567. G. Asaert, 1585: de val van Antwerpen en de uittocht van Vlamingen en Brabanders (Tielt, 2004), 194.
94 L. Guicciardini, Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi (Antwerp, 1567), 183. The first edition of the chorography did not feature an image of the city; Leiden’s chapter was the fourth chapter of the cities in Holland because Guicciardini followed the voting order of the cities in the states of Holland. N. de Glas, Holland is een eiland. De Batavia van Hardianus Junius (1511-1575), (Hilversum, 2011), 312.
95 The city magistrate decided that they would cover the costs “die Liefrick zal doen aengaende ‘t maecken van de platte form der stadt door last van Silvius”. R. Fruin, De oude verhalen van het beleg en ontzet van Leiden, bij
them to Silvius. What started as a commission by Silvius became a commission for the city. Leiden’s mayors wanted to approve the map before sending it to the publisher. On October 22, 1576, the city’s magistrate approved the map that Liefrinck had worked on since 1573. On November 8, 1576, the city paid Liefrinck 61 guilders for the creation of his first map of Leiden. The magistrates also decided to repay Liefrinck for his services with a lifelong exemption of payment for the lease on his house on the Middelweg. Leiden’s government spent a lot of money on Liefrinck’s commission, which is remarkable in times of war. The magistrate’s expenditure on the map shows the eagerness with which Leiden’s government wanted to promote the city in Guicciardini’s chorography.

Liefrinck continued to work on the map after Leiden’s magistrate had paid for it. He changed his representations of the city’s defenses, and characteristic towers of important buildings. He also incorporated the Hogewoerdbolwerk (one of the city’s defensive towers) in the map. This tower was built in 1578, two years after the map was originally finished. Other defensive works that were planned by the magistrate were never built, but Liefrinck incorporated them into the map nevertheless. Indicating future buildings on maps was a common practice in Leiden’s depictions over the course of the seventeenth century (which the maps discussed below will show). Pelinck thinks that the fortifications were drawn by Liefrinck before they were built because Leiden’s government wanted new maps of the city to remain up-to-date. It would be a costly endeavor to commission the creation of new maps every time an addition was made to the city. After Liefrinck finished all the changes, he gave the map a new date: 1578. Silvius never received the copy that he ordered for the reprint of Guicciardini’s chorography because he did not publish the book after 1567. Due to the uncertain business climate caused by the ongoing conflict of the Dutch Revolt, some publishers in the southern Netherlands did not

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96 Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond, 96-97; Unfortunately, I was unable to find any records of deliberations on the drafts that Liefrinck presented to the magistrate. This means that any comments or additions from the city’s government that may have provided insights into the motivations for the commission was taken into account.
97 RAL, SALL, inv. nr: 7447, rekeningen van de tresorier ordinaris en zijn functionele opvolgers, (1576), fol. 430 vo.
99 These unbuilt defensive works were copied in several other maps of the city that were based on Liefrinck’s version. Van Oerle, ‘Waarachtige afcunterfeitinge’, 157.
100 Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond, 98.
have the funds to print new editions. Instead of Silvius, Christoffel Plantijn (ca. 1520-1589) published a reprint of Guicciardini’s chorography in 1581. Plantijn lived in Leiden at that time, where owned a publishing company. In 1580, Plantijn contacted the city magistrate in Leiden to talk about a map of the city that he wanted to include in Guicciardini’s new edition. The mayors agreed to present Plantijn with a new map for Guicciardini’s reprint. Leiden’s magistrate must have still been eager to accept Plantijn’s proposal. Guicciardini’s book was well known all across Europe at the time of its second edition, so including a new map of the city would display the greatness of Leiden after its siege of 1574 to a large audience. Instead of sending Liefuinck’s original edition (1578) of Leiden’s urban portrait to the publisher for use in the reprint of Guicciardini, the magistrate hung Liefuinck’s first map in the accounting office (rekenkamer) at the city hall. The urban portrait became part of a new system of urban administration that city secretary Jan van Hout (1542-1609) designed to create a more effective city government. To provide Plantijn with a copy of Liefuinck’s original map, Leiden’s magistrate commissioned Liefuinck to draw a copy of the map, for which he a received payment of 14 guilders on August 22, 1580. This copy of his previous map was a strongly simplified edition compared to the version from 1578 (for which only the copy of 1744 exists), because it was meant to fit the small pages of Guicciardini’s book.

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102 Silvius went bankrupt and moved to Leiden, where he became the academic printer for the university.
105 Van Oerle, ‘Waarachtige afcunterfeitinge’, 155; Taverne, In ’t land, 183; The original map that hung in the accounting office was lost, but a copy was made in 1744 by Jacob Van Werven. The copy was found in the municipal archives in June 1860. On October 19, 1744, the mayors of Leiden had commissioned van Werven to make an exact copy of the map of Leiden. Liefuinck’s original map had colors, but they had faded along with the contours due to sun exposure and repeated rubbing (afvrijen) to such an extent that the city council thought the map might soon become unreadable and unable to copy. Because the map was still amongst the most detailed and accurate depictions of the city plan and layout available at the accounting office in 1744, Leiden’s mayors commissioned van Werven to copy the map with the same dutifulness and accuracy as the original maker. The city paid Jacob van Werven 100 guilders as an incentive to copy the map exactly how Liefuinck had made it. R. Elsevier, ‘Plattegrond van Leiden, a圆形. 1578’, in Leydsche Courant (Leiden, 16 juni 1880), 3.
106 Pelinck mentions that Liefuinck received forty guilders for his work on the map sent to Antwerpen to be used in Guicciardini’s reprint of 1581. Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond’, 97. He based this on a statement made by Robert Fruin. Fruin, De oude verhalen, 35. However, the treasury accounts of the city indicate that the treasurer paid Liefuinck 14 guilders. RAL, SAIL, inv. nr: 7451, rekeningen van de tresoriër ordinaris en zijn functionele opvolgers, 1580, fol. 281 vo.
Figure 1: Jacob van Werven. “Plattegrond van Leiden, 1744.”

Source: Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden, inventory number: z.n. 1382.
Liefrinck’s map was meant for viewers abroad, and in the Dutch Republic, because Guicciardini’s book was published in different languages. However, the influence that the map had on its viewers is impossible to deduce from the available sources. Guicciardini’s chorography received a one-year patent in Antwerp for its first edition in 1566.\textsuperscript{108} Subsequent editions do not mention the patent on the first page. The patent indicated that the publisher (Willem Silvius) had the intention to broadly distribute the book because it provided him with the exclusive right to sell the chorography in the Low Countries. Another factor indicating the large audience of the book is the multitude of editions that appeared during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.\textsuperscript{109} The editions in the vernacular suggest a non-scholarly audience for the book, but the Latin versions indicate that the book was also meant for learned readers that might not know Dutch, French, German or Italian. The Latin texts extended the possible readership to all of Europe. The many reprints of Liefrinck’s urban portrait and the adherence to its design by other cartographers in the seventeenth century are indications of the authority that mapmakers and publishers ascribed to the map. The integration of new information in maps of Leiden was delayed because of the cartographic conventions that the printing press imposed on urban portraits. That is why Liefrinck’s map functioned as an authoritative example for portraits of Leiden for many other maps of the city. As Ballon & Friedman explain: “[The authority] of a map was ultimately based on its fidelity to the pictorial tradition for the representation of a city rather than on the accuracy with which it registered the physical reality of the city itself. Maps of Venice, for example, attained a measure of credibility to the extent that they resembled Barbari’s prototype of 1500.”\textsuperscript{110}

\textsuperscript{108} R. Fruin, ‘Guicciardini’s beschrijving der Nederlanden’ (1878), in P.J. Blok (ed.) Fruin, Verspreide geschriften, (1900-1905), dl. 7 (1903), 197; The granted patent is also mentioned on the first page of the book as “con privilegio”. Guicciardini, Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi (Antwerpen, 1567), 1.

\textsuperscript{109} Italian editions were published in Antwerp in 1567, 1581, 1588 and 1591. Dutch editions were published in Amsterdam in 1612, 1648 and 1672. Another edition in Dutch was published in Arnhem in 1617. French editions were published in Amsterdam in 1609, 1625 and 1641, with one edition published in Arnhem in 1613. German editions were published in Basel in 1580 and in Frankfurt am Main in 1582. French versions of the book were published in Antwerp in 1567, 1568 and 1582. In addition to editions in the vernacular, Guicciardini’s chorography was also published in Latin from Amsterdam in 1613, 1635, 1646, 1648, 1652 and 1660 and in Arnhem in 1616. For all the dates and places of publication for Guicciardini’s Descrittione see: http://www.dutchrevolt.leiden.edu/dutch/geschiedschrijvers/Pages/Guicciardini.aspx.

\textsuperscript{110} Ballon & Friedman, ‘Portraying the City’, 691.
Figure 2: Hans Liefrinck. “Lvgdvdvm Batavorum. Leyden in Holland”.

Source: Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN Port 14 N 11.
Liefrinck’s urban portrait displays multiple elements of Leiden’s identity. I used the city portrait from the 1581 (figure 2) edition of Guicciardini, available in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection of the Leiden University library, and the copy made by Van Werven in 1744 (figure 1) for a visual analysis of the urban map made by Liefrinck.\textsuperscript{111} The reprint of Guicciardini from 1581, and later editions of the book, display a map of Leiden that is very similar to the map finished by Liefrinck in 1578.\textsuperscript{112} The urban portrait displayed in the 1581 edition of Guicciardini’s chorography was the first printed depiction of Leiden. Liefrinck’s map would have taken a lot of effort to create because all the buildings are drawn in a built-up position. The map shows Leiden with its important landmarks like the Burcht, several churches, city hall and defensive fortifications. It shows Leiden as an entity separate from the countryside because only the city is portrayed. The surrounding land appears empty of buildings, but the map displays several defensive structures around the city along with the Rhine river flowing through and around the town’s contours. In the seventeenth century Dutch Republic, boundaries of cities were seldom demarcated on the ground with the same emphasis as they were portrayed with in maps. Shanties and other structures were often built against city walls, which mapmakers ignored “so the density of detail in the urban fabric sharply contrasted with the relative blankness outside the city.”\textsuperscript{113} The boundary that the contrast created helped to establish the visual coherence of the city to support the display of a singular urban identity. The lack of buildings surrounding the city and the large fortifications added by Liefrinck emphasize Leiden as an urban space separate from its countryside.

Most of the fortifications displayed on the map were yet to be built by the time Liefrinck drew the urban portrait, but they add a sense of importance to the image as a city worth defending. Because the first edition of Guicciardini’s chorography was published before 1574, it did not mention the relief of Leiden. The first Dutch edition of his book (1612) does mention the siege and relief of the city.\textsuperscript{114} The description of the siege and relief of Leiden in the new editions accentuates Leiden’s importance in Holland, and its position as a safe city that can withstand enemy sieges. The text of the relief complements the illustrated map because it emphasizes the importance of the fortifications that Liefrinck incorporated into the portrait. One of the important benefits that citizens of the ‘ideal city’ enjoyed, according to the architectural theory during the sixteenth century, was the benefit of military

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{111} Leiden University Library, Special Collections, COLLBN P 14 N 4; L. Guicciardini, Descrittione di tvtti i Paesi Bassi, altrimenti detti Germania Inferiore; Con tutte le carte de geographia del paese, & col ritratto naturale di molte terre principali (Antwerp, 1581), 34; L. Guicciardini, Descrittione di tvtti i Paesi Bassi (Antwerp, 1609), 40.
\item \textsuperscript{112} Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond’, 97.
\item \textsuperscript{113} Ballon & Friedman, ‘Portraying the City’, 691-692.
\item \textsuperscript{114} L. Guicciardini, Beschrijvinghe van alle de Neder-landen, (Amsterdam, 1612), 208. Liefrinck’s map of Leiden is displayed on pages 150-151.
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The fortifications of Leiden, illustrated in Liefrinck’s map, embodied that right, bringing Leiden one step closer to the ideal city. Long city walls and strong fortifications were praised in the Dutch Republic, and the fortifications in this map of Leiden are worthy of praise. The impressive fortifications displayed on the different versions of the map were all drawn according to the latest defensive technology to withstand sieges and attacks. The fortifications display Leiden as a heavily defended city worthy of prestige and respect in Holland. The fortifications could send a message to the States of Holland that Leiden was a formidable city that needed to be taken into deliberations. After the siege, the city’s magistrate might have wanted to show Guicciardini’s readers that Leiden would not be as easily besieged as in 1574. This message aligns with the magistrate’s responsibility for providing a safe living environment for the city’s inhabitants. In this respect, the added fortifications indicate that Leiden’s magistrates fulfilled their responsibilities to provide safety for the inhabitants of the city adequately, therefore emphasizing the good governance of the government. However, the large defensive entrenchments in the south-western and north-eastern corners of the map were never built.

The shape of a city and the objects displayed within urban portraits referenced the quality of a city’s government. As I mentioned above, mapmakers and city governments preferred to depict their cities symmetrically. The ideal city was circular, preferably with 16 corners. Leiden’s city government also preferred a symmetrical circular layout because of the beauty it expressed and because it was easier to defend. The disproportionally large depictions of the churches: Pieterskerk, Hooglandse kerk/Pancraskerk and the Vrouwenkerk emphasize Leiden’s morality and Protestant identity. Their enlarged presence expresses good care for the moral wellbeing of Leiden’s community by the city government. Expressions of justice, order and morality refer to a well governing magistrate, because moral citizens, an orderly city and justice in governance were important characteristics of a properly functioning city, and showed its material and moral superiority. In chorographies, the theme of a river

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116 Bakker, ‘Het imago van de stad’, 58.
117 Noordam, ‘Leiden als ideale stad’, 15
119 The city government expressed its preference for a circular layout during discussions on the city expansion of 1611: “de voorn. vergrotingee behoort voltrocken te worden tot over de Witte Poort, om soo dezelve Stadt te brengen [...] in syn ronte, en zulx in beter defensie, maer oock tot meerder cieraet“. RAL, SA II, Vroedschapsboek P. inv. nr. 476, (16 February, 1611), fol. 13v, 72v.
120 Bakker, ‘Het imago van de stad’, 58; Verbaan, Woonplaats van de faam, 117, 122
flowing through the middle of a city references the beauty of ancient Babylon. This theme can also be deduced from Liefrink’s map. Especially the addition of small boats drawn in a built-up position at the junction of the Oude Rijn and the Nieuwe Rijn help to emphasize the river in Guicciardini’s editions.

The map is not decorated with ornaments or allegorical figures, but the coats of arms of Leiden and Holland are displayed in the top corners. Holland’s coat of arms has the county crown portrayed on top, representing the province’s sovereignty, while Leiden’s coat of arms is undecorated. Since the county crown represented the sovereignty of the States of Holland, and because Leiden was officially subjected to this sovereignty, the city could not add any sovereign ornament to its coat of arms. In fact, the lack of a claim to sovereignty in the city’s coat of arms might have helped negotiations in the States of Holland because, unlike Amsterdam, Leiden did not display any pretensions to higher sovereignty. The lack of ornaments on the city’s coat of arms may have sent another message, i.e. that Leiden was fully committed to the principle of equality in the States of Holland.

There are small differences between the two versions of the map used for the visual analysis. Because the copy of 1744 was mostly used by Leiden’s city clerks in the accounting office at city hall, its text was written in Dutch. The language of the maps from Guicciardini’s chorography was different for each country, depending on where a particular edition was published. The map from the 1581 edition is printed in Italian. The current tower on the academy building can be spotted in the 1744 copy on the lower left section of the map. This is interesting because this tower was built in 1670. The addition of this tower to the academy building either suggests that the structure was added to the urban portrait made by Liefrink that hung in Leiden’s city hall after 1670, or that Jacob van Werven added the tower.

Van Werven might have added some updates to his copy to keep the map up to date. It is unlikely that the tower on the academy building was added for promotional purposes to propagate Leiden as a city of knowledge because the urban portrait was kept in the accounting office of the city hall, where visitors would not often come.

122 Boudewijn Bakker compares the coats of arms from Amsterdam and Holland in his analysis of maps of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century. He asserts that the crown on top of the coat of arms sends an important signal. Amsterdam often placed the imperial crown on top of its coat of arms. The city earned this right from holy roman emperor Maximilian (1459-1519) as a repayment for the military services that the city had provided. Amsterdam later interpreted this right as a kind of claim to the imperial crown. This claim would place the city higher in the imperial hierarchy than the province of Holland, since the coat of arms of Holland only wears the county crown. Bakker interprets this as a sign that the city stands above the province in prestige and power. However, this comparison cannot be made in the same way between the coats of arms of Holland and Leiden. Bakker, ‘Het imago van de stad’, 67-68.
When the categorizations of Huussen jr. and Bakker are applied to Liefrinck’s urban portrait of Leiden, the map can be characterized as a bird’s eye perspective made with future spatial planning in mind. Many of the buildings are situated in their correct locations, but some of the fortifications that the city planned to build were never constructed. If Van Oerle is to be believed, Liefrinck did not take any measurements of the city to create this map. This suggests that accuracy and precision were not the main goals of the cartographer for the maps printed in Guicciardini. Instead, elements of a civic identity can be discerned in the map’s strong contrast between the city and its countryside, the fortifications referring to the safety of Leiden, the accompanying description of the relief of the city in Guicciardini’s later editions, and the display of Leiden’s churches referring to the city’s morality and good governance. Leiden’s round shape and river flowing through the city show the magistrate’s adherence to the concept of the perfect city, emphasizing their virtuous governance as well. Despite the lack of sources on the influence that the map had on viewers, the large number of editions, and wide availability of Guicciardini’s chorography in the Dutch Republic and Europe during the research period, suggest a wide audience for the display of Leiden’s civic identity. The accuracy of the maps is less important in this respect, because the city meant to provide a general visualization of the locations mentioned in Guicciardini’s book, and to display Leiden as one of the great cities in Holland.

2.2. Liefrinck’s maps of the relief of Leiden
Liefrinck made two designs of the relief of Leiden that were used in prints, a tapestry and commemorative medals during the seventeenth century. The first design displays the city at a slanted angle with the beggar fleets approaching Leiden from the south. The second map shows the beggar fleets approaching Leiden from Delft with the east turned to the top of the image. This design was originally intended for use on a tapestry, and displays a large area between Leiden, Delft and Rotterdam.

2.2.1. Liefrinck’s design of the relief of Leiden from the south
On October 27, 1574, Leiden’s magistrate commissioned Hans Liefrinck to map the entrenchments used by the Spaniards at the Oude Wetering and de Kaag during the siege of Leiden (1574). After the relief of the city, Leiden’s magistrates wanted to get an accurate visual representation of the Spanish positions during the siege. Liefrinck’s aim in mapping Leiden’s surroundings was to create a historical map that

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125 RAL, SAI, Register Diversorum AB, inv. nr. 42, (22 oktober 1576), fol. 66 vo. It remains unclear whether Liefrinck’s commission involved the task to map all of the surrounding countryside of Leiden, but he incorporated a large part of the area around the city into his map.
visualized the story of the siege and relief of the city. He finished a colored hand drawn version of this map on November 17, 1574. This version has been lost over time, but Liefrinck's original map was copied in 1675 without color (figure 3). Liefrinck also made an etch from the original colored version of the historical map, kept in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection (figure 4). The text on the etch mentions that the image was made and completed at Liefrinck's house on November 17, 1574. Pelinck argues that the etch was probably not made by Liefrinck because of this text on the etch. He argues that it is redundant to mention that the map was made by at Liefrinck's home if Liefrinck was also the creator, because most mapmakers worked from their house. Therefore, Pelick thinks it more likely that the etch was completed at Liefrinck’s house because he had the necessary materials, but that the map was made by someone else. Van Oerle does think that Liefrinck made the etch of the relief of Leiden. Since no other mapmaker can be linked to the etch, because and Liefrinck was commissioned by Leiden’s government to map the Spanish entrenchments, I assume that he was the creator of the etch.

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126 Groenveld, et al., Historische plattegronden, 38.
128 Some discussion exists on the oncolored drawing. Van Oerle argues that this drawing was a preliminary draft for the etch made by Liefrinck. Van Oerle, ‘Waarachtige afcunterfeittinge’, 157; However, Groenveld et al. demonstrated that it was a copy of the original drawing made in 1675. Groenveld, et al., Historische plattegronden, 38.
129 Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN P 009-11-026.
130 Special Collections, COLLBN P 009-11-026.
Figure 3: Willem Schellinckx. “Het beleg en ontzet van Leiden, mei-oktober 1574”.

Source: Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inventory number: COLLBN 009-11-027.
Figure 4: Hans Liefrinck. “Lugdunum Batavorum obsidione cinctum”.

Source: Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inventory number: COLLBN 009-11-026.
Liefrinck’s map of the relief of Leiden has been published several times over the course of the seventeenth century. Liefrinck’s portrait is remarkable because he completed it shortly after the relief, which gave him the opportunity to map all of the Spanish entrenchments while they were still standing. Liefrinck’s design from November 17, 1574 was incorporated into two editions of Leiden’s seventeenth century chorography written by Jan Jansz. Orlers. According to Orlers, his first edition sold out within several years at high prices. Because of the large demand of the book, he published a second version in 1641. Orlers wrote his chorography of Leiden to promote the city in the Dutch Republic. The illustrations of Leiden that he incorporated in his book contributed to the promotion of the city, and ensured a wide audience for the images. Orlers also presented and sold the first edition of his book on the famous international book fair in Frankfurt, ensuring an European audience for the book. He incorporated 3 main themes in his book that emphasize the three identities for which Leiden was known in the seventeenth century: the textile industry, the university, and the siege and relief of the city. The relief of the city was the main focal point for Orlers’ book. To emphasize this element of Leiden’s identity, he incorporated Liefrinck’s map in his chorography.

Georg Braun and Frans Hogenberg also used a copy of Liefrinck’s design for their map of the relief of Leiden (figure 5) in their atlas Civitates Orbis Terrarum (volume 2, 1575). Their atlas was one of the most widely disseminated illustrated works of their time. It allowed readers to expand their knowledge of the world without the hardships of travel. Images in the atlas were complemented by city descriptions to characterize each city. Despite the accompanying descriptions, the emphasis in the Civitates Orbis Terrarum was put on highly detailed urban portraits. I found no archival sources that mention any dealings between the creators of Civitates Orbis Terrarum and Leiden’s magistrate, but Verbaan argues that Braun & Hogenberg approached multiple magistrates for an urban portrait of the

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133 In Orlers’ chorography from 1614, the map can be found between pp. 330-331; in the edition of 1641, Liefrinck’s map is placed between pp. 446-447. Jan Jansz. Orlers, Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden. Inhoudende ’t begin, den voortgang, ende den wasdom der selver: de stichtinghe van de kercken, cloosteren, gasthuysen, ende andere publicque gestichten, etc. desgelijcx de oprechtinge van de Academie, ende de Collegien Theol. Mitsgaders verhael van alle de belegeringen, ende aenslagen, die de selve stad zedert den jaere 1203 geleden heeft. Insonderheydt historiale beschrijvinge van de laetste strenghe belegeringe ende ongehoorde verlossinge, geschiet anno 1574 (Leiden, 1614, 1641).

134 Orlers, Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden (1641), 2.

135 Orlers, Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden (1641), 3; Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 34.

136 During the seventeenth century, some chorographies were sold in sections in which the illustrations were optional. However, I have only found copies of Guicciardini and Orlers with the illustrations included.

137 Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 32-34.

138 Orlers, Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden (1641), 26-33, 142-172, 176-195, 345-360.

139 Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 263.

140 Ballon & Friedman, ‘Portraying the City’, 680.

141 Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 78.
cities they wanted to incorporate into the atlas. They might have approached Leiden’s magistrate for a map of the city as well. It remains unclear if the city commissioned the creation of Leiden’s map in the atlas, other than the commission of the original historical map made by Liefrinck. However, it is very likely that either Liefrinck, or Leiden’s government, sent the map to Braun & Hogenberg for use in their atlas because the design was only available in the original drawing and in the etch from 1574, when they published the atlas. Since the commission of the magistrate led to these two representations, the city might have sent the map to Braun & Hogenberg to tell the story of the siege and relief of the city. If Leiden’s government did not send the map for use in the atlas, the city still benefited from its wide distribution in Europe. The wide audience of the atlas ensured promotion of Leiden’s reputation as the city that withstood the siege of the Spanish.

I used the etch made by Liefrinck in 1574 (figure 4), the version incorporated in Braun & Hogenberg’s atlas of 1575 (figure 5), and the portrait in Orlers’ chorography from 1614 (figure 6) for the visual analysis of the map. Liefrinck’s original drawing probably functioned as a draft for the etch. The features of the copied drawing correspond with the features in the etch and the printed versions in Orlers’ chorography and Civitates Orbis Terrarum. All versions of the map show the relief of Leiden in a series of events, but the etch is the most detailed representation of the four images. Liefrinck’s design was also used for medals commemorating the siege and relief. Guicciardini mentions that Leiden’s magistrates and other persons of note were rewarded with golden medals after the relief of the city. These medals display the siege of Leiden, and beggar ships coming up waterways from the south while Spanish forces flee from their entrenchments. On the other side of the medal, an angel is seen chasing solders during the siege of Jerusalem by the Assyrians. This biblical reference emphasizes the importance of the siege of Leiden and its position in Holland. These medals functioned as gifts to local and foreign dignitaries by the city. For example, the militia captians and mayors of Leiden received this medal as a reward for their bravery during the siege. The depiction of Liefrinck’s image on commemorative medals distributed by the city ensured the spread of the siege and relief element of Leiden’s identity amongst an elite audience in Holland.

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142 Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 78.
143 The print in Orlers’ chorography was not published until 1614.
144 The images are identical in both editions of Orlers’ book.
145 Leiden University Library, Special Collections, COLLBN Port 009-11-027.
146 Guicciardini, Beschrijvinghe, 209.
147 Ibid, 209.
Figure 5: Georg Braun & Frans Hogenberg. “Leyda, Bataurum Lugdunum. Vulgo Leyden”.

Figure 6: Hans Liefrienk. “Afbeeldinge van de belegeringe der stad Leyden geschiet Anno 1574”.

The map that Braun & Hogenberg published of Leiden in 1575 presents an enlarged image of the city compared to Liefrinck’s original design, but the surrounding countryside and drawings of Spanish and beggar forces are clearly copied from Liefrinck’s map of November 17, 1574. The maps show the different Spanish army officers and fortifications in which they were quartered. The portrait displays Voorschoten, Soeterwoude and Leiderdorp, villages part of Leiden’s lordships (ambachtsheerlijkheden) that housed Spanish troops. Beggar ships can be seen liberating these villages. The map in Civitates Orbis Terrarum emphasizes the fleeing Spanish forces and the approach of beggar ships. Instead of the siege, military operations for relieving the city are emphasized because no besieging forces are depicted in Braun & Hogenberg’s version. The other three maps emphasize the besieging element in addition to the relief by showing Spanish forces surrounding the city. Multiple Spanish entrenchments like the Lammenschans are displayed on all four maps. With the exception of the image in the atlas, the historical map shows the puncturing of the dikes to raise the water level for the beggar fleet coming in from the south. Beggar ships are displayed rowing towards Leiden, where the Spanish forces surround the city from the south while shooting at the walls. At the very bottom of the map, Spanish forces surround their fortifications from the beggar ships. The map in Orlers’ book has more besieging elements, like soldiers shooting at the city and cannons firing back, than the other portraits. The shapes of the city and the surrounding countryside are the same for each map. The circular shape of Leiden stands out in all versions, emphasizing it as a symmetrical ‘perfect city’; a prize of value for the combating forces.

The map’s publication in Orlers’ book and in the Civitates Orbis Terrarum suggests a wide audience in the Dutch Republic and Europe. The map in the atlas has a small header and description in Latin, while the portrait in Orlers’ book displays the Dutch header. The combination of the Latin and Dutch headers on the etch suggests a broader audience for the map than just the Dutch Republic. Similarly, the Latin description in Braun & Hogenberg was aimed at a wide audience in Europe. The drawing has no header displayed. The Dutch header on the portrait in Orlers’ chorography was written in the vernacular because he mainly targeted readers in the Dutch Republic. The bottom of the etch shows the words: ‘here fled the Spaniards commanded by Baldeus. before the Prince of Orange Anno.

148 Van Oerle, ‘De rol van de schansen’, 43; Special Collections, COLLBN Port 009-11-026; Leiden University Library, Special Collections, COLLBN Port 009-11-02; Orlers Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden, (1641), 446-447.
150 The text on the etch’s header states: “LVGDVVM BATAVORUM OBSIDIONE CINCTVM: Dat belegge vander Stede van Leijden in Jaer onsheeren: 1574”. Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN Port 009-11-026.
1574. October. 3. and Leyden was relieved and reinstated. This text is not displayed in Orlers’ city description and Braun & Hogenberg’s atlas, but the fleeing soldiers are clearly visible.

Less attention is paid to topographical accuracy and geography in all versions. The emphasis is clearly placed on the story of the siege and relief of Leiden. Within the city, the Pieterkerk and the Hooglandse kerk/Pancraskerk stand out on the map in Orlers’ chorography. The map in the atlas displays the Pieterkerk and the Hooglandse kerk/Pancraskerk with the addition of the Vrouwenkerk. This is reference to the morality of the city (indicating good governance), or to the city’s protestant identity in resistance to catholic forces. The etch is the only edition that shows the Burcht. The etch and the map in the Civitates Orbis Terrarum both display the Hortus Botanicus. This common feature might indicate that the etch was sent as a model to Braun & Hogenberg. No other distinctive buildings are drawn within the city in each version. Disproportionate elements incorporated into each version emphasize the lack of accuracy. Besieging soldiers are drawn at the same size as the city walls, ships are almost as wide as the water they sail on, and the churches are disproportionately large compared to the rest of the city. The map draws the attention of the viewer towards the lower half of the image because objects depicted on the ‘foreground’ are larger than objects on the ‘background’. This creates perspective and emphasizes the beggar fleets and Spanish besieging forces south of the city. Especially the beggar ships in the drawing and etch are depicted with great detail, while ships sailing closer to the city appear smaller and less detailed. The lack of defensive fortifications displayed on the map emphasizes the accomplishment of Leiden’s citizens in withstanding the siege against an overwhelming force. The walls and moat make a clear distinction between Leiden and its surrounding countryside, but do not appear impressive from a defensive standpoint. The central position of the city in the province emphasizes its accessibility and importance in Holland. Leiden is visualized close to the sea, with waterways flowing through and around the city, making it a strategic infrastructural node in Holland.

According to the categories introduced by Huussen jr. and Bakker, Liefrinck’s design of the relief of Leiden can be characterized as a historicizing bird’s eye perspective. The map shows a sequence of historical events regarding the siege and relief of Leiden. Accuracy was not a focus in the creation of this
map, because Liefrinck intended to tell the story of the siege and relief, instead of creating a precise depiction of the city. The map expresses one of the three identities associated with Leiden: the city that withstood the siege by the Spaniards. The historicizing map promoted the reputation of Leiden as an important city in Holland because of its strategic location in the province, increasing its prestige. Because the map was published in Orlers’ chorography of Leiden, the portrait received a wide audience within the Dutch Republic. At least five versions of the map were produced: the original colored drawing from 1574, the copy made in 1675, the etch from 1574 and the version published in Orlers’ city description, and the map in the atlas made by Braun & Hogenberg. In addition to the maps in print, a commemorative medal with the image was also produced after the relief of Leiden, demonstrating its usefulness as a promotional image among elites that received it as a gift. The maps published in Orlers, and Braun & Hogenberg, had the most potential for the promotion of the city because of the wide audience that the books provide.\(^{154}\) Where the atlas was most likely aimed at elites because of its Latin text, Orlers’ book was accessible to a wider audience because it was written in the vernacular. The role of Leiden’s government is unclear in the publication of the city’s image in *Civitates Orbis Terrarum*. The magistrate did influence the publication of Orlers’ chorography. He was part of the city’s government as a veertigraad. Orlers even dedicated his book to Leiden and its city government.\(^{155}\) He provided 40 copies of his first edition to Leiden’s city government as a gift. Leiden sometimes rewarded authors of chorographies that promoted the city positively. He received 200 guilders for his efforts as a form of commission.\(^{156}\) With this commission, the city recognized the promotional worth of Orlers’ book. Orlers also received a silver bowl with Leiden’s coat of arms in 1616 as a gesture of gratitude.\(^{157}\)

2.2.2. *Liefrinck’s design in the tapestry of Joost Jansz. Lanckaert*

Delft-based weaver Joost Jansz. Lanckaert (1557-?) wove two tapestries depicting the relief of Leiden based on Liefrinck’s designs.\(^{158}\) Lanckaert finished the first tapestry, commissioned by the States of Holland, around 1575 for Count Gunther von Schwarzburg. The count was William of Orange’s brother

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\(^{154}\) It is unclear exactly how many maps were produced from Liefrinck’s first design, but it is clear that he wanted to make a map that told the story of the siege and relief of the city; in which he succeeded. Robert Fruin argued that Liefrinck depicted the siege and relief of Leiden better than anyone after him. Fruin, *De oude verhalen*, 33-34.

\(^{155}\) He dedicated his first book “Aen de vermaerde Stad Leyden”. Orlers, (1614), v; His second edition was dedicated “Aende E. Achtbare, Wijse, Discrete Heeren, de Heeren vande Gerechte der Stadt Leyden”, Orlers *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden* (1641), 2.

\(^{156}\) Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*, 30-31, 178.

\(^{157}\) RAL, SA II, Rekeningen van de tresorie ordinaris en zijn functionele opvolgers, inv. nr. 7485, 1614 II, fol. 620 vo-621 ro; Verbaan, *De woonplaats van de faam*, 178.

in law.\textsuperscript{159} The States of Holland probably ordered the tapestry to present it as a gift to honor his support for the Prince of Orange during peace negotiations in Breda in 1575.\textsuperscript{160} This original tapestry displaying the relief of Leiden has been lost. Lanckaert completed his second tapestry of the relief of Leiden between 1587 and 1589 (figure 7). This tapestry can be found in the collection of Museum de Lakenhal.\textsuperscript{161} On February 24, 1587, the city signed a contract with Lanckaert to determine that he would make a tapestry of the relief of Leiden based on the design of Liefrinck.\textsuperscript{162} Lanckaert was required to deliver a small carton to the city magistrate for approval before he was allowed to make the final edition. He delivered an initial design on the carton on April 2, 1587.\textsuperscript{163} The city approved Lanckaert’s design and determined that Leiden would pay him to make a tapestry similar to the carton, but with larger dimensions. On behalf of the city, the design was approved by magistrate and Leiden-based painter Isaac Claesz. Van Swanenburg (1537-1614), and city secretary Jan van Hout (1542-1609).\textsuperscript{164} The city required the quality of the final product to be equal to the carton, or better.\textsuperscript{165} The design of the final tapestry was to be provided by Swanenburg.\textsuperscript{166} He had made a design for the tapestry based on Liefrinck’s map, but with different colors. The colors of the final tapestry were different from the first design because the city wanted more gold to be incorporated into the image.\textsuperscript{167} The expenses for Liefrinck’s first map of Leiden, the magistrate’s request for the incorporation of more gold, and the substantial sum that the city was willing to pay Lanckaert for his work on the tapestry, indicate that Leiden’s government was very motivated to use the work of art for promotional purposes. Probably no other function would have legitimated the city’s expenses on the tapestry during wartime more than its purpose as a promotional item to increase Leiden’s prestige.

\textsuperscript{159} Hoogduin-Berkhout, ‘Op de geluckige regeeringe’, 80.
\textsuperscript{160} Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond’, 102.
\textsuperscript{161} Museum de Lakenhal, inv. nr. 3358.
\textsuperscript{162} RAL, SAII, Gerechtsdagboek A, inv. nr: 44, fol. 524.
\textsuperscript{163} Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond’, 103, 105.
\textsuperscript{164} RAL, SAII, Gerechtsdagboek A, inv. nr: 44, fol. 524.
\textsuperscript{165} The city magistrate stated that the quality of the final product should be “\textit{beter en niet erger}” (better but not worse) than the prototype. RAL, SAII, Gerechtsdagboek A, inv. nr: 44, fol. 539.
\textsuperscript{166} Zijlmans, \textit{Leidens Ontzet}, 64.
\textsuperscript{167} The tapestry would have made Lanckaert a substantial sum because he received his payment based on the dimensions of the final product. The city promised Lanckaert “\textit{op elcke viercante gemeene Leydsche elle twaelf gulden van 40 grooten tstuc te betalen bij de opleveringe}” (twelve guilders for each square el of the tapestry to be paid on delivery. RAL, SAII, Gerechtsdagboek A, inv. nr: 44, fol. 540vo. The measurement ‘\textit{Leidse el}’ was the equivalent of about 68,5 cm. The tapestry’s dimensions are 297 × 366 × 1cm, so Lanckaert’s payment would have been substantial.
The tapestry was finished in 1588 and hung prominently in the mayor’s office (burgemeesterskamer) of Leiden’s city hall until the end of the nineteenth century. For many towns in Holland, the city hall functioned as a place of exposition where the magistrate promoted the city to outside visitors. Hoogduin-Berkhout argues that the city hall, the focal point of Leiden’s political power, was the best place to display the tapestry as a symbol of civic pride in the city’s perseverance through the siege. Within the political arena of the States of Holland, Leiden’s demographic size and wealth allowed it to wield a relatively great influence over the smaller cities. However, important matters in the States of Holland, like votes on tax issues, required unanimous support. This often required Leiden to lobby for political favors. To gather support for Leiden in the States of Holland, the magistrate invited regents from other cities in Holland to the city hall to informally discuss their votes. The display of Leiden’s importance in Holland by the tapestry might have convinced visiting regents on the city’s usefulness as a political ally, and sway a vote in Leiden’s favor. Leiden’s government also brought the tapestry along for ceremonial gatherings outside of the city hall until the peace treaty with Spain was signed in 1648. This increased the audience for the tapestry to the elites that Leiden’s magistrate visited with the artwork. The tapestry was presented as a contribution to the war effort. It was prominently featured by Leiden’s government because it displayed the most important victory of the rebel forces in the early phases of the Dutch Revolt. By displaying the tapestry in the city hall and on ceremonial gatherings, the magistrate focused on an elite audience in the province for the city’s important role in the Dutch Revolt and its prestigious position in Holland.

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168 Groenveld, et al., Historische plattegronden, 42.
171 Price, Holland and the Dutch Republic, 19.
173 Patronage and particularism played an important role in dealings between cities. Price, Holland and the Dutch Republic, 58-61.
174 In 1857, historian Rammelman Elsevier already thought that the tapestry was used for promotional purposes by the city. However, he mentioned that the tapestry was hung in the academy building of the university. R. Elsevier, ‘Tapytwerk, voorstellende het ontzet van Leyden’, in De Navorscher (Amsterdam, 1857), 66. This was only the case if magistrates attended ceremonies in at the university. Zijlmans, Leidens Ontzet, 64.
Figure 7: Joost Jansz. Lanckaert. “Het Ontzet van Leiden, tussen 1587-1589”.

Source: Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden, inventory number: 3358.
The city designed and fabricated its own frame for the tapestry. Van Swanenburg designed the frame, but its creation was overseen by Isaac Nicolai. If Van Swanenburg was involved in the design of the frame and the color pattern of the tapestry, it indicates that Leiden’s magistrate was very involved in the creation of the urban portrait. The direct involvement of the city in the design of the map and the fabrication of the frame for the tapestry emphasizes the importance with which the magistrate viewed the attentive completion of the artwork.

The design for the tapestry was used for several other representations of the relief of Leiden. A stained glass window given by the city of Delft as a gift to the new *Sint-Janskerk* in Gouda in 1600-1601 displays the same image. Delft gave the stained glass window as a gift to Gouda together with windows presented by other cities from the States of Holland. Delft’s window was meant to emphasize the role of Delft as a mustering point for the beggar ships before the relief of Leiden. The use of Liefrinck’s design for the stained glass window demonstrates the fame of the Lanckaert tapestry, and of the story of the relief of Leiden to which it contributed. Delft used the siege and relief element in Leiden’s reputation to increase its own prestige in the States of Holland. By using the tapestry’s design for the window, Delft contributed to the spread of Leiden’s reputation in the States of Holland and increased its prestige in the province. The map was also published in the second edition of Orlers’ chorography of Leiden (Figure 7). The publication of the map in Orlers gave it a wide audience in the Dutch Republic. The illustration in Orlers’ book is exactly the same as the depiction on the tapestry. Orlers might have incorporated this map of the relief of Leiden into the second edition of his book because of the promotional value of the portrait. The tapestry was widely renowned in the Dutch Republic around the publication of his second edition. Since Orlers’ purpose was to promote Leiden with his chorography, the fame attributed to the tapestry in the Dutch Republic must have had additional promotional value to the map in Orlers’ book, spreading the reputation of Leiden. The inclusion of the map in Orlers’ second edition broadened the image’s audience beyond the elites of

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177 Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond’, 104.
178 Groenveld et al., *Historische plattegronden*, 42.
179 For the stained glass window see: http://www.sintjan.com/media/glazen-cartons/cartons_nl.html.
180 Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden* (1641), 536-537.
181 Zijlmans argues that the tapestry was quite famous in the Netherlands, and can be viewed as a declaration of loyalty and commitment of the cities of Holland to the Dutch Revolt, and to Prince Maurits as the supreme commander of the rebel forces. The tapestry was meant to encourage the rebel army to continue its fight against the Spanish in the eastern and southern Netherlands. Zijlmans, *Leidens Ontzet*, 64.
Holland and the Dutch Republic. The map’s addition to the chorography spread the image of the tapestry further than the tapestry ever could on its own.

The map displays the series of successive events in the two months leading up to the relief of Leiden. The tapestry made by Lanckaert differed from Liefrinck’s original portraits of the siege of Leiden discussed above because it has a tilted orientation, displaying the city’s eastern side upwards with an extended area visible to the south (on the right side of the tapestry). Orienting maps to the north only became cartographic convention in the beginning of the eighteenth century.\(^\text{182}\) That is why mapmakers in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries used different orientations to emphasize special features or marginalize aspects of a city that they did not want to draw attention to. By orienting the map with the eastern side of the city northwards, and extending the area south of Leiden, Lanckaert could visualize the pierced dikes of the Maas at Kralingen and Charlois.\(^\text{183}\) The map is made more vivid by all the soldiers, entrenchments and ships drawn in a built-up position. The story of the map begins at the puncturing of the dikes of the Maas river in the top right corner of the map, and at Charlois below Rotterdam on the right side of the portrait. The map shows the siege of the city, and the Spanish entrenchments blocking all waterways providing access to Leiden, making it unreachable by river.\(^\text{184}\) The viewer can see the water from the river flowing through the breaches into the lower lying farmlands. This allowed the beggar ships to sail across the land to Leiden. The entire route that the beggar ships sailed to Leiden is depicted from right to left with the battles that they fought along the way.

\(^\text{182}\) Regan, ‘Cartography, chorography and patriotic sentiment’, 62.
\(^\text{183}\) Pelinck, ‘De eerste gedrukte plattegrond, 105.
\(^\text{184}\) Zijlmans, Leidens Ontzet, 64-65.
Figure 8: Hans Liefrinck. “Ontsettinge der stad Leyden”.

Source: Orlers, Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden (1641), 536-537. Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inventory number: 458 B 24.
The beggar ships can be recognized by the orange-white-blue flags on their masts. These ships display the *Prinsenvlag*, the rebel flag used by the beggar army during the Dutch Revolt in honor of William of Orange. The Spanish forces can be distinguished by their black and white checkered flags. These flags are more difficult to distinguish on the map in Orlers’ book due to its small size. Many small villagers can be seen fleeing with their horse and carriage or on foot from the Spanish army and the battles in the lower left corner of the map. The puncturing of the *landtscheidinge* and the battle at Voorweg, in which Spanish troops withstood the beggar fleet, are represented in the middle of the map. The beggar ships sailed around the Spanish entrenchments and the Zoetermeer (‘sweet lake’) to Zegwaart, where they opened the sluices and broke the dike. This event is depicted on the tapestry, but not on the map in Orlers’ book. Subsequently, the ships are seen battling the Spanish troops at Soeterwoude. After this battle the Spanish troops are fled from the Lammenschans entrenchment to Voorschoten. This is clearly displayed in Orlers’ chorography. Lastly, the beggar ships are displayed sailing up de Vliet to the city. Leiden’s city walls also display fortifications on both sides.

The story of the beggar fleet’s route is the central theme of the map. The allegorical figures in the tapestry’s frame, and the story of the relief of Leiden on the map clearly emphasize the importance of the city in Holland and to the Dutch Revolt. All the beggar ships are pointing to the city in Orlers’ illustration, identifying it as an important object on the map. Because most of the beggar ships were mustered by the States of Holland, their collective action can be interpreted as the province coming to the aid of Leiden. This emphasizes the importance of Leiden in Holland as a strategic city worth defending, and increased its prestige in the States of Holland. In the bottom right corner, the lion of Holland flanks the coat of arms of Leiden. The lion is displayed as the defender of the city in its protective stance over the coat of arms in both versions of the map. The allegorical figures in the frame represent mythical gods, using wind and water to aid the beggar ships. In the image to the left, the figure of the Greek god Hermes can be spotted, recognizable by his staff. His depiction often alludes to safe and speedy travels. His representation in the frame of the tapestry might suggest providence and success for the beggar ships sailing to Leiden.

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188 Museum de Lakenhal, inv. nr. 3358.
189 Orlers, *Beschrijvinge der stad Leyden* (1641), 536-537.
The depiction of the relief of Leiden on the tapestry and in Orlers’ second edition can be categorized both as a historicizing bird’s eye perspective and as a historicizing bird’s eye image, because of the multiple perspectives used in its creation. The ideological-commemorative function of the map is clearly emphasized by the story of the relief of Leiden. Accuracy was not an important feature of this urban representation. The map frames and promotes Leiden’s identity as a valuable city in Holland that withstood a siege by the Spaniards. Leiden’s magistrate wanted to motivate the troops in their fight against the Spanish through the display of the beggar fleet’s victory.\textsuperscript{192} The large expenses of Leiden’s government in the creation of the map suggest an important promotional function for the portrait. The display of the tapestry in Leiden’s city hall during the seventeenth century indicates a large audience of visiting dignitaries from the States of Holland and the Dutch Republic. The fact that the magistrate brought the tapestry along on ceremonial occasions demonstrates the important promotional function of the map for the siege and relief aspect of Leiden’s civic identity. The incorporation of the map in Orlers’ second edition allowed the map to promote Leiden to a broad non-elitist audience in the Dutch Republic. The map’s display in the stained glass window given by Delft to the Sint-Janskerk in Gouda emphasizes the city’s importance in Holland, and promotes the element of the relief in Leiden’s civic identity to the elites of the province. To conclude, the map was meant and used as a promotional tool to increase the reputation of Leiden as the city that withstood the siege by the Spanish, and to promote its importance in the States of Holland and the Dutch Republic.

\textsuperscript{192} Museum de Lakenhal, inv. nr. 3358.
3. The maps of Leiden by Pieter Bast and Joan Blaeu

This chapter analyzes the maps of Pieter Bast (1600) and Joan (Johannes) Blaeu (1649). Bast created his original engraved map of Leiden in 1600, which Blaeu largely copied for his atlas *Toonneel der Steden* published in 1649. These maps differ from the other urban portraits discussed in this thesis because they were not commissioned by Leiden’s magistrate. Nevertheless, these maps contributed to the development of Leiden’s cartographic image and to the promotion of the city’s identity and reputation abroad.

Pieter Bast was a cartographer, surveyor and engraver from Antwerp. He moved from Antwerp to Leiden in the 1590s, where he lived until his death in 1605. During his time in Leiden, Pieter Bast completed a map of the city. Leiden needed a novel map because small expansions between 1593 and 1598 on the city’s eastern side near the Zijlpoort made Liefrinck’s maps outdated. Archival sources do not mention a commission by the city’s magistrate for Bast’s map. Bast most likely created the urban portrait on his own initiative. Despite the absence of a commission, he dedicated his map to the magistrate of Leiden in the upper left corner of the cartouche. Because he honored Leiden’s magistrate with this tribute, the city paid him 25 guilders on April 12, 1601. Bast’s payment should not be interpreted as a commission, but should be viewed as a gesture of gratitude by the city. In the annotation of Bast’s in the treasurer’s archive, the magistrate emphasized that Bast made his own measurements of the city. However, the gift that he received from the magistrate seems far too small

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195 Groenveld et al., *Historische plattegronden*, 42.
196 *Amplissimis Clarissimis consultissimisq viris. D. D. PRATORI CONSVLIBVS ET SENATO RIBVS. Reipublica Lugdunensis Inclyea. Exaccam bane Urbis LUGDUNUM BATAVORUM Sculpeuram debica animi Submissione. This dedication is to the schepenen, schout and vroedschap of Leiden’s government. RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV329.1a.
197 “Daermede hij van deser stede wegen es vereert ter zaecke dat hij dese stadt in zijne situatie, met alle zijne gelegentheyt van straten, wateren, huysen, gestichten ende anders[zins] naer de rechte cunste afgemeten, betroeken ende in ’t coper gesneden heeft.” RAL, SAI, inv. nr: 7470, rekeningen van de tresoriër ordinaris en zijn functionele opvolgers, 1601, fol. 208vo; Interestingly, 25 guilders is considerably less than the 120 guilders he received from the magistrate of Dordrecht for a profile view in three plates. Keyes, *Pieter Bast*, 2. 
198 A gift similar to Orlers’ silver plate in 1616. Verbaan, *Woonplaats van de faam*, 178.
as a compensation for extensive measurements. Most likely, the compensation of 25 guilders paid to Bast was a symbolic gesture, given in acknowledgment of the promotional value of the map for the city.

Only one print of the original map remains in color at the Leiden Regional Archives. I found an identical (uncolored) print of Bast’s original map in the Special Collections of the Leiden University Library. Like most of his urban portraits, Bast engraved his map of Leiden on copper plates. After his death, the copper plates were purchased by famous cartographer and publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher. Groenveld et al. mention that Visscher reprinted some of Bast’s maps multiple times during the seventeenth century, but they do not specify which maps exactly. Because of Leiden’s expansion to the north in 1611, the original copy of Bast’s map became outdated relatively quickly. Keyes demonstrated that the first reprinted edition of Bast’s map was reworked drastically to incorporate multiple decorations in the cartouche in addition to the northern expansion of 1611. This reprint was not the only edition published after Bast’s death. The most famous reprint of Bast’s map can be found in Joan Blaeu’s Atlas Toonroel der Steden, which is discussed below.

Despite the mention of new measurements by Bast in the treasurers archive, accuracy did not play a dominant role in the creation of Bast’s map. For example, the small eastern expansion of Leiden is incorporated into the map, but without the Boysstraat, Groenendaalstraat and Knotterstraat, which were finished in 1599. Additionally, the Burcht and the Hooglandse kerk are placed too close together, and the boats travelling through Leiden are drawn relatively small inside the city to accentuate the size of the river. Together with the round shape of the city, the river might accentuated to promote Leiden as an ideal city. The three defensive fortifications and moats around the city are slightly enlarged to distinguish the city from its surrounding countryside, and to make Leiden’s defenses appear more impressive. The Pieterskerkgracht is displayed as filled up, even though this occurred in 1604, after the

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200 Bast usually received a much larger compensation for his work. For example, the city of Dordrecht paid him 300 guilders for a profile view in three plates that he finished in 1595. Keyes, Pieter Bast, 2.

201 RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV329.1a.

202 Leiden University Library, Special Collections, COLLBN 009-11-025.

203 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 42. Extensive research into the references of Groenveld et al. did not yield any results relating to the number of reprints of Bast’s map of Leiden.

204 Van Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten: beschrijving, 350-351.

205 Keyes, Pieter Bast, 38; Groenveld et al. attribute this reworked reprint to Nicolaes van Geelkercken (possibly on a commission by Visscher) around 1619. Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 43; The only known copy by van Geelkercken can be found in Leiden’s University Library: Special Collections, COLLBN Port 14 N 13.

206 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 43.

207 On the left of the map on the river outside of the city, ships are drawn on a larger scale. RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV329.1a.

map was finished.\textsuperscript{209} The incorporation of unbuilt features means that the map intended to show a future version of Leiden. As a representation of the city’s famous textile industry, the saaihal housed in the church building of the former Sint Jakobsgasthuis is displayed on the southern end of the Rapenburg. The saaihal and the ships in the city represent the commercial and industrial position of Leiden at the end of the sixteenth century. The large number of ships coming and going from different angles to the city indicate the growing (commercial) appeal of Leiden as one of the largest cities in Holland at that time.

I used Bast’s original map (1600) (figure 9) for the visual analysis because Leiden’s magistrate recognized the promotional value of this map for the city.\textsuperscript{210} The original map of Bast, available in Leiden’s Regional Archives is a beautifully colored version of the portrait.\textsuperscript{211} This map contributed to the development of Leiden’s cartographic image by displaying the city in a north-eastern orientation instead of the standard north-south position most commonly used for urban depictions of Leiden. What makes Bast’s portrait special is the first cartographic appearance of the academy building on the Rapenburg. Verbaan argues that the object of wisdom represented by the university contributed to the element of Christian morality for the city’s identity.\textsuperscript{212} Therefore, a component of ethical governance and moral citizenship was promoted in Leiden’s identity through the incorporation of its university in Bast’s portrait. The map shows Leiden from a bird’s eye perspective with all the buildings drawn in a built-up position, which gives the city a sense of grandeur. Important buildings stand out due to their dark-blue colored roofs compared to most red-colored houses. The Hooglandse kerk, Pieterskerk, the Gravensteen housing Leiden’s government, and the Burcht can be clearly distinguished as a few of the most important buildings within the city. The emphasis on the large churches in the city promotes the moral character of its citizens. The characteristic tower and terrace of the city hall are also drawn with impressive detail, embodying the civic greatness of Leiden. The city’s orphanage, displayed east of the Burcht, and the Sint-Catharinagasthuis (a poor shelter and hospital) are shown to emphasize the morality of the city and its government. To highlight Leiden’s importance for the Dutch Republic and the princes of Orange, the Prinsenhof is prominently featured on the north side of the Rapenburg. This was the formal residence reserved for the princes of Orange and important dignitaries during their stays in the city.

\textsuperscript{209} Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 43.
\textsuperscript{210} For this map see: RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, inv. nr: PV329.1a.
\textsuperscript{211} RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV329.1a.
\textsuperscript{212} Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 265-266.
Figure 9: Pieter Bast. “Lugduni Batavor. Leyden in Hollant”.

Ornamental elements are placed in the four corners of the map. A wind compass in the top right corner indicates its north-east orientation. In the top left corner, the tribute to the city’s government is placed prominently. Cartographic collector and publicist Johannes Bodel Nijenhuis argued that the tribute to Leiden’s magistrate is flanked by the allegorical images of Themis (holding the scales of justice) and Pallas (holding the shield and spear). If he is correct, Pallas (the Greek titan god of war craft) might be a reference to the siege and relief of the city, while Themis represented the orderly and just governance of Leiden. These allegorical figures flanking the tribute to Leiden’s magistrate play an important part in promoting Leiden and its government as just, orderly and safe. As mentioned in chapter two, these elements were important features for a city’s identity during the seventeenth century. The city’s coat-of-arms is protected by the lion of Holland, apparently holding a scimitar (an Ottoman sword) in the lower right corner of the map. The scimitar may be a reference to the motto used by beggar forces during the Dutch Revolt: “Liever Turks dan paaps” (Turkish rather than popish). Combined with the defensive posture of the lion over the city’s coat of arms, it may be an indication to the relief of Leiden from the Catholic enemy in 1574 by beggar ships mustered by the States of Holland. The lion, along with the title of the map *Lvgdvni Batavor Leyden in Hollant*, displays the city as an important part of the province. The lion standing protectively over the city’s coat of arms promotes an image of Leiden as a valuable city, worth protection from the province. In the bottom right corner, Bast signed his map: *Anno D 1600 Petrus bastium aut sculp. et excudit*, indicating him as the author. His signature is accompanied by a pair of compasses. This object also designates Bast as the surveyor and cartographer of the map.

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214 RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV329.1a.
Figure 10: Joan Blaeu. “Lugdunum Batavorum Vernaculo Leyden” (Latin).

Source: RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, inventory number: PV351.3.
Joan Blaeu incorporated a copy of Bast’s map in his atlas: *Toonneel der Steden*, accompanied by an extensive description of the city. Blaeu copied large parts of Bast’s map for use in the atlas. His first edition was published in Latin and Dutch in 1649. Besides the color use, maps in the Latin and Dutch versions are identical. The original copy of the atlas was followed by a reprint in 1652. Despite its high price, the Latin edition of the atlas was broadly distributed in Europe during the seventeenth century. Joan Blaeu did not design most of the maps that he published in his atlas. Like Braun & Hogenberg, he often bought maps from other publishers or contacted city governments for an urban portrait of their city. Blaeu most likely purchased or borrowed Bast’s engraved copper plates from Visscher, which he used for his copy in *Toonneel der Steden*. He did this on his own initiative, because the city’s government did not commission Blaeu to create his map of Leiden. Despite the absence of a commission, Leiden still benefitted from the city’s incorporation in the atlas. The map promoted Leiden’s reputation to a broad (elite) audience in Europe because of its distribution in Latin.

Blaeu added an extensive description of the city to his atlas. The description in the atlas sums up all elements of Leiden’s civic identity that are presented in the map. Blaeu mentions Leiden as one of the oldest and most prominent cities in the province. He emphasizes the antiquity of Leiden by discussing the city’s “old name” (*oude naam*) *Lugdunum Batavorum*, which is also the title of the map. This name was part of the city’s founding myth. Urban founding myths were used to establish a city as an enduring feature of the (political) landscape in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. A city’s ancient roots contributed to its prestige and political influence in the Dutch Republic. For example, Dordrecht emphasized its ancient origin in the province to gain prestige in the States of Holland. Blaeu does the same for Leiden by arguing that Leiden’s Latin name suggests that the city’s origin goes back to

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217 The edition in Latin on the Dutch cities was called *Novum ac Magnum Theatrum Urbium: Belgica Libera ac Foederata*. Available in the Leiden University Library Special Collections under call number COLLBN Atlas 5: 2; A copy of the original atlas in Dutch is available at the Special Collections of the Leiden University Library under call number COLLBN Atlas 49: 2.
219 Groenveld et al., *Historische plattegronden*, 44.
220 I did not find any archival sources that mention correspondence between Leiden’s magistrate and Blaeu for a map of the city.
221 Spicer, ‘So many painted jezebels’, 265.
ancient Roman times. The roman emperor Antoninus Pius mentioned in one of his travel logs that a settlement of the Batavians was situated on the exact location of Leiden. Pius supposedly named this settlement *Lugdunum Batavorum*. According to scholars like Hadrianus Junius, this name indicated that Leiden must have been a very old city, since the name *Lugdunum* corresponded with the name of Leiden. The display of the name *Lugdunum Batavorum* on maps of the city emphasizes the medium’s use as a promotional tool in the States of Holland, because ancient cities were held in higher esteem in the urban hierarchy of the province.  

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222 J. Blaeu, *Toonneel der Steden*, 117, 119;  
223 De Glas, *Holland is een eiland*, 332-333.  
Figure 11: Joan Blaeu. “Lugdunum Batavorum Vernacolu Leyden” (Dutch).

Blaeu discusses the size and multiple expansions of the city, arguing that only Amsterdam was larger than Leiden in the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Because large populations were a sign of greatness for cities in the Dutch Republic, displaying and describing the expansions of Leiden promoted the city as one of the most important towns in Holland. With the exception of several new buildings and the addition of the fourth expansion of 1611, Blaeu’s urban portrait of the city is almost identical to Bast’s map. Like Bast’s original portrait of Leiden, Blaeu’s copy uses the north-eastern orientation of the city from a bird’s eye perspective. Exceptionally noticeable in the Dutch edition of Blaeu’s map (figure 11), all of the regular buildings in the city are colored red, while important buildings have their roofs colored blue. Blaeu mentions the strength of the city’s fortifications, walls and towers. Compared to Bast’s map, Blaeu’s portrait shows more fortifications around the city, which were built during its fourth expansion. These fortifications are important for the city’s reputation regarding the siege of 1574, which Blaeu discusses in the last two pages of the description. They also create a contrast between the city and its countryside, emphasizing the size and importance of Leiden. By discussing the defensive works of the city and the siege of Leiden, Blaeu emphasizes Leiden’s importance for the Dutch Revolt, and the safety that the city provides for its inhabitants because Leiden became known as a relatively safe city during the eighty years’ war after its relief. Persevering through the siege and increasing the city’s defenses also display the magistrate’s good governance and adherence to the ideal of the perfect city. Blaeu mentions the sacrifices of Leiden’s magistrates during the siege, and the heroism of Mayor Van der Werff, who supposedly offered his body to the hungry inhabitants of Leiden instead of surrendering to the Spanish. The story of Mayor Van der Werff highlights the element of endemic hunger during the siege, functioning as a unifying theme in the memory culture of Leiden. The reputation of a unified population without civic strife

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225 Blaeu, Toonneel der Steden, 120.
227 Images from the original Latin and Dutch editions of Tooneel der Steden (1649) were used for the visual analysis of Blaeu’s map. The map from the Latin edition can be viewed at the Leiden Regional Archives. RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV351.3. The Dutch edition of Blaeu’s atlas can be viewed at the Special Collections of the Leiden University Library under inventory number: COLLBN Atlas 49: 2. The map of Leiden is presented in the second volume between pp. 118-120.
228 Blaeu, Toonneel der Steden, 118.
231 Pollmann, Herdenken, herinneren en vergeten, 8; Hoogduin-Berkhout, ‘Op de geluckige regeeringe’, 80-81; Marianne Eekhout mentions 1577 as the first reference to hunger by Leiden’s government. In 1577, the magistrate inscribed an alter stone with a reference to hunger during the siege. Eekhout, ‘Material memories’, 134.
emphasizes the good governance of Leiden’s magistrate. The morality of the magistrate is also promoted by the display and description of Leiden’s churches, the city orphanage and the multiple shelters for the poor and sick. To promote Leiden’s magistrates as moral and just leaders, all members of the city’s government are listed individually in the description according to their position. In the lower right corner of the map, Blaeu dedicates his map to Leiden’s magistrate. The tributes to the city government are interesting, since I found no evidence of any correspondence between Leiden’s government and Blaeu. He might have incorporated the tributes in his atlas in the hopes of a compensation from the city.

To emphasize the city’s industrial identity, the five halls of the textile industry are described and clearly marked on the map. Blaeu’s copy of Leiden highlights the industrial character of Leiden more than Bast’s map does because of the incorporation of new industrial buildings that were built or converted for industrial use after 1600. Interestingly, the Marekerk can be seen in its first design on Blaeu’s map. The many churches in Leiden display the city’s Christian morality on the map. Leiden’s renown as a city for knowledge is preserved by Blaeu’s extensive description of its university, and the inclusion of a list of famous scholars that received their education at the institution. The academy building is clearly indicated by a blue roof on the map. In the cartouche, Blaeu inserted a long legend listing 149 special buildings and landmarks. The inclusion of this extensive legend emphasizes the greatness of Leiden through the display of remarkable objects in the city. The top corners of the map display the coats of arms of Holland and Leiden, showing readers of the atlas that the city is situated within the province.

The urban portrait by Bast can be categorized as a bird’s eye perspective made with future spatial planning in mind, because several features shown on the map were being built, or had yet to be built, when Bast completed his map. Blaeu’s copy can be characterized as an authentic bird’s eye perspective of Leiden because his map displayed the city in its contemporary state. However, accuracy was not the main focus for both maps. Instead, the maps created by Bast and Blaeu tell the story of Leiden’s reputation as a great city of Holland, blessed by good governance, that provides safety and

232 Blaeu, Toonneel der Steden, 120-123.
233 Ibid, 128-129.
234 RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV351.3.
235 Blaeu, Toonneel der Steden, 124; For example, the hall for the collection and sale of sheets and fine textiles, nicknamed the “ant’s nest” (“Mirenest, of Deken en Bay hal”), received a prominent place on the Oude Vest. RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV351.3.
237 Blaeu, Toonneel der Steden, 124-128.
238 Ibid, 118.
Christian morality for its inhabitants. Other elements of Leiden’s identity characterized by both maps are the city as a center for knowledge and industry. Despite a lack of information on any reprints of Bast’s original edition, the copy in Blaeu’s famous (and expensive) atlas suggests an elite European audience for the urban portrait. Even though Leiden’s government did not commission the creation of both maps, the urban portraits still contributed to the promotion of the city’s identity and reputation. Leiden’s government benefitted from the spread of both maps because the different elements of the city’s identity were spread across Europe to an elite audience, which raised the prestige of the city.
4. Leiden in 1649: Johannes Dou’s administrative map

An increased bureaucratization of Leiden’s civic administration in the sixteenth century made the mapping of the city necessary from a practical perspective. Leiden acquired multiple privileges from the Count of Holland during the Middle Ages that pertained to the building of structures on the area surrounding the city. In 1351, the city acquired a privilege from the count of Holland that forbade the operation of any textile industry in the close surroundings of the city along with the prohibition of structures with walls thicker than 1.5 stone blocks. Subsequent privileges granted to Leiden over the course of the fifteenth century indicate that the textile industry and other economic activity did not cease and disappear from the land surrounding the city. The exception to the privilege was agriculture. Leiden heavily relied on agriculture in the surrounding land to feed the urban population.

To hasten the cessation of economic activities around Leiden, emperor Karel V provided Leiden with an exclusive charter (octrooi) in 1554 that reconfirmed that no industry or large scale economic activity was allowed to operate within 500 roeden from the city’s borders. This meant that no industry was allowed to be set up in neighboring villages and that the sale of salt and bread in the lordships (ambachtsheerlijkheden) of Leiden was forbidden. To indicate the borders within which no industrial activity was allowed, the city hired land surveyor Pieter Sluyter to measure the distances to the city and set down border posts in the surrounding countryside.

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242 Van Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, 222.
243 F. van Mieris, Handvesten, privilegien, octroyen, rechten en vryheden, midsgaders ordonnantien, resolutien, plakkaaten, verbintenissen, costumen, instructien, en handelingen der stad Leyden, (1759), 44-46.
244 Van Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, 230.
Figure 12: Johannes Dou. “De stad leyden ende de heerlijkheden de selve stad toebehorende”.

Source: RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV70330a.
The expansion of Leiden’s urban jurisdiction in the surrounding countryside through extended privileges was underpinned by several motives from the perspective of urban magistrates. The first motive focused on the execution of effective urban defenses. When the jurisdiction of the city extended over the surrounding countryside, urban magistrates had the opportunity to design urban defenses more effectively. An extensive line of sight unimpeded by large structures contributed to an effective defense. Secondly, with extended jurisdiction over the countryside, urban administrators could also counter tax evasion more effectively. Protecting urban industry in Leiden was the third motive for more jurisdiction over the surrounding countryside. Leiden could force industry within its jurisdiction to settle within the city walls so it could be monitored and taxed. Impeding the foundation of reinforced structures in the countryside was the last motive for Leiden to request and create increased jurisdiction over the countryside. Reinforced structures could threaten the function of the city as a regional center of trade and commerce if enough houses would be built close to Leiden.245

After the relief of Leiden, William of Orange validated a new charter for the city on January 10, 1575.246 The new charter reconfirmed and expanded existing privileges because the structures that had been built around Leiden had made fighting the Spaniards more difficult. Enemy forces settled within churches and industrial buildings surrounding the city and took advantage of breweries and taverns that had been built despite existing privileges. Additionally, dirty smoke from clay ovens caused health problems within the city in times of peace. Because of the many infractions of the previous privileges, the city felt compelled to request the stadtholder for a more stringent charter.247 According to the new charter, no structures (getimmerten) were allowed to be built within 500 roeden from Leiden, and no houses, taverns and industry was allowed to be built within 800 roeden from the city’s borders.248 Only agricultural activities and breweries were allowed to be constructed between 500 and 800 roeden of the city.249 Interestingly, the charter from 1575 was still signed in the name of king Philip II of Spain, by a representative of the stadtholder (A. Genitt), despite the city’s participation in the Dutch Revolt.250 With the charter of 1575, Leiden was entitled to a ‘zone of security’ around its immediate borders to maintain

245 Van Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, 222-223.
246 Van Mieris, Handvesten, privilegien, octroyen, 47-49.
248 In 1585, the city allowed small outhouses of wood with thatch roofs to be built within the 500 roeden zone to shelter in during bad weather. Van Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, 233.
249 Van Mieris, Handvesten, privilegien, octroyen, 48.
250 Ibid, 49.
a clear line of sight from the city walls, and to prevent industry from settling outside the city walls where it could not be taxed or controlled.251

Leiden’s expansions of 1611 and 1644 caused the zones of 500 and 800 roeden to shift. These zones needed to be remeasured to ensure that no illegal structures fell within the prohibited areas. Remeasuring these borders was viewed as an important task by Leiden’s government because the necessary measurements were often taken in the presence of several magistrates.252 Leiden’s government was also concerned about the reconstruction of Endegeest castle.253 Because of the new extended jurisdiction of the city due to its expansion, the castle was situated closer to Leiden’s borders. This meant that the castle might fall within the zone in which no structures were allowed to exist according to the charter from 1575. Normally, this might not have become a problem for the magistrates because castle Endegeest had been neglected and derelict for several years.254 However, the new owner of the castle decided to completely rebuild the structure in 1646.255 If the castle was fully rebuilt, it would have formed a serious impediment to the free line of sight around the city and a potential stronghold for enemy troops besieging the city.256

Magistrates hired Johannes Dou (1615-1682) in 1648 to measure the new distance of Endegeest castle from Leiden’s borders. Johannes Dou was the son of famous cartographer Jan Pietersz. Dou. He became a surveyor and mapmaker and followed in the footsteps of his father by working as a surveyor for the Hoogheemraadschap Rijnland.257 On June 15, 1648, Johannes Dou received the commission from Leiden’s administrators to create a map of the existing jurisdiction of the city. They paid Dou the substantial sum of 398 guilders and 12 stuivers when he finished the map in 1649.258 The map needed to display the borders of the city’s lordships (stadsheerlijkheden) that included Oegstgeest, Leiderdorp,

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251 Sluijter, ‘De kaart van Leiden’, 190.
252 Van Oerle, Leiden binnen en buiten de stadsvesten, 234.
254 The castle had been partly destroyed in 1573.
256 It is unclear how the matter of Endegeest Castle was resolved. The mayors and city council of Leiden did not return to the subject in their meetings. The map of Dou that survived vaguely shows the number 584 at Endegeest castle, which seems to indicate that the structure still resided outside of the 500 roeden zone. However, the castle resided within the zone between 500 and 800 roeden, which still indicated that the castle was not allowed to be rebuilt. The archival sources cannot clarify how the city responded to the issue. However, the renovation of the castle by Elisabeth van Schouwen van Endegeest between 1647 and 1651 shows that Leiden’s magistrates were unable to stop its reconstruction. Sluijter, ‘De kaart van Leiden’, 194.
257 He succeeded his father in the same year that Jan Dou passed away.
258 RAL, SAII, inv.nr: 1426, register van betalingsordonnanties door burgemeesters, (13 november 1648 - 5 oktober 1651), fol. 57ro-58vo. Not all of the funds Dou received were expended on creating the map of Leiden and its surroundings, because 25 guilders and 4 stuivers were charged for the performance of unrelated tasks. RAL, SAII, inv. nr: 7580, rekeningen van de tresoriër ordinaris, (1649), fol. 314ro.
The dominion of Leiden was much larger than the zones created by the 500 and 800 *roeden* borders. This leads historian Ronald Sluijter to believe that Leiden’s magistrates wanted to display the city’s dominion, and economic and political influence over its countryside. Dou’s original map was hung in Leiden’s city hall for display and would have been very impressive to look at. Like the placement of Lanckaert’s tapestry, the presentation of Dou’s map at Leiden’s city hall emphasizes the location’s role in the promotion of Leiden. The map made by Dou would have probably been aimed at visiting dignitaries from Leiden’s lordships and from the *Hoogheemraadschap Rijnland*. Because the map showed the city’s dominion over its lordships, the image promoted Leiden as the dominant political actor in the Rijnland area. When visiting magistrates from the *Hoogheemraadschap* and Leiden’s lordships would visit the city hall, they would be reminded of the city’s prominent position in the area. The map could have been utilized as a visual tool for the discussion of demarcation conflicts with representatives of Leiden’s lordships and the *Hoogheemraadschap*. Its placement in the city hall demonstrates the promotional value of the map for Leiden in its surrounding countryside. The map’s representation of Leiden’s dominance over its hinterland could demonstrate the city’s strong position in the province to visiting magistrates from the States of Holland.

Visual analysis of the map is made more difficult because of its faded contours and colors. The map made by Johannes Dou in 1649 is available at the Leiden Regional Archives. The portrait shows Leiden right of center with its lordships pictured around the city. Unfortunately, the hand drawn map is heavily damaged because of sun exposure in Leiden’s city hall. Dou used scaling differences to add detail to the map. The city itself and its immediate surroundings are still clearly visible and largely undamaged by sun exposure. It shows the city in detail compared to the surrounding countryside. The *Hooglandse kerk/Pancraskerk*, the *Pieterskerk*, the Marekerk, the *Burcht* and the anatomical theater are recognizable within the city. A part of the city’s eastern expansion is already visible. However, the focus of the map is not on the city but on its surrounding countryside. Accuracy within the image of the city was not the main purpose of this map. Instead, Dou was meant to accurately depict the surrounding countryside and the distances to the city. He succeeded in mapping the different lordships and their

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259 RAL, SAI, inv.nr: 240, Kladresoluties en beschikkingen van Gerecht en Burgemeesters, 15 juni 1648.
260 Sluijter, ‘De kaart van Leiden’, 192. Historians were unable to determine where the map was positioned at the city hall.
261 The map is damaged in the upper half because of light exposure so it is difficult to read. RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV70330a.
262 RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV70330a.
263 A colored version of the map is available in the Regional Archive of Leiden: RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV70330a. See: https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/54e7747b-becd-aa6d-3987-0ae8c3cabda1.
distances to the city fairly accurately. The map has an extensive list of localities belonging to Leiden’s dominion in the cartouche on the bottom right corner of the map. Furthermore, the map states that its creation was commissioned by the ‘mayors and rulers of Leiden’. The text on the map is hardly readable in some parts, but most distances measured to the city are still readable. The faded contours and images due to sun exposure suggest that the map was hung in a prominent place at Leiden’s city hall, which would confirm the map as a promotional tool.

The map can be characterized as an authentic bird’s eye image. Since Dou only made one hand drawn copy, the map was not created for distribution or print. However, it might have been displayed to visitors at Leiden’s city hall to show the city’s lordships and dominance over its countryside. The use of distinct colors makes sure that Leiden stands out from the surrounding countryside. An urban identity of Leiden as the dominant political actor in the Rijnland area can be deduced from the image. Because of the map’s possible prominent position at the city hall, and potential use an administrative tool, its audience would have mainly been dignitaries from the surrounding lordships, the Hoogheemraadschap Rijnland and the States of Holland. To conclude: the map made by Johannes Liefrinck had promoted Leiden’s dominance over its countryside to the elites of Holland.

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265 RAL, Topografisch Historische Atlas, Call number: PV70330a.
5. Leiden in 1670-1675: the Hagen maps
Two versions of the urban portrait were commissioned between 1670 and 1675: a large and a small edition. The combination of multiple perspectives of a city, along with separate representations of important buildings, fits in with the cartographic tradition at the end of the seventeenth century, in which mapmakers incorporated several viewpoints to counter “the erosion of boundaries [that] threatened the pictorial unity of the bird’s-eye view”. The Hagen maps are beautiful representations of this type of portraits. In contrast with traditional maps, the Hagen maps carry the name of the engraver. They were engraved by German artist Christiaen Hagen, but were not designed by him. Several artists were involved in the creation of these maps. Both urban representations display a central top-down view of the city along with portraits of important buildings at either side, and a profile perspective displaying Leiden from the south.

5.1. The commission of the maps
Groenveld et al. argued that Leiden’s city government commissioned the urban portrait in the Hagen maps with two goals in mind. Firstly, the magistrate needed a new representation of the city because of the expansion on the east side of Leiden in 1659. Despite the new expansion, land to build new houses on was still scarce within the city because of the large population influx in the seventeenth century. To efficiently utilize every available piece of land, the city needed an accurate representation of Leiden’s layout to plan the development of new structures. Secondly, after the enlargement of 1659, Leiden’s magistrate wanted to promote the city in its expanded form. Both maps were created at the height of Leiden’s wealth and population size, and as previously stated, large populations were worthy of praise. Therefore, the expansion of the city was an indication of civic greatness. Beautiful new buildings, like the lakenhal, had been built since the last map of Leiden was published in Blaeu’s atlas. Civic pride increased in the Dutch Republic during the seventeenth century. The magistrate wanted to express this pride through a new map of Leiden.

Multiple people were involved in creating the large Hagen map, which makes it difficult to assign the creation of its different elements to specific persons. The Hagen maps were created over a period of seven years, which is relatively long for a map. This long period of development time was due to the complicated demands that the city and the designers had for the portrait. On December 28, 1667,

266 Ballon & Friedman, 'Portraying the City', 693-694; Keyes, Pieter Bast, 29.
267 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 48-49.
268 Bakker, 'Het imago van de stad', 58.
269 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 49.
Leiden's magistrate commissioned mapmaker Johan Dou de Jonge (1642-1690), the son of Johannes Dou, to make a perfect map of the city. Dou finished his design in October 1669, when he received the very high sum of 742 guilders for measuring the entire city, and for designing the map. This must have been a difficult task, since Dou took almost two years to complete his design. On November 7, 1670, artist Abraham Toorenvliet received a commission of 157 guilders and 18 stuivers for designing and drawing eight portraits of notable buildings in Leiden. Toorenvliet also designed the coats of arms of the mayors of Leiden and the artwork on the coat of arms of the city for use in the map. The profile at the bottom of the map is a copy of a rare depiction of Leiden made by Claude Rivet in 1646/47. He was the son of the famous theologian André Rivet, the edelman ordinaris of prince Frederik Hendrik. The magistrate paid him 150 guilders on April 23, 1640 for his creation. Rivet died in 1646. The profile was copied in the Hagen maps with adjustments that incorporated the new eastern expansion and several buildings.

The original large Hagen map (figure 13) was created between 1669 and 1674. In July 1669, Mayor Groenendijk of Leiden was commissioned to search for someone that could engrave the map on copper plates ‘as beautifully and cheaply as possible’. He commissioned publisher Joan Blaeu (1598-1672) to engrave and publish the map made by Johan Dou. Blaeu appears to have accepted the commission from Leiden for the staggering amount of 1000 guilders on August 24, 1670. The condition that the map was to be commissioned cheaply obviously did not play a role of importance for Leiden’s magistrate. Blaeu’s son took over the commission after his father’s death. Blaeu’s company was known as one of the best publishing houses in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic. Leiden’s magistrate must have considered this reputation as a beneficial factor to commission him as the publisher. The city magistrate probably became impatient with the long time it took to find an engraver because it ordered two city secretaries on October 13, 1670 to contact Blaeu and stress that the map

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270 In the original commission, the city ordered Johan Douw “een perfecte grontcaerte van de stad [te] maken”. RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 190, Burgemeesters- en Gerechtsdagboeken van publycken saken E, (28 december 1666), fol. 35.
271 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 1431, Registers van betalingsordonnanties door burgemeesters X, (19 oktober 1669), fol. 115 ro.
272 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 8768, Bijlagen van de rekening van de tresorier ordinaris, (1670 II), fol. 100, 127.
273 Pelinck, ‘De kaart van Hagen’, Leids jaarboekje 64, (Leiden, 1954), 120. A copy
274 Pelinck, ‘De kaart van Hagen’, 121.
275 I was unable to find more information on the creation of the profile by Claude Rivet.
276 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 191, Notulboeken gehouden op de kamer van heeren burgemeesteren A, (28 juli 1669), fol. 38.
should be engraved so the matter could finally be closed.\textsuperscript{278} Blaeu sent an invoice to Leiden in 1674 which indicated that he functioned as a kind of contractor for engraving and printing the map. The invoice mentions that he outsourced the engraving of the map to Christiaen Hagen, and that Blaeu was not personally involved in any direct work on the portrait.\textsuperscript{279} Hagen charged 1227 guilders and 9 stuivers for engraving four copper plates of the central map, four plates for the coats of arms of the mayors and the city, eight plates for the portraits of buildings in the cartouche of the map, and three plates for the profile of the city underneath the central map.\textsuperscript{280} Hagen sent the plates to Leiden after he finished his engravings. Blaeu’s commission turned out to be even higher than 1000 guilders. The invoice Blaeu sent to Leiden’s magistrate specifies his total expenses at 1553.9 guilders. He expended 1227.9 guilders to pay Hagen as the engraver of the map, 5 guilders on paper for the first draft, 240 guilders on a payment for the printer, and 81 guilders on additional paper costs.\textsuperscript{281} As the invoice shows, the costs of preparing the copperplates were significant. This is because the engraving of copper plates was very precise work which required an expert craftsman. Because of the high costs associated with new engravings, engraved maps typically had a long lifespan. New maps were often based on the engravings of older maps. This affected the accuracy of new urban maps. Ballon & Fiedman argue that “as a result [of copying the maps from older engravings], the aura of authority of a map, its “truth effect,” operated independent of its degree of accuracy or facticity”.\textsuperscript{282}

\textsuperscript{278} The minutes of the mayors’ meeting mention that the secretaries were to “bezorgen dat de chaerte van der stadt aen N. Blaauw tot Amsteldam aenbesteldet magh werden, bevordert en eindl. Afgedaen”. RAL, SA II, Notulboeken gehouden op de kamer van heeren burgemeesteren A, inv. nr. 191, fol. 76.
\textsuperscript{279} Groenveld et al., \textit{Historische plattegronden}, 50.
\textsuperscript{280} RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 1433, Registers van betalingsordonnanties door burgemeesters Z, (16 oktober 1675), fol. 34.
\textsuperscript{281} RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 1433, fol. 34.
\textsuperscript{282} Ballon & Friedman, ‘Portraying the City’, 691.
Figure 13: Christiaan Hagen. “De grote Hagen,” engraving, map of Leiden.

Source: Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden, inventory number: 11179.
After he sent the copper plates for the large Hagen map to Leiden, Hagen continued to work on them for several years. In 1672, Hagen travelled from Amsterdam to Leiden on several occasions to make adjustments to the copper plates. He changed the engravings of two churches in 1673 and adjusted five of the building portraits made by Toorenvliet. He also made a completely new image for the academy building of the university. Hagen altered the profile under the central map in 1674 along with the coats of arms for the mayors. He drew a new copy for the, yet to be built, Waardkerk (also named the ‘newly founded church’ [Nieuwgefounderde kerk]). His work on the copper plates delayed the publication of the urban portrait, which irritated the mayors of Leiden. They sent him a letter on April 12, 1674, telling Hagen to finish the engraved copper plates for printing quickly. Their pleas to finish the map must have had a positive effect on Hagen, because it was printed in Amsterdam in 1674.

The first edition of the large Hagen map was cheaply distributed to a wide audience in the Dutch Republic. Typical for the second half of the seventeenth century, the urban portrait was printed and distributed in loose leaf prints. Maps were commonly divided into multiple sections so viewers could form their own maps. The large Hagen map was sold in nineteen separate prints, so buyers could purchase the parts of the map that they found interesting separately. Portraits of the Pieterskerk, Lakenhal, Vrouwenkerk, city hall, the Burcht, the Waardkerk, the academy building and the Marekerk made by Toorenvliet for the large Hagen map were incorporated in the city description of Leiden published by Simon van Leeuwen in 1672. The text written by Van Leeuwen was originally intended to function as an accompanying description to the large Hagen map, but the text proved too large to be incorporated into the map. Very important for assessing the influence and audience of this map is the invoice of the printer. Blaeu originally intended to print the map himself, but because his printing office burned down in 1672, he commissioned printer Jan Carelsen for the task on November 3, 1674. His invoice mentions the number of prints for the different sections of the map. The invoice that Blaeu sent to Leiden indicates that on November 3, 1674, Jan Carelsen printed approximately 2021 prints of

283 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 50.
284 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 8127, Bijlagen van de rekeningen van de tesorier ordinaris, 1676.
285 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 312, Missivenboek P, 12 april 1674.
286 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 50.
287 Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 22.
288 Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 22-23; S. Van Leeuwen, Korte besgryving van het Lugdunum Batavorum nu Leyden: vervatende een verhaal van haar grond-stand, oudheid, opkomst, voort-gang ende stads-bestier; sampt het graven van den Ouden ende Niewen Rijn, met de oude ende nieuwe uytwateringen van de selve (Leiden, 1672), 30, 36, 42-43, 62, 68, 70, 76. Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inventory number: 312 G 5.
289 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 49.
290 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 1433, fol. 34.
the large Hagen map. The different sections of the map were not all printed in the same quantities. For example, the eight portraits of important buildings were printed 500 times for each image, but the three sections of the profile under the central map were only printed 75 times for each section, for a total of 225 prints. The large central map was also printed 500 times. The printing costs for the first edition amounted to 314 guilders. The large number of prints indicates that the map was meant for a wide audience.

Leiden’s government decided to sell the maps in 1674. The entire large Hagen map would cost 4 guilders, the central bird’s eye view 2 guilders and 6 stuivers, the profile under the large map 1 guilder, the separate portraits of buildings 2 stuivers and 8 penningen a piece, and the coats of arms 15 stuivers. These prices indicate that the city did not intend to sell these maps for a profit. To make a profit, the city would have to charge far more for the maps, since the total expenses for its creation add up to the staggering number of approximately 2766 guilders. It is highly likely that Leiden’s magistrate sold these maps cheaply as part of a promotion campaign for the city. The many prints at low costs suggest that the city wanted to reach an audience outside of the traditional elites. However, the maps were also given away as gifts to friendly magistrates. After Carelsen finished printing the maps, seven colored copies were sent to Leiden in gilded frames. These copies were probably meant for the mayors that had their coats of arms presented on the map, and for display in Leiden’s city hall. The map’s display at the city hall showed its purpose as a promotional tool, because visiting dignitaries would get to see the entire city, its skyline with multiple towers, and its famous buildings. The map was given as a gift to the dijkgraaf and hoogheemraden of the Rijnland, two clerks of the Leiden’s government, each branch of Leiden’s textile industry, each captain of the local militia, the widow of Mayor Groenendijk, who had his coat of arms displayed on top of the map, and to the waterschap Woerden. Pelinck mentions that a print was also spotted in Delft’s city hall. This map could have been a gift by Leiden’s government to Delft to facilitate negotiations in the States of Holland and promote Leiden’s prestigious identity.

In 1675, Leiden’s magistrate was notified that Hagen had engraved and printed a smaller edition of the urban portrait. This version is commonly known as the small Hagen map (figure 14). On June 3,
1675, Leiden’s magistrate sent Hagen a letter demanding that he stopped printing and distributing this version of the map.299 The letter sent to Hagen indicates that the city wanted to control the distribution of the image. To ensure that the city was the only entity able to distribute the map, Leiden’s magistrate bought the newly engraved copper plates of the small map from Hagen for 425 guilders, and requested a patent for the small Hagen map from the States of Holland on July 12, 1675.300 This patent was incorporated in the original version of the small Hagen map in the top left corner of the central portrait.301 The patent was only valid in the area that fell under the authority of the States of Holland, which suggests that Leiden’s government targeted an audience within the province. Even after Leiden bought the copper plates from him, Hagen was still not satisfied with the final product. The city paid him an additional 486 guilders and eleven stuivers for twelve days of labor on the map in October 1675.302 During this period, he also engraved the patent of the States of Holland into the copper plates.303 The magistrate decided to take the printing and distribution of both editions of the map into its own hands. The city commissioned Hagen to purchase a printing press to print both versions of the map.304 The city hired Leiden based printer Aernout Doude to print both editions of the map in the city.305 Leiden’s city government gave the small Hagen map as a gift to all preachers of the church communities in the city on July 15, 1675.306 The city lowered the prices of the large Hagen map to three guilders for the total portrait and one guilder for the entire small Hagen map in 1677.307 The price reduction suggests that the city wanted to reach an even broader audience with the map by making it more affordable in its totality. Since there were no new city expansions in Leiden after the prints of the Hagen maps, they were used to represent the city for a large part of the eighteenth century. The small Hagen map was republished in 1698 in Amsterdam. Another edition was published and widely distributed in 1732.308 The Hagen maps were used as administrative tools in addition to promotional instruments. Copies of the small Hagen map, available in the Bodel Nijenhuis collection, show the expansions of the city, the different

299 The city asked Hagen to “geen van de voornoemde kaartjes the divulgeren of te versenden om redenen die haer Ed. Aghtb. U alsdan sullen bekent maecaken. RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 312, 3 juni 1675.
300 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 7611, Rekeningen van de tresorie ordinaris en zijn functionele opvolgers, (25 juni 1675), fol. 265 ro.
301 Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN Port 14 N 43.
302 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 8127, 14 januari 1676.
303 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 52.
304 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 8519, Rekeningen van de tresorier extra-ordinaris, (12 oktober 1675), fol. 115 ro.
305 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 8520, Rekeningen van de tresorier extra-ordinaris, (1676), fol. 114 ro.
306 RAL, SA II, inv. nr. 191, fol. 221.
308 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 52.
neighborhoods, the different militia companies, and the area of the gunpowder disaster marked in red paint in 1811.\textsuperscript{309}

\textsuperscript{309} Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN Port 14 N 44; Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN Port 14 N 45; Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN Port 14 N 46; Leiden University Library, Special Collections, inv. nr: COLLBN Port 14 N 47.
Figure 14: Christiaan Hagen. “Engraving with the small map of Leiden”.

Source: Museum De Lakenhal, Leiden. Inventory number: z.n. 1675.
5.2. Visual analysis of the large and small Hagen maps
Authors of chorographies often described the surrounding countryside of a city and its citizens to emphasize its urban superiority. \textsuperscript{310} Features of the countryside can also be discerned in the Hagen maps. For example, people are seen taking a stroll and enjoying Leiden’s countryside in the profile of the map. Both maps show Leiden from different perspectives. Low perspectives generally privilege buildings in the foreground, while bird’s eye perspectives display the city almost evenly. \textsuperscript{311} The large Hagen map displays the city as a central portrait, surrounded by eight depictions of important buildings in Leiden. On the left side of the central map in the cartouche, the Pieterskerk, Hooglandse kerk/Pancraskerk, Marekerk, and the Waardkerk are displayed. On the right side of the cartouche, the Burcht, city hall, the Lakenhal, and the academy building with the Hortus Botanicus are presented. \textsuperscript{312} Except for the Waardkerk, all portrayed buildings were famous landmarks of the city, displayed to promote Leiden’s greatness. In the top of the cartouche, four coats of arms of the mayors in office are displayed with the coat of arms of the city in the middle. What stands out from the coat of arms of the city is the ornamental crown displayed on top. This might be a referential claim to sovereignty within the province of Holland to confirm the greatness of the city. If the city would make any such claim during the seventeenth century, the period in which the maps were made would have been the most logical time because of Leiden’s wealth and political power in Holland. In the central depiction of the city, Johan Dou is mentioned as the designer of the portrait. \textsuperscript{313} All of the text in the portraits is in the vernacular. This suggests an audience for the map within the Dutch Republic.

The map emphasizes the (religious) moral, scholarly and industrial identities of the city. The central portrait displays Leiden as a distinctive entity from its countryside because no structures are visible around the city. The fortifications and water around the city also emphasize the distinction between the urban environment and the surrounding land, and confirm its reputation as a safe city. The central image accurately depicts the positions of the most important buildings in Leiden. Five churches are depicted in built-up positions in the central map. The incorporation of the Waardse church can be an indication that the map was meant to remain relevant in the future. The churches’ display in the central portrait are a testimony to good governance by the city’s magistrate through the promotion of Christian morality. The large church towers in the profile emphasize the protestant character of the city. In the

\textsuperscript{310} Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 117.
\textsuperscript{311} Ballon & Friedman, ‘Portraying the City’, 687.
\textsuperscript{312} Museum de Lakenhal, inv. nr. 11179. Taverne, In ’t land van belofte, 233-234.
\textsuperscript{313} The text on the map states that it was “Afgemeten en Afgeteyckent” by Johan Douw. Museum de Lakenhal, Leiden, inv. nr. 11179.
seventeenth century, towers were displayed as admirable parts of a city’s skyline. The profile perspective displays a view of Leiden similar to what an approaching visitor might see. All of the large towers in the city are emphasized by the low point of view of the profile. The large buildings and fortifications displayed in the profile contribute to the greatness of the city. The anatomical theater maintains a prominent position in the central map. The incorporation of this building, along with a representation of the new tower on the academy building in the central map and in the third portrait in the right side of the cartouche, emphasize Leiden’s identity as a university city. The new location of the Hortus Botanicus is also shown on the central image. The industrial identity is emphasized in the map by the incorporation of the lakenhal as the fourth image on the right side of the cartouche. The portrait shows artisans and merchants bringing their wares to the building for quality control and trade.

The small Hagen map differs from the large edition in several ways. The central portrait and profile at the bottom of the cartouche are equal to the versions in the large Hagen map. However, at the bottom of the central map, a line of text details that the small Hagen map was printed with a patent for 15 years. The difference between an original print and a copy can be distinguished by the presence of the patent upper left corner. After the patent of the States of Holland had expired, the text was replaced by a compass on the engraved copper plates, so all subsequent prints were published with the compass instead of the patent. The small Hagen map is accompanied by sixteen portraits of Leiden’s landmarks, contrasting with the eight in the large Hagen map. On the left side of the cartouche on the small Hagen map, the Pieterskerk, Hooglandse kerk/Pancraskerk, city hall, the Burcht, Marekerk and the academy building with the Hortus Botanicus, the lakenhal and the Waardkerk are displayed in the building portraits. The right portraits in the cartouche show the different gates of the city walls: the Witte Poort, Morsch Poort, Haerlemmer Poort, Mare Poort, Hooge Woerd Poort, Koe Poort, and the Blauwe Poort. All these portraits were engraved on one copper plate, so after printing they were cut out and placed on the sides of the central portrait. There are three coats of arms depicted on the small Hagen map that differ from the images in the large edition because other mayors had entered into office in 1675, so Hagen incorporated their coats of arms into the map. Displays of wealth, size and important buildings emphasize a city’s economic prosperity and greatness in chorographies. The same could be

315 Museum de Lakenhal, inv. nr. z.n. 1675. Even though the central portrait on the small Hagen map is a copy of the urban depiction made by Johan Dou, Hagen added his name to the small map, which recognizes him as the creator of the portrait.
316 Museum de Lakenhal, inv. nr. z.n. 1675.
317 Groenveld et al., Historische plattegronden, 52.
318 Verbaan, De woonplaats van de faam, 117.
said for both Hagen maps. The incorporation of the new expansion of the city, and the portraits of the important buildings represent the greatness of Leiden at the height of its wealth, population size and power in Holland.

Both editions of the map were created for promotional purposes, and for administrative use. However, the promotional aspect was much more important, given the broad distribution of the map at low prices. The portraits of Leiden displayed by the Hagen maps can be characterized as bird’s eye perspectives and profiles with future spatial planning in mind.\textsuperscript{319} The maps express elements of the city’s religious and scholarly identities, while the incorporation of the \textit{Lakenhal} in the cartouche refers to the industrial reputation of Leiden. Both maps were published and printed in large volumes. The Hagen maps was published several times by the city during the seventeenth, which indicates that Leiden’s magistrate was very involved in the promotion of the city through the distribution of the map. The high expenses of the city for the creation of the map, compared to the low selling prices, emphasize the map’s important function in the promotion of Leiden’s reputation and influence in the Dutch Republic. The patent provided by the States of Holland and the number of prints for the map suggest a wide audience in the province. The display of the large Hagen map in the city hall suggests an elite audience of dignitaries. Because the map was sold and used as a gift to friendly magistrates, both elite dignitaries in Holland, and non-elites were able to view the urban portrait. The wide audience must have increased Leiden’s prestige in the States of Holland and across the entire province.

\textsuperscript{319} The planning aspect is largely caused by the incorporation of the unbuilt \textit{Waardkerk}. If this church is not taken into account, the Hagen maps would fall within the authentic/original urban map category.
Conclusion

The historiographical cartographic paradigm on the use of maps as tools for urban promotion has shifted from an emphasis on accuracy, to a focus on the subjective story that maps could tell in the second half of the twentieth century. The common assumption among contemporary historians is that maps were used for urban promotion. However, was this also the case for Leiden between 1574 and 1700? In this thesis I analyzed multiple maps, commissioned by Leiden’s city government during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to answer the question: how was Leiden’s civic identity established and promoted through urban maps of Leiden between 1574 and 1700, and to whom was Leiden’s civic identity promoted through these maps? The combined categorizations from Huussens jr. and Bakker provided the tools to define the different maps researched in this thesis. I defined each map according to these categorizations, and applied the four questions provided by Regan to determine if, and how, the maps commissioned by Leiden’s magistrate were used as tools to promote the city’s reputation outside of its city walls. To determine the function of urban portraits of Leiden, I have also analyzed the reason why maps were commissioned by Leiden’s city government.

The bird’s eye perspective of Leiden, created with future spatial planning in mind, by Hans Liefrinck for Guicciardini’s description of the Dutch Republic in 1574, is a relatively accurate map of the city. Most important buildings are represented in their correct location in built-up position. However, the main goal of the map was not to accurately represent Leiden, but to promote the city in Guicciardini’s chorography as an illustrative supplement to the textual description. The map displays an urban identity separate from its surrounding countryside, and the portrait shows good governance of its magistrate through the depiction of church buildings and heavy fortifications. The fortifications emphasize Leiden’s identity as a strategic city in Holland because of the siege in 1574. The influence that the map had on its viewers is difficult to analyze, but the large number of reprints of Guicciardini’s book in multiple languages indicates that the map had a large (inter)national audience for the city’s reputation.

The historicizing bird’s eye perspective made by Liefrinck of the siege and relief of the city in 1574 was an important tool for the promotion of Leiden in the urban competition in Holland. The historical narrative of the portrait clearly emphasizes Leiden’s identity and reputation as an important city in the province that withstood the Spanish siege. Liefrinck intended to tell the story of the siege and relief of Leiden instead of creating a precise depiction of the city. The map commissioned by Leiden’s  

320 Peeters, ‘Stadsplattegrond en stadsbeschrijving’, 49.
magistrate framed the relief of the city as a national success story. The siege functioned as an example of civic steadfastness for other cities in the Dutch Republic. The relief of Leiden was promoted by its magistrate as a turning point in the Dutch Revolt, and therefore, relevant on a national level. The wide distribution of Orlers’ chorography in the Dutch Republic and Braun & Hogenberg’s atlas in Europe provided the map with a wide audience amongst the elites and non-elites of Europe and the Republic. The incorporation of Leiden in Braun & Hogenberg’s atlas allowed Leiden to promote itself in the competition with other cities in Holland. The possibility of a commission for the map in the atlas by Leiden’s government indicates that the magistrate wanted to promote the siege and relief aspect of the city’s identity. The six original cities of the States of Holland were all represented in the atlas, so Leiden needed to be included to maintain its position in the urban competition of the province. Leiden’s image in the atlas increased the renown of the siege and relief amongst local and European elites, emphasizing the city’s importance to the province and to the Dutch Revolt. The image’s display on commemorative medals given as gifts to magistrates and dignitaries also emphasizes the map’s promotional role in the urban competition of the States of Holland. The gift of this medal to friendly magistrates in the province might have served to gather political support for Leiden in the States of Holland. Overall, Liefrinck’s historical map promoted the relief as an element of the city’s identity that Leiden used to gain a political advantage in the urban competition within the province.

Because of the multiple perspectives used in the story of Liefrinck’s second map of the relief, the design on Lanckaert’s tapestry, and in Orlers’ second edition, falls into two categories: a historicizing bird’s eye perspective, and a historicizing bird’s eye image. The large expense of the city for the creation of the map during wartime emphasizes the promotional importance that Leiden’s magistrate attached to the portrait. The historical narrative of the relief of Leiden prioritizes the subjective message of the map over topographical accuracy, confirming its ideological-commemorative function. This map displays the importance of Leiden in Holland through the story of the beggar fleet’s route to the relief of the city. The narrative told by the ships symbolize the province coming to the aid of Leiden, emphasizing its important position in Holland. The beggar ships symbolize the province coming to the aid of Leiden, emphasizing its important position in Holland. The image of the relief of Leiden was promoted by the tapestry to elites in Holland and the Dutch Republic, and by its incorporation in Orlers chorography to non-elites in the Low Countries. The tapestry’s prominent position in the city hall allowed the magistrate to promote the relief as an element of Leiden’s civic identity to visiting magistrates and dignitaries. The display of the tapestry helped Leiden’s magistrate to increase its political influence in the States of Holland, thus increasing the
city’s position in the arena of urban competition in the province. The tapestry’s ceremonial display away from the city during official visits by the magistrate also emphasizes the map’s function as a promotional tool for the city in important political affairs in the Dutch Republic. The map’s use in the glass stained window given by Delft to the Sint-Janskerk, promotes Leiden’s civic identity to the elites of Holland. It proves that the element of the relief in Leiden’s urban identity was a powerful narrative in the province during the Dutch Revolt, and shows the eagerness of cities in Holland to affiliate themselves with this aspect of the city’s reputation.

Leiden’s bird’s eye perspectives for future spatial planning made by Bast and Blaeu establish and promote Leiden as one of the great cities of the Dutch Republic. Both maps emphasize the city’s industrial character and its position as a center of knowledge in the Dutch Republic. The element of Christian morality displayed by the churches in the city promotes the good governance of Leiden by its magistrate. The included tributes to the city’s government emphasize the good governance element of the maps. The incorporation of Leiden in Blaeu’s atlas exposes the map to a large elite audience in Europe. The map’s incorporation in the atlas allowed the city to promote itself in the context of the urban competition in Holland, because the other important cities of the province were included in the atlas as well. Leiden had one the longest description in the atlas of all the maps from Holland, indicating it as one of the most important cities in the province due to its remarkable history and architecture. The city map also had the longest list of famous landmarks in the legend of all cities from Holland with 149 listed localities. An important feature of the atlas that promoted Leiden’s prestigious position in the province was the discussion of its ancient origin, confirming the city as a prominent historical factor in the political landscape of Holland. The maps made by Bast and Blaeu contributed to Leiden’s prestige in Holland and helped the city to identity itself as prominent political actor in the province.

Johannes Dou’s authentic urban bird’s eye image created in 1649 accurately displays the distances of objects in Leiden’s surrounding countryside to the city. The map shows Leiden as the dominant political actor in the Rijnland area, and its dominance over its lordships and surrounding countryside. Because Dou’s drawing remained the only copy, its audience in the Dutch Republic was limited to visitors in Leiden’s city hall. The map’s placement in city hall shows its value as a promotional tool for Leiden’s magistrate to assert the city’s authority in the region. The magistrate would have used the map in discussions with dignitaries from the Hoogheemraadschap Rijnland and Leiden’s lordships to show the city’s jurisdiction over its surrounding countryside, thereby confirming its dominant position in the area.
The Hagen maps are characterized as bird’s eye perspectives, and profiles, with future spatial planning in mind, because they display Leiden from different viewpoints. The future planning aspect of the maps is due to the inclusion of the unbuilt Waardkerk. Their function as an administrative portrait of the city is emphasized by the accuracy of the important buildings shown in the central map. Several copies of the map were found with administrative notes and illustrations from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. However, the most prominent feature of the Hagen maps is their promotional value to the city. They show Leiden as a city governed by moral magistrates through the depiction of its many churches. The industrial and academic elements of Leiden’s civic identity are also represented in the Hagen maps. The skyline depicted in the profile shows the civic pride of the city in its many towers, emphasizing the greatness of the city. The representation of Leiden’s greatness in the profile is prioritized over accuracy, indicating it as a medium for the subjective promotion of the city’s reputation. The large number of prints of the maps, published by Leiden itself, shows the involvement of the city in the distribution of the portraits. The staggering expenses that the city paid for the creation of the map, and the low selling price, indicate the city’s focus on a wide audience that existed of elites and non-elites. Both maps are printed in the vernacular, so the intended audience was mainly located in the Dutch republic. The fact that the maps were given to magistrates in Holland as gifts, emphasizes the promotional value of the Hagen maps for Leiden in the province. The city used the maps to improve Leiden’s negotiating position in the States of Holland by giving them to regents as gifts, and by displaying the portraits in the city hall. To conclude, both editions of the Hagen map were used by Leiden’s government to promote the city in Holland and the Dutch republic during the seventeenth century.

The discussions on the city maps of Leiden in this thesis show that Leiden used urban representations to promote elements of its civic identity to an elite and non-elite audience in Holland, the Dutch Republic and Europe. To answer the research question: Leiden’s civic identity was established and promoted in urban maps through the visualization of its industrial character, a (Christian) morality in the city and good governance in its leadership, safety provided by its urban defenses, the siege and relief of 1574, its ancient roots in the province, the city as a center of knowledge, its circular shape, and the river flowing through the middle of the city. The civic identity established by a combination of these elements framed Leiden as an important city in Holland and the Dutch Republic. Maps promoted the message of the city’s greatness in Holland and the Dutch Republic through their display in the city hall to visiting dignitaries, and through the distribution of printed loose leaf maps, published chorographies and atlases to elites and non-elites in Holland, the Dutch Republic and Europe and between 1574-1700.
The use of maps in the context of the urban competition in Holland is illustrated by their display in Leiden’s city hall. Large commissions by the magistrate show that Leiden’s government saw the representation of the city through maps as an important element in the promotion of its civic identity in the context of the urban competition in Holland. Urban maps of the city served to confer Leiden’s prestige and importance in the province upon visiting dignitaries. Especially the tapestry by Lanckaert shows that maps were displayed at city hall to politically influence magistrates from other cities. These magistrates came to Leiden to discuss political alliances and voting behavior in the States of Holland. During votes on important matters, Leiden required the support of other cities to counter the political power of Amsterdam. The promotion of Leiden’s importance in the province through the display of the tapestry, the map of Johannes Dou, and the Hagen maps at the city hall shows that Leiden’s magistrate attempted to coerce urban representatives to support Leiden in the States of Holland by exposing them to images that confirmed the city’s greatness. Therefore, urban maps of Leiden functioned as coercive promotional items in the context of the urban competition in Holland by reflecting the political power of the city.

Most of Leiden’s promotional portraits were used in conjunction with chorographies and atlases that provided an accompanying description of the city. The incorporation of urban maps in chorographies and atlases shows that city maps are most effective in their promotion of a civic identity if context is provided by accompanying descriptions of the city. In Orlers’ book, Leiden was the only subject of praise, and maps of the city did not need to compete for attention with other urban representations. This allowed the extensive descriptions in Orlers’ chorography to complement and build up the story of the city’s identity told by the maps. However, in the atlases of Blaeu, and Braun & Hogenberg, other cities were displayed and promoted in addition to Leiden. The joint display of cities in Holland illustrates the urban competition in the province. The urban competition in Holland is visible in the atlases through the use of color in the city maps. The use of bright colors in the maps of Leiden incorporated into Blaeu’s atlases shows the need to draw the attention of the reader. The urban competition in Holland is therefore illustrated by the competition for the reader’s attention in the publicized atlases.

The maps of Leiden discussed in this thesis all prioritized a subjective story over accuracy. This shows the need for historians to interpret urban representations as subjective historical sources with a story to tell, instead of judging their historical relevance by the level of accuracy. This thesis shows that urban maps are important sources for the historiographic study of urban identity and civic reputation in the Dutch Republic in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Compared to chorographies, poems,
artworks, sermons, celebrations, plays, architecture, and material objects; maps are valuable historical sources for the study of civic identity promotion and urban reputation management in the Dutch Republic during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Urban maps promoted a city’s reputation in ways that were difficult to capture in chorographies or poems, by displaying its greatness, and by telling the story of a city’s history, identity and reputation, all in a single print.
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