

Nederlandse religiegeschiedenis

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PROLOGUE

Guilders of the Giants' Graves – Prehistoric Data – Roman Sources – Territory of the Present-day Netherlands – Religious History – Periodization

PART I – MELTING POT OF RELIGIOSITY (50 BC -1000)

1. Dynamic Pantheon

Romans – Germans – Celts – Frisians – Core Period: 50 BC-500 AD

1.1. Mythical Geography

Myths of Origin – Cattle Breeding – Cattle Robbery – Priest-kings – Land and Water – Discoveries in Peat Bogs

1.2. Ritual Communication

Private and Public Cults – Open-air Sanctuaries – Burial Fields – Native and Roman Deities – Nehalennia - Sacrificial Practices

1.3. Intentional Syncretism

Interpretatio Romana – Batavians – Hercules Magusanus – Gallo-Roman Temples - Cult of the Emperor

2. The March of Christianity

Frisians – Franks – Saxons – Merovingians – Carolingians – Core Period: 500-800

2.1. Politics and Mission

Origin of Christianity – Growth in Roman Empire – Episcopal Sees – Clovis – Frankish Expansion – Irish Mission – Willibrord – Missionary Bishopric in Frisia

2.2. Resistance and Supremacy

Division of Frisian Lands – King Radbod – Laborious Christianization – Boniface – Subjection of the Saxons – Formation of Bishopric of Utrecht – Other Bishoprics

2.3. God and the Idols

Missionary Preaching – Baptismal Vow of Utrecht – Repudiation of Heathen Gods and Practices – Frisian Law – Syncretism – Heathen Names – Christian Calendar

3. Christianization of Culture

Division of Carolingian Empire – Frankish Church Reform – Feudal System – Middle Empire –
Core Period: 800-1000

3.1. Regime under Threat

Expansion of the Normans – Incursions of the Vikings – Christian Danish Kings – Survival of
Christianity

3.2. Learned Ritualism

Christian Scribal Culture – Mission Books – Liturgy Books – Books of Penance – Theological
Tradition

3.3. Christianized Space

Central Locations – Topography of the Sacred and Diabolic – Supernatural Beings – Hell and
Heaven – Importation of Relics

PART II – CHRISTIAN OMNIPRESENCE (1000-1580)

4. Regulated Faith

Holy Roman Empire – Gregorian Reforms – Investiture Controversy – Territorial Princes –
Crusades – Jews – Core Period: 1000-1300

4.1. Institutional Order

Church Building – Chapters – Archdeaconates – Parishes – Pastors – *Eigenkerken* – *Seends* –
Synods – Suffragan Bishops – Election of Bishops

4.2. Sacramental Religion

Sacred Rituals – Baptism – Mass – Transsubstantiation – Veneration of the Saints – *Cunera of
Rhenen* – Preaching – Confession – Illness – Marriage – Sacraments and Sacramentalia –
Ordination of Priests – Celibacy – Clergy – Sextons – Exorcists and Fortune Tellers

4.3. Communal Life

Canons – Monks – Vows – Monasteries – Cloisters – Cluniac Monks – Hermits – Tanchelm –
Norbertines – Cistercians – Orders of Knights – Mendicant Orders – Founders of Monasteries –
Women's Cloisters – Beguines – Third Order – Intercessory Function

5. Holy High Tension

God's Scourges – Ranks and Estates – Burgundian Politics – Western Schism – Avignon System
– Schism of Utrecht – Core Period: 1300-1500

5.1. Insured Afterlife

Gothic Period – Purgatory – Mediation through Prayer – Indulgences – Jubilees – Memorial
Masses – Patron Saints – Veneration of Mary – Eucharistic Devotion – Bleeding Hosts –

Pilgrimages – Recluses – Lidwina of Schiedam – Charity – Brotherhoods – Particular Chapters – Observing Pastors – Concubinage – Religion and Society

5.2. Entreated Favours

The ‘Cloistering’ of Society – Modern Devotion – Geert Grote – Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life – Windesheim Congregation – Third Order of Saint Francis – Observants – Cell Brothers – Jews – Flagellants – Pogroms – Gypsies – Heretics

5.3. Pious Reflection

Monkish Labors – Theological Books – Scholasticism – Mysticism – Primary Education and Latin Schools – Universities – Science – Thomas a Kempis – Scribal Piety – Vernacular – Books of Hours – Printing Press

6. Broken Unity

Catholicism – Protestantism – Seventeen Dutch Provinces – Eighty Years’ War – Republic of the United Provinces – Core Period: 1500-1580

6.1. Sequence of Reformations

Mass Communication – Reformational ‘Solas’ – Biblicism – Spiritualism – Humanism – Erasmus – Lutheranism – Zwinglianism – Anabaptism – Calvinism – Predestination – Right of Resistance – Council of Trent – Tridentine Catholicism

6.2. Changing Regimes

Suppression of Jews and Heretics – Imperial Edicts – Martyrs – Peace of Augsburg – William of Oranje – Philip II – Petition of Nobles – Field Preaching – Coornhert – Refugee Congregations – Partition of the Netherlands – Suppression of Magic – Persecution of Witches

6.3. Shifting Loyalties

The Undecided – Conventicles – Anticlericalism – Revolutionary Baptists – Siege of Münster – Old Church’s Loss of Purpose – ‘Protestantizing’ and Traditional Catholics – Recovery of Anabaptism – Spread of Calvinism – Sanctification and Discipline – Iconoclastic Storm – Immigration from the Southern Netherlands – Volunteer Church – Role of Women

PART III – Semblance of Unity (1580-1850)

7. Confessional State

Union of Utrecht – Twelve Years’ Truce – Peace of Münster – Confessionalization – Core Period: 1580-1650

7.1 Public Church

Construction of the Reformed Church – Spiritual Property – Educational Facilities – Ministers – Relations between Church and State – Arminius and Gomarus – Synod of Dort – Confessions – Bible Translation – Church Organization

7.2 Religious Hierarchy

Religious Pluriformity – Remonstrants – Lutherans – Mennonites – Catholics – The Holland Mission – Regular and Secular Clergy – Jews – Grand Meeting – Poor Relief – Policy of Toleration

7.3 Ritual Parallelism

Rites of Passage – Religious Competition – ‘Churchification’ – Bibles – Devotions – Inter-confessional Conviviality – Marriage – Baptism – Religious Education – Initiation rituals – Lord’s Supper and Mass – Spirituality and Godliness – Discipline – Church Interiors – Song and Organ-playing – Church Buildings – Burial – Pilgrimage – Sacralization of Time, Space and Objects

8. Calvinist Republic

The Republic as Confessional State – Orthodoxy and Heterodoxy – Reason and Experience – Core Period: 1650-1750

8.1 Controlled Variety

Religious Conflicts – Voetius and Cocceius – Cartesians – Rationalists – Mystics and Chiliasts – Antinomians – Mennonites and Remonstrants – Ultra-Calvinists – Voetians and Cocceians

8.2 Inner Experience

Pietism – ‘Further Reformation’ – Labadism – Augustinism and Jansenism – ‘Old Episcopal Clergy’ – Experiential Religion – Enthusiasm – Herrnhutters – The Nijkerk Troubles

8.3 Pastoral Market

Communication Networks – Book Market – Censorship – Training of Ministers and Priests – Theology – Knowledge of Islam and Judaism – Professionalization and Social Status – Brotherhoods – *kloppen* – ‘Comforters of the Sick’ and Catechizers – Schoolmasters – Lay Preachers – Sermon Culture – Prayer Days – Native Saints

9. Protestant Nation

Civil Liberty – National Consciousness – Patriot Period – Batavian Republic – French Period – Core Period: 1750-1850

9.1 Virtuous Sociability

Enlightenment – Citizenship – Civilization – Responsibility – Patriotism – Natural Religion – Societies – Freemasonry – Missions – Popular Enlightenment – Periodicals – Public Opinion – Psalmodies – Hymnals

9.2 Equal Rights

Protestant Civilizing Impulse – Political Equality – Religious Equality – Separation between Church and State – Uniform Church Administration – State Control – General Regulation – School Supervision – Regulation of Catholics – Catholic discontent

9.3 Elitist Leadership

Criticism of Tradition – Apologetics – Liberal Protestantism – National Consciousness – Groningen Theologians – Orthodox Revival – Conservative Catholicism – *Réveil* – *Afscheiding* – Pietist Revival – Prophecy and Expectations of the Future

PART IV – Varied Citizenship (1850-heden)

10. The Emancipated Dutch

Constitution of 1848 – Emergence of Middle Class – Increase in Level of Education – Expansion of Electorate – Public Opinion – Core Period: 1850-1920

10.1 Bourgeois Civilization

'Isms' and Schools – Status of Ministers – Modernism – Liberal Protestantism – Ethical School – Orthodox Protestants – Leftist *doleantie* – Spiritism – Theosophy – Comparative Religious Science – Orientalism – Agnosticism and Humanism – Neo-Calvinism – Thomism and Integralism – Zionism

10.2 Mass Mobilization

Jewish Integration – Ultra-montanism – Restoration of Episcopal Administration – Catholic Cultural Development – Old Catholics – Struggle for Christian education – Liberal Catholics – *Gereformeerden* under Kuyper – Catholics under Schaepman – End of the Struggle – *Doleantie* – Visions of a National Church – *Gereformeerde Bonders* – Pietists under Kersten

10.3 National Edification

Liberal State – Civil Society – Charity – Home Mission – Free Evangelical Groups – Associations for Education – Congregations and Brotherhoods – Non-churchgoing Poor – Labor Organizations – Christian Social Thought – Social Laws – Christian Socialists

11. The Active Dutch

'Pillarization' – Impulse to Organize – Interbellum – Neutrality – Second World War – Core Period: 1920-1960

11.1 Within the Pillars

Political Parties – Spiritual Separation – Discipline and Uniformity – Education – Press – Sociability – Radio – Missionary Spirit – 'The Rich Roman Life' – Conflicts in the World of the *Gereformeerden* – *Vrijgemaakt Gereformeerden* – 'Light' and 'Heavy' Pietists

11.2 Around the Pillars

Small Religious Groups – Pentecostal Movement – Urban Evangelization – Humanists – Free Catholics and Theosophers – De-Christianization – Jewry – Persecution of Jews – Anti-Semitism – Arian Religion – National-Socialists – Legalists

11.3 Above the Pillars

Resistance – Vision of a 'Breakthrough' – Liberal Protestantism – *Hervormde* Ideals – New Church Order – Social Engagement – Barth – *Hervormd* Middle Orthodoxy – *Hervormd* Apostolate – Ecumenism

12. The Free Dutch

Welfare State – Liberalization – De-Christianization – Individualization – Macro-Ethics – Core Period: 1960-today

12.1 Polarized Gospel

Catholic Renewal – Pastoral Council – Celibacy Issue – 1960s – Polarization between Left and Right – De-pillarization – Liberation and Solidarity – Low Church Experiments – Parties on Left and Right – Conservative Protestants – Jewish-Christian Dialogue – Conservative Catholics – Ecumenism – *Samen op Weg* – the Unified Protestant Church of the Netherlands (PKN)

12.2 Ethnic Diversity

Immigration – Indonesian Christians – Moluccan Christians – Surinam Hindustanis – *Winti* – Various Migrant Groups – Chinese – Eastern Orthodox – Turkish and Moroccan Muslims – Mosque Building – Islamic Pillarization? – Popular Islam – Official Islam – Sunnis en Shiites – Social Opposition – Second-Generation Muslims – Pure Islam – Conservative Muslim Community – Liberal Jews – Orthodox Jews

12.3 Customized Religion

Secularism – Jehovah's Witnesses – Evangelicals – Prayer Healing – Africans Group – Healings – New Age – Anthroposophy – Alternative Meaning – Eastern Renaissance – Sects – New Religiosity – Subjectivism and Feminization – The Post-modern Religious Feeling – Selling Religion

EPILOGUE

The Giants' Graves – Dutch Individuality? – Religion in the Netherlands

SUMMARY *Dutch Religious History*

Such a small country, but so divided in terms of religion. That one sentence may well reflect the core nature of religious history in the Netherlands. For centuries religious traditions have met in this country at the edge of the European continent: traditions that have inspired the Dutch under ever-changing circumstances. These traditions have had far-reaching effects on Dutch culture and society, and have sometimes put strain on social relationships. With this book, Joris van Eijnatten and Fred van Lieburg present the first easy-reading, scientifically-sound summary of two thousand years of religious history in the Netherlands. The authors emphasize the diversity of religion in its historical context, reviewing numerous representations, rituals, groups and leaders against the backdrop of political, ecclesiastic, social and intellectual developments. This informative overview is indispensable for those who are interested in the history of religion and religious culture.

The continuous factor in Dutch religious history is the country's inhabitants: both indigenous people and migrants, both domestic and foreign to the soil of what is now called the Netherlands. This book focuses on the way in which these people have given religious meaning to their thoughts and actions, in ritual behavior, spiritual experience, religious guidelines, sacred texts, doctrines and convictions of faith. In short, this is a cultural history of religion in the broadest sense of the word. Within the limited scope of this overview, emphasis is placed on the political, social and cultural conditions that made the development of religious representations and practices possible in the public domain. Naturally this involves a wide range of religious types and expressions, related to various religious directions, groups and churches: all enjoy ample attention in this book. However, the book does not primarily focus on the individual faiths and confessions, but on the shape that religion has taken in the culture and society, and on the ways in which it has become manifest over space and time. The authors devote ample attention to holy sites, sacred objects and holy days, and also to the way in which individuals and groups – clergy and laypeople, broad churches and exclusive societies alike – have appropriated sacral value in the past.

The book is divided into four periods: 'Melting Pot of Religiosity' discusses the period from 50 BC to 1000 AD, 'Christian Omnipresence' the period from 1000 to 1580, 'Semblance of Unity' the period from 1580 to 1850, and 'Varied Citizenship' the time after 1850. Information in Roman texts about the region now known as the

Netherlands is the starting point. The years 1000, 1580 and 1850 are used as milestones. At each of these milestones a significant change was seen in the place and function of religion in the public domain. Difficult to date but extremely important is the transition set, for the sake of simplicity, in about the year 1000. This milestone was the establishment of a single, dominant religion in the Low Countries: Christianity. Before the tenth century there had been a wide diversity in the local and regional types of religiosity. It was in this mixture that Christianity not only arrived but eventually gained a dominant position in society.

The milestones 1580 and 1850 also mark changes in the place religion held in the public domain, and both are closely related to religious developments. The year 1580 points to the importance of the reformation movement within European Christianity. Governments awarded the monopoly of public religious practice to one of the various movements in divided Christendom. This transition took place in or around 1580 in most of what is now the Netherlands. The legal authorities committed to enforcing the Reformed Church, and the Roman Catholic Mass was forbidden. The year 1850 refers to matters including the implementation of the new constitution in 1848, which put an official end to the privileges of certain religions, therewith heralding various processes of emancipation. The concept of freedom would henceforth play a prominent part in public religious practice. This overview of religious history ends in the present (2006).

Within each of the four main periods, the subject matter is chronologically ordered to some extent. To avoid the fragmentation inherent to a strict chronological approach, however, on this level the division into periods is entwined with a thematic structure. This means that certain developments are discussed within the timeframe for which those developments are the most characteristic. The advent of chapters, monasteries and convents, for example, is discussed in a section focusing on the period 1000-1300, despite the fact that 'chapters' came into being in the Netherlands much earlier. And the religious leaders of the early modern age are not discussed until the section dealing with the period from 1650 to 1750. Of course laymen and clerics played leadership roles both before and after that, but those are the ten decades in which the number of religious workers on the pastoral market was exceptionally large.

To enhance the compositional unity of the book, each of the four main parts is divided into three chapters, and each of these chapters is divided into three sections. All of the chapters start with an introduction devoted to the general processes in the given period of time, as the context within which the religious developments should be

understood. These developments are then detailed in three sections. Thus twelve themes serve as the 'coat rack' upon which Dutch religious history can be 'hung'. The entire book is larded with boxes and diagrams, some to relieve the text, some to illustrate the developments being sketched, and all giving information about a certain historical phenomenon. Maps also serve to clarify the past. The prologue and the epilogue, both partly based on the puzzling phenomenon of the *hunebedden* or giants' graves, thematize the Dutch religious past as a historiographical problem.

Chapter 1, *Dynamic Pantheon*, sketches the world and thoughts of the inhabitants of the Netherlands in the first five centuries of the Christian era. Their religious views and actions were inextricably bound to the political, social and economic dimensions of their existence. Attention is devoted to the close cohesion between how the cosmos was represented, the importance of cattle in relationships both within and between local communities, and the concrete environment of the landscape (*Mythical Geography*). An exploration follows of holy sites, supernatural figures and cultural practices that gave expression to the religious view of the world (*Ritual Communication*). The chapter closes with a review of the confrontation between indigenous religiosity with that of the Romans, resulting in conscious appropriation of certain myths and rituals (*Intentional Syncretism*).

Chapter 2, *The March of Christianity*, discusses more details of this political process of expansion in correlation with the crucial development that took place at this time in the religious history of the Netherlands: its Christianization. The subject matter discussed includes an explanation of how Christianity became entwined with the rise of the Frankish Empire and the continuing presence of Roman culture (*Politics and Mission*). The next section describes how this originally Eastern religion gained ground in the Netherlands in various stages in the wake of Frankish conquests (*Resistance and Supremacy*). The last part of this chapter discusses the consequences of the spread of Christian faith (*God and the Idols*): on the one hand a far-reaching confrontation of a theological nature and on the other the gradual integration of the old heathendom into the new religion.

Chapter 3, *Christianization of Culture*, focuses on the difficult but steady progress of Christianization in the last centuries of the first millennium. The effects of a lengthy period of political instability on the budding Christianity are discussed, for example (*Regime under Threat*). A sketch follows of the far-reaching cultural changes as a result of the use of script in church and society (*Learned Ritualism*). The chapter closes with a

demonstration of how under the influence of Christianity the mythical geography discussed at the beginning of the book led to a turnaround in the way the religious landscape in the Netherlands was organized (*Christianized Space*).

Regulated Faith, the fourth chapter, explains how the church became anchored in the Dutch culture and society. The system of administration, influence and control that made this in-depth Christianization possible is discussed in detail (*Institutional Order*). The way in which faith and the aggregate of rituals connected with it shaped daily life is also closely studied (*Sacramental Religion*). The chapter also discusses the manner in which clerics and laypeople – including women – in chapters, monasteries, convents and other types of cohabitation contributed to the functioning of the church in the countryside and the growing towns (*Communal Life*).

Chapter 5, *Holy High Tension*, describes how the confusion in the church, the expansion of the political administration and the social-economic changes that primarily determined Europe's shape in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were collectively absorbed in the Netherlands. The beliefs of the common people, with central focus on care for one's own soul, are discussed here (*Insured Afterlife*). The chapter also explains how the omnipotence of Christianity was maintained in society by the oppression of marginal individuals and groups on the one hand and the intensification of monastic life on the other (*Entreated Favours*). One section (*Pious Reflection*) is devoted to intellectual and spiritual expressions in the shape of study, education and meditation, including the writings of the pious and the learned, and translations from Latin to the vernacular.

Broken Unity, the sixth chapter, summarizes Dutch reformation history. The information in this chapter includes a discussion of the various reformation movements and their characteristic views and representatives (*Sequence of Reformations*). The persecution of heretics and witches is also discussed, as are the political, legal and religious complications that culminated in the revolt against the ruler and the emergence of a Protestant republic (*Changing Regimes*). This chapter closes with an explanation of how the various movements found support and an entrance into society and ultimately shaped various churches and groups among the Dutch population (*Shifting Loyalties*).

Chapter 7, *Confessional State*, explains that the success of the Protestant and Catholic reformations was largely a result of the coordinated effort of the ecclesiastic and political elite. The confessionalization process in the Dutch Republic, however, had

a pattern all its own. The uniqueness of the Dutch confessionalization process is discussed at length in this chapter. The establishment of the dominant religious organization is described (*Public Church*), for example, as is the nature of the religious pluriformity of the seventeenth century (*Religious Hierarchy*). Additional attention is devoted to the religious diversity in an extensive description of the way different groups appropriated religious representations and rituals (*Ritual Parallelism*).

The eighth chapter, *Calvinist Republic*, discusses numerous conflicts. Though some were quite serious, none of them critically affected the social authority of the established orthodoxies. That authority did not start to wane until after 1750. This chapter starts with a description of the various religious movements that the political and ecclesiastic powers had to deal with between about 1650 and 1750 (*Controlled Variety*). Next specific attention is devoted to Pietism – a religious phenomenon that was seen in this period in every confession (*Inner Experience*). The last section in this chapter (*Pastoral Market*) briefly reviews official and unofficial religious leadership at the time of the Dutch Republic.

Chapter 9, *Protestant Nation*, sketches a variety of religious developments against the backdrop of rapidly changing political regimes. The significance of ‘enlightenment’ for the religious history in the Netherlands is discussed here (*Virtuous Sociability*). Next the revolution period, characterized by intensive state involvement in religious matters, is addressed (*Equal Rights*). The last section of this chapter explains how the liberal and orthodox elite strove to control public religious expression after the various revolutions (*Elitist Leadership*).

The *Emancipated Dutch*, Chapter 10, highlights the changes in the educational and electoral systems, as well as the nationwide communication network that came with the increased population, urbanization and development of a modern capitalistic economy. The way in which the Dutch, emancipated from their political, religious or social-economic subordination, gave shape to their faith is explained from three perspectives. First the various movements in the religious landscape are reviewed (*Bourgeois Civilization*). Then the processes of religious emancipation (*Mass Mobilization*) and the religious background of the budding philanthropic and social awareness (*National Edification*) are described.

Chapter 11, *The Active Dutch*, describes the high degree of consensus, reinforced by the Cold War and the aversion to Communism, that governed the various social groups until 1960. The public consensus and social peace – embodied by Queen Wilhelmina,

who ruled from 1898 to 1948 – gave the Dutch every opportunity to actively develop within specific ideological groups. The manner in which the Dutch did this within the ‘segmented’ or ‘pillarized’ religious structures is discussed in detail (*Within the Pillars*). Then the small, active religious groups are described, as are the Humanists and the Jews (*Around the Pillars*). The last part of this chapter describes the attempts by various groups, especially the *hervormden*, to rise above the religious dividing lines (*Above the Pillars*).

Chapter 12, *The Free Dutch*, addresses the famous post-modern liberalization of religion in the Netherlands. First the de-pillarization of Dutch society is discussed, as well as the important part played in this process by religion, politics and a new macro-ethics (*Polarized Gospel*). This is followed by a description of the contribution made by migrant groups to the multi-religious Netherlands (*Ethnic Diversity*), in particular those adhering to different forms of Islam. The chapter finishes with a discussion of religious subjectivism in recent decades (*Customized Religion*), devoting ample attention to foreign influences, including ‘Eastern’ religion, New Age and Evangelicalism