

The Gates of Charity: Images of City and Community in the Early Modern Dutch Orphanage

Journal of Urban History

1–21

© 2015 SAGE Publications

Reprints and permissions:

sagepub.com/journalsPermissions.nav

DOI: 10.1177/0096144215617184

juh.sagepub.com



Hanneke van Asperen¹

Abstract

In the seventeenth century, Dutch charitable institutions were the subject of international praise and the object of civic pride, and their public façades communicated a message of central importance to its citizens. In this essay, I examine the iconography of seventeenth-century “gates of charity,” focusing on the almoner’s orphanage in Gouda and the Holy Ghost orphanage in Leiden. I relate them to other orphanages in the Dutch Republic to show developments in their iconography. The façade decorations demonstrate the responsibilities of the city as benefactor, the expectations of its citizens and the supposed effects of charity upon the community. At the gates, the worlds of the rich and the poor collided. Here, charity could flourish making the community a mirror image of the heavenly realm. The gate portrays the perfect society as one that assists its poor and strengthens its communal ties.

Keywords

charity, community, identity, orphanage, iconography

In early modern Europe, changing attitudes toward poverty and the poor led to new developments in the organization of poor relief.¹ As a result, the Dutch Republic saw a growing number of charitable institutions that rapidly became the subject of international praise and the object of civic pride.² Situated in the heart of the city, they were considered frontpieces to define the urban community. When the Dutch poet and playwright Joost van den Vondel (1587-1679) describes Amsterdam, he starts by listing the institutions of charity: it is not primarily the churches or the palaces or defenses that are the jewels in the crown of the city, but the charitable institutions.³ Significantly, Vondel focuses on the buildings themselves, often situated in city centers and forming visible elements of the urban landscape. And because of their omnipresence, the public façades of Dutch charitable institutions played an important role in advertising charity to the civic community. The subject of this article is the iconography that was developed in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to fit the charitable institutions in the Dutch republic. Outstanding among these are the many orphanages that were founded to house the growing numbers of abandoned and orphaned children. Many orphanages will pass in revue to describe some of the significant iconographical developments, but the institutions of Gouda and Leiden

¹Tilburg University, Tilburg, The Netherlands

Corresponding Author:

Hanneke van Asperen, Department of Art History, Radboud University, P.O. Box 9103, NL-6500 HD Nijmegen, The Netherlands.

Email: h.v.asperen@let.ru.nl

will receive close attention as two case studies with many characteristic elements that reappear in other cities. Besides the iconography of the façade decorations, I will consider other media, such as literature, prints, and plays, to provide an interdisciplinary approach. After close examination, the façades of the buildings outline the goals and ideals of the institution in the urban context: they demonstrate the tasks that the city imposed upon itself as benefactor, the responsibilities of both rich and poor, and the supposed (or desired) effects of charity.

State of Research on Dutch Institutional Charity

The external embellishments of charitable institutions in Italy, as well as the functionality and arrangement of the architecture, have been carefully investigated.⁴ Goldthwaite and Rearick concluded that, in its decorative detail, hospital architecture [in Florence] to a large extent falls into the category of monastic architecture.⁵ The most significant element of Italian charitable architecture is the characteristic loggia, both a visual and a structural element with many practical, functional, and metaphoric implications.⁶ Solutions to similar problems were solved differently in the Dutch Republic where the loggia was not used. In fact, Lex Bosman, who briefly examined the situation in Amsterdam in an essay focusing on seventeenth- and eighteenth-century orphanages, has concluded that there is no clear typology of orphanage buildings in the Dutch city, and the decorations of the façades, outside the scope of Bosman's study, have not been investigated.⁷ Dutch sixteenth-century charitable institutions were often housed in former convents and their architecture was based on conventual models, but this did not lead to a stereotype to define later charitable buildings.

The relatively understudied decorations on Dutch charitable institutions deserve a separate study, because the organization of poor relief in northern Europe underwent a distinct development in postreformatory times. Previously, orphans in the Low Countries were usually raised by relatives, placed with foster families, or housed in institutions that were not dedicated to children alone but served a variety of people such as the poor, the sick, and the elderly. In the fifteenth century, many long-established hospitals as well as new private foundations started to focus: their attention concentrated on specific groups of destitute people. The medieval organizations called "Tables of the Holy Ghost" [*mensa Spiritus* in Latin or *Heilige-Geestafel* in Dutch] show the same specialization. The people united in the *mensa Spiritus* were traditionally dedicated to poor relief, controlled the distribution of food, and managed charitable institutions and supplies.⁸ Many later "Holy Ghost orphanages," such as the one in Gouda, had their origins in a *mensa Spiritus*.

In some cities, especially the larger ones that had more people to accommodate, orphanages specialized further. Often, the attention was divided between children of *poorters*, people with burgher rights, and poor children whose parents did not have the same prerogatives that throws additional light on the urban context.⁹ Institutional charity was inextricably bound to the city. Burgher rights bought welfare provisions such as special relief for those burghers who could no longer support their children. Relief was sometimes also provided for so-called "half orphans" (*halfwezen*), that is, children with one parent. Single mothers and fathers who were unable to provide support for their children because their spouse had died or had left could call upon the community for assistance. Children of anonymous parents, that is, foundlings, or of deceased parents without burgher rights were often housed elsewhere. Religious communities founded institutions for their own members who could not, or would not, appeal to municipal charity.¹⁰ Many cities had both a burgher orphanage for so-called "burgher orphans" and a poor children's home (*armekinderhuis*). Burgher orphans would wear distinct uniforms (in the colors of the city) accentuating the distinction. In the Dutch Republic, the relationship of the parents to the city was reflected in the status of the orphan.

The first orphanages were founded in the late fifteenth century and many followed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.¹¹ Edifices were needed to house the growing number of poor,



Figure 1. Gerrit Lambert, alleyway to the orphanage and the adjacent houses with reliefs on Kalverstraat, Amsterdam (after an older print), ink on paper, washed, c. 1818, 245 × 295 mm. Amsterdam, Stadsarchief, collection Atlas Splitgerber. Source: Stadsarchief Amsterdam.

orphaned, and abandoned children. Many orphans found shelter in existing buildings in the heart of the city, frequently in one of the former monasteries and convents that had been abandoned during the Reformation, for example, the burgher orphanage in Amsterdam (in the former Lucienconvent), the burgher orphanage in Groningen (in the Olde Convent of Tertiaries), and many others. Alteration and renovation followed to suit their new function and the growing numbers of orphans, but the users had to adapt to an existing structure and to the limited space that the city centers offered. When the orphanage in Gouda—built on the site of the former Margarethenconvent—was forced to expand, the almoners had to buy adjacent built-on plots of land. The Culemborg orphanage, which in 1560 was the first to be built specifically to serve as orphanage, was erected on a site originally intended for a convent that was never realized.¹² Significantly, these sixteenth-century orphanages, even the newly built ones, often resembled convents in both structure and organization.

Although Dutch orphanages had their formative roots in convents, the decorations of the exterior did not: a new iconography was developed for the fronts of the edifices. Statues, reliefs, and inscriptions to visualize the function of the orphanage to the community were often installed above and around the main door—the entrance that governors and visitors would use to access the building and that many members of the public would walk past. If an orphanage did not have a door on the street side, people came up with other solutions to publicly signal the building's function. In Amsterdam, for example, where the burgher orphanage was completely absorbed by the urban tissue, reliefs were installed on the fronts of the houses flanking the alleyway leading to the entrance of the orphanage¹³ (Figures 1 and 9). These were moved to the alley in the eighteenth century, losing much of their original signaling function. Another example is the burgher



Figure 2. Gate of the burgher orphanage or “red orphanage” with free-standing statues of an orphan boy and an orphan girl. Rode Weeshuisstraat, Groningen, 1627.

orphanage, or “red” orphanage (named after the color of the orphans’ uniforms) in Groningen, where a lavishly sculpted gate was erected on the street side in front of the small alley leading to the orphanage¹⁴ (Figure 2). Despite their many formal differences, the charitable buildings share elements designed to draw public attention to the institution behind them. These carefully shaped elements, which I refer to as “the gates of charity,” could be doors or arches or even parts of a different building, as long as they were visible on the street side.

To improve the impact of these devices, the city council would try to attract artists who were highly regarded. When the burgher orphanage in Amsterdam needed to be modernized in 1599, Hendricks de Keyser was invited. Architects involved with official civic architecture often also worked on the city’s orphanages, and the famous architect Jacob van Campen who designed city hall, now known as the Royal Palace on Dam Square, probably designed the orphanage’s large courtyard of 1633.¹⁵ The almoners’ orphanage—the Amsterdam version of a poor children’s home—was designed by Daniel Stalpaert who, as city architect, had been in charge of completing Amsterdam city hall.¹⁶ None other than Salomon de Bray was attracted to design the Nijmegen burgher orphanage (*burgerweeshuis* in Dutch), and Gerhard Gröninger, the successful Munster sculptor in exile, was commissioned to adorn the gate with statues. Respected poets would also be asked to create verses to be applied to the front of the buildings, as the well-respected poet Joost van den Vondel did for Amsterdam burgher orphanage, and Jakob Kortebant for Rotterdam.¹⁷ The involvement of famous architects, poets, sculptors, and painters enhanced the status of the institutions, and thus the prestige of the city.

Praise of the City

What were these decorations intended to convey? They share many formal and iconographic similarities as I will demonstrate in the first instance with the example of the orphanage at Gouda. The city of Gouda already had a burgher orphanage—the Holy Ghost orphanage—on Jerusalem Street. In 1599, a second home was founded on nearby Patersteeg to house the children of non-burghers: the almoners’ orphanage. It was named after the almoners, appointed by the Gouda

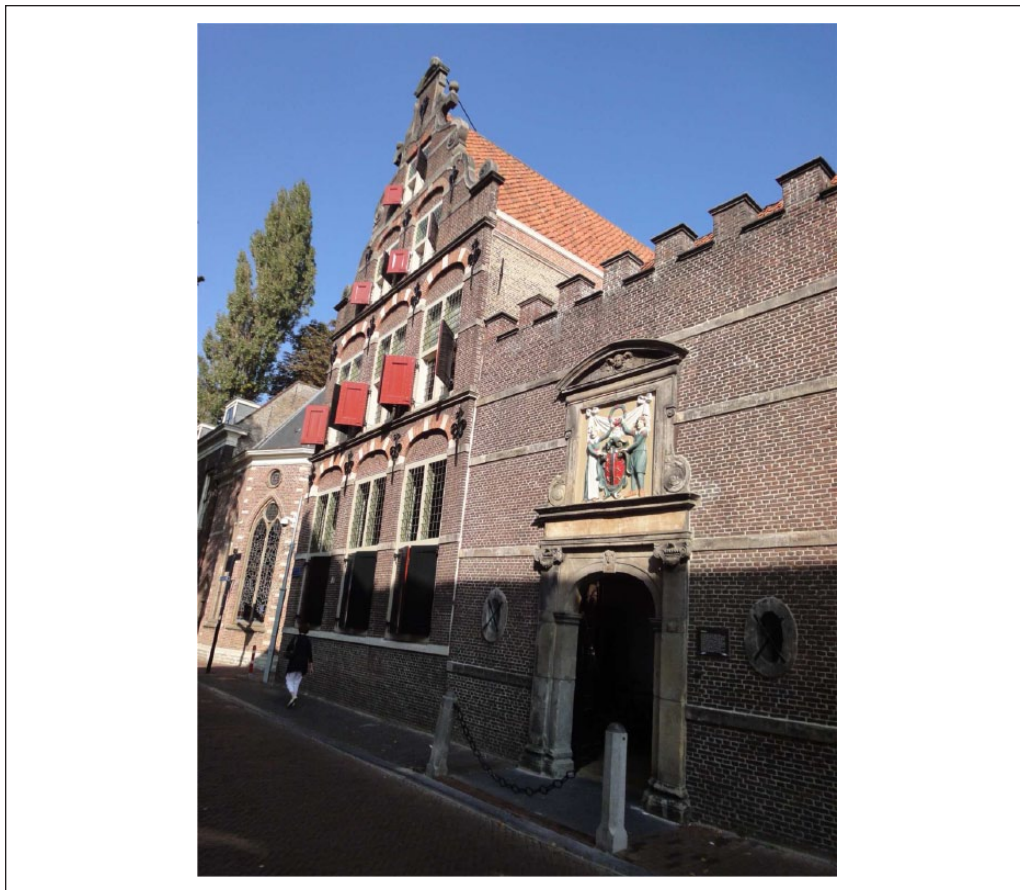


Figure 3. Façade and gate of the former orphanage on Spieringstraat, Gouda, 1643.

magistrate, who were entrusted with poor relief for those who were not entitled to appeal to other bodies for support.¹⁸ In the early seventeenth century, the almoners of Gouda bought the adjacent plots on Spieringstraat to build out their orphanage and the expansion work started in 1642.

The orphanage on Spieringstraat has a curly-cue façade with strapwork curving, inward and outward (Figure 3). Next to it is a one-storeyed gate building with battlements leading to the central courtyard of the orphanage and beyond. Above the entrance is a polychrome relief with downward volutes on both sides and surmounted by a pediment. The square relief depicts an orphan boy and an orphan girl in the prescribed uniforms flanking a cartouche bearing the coat of arms of Gouda (Figure 4). With one hand, the orphans support the cartouche, and with the other, they hold a laurel wreath over the Gouda arms. The rather staccato inscription below reads,

Our magistrate and wise council with all its governors: their honour and praise will never rot in the dust, because they have founded in Gouda this beautiful building for fragile orphans both of Gouda and from abroad, and it will never diminish.¹⁹

Significantly, Gouda is mentioned twice.

In explicitly mentioning the city magistrate, the inscription on the Gouda façade reflects the increased role of the city in the delivery of poor relief. Once humanists in the Low Countries started to promote a collective fund (*gemeene beurs*) to be managed and administered by the city



Figure 4. Two orphans holding the Gouda coat of arms and a laurel wreath. Stone and polychrome relief above the entrance of the orphanage on Spieringstraat, Gouda, 1643.

council, the city government became closely involved in poor relief.²⁰ Reforms such as the collective fund were in line with humanist ideas about the organization of poor relief that had taken root in the fifteenth century.²¹ Juan Luis Vives (1493-1540), whose treatise on poor relief was an important catalyst for the distribution of these ideas across Europe, was one of the most outspoken proponents of reform. Significantly, Vives had begun writing his book after being encouraged to do so by the grand bailiff of Bruges, Lodewijk van Praet.²² He directly addresses “the consuls and senators of Bruges” [*consulibus et senatui Brugensi salutem*] when he describes why charity is necessary and how it should be organized. In many cities reforms followed—and some had preceded—Vives’s treatise, implementing the suggestions in a more or less rigorous fashion. After carrying through local reforms, it is significant that the city of Ypres ordered a vernacular translation of Vives’s tract on poor relief, demonstrating the active role of the city administrations in shaping and spreading the new ideas.²³ Vives’s ideas remained influential throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and his treatise was reprinted many times in different languages as well as in Dutch.

In line with its newly assumed duties, the city becomes a recurring element in the decorative programs for orphanages. Effectively, the coat of arms symbolizing the city and its “wise council” communicated the leading role of the government to the urban community. The iconography of the Gouda orphanage was not limited to this building but was equally relevant for almshouses and other institutions of charity. The relief on the nearby home for old men in Gouda, for example, displays a similar design²⁴ (Figure 5). Here, an elderly man and a regent hold the coat of arms together.²⁵ Neither was the iconography limited merely to Gouda. Many examples from the late sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries show the figures of orphans in combination with the coats of arms of various cities. In chronological order of their decoration, the list of institutions demonstrating the municipal connection is extensive. It includes the orphanage in Amsterdam and Harlingen; the Holy Ghost orphanage in Leiden; the burgher orphanages in Deventer, Amersfoort, ’s-Hertogenbosch, Hoorn (Figure 6), and Utrecht;



Figure 5. Gregorius Cool, elderly man, and a regent holding the Gouda coat of arms. Stone and polychrome relief above the entrance of the old men's home on the corner of Molenwerf and Spieringstraat, now called Willem Vroesenhuis, Gouda, 1614.

both the burgher orphanage and poor children's home in Nijmegen (Figure 7); the burgher orphanage in Rotterdam (destroyed); the Holy Ghost orphanage in Gouda; the orphanages in Den Burg (destroyed) and Edam; the poor children's home in Zwolle; the burgher orphanage in Goes; the orphanage in Oostzaan; the burgher orphanage in Amersfoort; Old Burger Weeshuis in Sneek; the orphanage in Dokkum; and the poor children's home in Leiden and in Medemblik. And the iconography persisted well into the eighteenth century. The relief in Dokkum is dated "anno 1758" (Figure 8). Medemblik orphanage, somewhat different, but still showing all the usual elements, dates from 1785.

In an allegory in praise of the almoners' orphanage in Amsterdam, the poet Jan Vos (1612-1667) describes heaven as a shelter with "a sculpted image of poverty on her façade." With the explicit reference to existing decorations in the public space, Vos's description of heaven reflects the earthly city. His verses clearly demonstrate that the image of the poor had become a very common element of the decorations of public charitable façades. The duplication of the interior of orphanage buildings, with separate wings for boys and girls, sometimes led to the addition of a public entrance, as Lex Bosman noted.²⁶ The decorations of the entrances were adopted accordingly. The door to the girl's dormitories depicted orphan girls and the entrance to the boy's two boys, as can be seen in Rotterdam, for example.²⁷

These images of the poor served a practical function: they were intended to inspire giving. They frame the offertory box that was always in place at the beginning of the alley leading to the building. Appropriately, Meischke describes the decorative program of Amsterdam burgher orphanage as "an everlasting collection in stone." It is possible that the decorations recall a real lineup of orphans in front of the building that might have been arranged to encourage donations:



Figure 6. Orphan boy and girl on both sides of the coat of arms of Hoorn. Stone and polychrome statues above the entrance of the orphanage on Korte Achterstraat, Hoorn, 1620.

this had been done, for example, in the old men's home in Amsterdam as recorded in an act of 1550.²⁸ The orphans' uniforms, often in the colors of the city, might have helped raise more money, because the colors identified the orphans, both living and sculpted, as members of the same city as their potential benefactors. As case studies of Amsterdam in the Golden Age have shown, people tended to give more to members of the same community.²⁹

In his praise of the almoners' orphanage, Jan Vos demonstrates that charitable institutions had religious significance: according to him, the sculpted images of the poor follow God's design. But he also asserts their signaling function in relation to the city government: "The images put up on the fronts of the buildings show us the heart of that on which they are depicted. They show to the other cities those who live in your bosom."³⁰ The images of the poor show who it was that found shelter in that building, but those responsible for the institution also needed to be identified. In admiration of well-organized charity in Amsterdam, the Anglo-Welsh historian James Howel (c. 1594-1666) wrote that it was

a rare thing to meet with a beggar here . . . and this is held to be one of their best pieces of Government. For besides the strictness of their laws against mendicants, they have hospitals of all sorts, for young and old, both for relief of the one and for the employment of the other, so that there is no object here to exercise any act of charity upon.³¹

Howel recognizes the specialization of the institutions and identifies the government of the city as responsible for the well-organized charitable activity, and the public decorations of the Amsterdam burgher orphanage would have directly facilitated those conclusions. An orphan boy and orphan girl in scalloped niches flanked the alleyway leading up to the orphanage to show who receives charity; the large coat of arms surmounts the arch in the back to identify their guardians (Figures 1 and 9).

The identification of those involved, both the poor and their benefactors, is necessary to identify those who deserve praise. The governors of Schiedam, geographically close to both Gouda and Leiden, were identified as the objects of praise in a play called *Due Words of Gratitude of the*



Figure 7. Orphan boy and orphan girl on both sides of the gate, coat of arms of Nijmegen on top, 1645, and a tympanum with an inserted relief of the Descent of the Holy Ghost, possibly from Liège, 1616. Gate of the burgher orphanage on Begijnenstraat, Nijmegen.

Assisted Orphans [Der Geholpen Weesen schuldighe danck-segginghe] performed on January 1, 1604. The rhetoricians of the Schiedam chamber “Roode Roose” composed it on the occasion of a lottery being established to collect money for a new orphanage.³² These plays were a quite common way to raise funds and similar ones were performed in other cities of the Dutch Republic.³³ In the first lines of the introduction, which is explicitly addressed to the city governors of Schiedam, it is stated that all ranks of people are obliged to perform acts of charity, and all, especially those who have received care, are indebted and joined to their benefactors in gratitude. Among the different allegorical figures in the play is Orphan Sustained, represented by a young man with a boy and a girl. The boy is Innocence Attended and the girl Youth Disciplined. Orphan Sustained with the orphan children at his side asks Gratitude how he should show his gratefulness. She answers that he should take the trumpet called Eternal Fame and “sound forth everywhere the praise of God, the magistrates and the benefactors that have come to your aid.” According to the stage directions in the margins, Orphan Sustained then takes up a trumpet decorated with laurel and ivy. The orphans on the Gouda façade similarly “sound forth the praise of God, the magistrates and the benefactors” with their laurel wreath.

The play was published “to reverberate and spread the words outlined for the orphans” to further the glory of the city of Schiedam—exactly what the images on orphanage façades were



Figure 8. Orphan boy and orphan girl holding the coat of arms of Dokkum. Stone and polychrome relief in the façade of the orphanage on Markt on Dokkum, 1758.



Figure 9. Joost Jansz. Bilhamer, orphan boy holding an inscription. Stone and polychrome relief on the house adjacent to the alley leading from Kalverstraat to the entrance of burger orphanage, Amsterdam, 1580.

supposed to realize. The boy and girl accompanying Orphan Sustained would have reminded the audience of the statues of the orphan boy and girl that commonly adorned the orphanages. In their

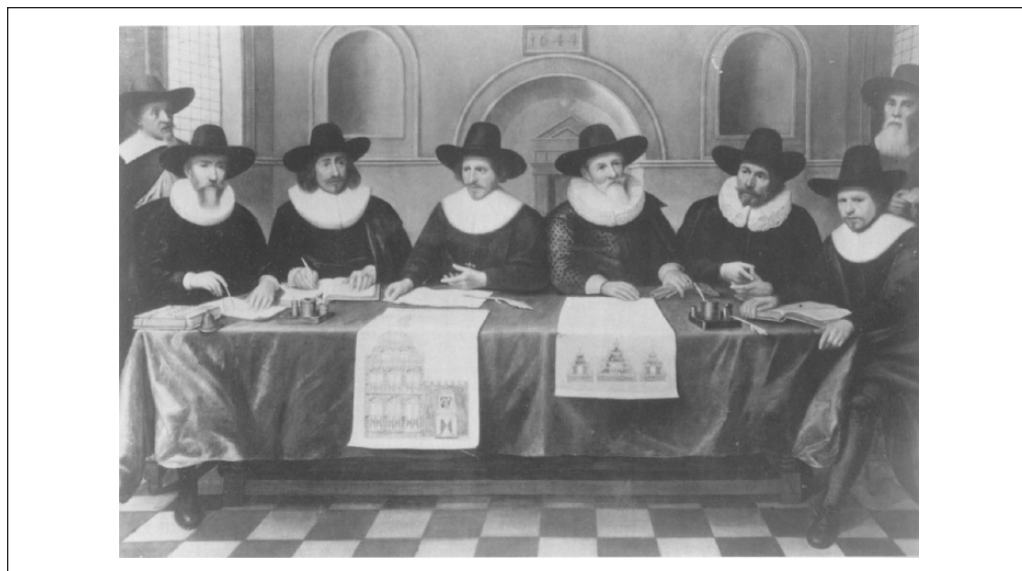


Figure 10. Jan Franse Verzijl, group portrait of the governors of Gouda orphanage, the former orphanage of Gouda, oil on canvas, monogrammed and dated 1644 VZ, 205 × 310 cm. Source: CKD (Centre for Art Historical Documentation), Radboud University Nijmegen.

neat uniforms, their sculpted images represented innocence and discipline as effectively as did the children in the play. The actual building of the Schiedam orphanage that was founded in 1604 no longer exists and it is uncertain what the original or planned decorations looked like.³⁴ Still, the orphans on the contemporary Gouda façade and many others provide equally suitable illustrations of the “words of gratitude” that the rhetoricians placed in the mouth of the Schiedam orphans. The children are depicted in postures of servitude and obedience while they praise their city.

Because they added to the glory of the community, governors, and benefactors, charitable institutions were important for burgher identity. Consequently, burghers wanted to be associated with the buildings where they worked. Insofar as the building reflects the shelter of heaven, the benefactors become images of God. In 1644, the governors of the almoners’ orphanage in Gouda had themselves portrayed with the drawings of the recently built orphanage³⁵ (Figure 10). They seem to be discussing the building plans that are hanging over the edge of the table. On the two large drawings, the façade with its typical mannerist gable and adjacent wall take up central position. The focus is not on the arrangement or construction of the building, but on its front. The painter, Jan Franse Verzijl, prominently depicted the doorway featuring the relief of the orphans, still in situ today (Figure 4). Everyone would have instantly recognized the drawings as images of the orphanage, and the almoners, therefore, would have been identified as its managers.

The façade is presented by virtue of what it stands for: an act of mercy toward orphans. By incorporating the building, the painting effectively portrays the sitters and their charitable work. Undoubtedly, when they started to plan the new orphanage, the governors of the Gouda orphanage had realized the importance of public façade and gate for the visibility and the appearance of the institution in the outside world: their good work is noted if the building is recognized as an institution of charity. Mentioning the governors in the decorations underscores their involvement in orphan care: they are the “city and its wise council.” Almost the architectural counterpart of the group portrait, the front of the house also “portrays” and praises those involved in orphan care. Architecture figures in portraits of founders and benefactors; founders and benefactors are “portrayed” in architecture. The “city and its wise council” refers to the members of city government,



Figure 11. Gregorius Cool, orphan boys and girls with a teacher pointing upward. Stone relief of the Holy Ghost orphanage, 1603 removed from its original location. Collection Museum Gouda, Gouda. Source: Museum Gouda (photographer: Tom Haartsen).

but also those involved in the direct care of the orphans, often the same people and definitely part of the same political elite.³⁶

The Gates of Charity

Next to the almoner's orphanage on Spieringstraat was the Holy Ghost orphanage. The relief over the door of the latter has a different decoration. In 1603, sculptor Gregorius Cool, who also decorated the façades of other charitable institutions in Gouda, such as the already-mentioned home for elderly men (Figure 5), carved the relief on the Holy Ghost orphanage (Figure 11). It shows five orphan boys and five orphan girls. They seemed to be gathered in a classroom: some of them are reading from books, others fold their hands in prayer. A seated man, presumably their teacher, points upward, drawing the attention to something above them that unfortunately is now missing because the relief was removed from its original location. It used to be surmounted by a tympanum of the Holy Ghost descending.³⁷

The classroom visualized education, the main task of orphanages as promoted by humanists since the fifteenth century.³⁸ It helped orphans to become virtuous members of the urban community and, at the same time, should prevent poverty. Other orphanages, such as the ones in Gorinchem, Enkhuizen, and Den Briel, also depicted a classroom on their public façades. More frequently portrayed is the descending Holy Ghost that was incorporated in the decorations of many hospitals, especially those who had their origins in a "Table of the Holy Ghost." The Holy Ghost orphanage of Gouda had its origins in such a *mensa Spiritus*. Although the "Holy Ghost Tables" dated from the Middle Ages, the term survived in many orphanages and in their decorations. Other orphanages with an image of the descent date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and include Amsterdam burgher orphanage (1580) where the dove even became emblematic of the institution, the Merula orphanage in Den Briel (1602), Leiden Holy Ghost orphanage (1607; Figure 14), Nijmegen burgher orphanage (1616; Figure 7), 's-Hertogenbosch burgher orphanage (1616-1618), Noordwijk orphanage (1618), the poor children's home in Zutphen, now lost (probably 1626), Katwijk orphanage (1687), and the home for children and the elderly in Brouwershaven that was destroyed (seventeenth century).

The images represented on Gouda's almoners' orphanage and the Holy Ghost orphanage existed side by side for a long time and were combined on some occasions as will be later



Figure 12. Gate of the orphanage on the Hooglandse Kerkgracht, former Holy Ghost orphanage Leiden, 1607.

demonstrated in the example of Leiden. However, images of the Holy Ghost were ultimately abandoned in favor of the coat of arms. Reliefs of the descent, still quite regular on orphanages in the seventeenth century, had lost popularity by the end of that century. Significantly, around the same time, the term *Holy Ghost fathers*—also a relic of the medieval practice of the Table of the Holy Ghost or *mensa Spiritus*—seems to pass into disuse. The Holy Ghost fathers who ran the orphanage in Gouda were renamed “orphan fathers” (*weesvaders*) in 1670.³⁹ It might have been that a specific coat of arms and the orphans in uniform distinguished one orphanage from another, whereas a relief of the Holy Ghost descending does not identify a specific city or community: coats of arms and uniforms closely connect an orphanage with its founders and benefactors. Civil charity was not the same thing as secularized charity, however. Although the new focus seems to promote the message that the city and its citizens were solely responsible for charity, the decorations do not imply that people did not recognize God as the *source* of charity. Both the religious and civil communities, parts of the urban structure that were inextricably connected, are important to the ideal of the harmonious society.⁴⁰ Possibly, there was less desire to depict what was known to be universally true, while specific elements still needed to be pointed out. The ties between charity and city are strengthened.

Some seventeenth-century orphanages combined the orphans, the coat of arms, and the Holy Ghost. Of course, available space was a deciding factor, as was available money. Some of these detailed decorations of orphanage façades go into prevalent views of charity in more detail, incorporating traditional ideas of charity. An example of a complicated iconographic program is the gate of Leiden orphanage (Figures 12, 13 and 14). After the city of Leiden had gained control over church properties, the city government appointed a committee to come up with plans for tackling the problems caused by poverty. The reliance of Leiden’s *Poor Account* [Armenrapport] of 1577 on Vives has already been noted although reforms had started in Leiden decades earlier.⁴¹ Although not crucial, Vives was influential. In the proposals for reform, the writer of the *Poor Account* advocates a dismantling of existing charitable institutions in favor of a new centralized system of poor relief. As a result, in 1607 the Holy Ghost orphanage was moved to be housed in a former hospital.⁴² A monumental entrance was constructed when the hospital building was remodeled to fit its new purpose.



Figure 13. Gate of the orphanage gate, Leiden. Detail: Relief of Charity, tympanum, 1607.
Source: Nijmegen, H. van Asperen (photographer: Job van Exel, 2014).



Figure 14. Gate of the orphanage gate, Leiden. Detail: Descent of the Holy Ghost on the orphans, arch over the entrance, 1607.

The whole array of statues, reliefs, and inscriptions belonging to Leiden Holy Ghost orphanage might seem uncoordinated at first glance, but it is not. The decorative program contains the same elements as the reliefs on the almoners' orphanage in Gouda (Figure 4), the burgher orphanages in Groningen and Hoorn (Figures 2 and 6), and others. In Leiden, the orphan boy and girl are free-standing statues that have been restored to their original polychrome state; they are placed on top

of the wall on either side of a tympanum with Leiden coat of arms on top (Figure 12). These usual components are combined with other pictorial and textual elements in an elaborate decorative program. The different components have a clear vertical and a horizontal alignment, each focusing on a different aspect of charity, namely, its divine origins, depicted vertically, and its reflection on earth, horizontally aligned.

The personification of charity plays a pivotal role. She is to be expected in the context of a charitable institution, but she occurs on the public façades of orphanages only occasionally.⁴³ In Leiden, she is depicted in relief on the tympanum between the free-standing orphan boy and orphan girl (Figures 12 and 13). Charity is a mother with children and nursing one of them, as she had been depicted since the fourteenth century.⁴⁴ She represents not just neighborly love but also God's love of mankind and vice versa. Man can only love God if God has filled man's heart with his love first. Or as the bible puts it, "God is charity: And he that abideth in charity, abideth in God, and God in him" (1 Jo 4:16). Neighborly love, then, is an earthly reflection of this divine love and the only way for man to know God. The mother nourishing her child became a favorite image in postreformatory writings for exemplifying God's love of mankind. In his spiritual songs published in 1612, J. Jacobsz. Harlingen several times compares God with a mother nursing her children.⁴⁵ Wolterus ter Burgh compares the power of prayer with the force with which small children suckle to extract nourishment from their mother's breast.⁴⁶ The nursing mother and God, physical and spiritual nourishment, are metaphorically related.

Charity is "holding a small child in her left arm which she nourishes while two other children are at her feet playing," wrote Cesare Ripa in his *Iconologia*.⁴⁷ This influential guidebook for artists who wanted to depict personifications was first published in Italian in 1593, but was soon translated into different languages, including Dutch. Other emblem books, for example, *Cent Emblèmes* by Georgette de Montenay elaborated upon Ripa's description.⁴⁸ Anna Roemer Visscher has provided Dutch descriptions to the 1602 reprint of De Montenay's emblems. The image on the Leiden façade shows many formal similarities with the depiction of Charity in *Cent Emblèmes* (Figure 15). However, the sculptor introduces an element that is not usually incorporated in charity emblems but it is too specific to ignore: two of the children on charity's side are embracing one another. The sculptor probably referred to a popular print that was executed around 1587 by the Haarlem engraver Jacob Matham (1571-1631) after designs by his stepfather and teacher Hendrick Goltzius (1558-1617)⁴⁹ (Figure 16). The print had a great following and was copied often in different media, serving as inspiration to many artists. Significantly, in his design Goltzius depicts two small boys embracing and kissing. Possibly even older than that, a relief on the façade of Bolsward orphanage contains a similar element of children embracing. The plaque was added after the orphanage was rebuilt in 1562.⁵⁰ Although somewhat later, Goltzius is more explicit with regard to the meaning of the motif. The Latin inscription below the print explains: "Godly Agape conjoins everything through divine love, and she ties us closer to heaven with chains."⁵¹ The inscription uses the verbs "conjoining" [*nectire*] and "tying together" [*ligare*] to accentuate the uniting force of love. Apparently, Goltzius introduced the element to underscore the binding power of charity. The kissing children can be interpreted as love between brothers, for example, neighborly love, but first and foremost, as the inscription on the print indicates, they symbolize the unifying power of love, both earthly *and* divine.

The image of charity is the central axis that everything revolves around, both vertically and horizontally. The vertical alignment connects the city of Leiden and its inhabitants with God. Starting below, the pointed arch above the entrance is adorned with a relief showing the descent of the Holy Ghost on the orphans (Figure 16). Above this arch and directly below Charity is a verse from Psalms: "God is a helper to the orphan" (Ps. 9:35), which was quoted by Vives in his treatise and which recurs again and again on orphanage façades.⁵² On top of the tympanum, above Charity, is the coat of arms of Leiden. The vertical reading focuses on

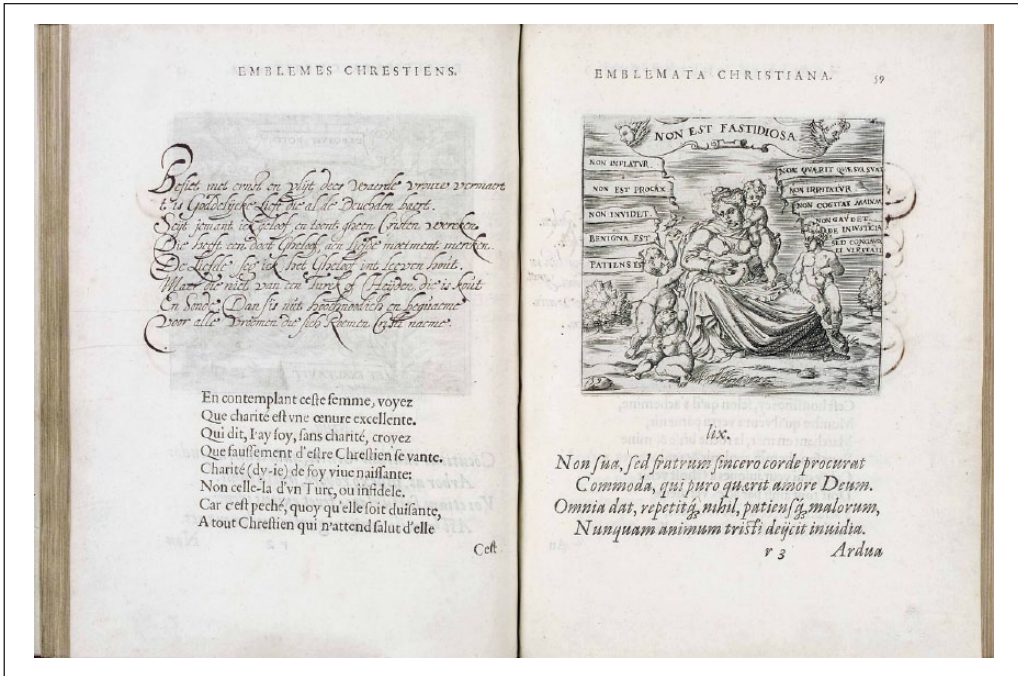


Figure 15. Charity, engraving, in Georgette de Montenay and Anna Roemer Visscher, *Emblematum Christianorum Centuria/Cent Emblèmes Chrestiens* (Heidelberg, Andrea Cambieri, 1602), f. 59r. Collection Frits Lugt, Institut Néerlandais, Paris, shelf no. OB 9575.

charity from God. It accentuates the fact that neighborly love cannot exist without the love of God. Every element on the vertical line, from the coat of arms of Leiden downward via the personification of charity, focuses on the relationship of the city and its inhabitants, both rich and poor, with God.

The horizontal alignment of the decorative program involves the community. It focuses on the urban context. The boy and a girl in orphanage uniform flank the personification of charity. As the mother opens her arms to provide shelter to the children in her care, so does the city of Leiden open up her gates to the abandoned children within the city walls. In seventeenth-century writings, the comparison of the city with the mother-nurse became common. In his poem about the siege of the city, for example, Jacob van Zevencote several times calls the city of Leiden his “nurse.”⁵³ Joost van den Vondel writes about the “nursing breasts” of the city of The Hague.⁵⁴ The inscriptions on Leiden façade urge the beholder to give generously, to realize the ideal of the beneficent city. Below the orphan boy it says, “He who understands the needs of the poor, the Lord will him deliver from evil” (Ps. 40:2). Significantly, this is the same psalm that Vives uses in his tract on the need of poor relief. Underneath the girl it says, “He who gives generously to the poor, has his treasure in heaven”⁵⁵ (Mt 19:21). To facilitate generous giving, an offertory box might have been near the gate. This was often the case. In the horizontal alignment on the Leiden façade Charity embodies neighborly love between the poor and their benefactors. The design of Leiden façade carefully renders the complex meaning of charity that ties the poor to their benefactors and the community to God. The Leiden example seems to have influenced the pictorial design of other orphanages, such as the burgher orphanage in Nijmegen which was constructed in 1645 (Figure 7).



Figure 16. Hendrick Goltzius (designer), Jacob Matham (engraver), and Claes Jansz. Visscher II (publisher), *Charity or Agape* (from a series of virtues), 218 × 143 mm, c. 1587. Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, RP-P-OB-27.294.

Conclusion

The public façades of charitable buildings that were in the heart of the city and defined urban identity were canvases for communicating the importance of charity to the public. Although the Leiden gate was unique in its complexity and detail, its decorations build upon iconographic formulas that had started to develop in the sixteenth century. Early on, the image of the Holy Ghost descending, always in combination with orphans, decorated many orphanages in the Dutch Republic, but this image lost its popularity at the end of the seventeenth century when the memory of the roots of these institutions in the medieval “Holy Ghost Tables” faded—or was deliberately pushed into the background. Orphan children remained a fixed element as did the coats of arms. The coat of arms, and sometimes also the uniforms of the children, identified the city as the driving force behind institutional charity.

The images around the gates of charity create a frame of an ideal community and identified those who lived inside the charitable building as well as those who were responsible for arranging care for them. The decorations visualize both the giving and receiving aspect of charity, demonstrating whom to praise and why. The sculpted images demonstrate

gratefulness of the poor. But to beget gratitude, necessary for the achievement of a peaceful community, those responsible for the charitable protection needed to be identified. Those who are not recognized cannot be praised. The ideal image of the grateful poor that would inspire giving would also give rise to gratefulness. This vicious circle of giving and gratitude, at the core of civic charity and visualized on charitable buildings, ties the poor to their benefactors and vice versa.

The gate, a clearly visible element in the city center, was the perfect place for visual metaphors that focus on community ties. Here, the worlds of rich and poor collided, and acts of charity became possible as the practical layout of the gate (for example, the placement of offertory boxes) and public rituals (for example, collections) of the orphanage demonstrate. The decorations at the gates are intended to inspire charity and point out that the perfect urban society is one that assists its poor and strengthens its communal ties. The gates emblemize the goal of the orphanage: to admit the children to the community, bind the members of the community together, and tie the community to God.

Declaration of Conflicting Interests

The author(s) declared no potential conflicts of interest with respect to the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Funding

The author(s) received no financial support for the research, authorship, and/or publication of this article.

Notes

1. Robert Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), 100-42; Abram De Swaan, *In Care of the State: Health Care, Education and Welfare in Europe and the USA in the Modern Era, Europe and the International Order* (Polity Press, 1988), chap. 5; Steven M. Beaudoin, *Poverty in World History* (Routledge, 2007), 48-56; Marco Van Leeuwen, "Logic of Charity: Poor Relief in Preindustrial Europe," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 24, no. 4 (1994): 589-613; Anita Boele, *Leden van één Lichaam. Denkbeelden over Armen, Armenzorg en Liefdadigheid in de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1300-1650* (Verloren, 2013).
2. Anne E. C. McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age: Orphan Care in Early Modern Amsterdam* (University of Illinois Press, 1997), 10-12; Lex Heerma van Voss and Marco van Leeuwen, "Charity in the Dutch Republic: An Introduction," *Continuity and Change* 27, no. 2 (2012), 176.
3. Joost van den Vondel, *Inwydinghe van 't Stadhuis t'Amsterdam* (Dick Coutinho, 1982), 123.
4. A selection of literature on the iconography of the Italian hospitals and their façades: Phillip Earenfight, "The Residence and Loggia della Misericordia (Il Bigallo): Art and Architecture of Confraternal Piety, Charity, and Virtue in Late Medieval Florence" (diss., Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey, 1999); William R. Levin, "Advertising Charity in the Trecento: The Public Decorations of the Misericordia in Florence," *Studies in Iconography* 17 (1996), 215-309; Diana Bullen Presciutti, "Dead Infants, Cruel Mothers, and Heroic Popes. The Visual Rhetoric of Foundling Care at the Hospital of Santo Spirito, Rome," *Renaissance Quarterly* 64, no. 3 (2011), 752-800; Diana Bullen Presciutti, "The Visual Culture of the Foundling Hospital in Central Italy, 1400-1600" (diss., University of Michigan, 2008); Ulrike Ritzerfeld, "Pietas—Caritas—Societas: Bildprogramme Karitativer Einrichtungen Des Spätmittelalters in Italien," 2 vols. (diss., Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 2007); Barbara Wisch and Diane Cole Ahl, eds., *Confraternities and the Visual Arts in Renaissance Florence: Ritual, Spectacle, Image* (Cambridge University Press, 2000); John Henderson, *The Renaissance Hospital: Healing the Body and Healing the Soul* (Yale University Press, 2006).
5. Richard A. Goldthwaite and W. R. Rearick, "Michelozzo and the Ospedale Di San Paolo in Florence," *Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz* 21, no. 3 (1977), 279.
6. Goldthwaite and Rearick, "Michelozzo and the Ospedale Di San Paolo," esp. 279-80; William Levin, "A Façade of Public Philanthropy: A Typological Study of the Tuscan Loggias of Charity," *Arris*

- 12 (2001), 1-29; Hanneke van Asperen, "The Sheltering Cloak: Images of Charity and Mercy in Fourteenth-Century Italy," *Textile: Journal of Cloth & Culture* 11, no. 3 (2013), 262-81.
7. Lex Bosman, "Openbaar en Particulier. Amsterdamse Weeshuizen en hun Typologie," *Bulletin KNOB* 109, no. 4 (2010), 141-45. Other studies that deserve mentioning are: Ursula Härting, "De subventionne pauperum—Zu Pieter Bruegels Caritas mit den sieben Werken der Barmherzigkeit von 1559," *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek* 48 (1997), 107-23; and Larry Silver and Henry Lutikhuizen, "The Quality of Mercy: Representations of Charity in Early Netherlandish Art," *Studies in Iconography* 29 (2008), 216-48; Boele, *Leden van één Lichaam*.
 8. S. Groenveld, J. J. H. Dekker, and J. Dane, eds., *Wezen en Boefjes. Zes Eeuwen Zorg in Wees- en Kinderhuizen* (Verloren, 1997), 25-41.
 9. McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age*, 22-23 and 27-28.
 10. Marco van Leeuwen, "Church, State, and Citizen: Charity in the Netherlands from the Dutch Republic to the Welfare State," paper presented at the conference *Dynamics of Religious Reform* (German Historical Institute, 19-21 November 2008); Heerma van Voss and Van Leeuwen, "Charity in the Dutch Republic," 176-77.
 11. Ingrid van der Vlis and Th. Rinsema, *Weeshuizen in Nederland. De Wisselende Gestalten van een Weldadig Instituut* (De Walburg Pers, 2002); Groenveld et al., *Wezen en Boefjes*, 58-85.
 12. Machiel Bosman, *Het Weeshuis van Culemborg, 1560-1952* (Athenaeum-Polak & Van Gennep, 2006), 25-26.
 13. These houses were bought by the convent in 1480 but rented out to different people who practiced their own trades there. Rudolph Meischke, *Amsterdam Burgerweeshuis* (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg & Staatsuitgeverij, 1975), 323.
 14. Albert Buurisma, "*Dese Bekommerlijke Tijden*": *Armenzorg, Armen en Armoede in de Stad Groningen 1594-1795* (Van Gorcum, 2009), 144-47.
 15. Meischke, *Amsterdam Burgerweeshuis*, 148 and 82-83.
 16. Bosman, "Openbaar en Particulier," 143.
 17. Meischke, *Amsterdam Burgerweeshuis*, 148.
 18. H. A. van Dolder-de Wit, "Arm van Goed en Rijk van Geest," in *Duizend Jaar Gouda. Een Stadsgeschiedenis*, ed. P. H. A. M. Abels (Verloren, 2002), 378-84; W. Denslagen, *Gouda* (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 2001), 330-33.
 19. The inscription in Dutch: "Ons magistraat en wijsen raet met de regenten al haar eer en lof nimmermeer in 't stof verrotten zal: opdat se weer voor wesen teer zoo Gouds' als vreemde kinderen hier Ter Gouw dit schoon gebouw doen stichten zonder minderen 1642."
 20. Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, 144; De Swaan, *In Care of the State*, 13-51; Beaudoin, *Poverty in World History*, 48-56; Boele, *Leden van één Lichaam*, 91.
 21. Valentijn Koningsberger, "Juan Luis Vives en de Leidse Armenzorg in de Zestiende Eeuw," *Jaarboek der Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis van Leiden en Omstreken* 21 (2009), 35-59.
 22. Juan Luis Vives, *De Subventionne Pauperum Sive De Humanis Necessitatibus, Libri II*, ed. C. Matheussen, *Selected Works of J. L. Vives* (Brill, 2002), 3, also xix. About Vives and *De Subventionne Pauperum*, see Abel Athougua Alves, "The Christian Social Organism and Social Welfare: The Case of Vives, Calvin and Loyola," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20, no. 1 (1989), 3-22; Carlos G. Noreña, *Juan Luis Vives* (Martinus Nijhoff, 1970).
 23. Juan Luis Vives, *Secours van den Aermen* (Willem Vorsterman, 1533). On the growing importance of the city, see also Jütte, *Poverty and Deviance in Early Modern Europe*, 112-13.
 24. Van Dolder-de Wit, "Arm van Goed en Rijk van Geest," 385-88.
 25. Especially in civic heraldry, it was common to adjust the type of supporters to fit the institution they represented. Geoffrey Briggs, *Civic and Corporate Heraldry: A Dictionary of Impersonal Arms of England, Wales and Northern Ireland* (Heraldry Today, 1971). On supporters, see Cornelis Pama, *Rietstaps Handboek der Heraldiek* (E.J. Brill, 1987), 232-35.
 26. Bosman, "Openbaar en Particulier," 144.
 27. Rotterdam Museum, inv. 10094A-B and 10095A-B. The remnants of the 1664 reliefs of Rotterdam orphanage can be viewed on the website of Rotterdam Museum, <http://museumrotterdam.nl/collectie>, consulted June 26, 2015.
 28. Meischke, *Amsterdam Burgerweeshuis*, 139-40.

29. Heerma van Voss and Van Leeuwen, "Charity in the Dutch Republic," 188-89.
30. Jan Vos, *Alle De Gedichten van den Vermaarden Poët Jan Vos*, vol. 2 (Jacob Lescaijle, 1671), 156: "De groote herberg van den hoogen hemel heeft Het beeldt van d'Armoedt in haar gevel uitgehouwen. De beelden die men zet in 't veurhoofd der gebouwen, Vertoonen u het hart van die het beeldt vertoont. Laat andre steeden zien wat in uw boezem woont."
31. James Howell, *Epistolae Ho-ellianae or the Familiar Letters of James Howel*, with an introduction by Agnes Repplier, 2 vols. (Houghton Mifflin, 1907), 20-21.
32. I. Dwinglo, *Der Geholpen Weesen Schuldighe Dank-Segginghe: over de waerdige weldaet henluyden betoont met mildelick inlegghen in hare Loterye, opghesteld tot op-bouwinghe van een Nieu Weeshuys . . .* (J. Van Waesberghe, 1604).
33. Boele, *Leden van één Lichaam*, 92-95; Johan Koppenol, *Leids Heelal. Het Loterijspel (1596) van Jan van Hout* (Verloren, 1998).
34. In 1779, a new orphanage was built in Schiedam after a design of the city architect Rogier van Bol'Es. Statues of orphanage children are placed on both sides of the pediment. Ingrid van der Vlis, *Van Wezen tot Zijn. Vier Eeuwen Zorg voor Jongeren* (De Walburg Pers, 2005).
35. Van Dolder-de Wit, "Arm van Goed en Rijk van Geest," 382 ill.; Denslagen, *Gouda*, 332. On portraits of governors, see Michel Jonker, "Public or Private Portraits: Group Portraits of Amsterdam Regents and Regentses," in *The Public and Private in Dutch Culture of the Golden Age*, ed. Arthur K. Wheelock and Adele F. Seef (Associated University Presses, 2000), 206-26.
36. McCants, *Civic Charity in a Golden Age*, 90-99.
37. J. J. Bertelman (1821-1899) painted an oil sketch of the façade of the Holy Ghost orphanage, based on Verspuy, showing the relief in situ. Van Dolder-de Wit, "Arm van Goed en Rijk van Geest," 380 ill.
38. Hanneke van Asperen, "Charity Instructing the Poor. Concepts and Practices of Education Reflected in Images of Charity," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 76, no. 4 (2013), 541-56 and Hanneke van Asperen, "Caritas als Lehrmeisterin, Die Stadt als Mutter. Darstellungen der Armenhilfe von Juan Luis Vives bis Jean-Jacques Rousseau," in *Caritas | Nächstenliebe von den frühen Christen bis zur Gegenwart* [exhibition catalogue Paderborn, Diözesanmuseum July 23-December 13, 2015], ed. Christoph Stiegemann (Imhof Verlag, 2015), 296-305.
39. Van Dolder-de Wit, "Arm van Goed en Rijk van Geest," 378.
40. Katherine A. Lynch, "Social Provisions and the Life of Civil Society in Europe: Rethinking Public and Private," *Journal of Urban History* 36, no. 3 (2010), 288.
41. Koningsberger, "Juan Luis Vives en de Leidse Armenzorg," 54-56; Koppenol, *Leids Heelal*, 52-56.
42. Kees van der Wiel, *Dit Kint Hiet Willem. De Heilige Geest in Leiden, 700 Jaar Vondelingen, Wezen en Jeugdzorg* (Primavera Pers, 2010); Martine Wansbeek-Zijbrands, "De Katholieke Armen- en Wezenzorg in Leiden, 1572-1979," *Jaarboek der Sociale en Economische Geschiedenis van Leiden en Omstreken* 2001 13 (2002), 41-60; S. W. M. A. den Haan, *Inventaris van het Archief van het Heilige Geest- of Arme Wees- en Kinderhuis te Leiden 1334-1979* (Stichting Heilige Geest- of Arme Wees- en Kinderhuis, 1990).
43. A relief with Charity amid Faith and Magnificence used to decorate the façade of Rotterdam burgher orphanage on Goudsewagenstraat (1763). The building was destroyed during World War II, but remnants of the relief (with other building fragments from the same orphanage) are kept in Rotterdam Museum (inv. 10092-A). Other examples of Charity on public orphanage façades are Bolsward (1562), Buren (1618), Brouwershaven (seventeenth century), Amsterdam Maagdenhuis (1783-1787), and Workum (1868). Personifications of charity are well represented in the interior of charitable institutions. Van Asperen, "Caritas als Lehrmeisterin," 296-305.
44. R. Freyhan, "The Evolution of the Caritas Figure in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 11 (1948), 194; Maria Von Thadden, "Die Ikonographie der Caritas in der Kunst des Mittelalters" (diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, 1951), 117-26; Hanneke van Asperen, "An Embrace of the Hearts: Divine Union and the Kiss in Lucas Cranach's Images of Charity," *Simiolus* 37, no. 3-4 (2015), 159-67.
45. J. Jacobsz Harlingen, *Eenighe Gheestelijcke Liedekens* (Nicolaes Biestkens, 1612), for example, f. 128v: "[God] die naby is ende voor ons sorcht, als een moeder ende voester haer jongen . . ."
46. Wolterus ter Burgh, *Gereformeerde Bloem-Hof* (Abraham van der Putte, 1665), 5.

47. Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia, Overo Descrittione dell'Imagini Universali Cavate dall'Antichita et ad Altri Luoghi* (Heredi di Gio. Gigliotti, 1593), 41: “. . . terrà nel braccio sinistro un fanciullo, al quale dia il latte, & due altri gli stranna scherzando à'piedi.”
48. Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schöne, eds., *Emblemata. Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI. und XVIII. Jahrhunderts* (Metzlersche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1967), cols. 1566-67.
49. A. Bartsch, W. L. Strauss, and J. T. Spike, *The Illustrated Bartsch* (Abaris Books, 1978), IV, 243, no. 266 (199); M. Bautz, *Virtutes. Studien zu Funktion und Ikonographie der Tugenden im Mittelalter und im 16. Jahrhundert* (dissertation.de, 1999), 361-62, no. 29; F. W. H. Hollstein, L. Widerkehr, and H. Leeftang, eds., *The New Hollstein Dutch & Flemish Etchings, Engravings, and Woodcuts, 1450-1700* (Sound & Vision, 1993-), III, 56, no. 323-3. On the relation Matham-Goltzius, see L. Widerkehr, “Jacob Matham Goltzj Privignus. Jacob Matham Graveur et ses Rapports avec Hendrick Goltzius,” *Nederlands Kunsthistorisch Jaarboek (Goltzius Studies)* 42 (1991), 219-60 .
50. Ronald Stenvert, Chris Kolman, Sabine Broekhoven, Saskia van Ginkel-Meester, and Yme Kuiper, *Monumenten in Nederland: Fryslân*, 12 vols., vol. 6 (Rijksdienst voor de Monumentenzorg, 2000), 91.
51. The inscription in Latin reads, “Omnia Dia Agape divino nectit amore / Et superis vinclo nos propiore ligat.”
52. The full inscription in Dutch is “God is der weesen helper. Psalm X. ver. XIII.” The reference Ps. 10:14 is to the Dutch *Statenvertaling*. Vives, *De Subventione Pauperum*, 65. Other orphanages in the Dutch Republic prefer a similar verse from Ps. 67, for example, Amsterdam burgher orphanage (c. 1580), Klein Botnia in Franeker (1668), Rotterdam burgher orphanage (1688 and 1763), and Breda burgher orphanage (c. 1887).
53. Jacob van Zevecote, *Gedichten* (Hebbelynck & Messchert, 1840), 226, 35, and 54. Significantly, the iconography of charity would be integrated with pictorial representations of the city personified. Van Asperen, “Caritas als Lehrmeisterin,” 100-109.
54. J. F. M. Sterck, H. W. E. Moller, C. R. de Klerk, B. H. Molkenboer, J. Prinsen, J. Lzn, and L. Simons, eds., *De Werken van Vondel. Tweede Deel: 1620-1627* (De Maatschappij voor Goede en Goedkoope Lectuur, 1928), 803. Compare William Muggins’s poem about Mother London of 1603: Rebecca Totaro, “Mother London and the Madonna Lactans in England’s Plague Epic,” in *Medieval and Renaissance Lactations. Images, Rhetorics, Practices*, ed. Jutta Gisela Sperling (Ashgate, 2013), 147-64.
55. The full inscriptions in Dutch read: “Die den armen mildlyc geeft, syn schat in den hemel heeft. Math. XIX” and “Die op der armen noot verstaet, hem God verlost van alle quaet. Psal XLI.”

Author Biography

Hanneke van Asperen is research and teaching assistant at the Department of Art History of Radboud University in Nijmegen. Until 2015, she was a postdoctoral researcher at Tilburg University where she conducted research on the iconography of charity. In 2009, she completed her dissertation on real and depicted pilgrim badges in medieval manuscripts (*Pelgrimstekens op Perkament*) at Radboud University in Nijmegen. She has published on charity, pilgrimage, badges, and devotional practices.