

# THE LUCHTMANS LADIES

FEMALE CUSTOMERS IN AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY BOOKSHOP

LINDA BOUTELLIER



The image on the title-page shows the mantelpiece that decorated the Luchtmans house from 1750 onwards. It is now in the Brill offices in Leiden. Source: in S. van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing* (Leiden/Boston, Brill: 2008), p. 8.

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## INTRODUCTION

The image of Pallas Athena, surrounded by her various war attributes, books and a temple in the background, was one that was quite familiar in early-modern Leiden. The goddess of war and wisdom was linked to the most prestigious street in the city, the Rapenburg. Here, not only the university was housed, but also the most renowned and esteemed bookshops sold their goods to students and professors. This part of the city, and especially the specific section of the canal between Doelensteeg and Nonnensteeg, was named ‘The Realm of Pallas’ (Rijk van Pallas), which implied that the goddess of knowledge had her residence there and offered her protection to the members of the university.<sup>1</sup> As the scholarly heart of the city, it held an important place in the academic book trade as well. And since Leiden was the first city in the Dutch Republic to have a university, a lively academic culture existed here. The dissemination of knowledge was a vital part of that culture, which was largely facilitated by the printing press. This need for efficient production and circulation of books resulted in a large number of bookshops to be established near the university.

Pallas Athena can also be specifically linked to one of those bookshops on the Rapenburg. On what now is number 69B, the Luchtmans family resided, having established here both their home and their bookshop. Since 1714, when the firm was run by Samuel I Luchtmans (1685-1757), the son of the founder Jordaan Luchtmans (1652-1708), the image of Athena was used as its printer’s mark, as shown in figure 1. The image of the goddess was accompanied by the words ‘Tuta sub aegide Pallas’ (Pallas is protected under her shield), which symbolised Athena’s protection of the university and the knowledge it generated.<sup>2</sup> Luchtmans by then was clearly closely linked to the university, and, consequently, prided itself in publishing and selling mostly academic books. Various generations of the Luchtmans family offered their services to the university, since 1730 as official academic printer. They were quite successful and managed to dominate the



Figure 1: Luchtmans' printer's mark during the management of Samuel I, 1714. Source: Hoftijzer, 'Tuta Sub Aegide Pallas', p. 71.

<sup>1</sup> S. van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing* (Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2008), p. 13.

<sup>2</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Tuta Sub Aegide Pallas: Drukkersmerken door de Eeuwen heen', *Jaarverslag 2004 van de Koninklijke Brill* (2005), pp. 69-81.

Leiden book trade until well into the nineteenth century. Its founding dates back to the end of the seventeenth century, when the Dutch book trade was at its peak.<sup>3</sup>

### *The Dutch Book Trade in the Seventeenth Century*

The seventeenth century is often characterised as the Golden Age of the Dutch book trade. The economic climate flourished and the country was an important international trading point, which made the Dutch Republic into a profitable place to start a new business at that time. Simultaneously, the extraordinary political situation and relative religious freedom allowed for very little control over the book production. The state had no reigning monarch, so instead the power was in the hands of the cities, at least in the most prosperous western part of the country. As a result, the Republic lacked a strong central government that could regulate the publishing industry, which meant that it was remarkably easy for a book business to publish works that were deemed inappropriate.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, Dutch society was relatively tolerant towards controversial ideas and other religions than the established Dutch Reformed Church. These conditions in the Northern Netherlands were clearly of great benefit to the book trade, and as a result, the number of printers and booksellers that were active increased rapidly. By 1650, there were 265 printers, publishers, and booksellers at work in the Republic, which was twice as many as twenty years before.<sup>5</sup> The Dutch book trade clearly profited from this flourishing economic climate in a number of ways.

A major factor that contributed to the success of the Dutch book trade was the large number of immigrants that moved to the Republic. These newcomers were mainly protestant refugees who came from the Southern Netherlands, where there was war, religious oppression and poor financial prospects. This meant that the Dutch Republic saw a large influx of people from the 1570s onwards.<sup>6</sup> Many of them came from Antwerp, the strongest financial power during the sixteenth century, which saw its leading position being taken over by Amsterdam when it fell into Spanish hands in 1585. The Spanish regime persecuted the Protestants, and thus many religious refugees moved north in search of a better life. They were lured by the religious freedom in the Republic as well as the prospect of economic opportunities. Among

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<sup>3</sup> Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'De Drukkersfamilie Luchtmans', <<https://www.kb.nl/themas/gedrukte-boeken-tot-1800/de-drukkersfamilie-luchtmans>> (30 May 2017).

<sup>4</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century', *European History Online*, 2015, <<http://www.ieg-ego.eu/hoftijzerp-2015-en>> (30 May 2017).

<sup>5</sup> W. Frijhoff and M. Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective, Volume 1: 1650 Hard-Won Unity* (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), p. 263.

<sup>6</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's Schild', in A.T. Bouwman et al., *Stad van Boeken: Handschrift En Druk in Leiden 1260-2000* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2008), pp. 153-288.

these newcomers from Antwerp were many printers and booksellers, who brought with them their skills and knowledge.<sup>7</sup> They settled mainly in the cities of Holland – Amsterdam, Haarlem, Delft, Leiden, Rotterdam – in order to have the best chances, and their skills and entrepreneurial spirit allowed for many new businesses to be built.

Another factor that encouraged the flourishing of book production in the Republic was the increasing level of literacy among the population. Although the higher academic classes were already mostly literate, the ability to read and write was rare among the middle classes. This changed when both primary and secondary education became more readily available during the seventeenth century, to both boys and girls. This development also encouraged a broadening cultural and intellectual awareness.<sup>8</sup> The public sphere expanded as people began to read more, and as a result a greater domestic book market was created. Such a large demand meant that there was financial security for many bookshops, as well as for the book trade of the Republic in general. The book market was stimulated further by the interest of universities and schools, which allowed for specialised scholarly printers and publishers to cater for this specific demand.<sup>9</sup>

### *Business in a Seventeenth-Century Bookshop*

As Van Vliet explains, the book trade as an industry changed immensely, but the appearance and activities of a bookshop itself did not show many differences.<sup>10</sup> So despite the flourishing book trade in the Republic, everyday life in a book business stayed fairly the same. A typical seventeenth-century bookshop was multifunctional. It did not only concern itself with selling books, but in many cases was also its own publisher, printer and bookbinder. Many of the activities in the book trade thus took place within the same business, not only because it would therefore not have to rely on someone else to survive but also as a matter of convenience. In general, the majority of books in a bookshop were stored and sold unbound. By performing the task of bookbinding themselves, the business was able to transport and store the books more easily, and could also alter the binding to the customer's preference.<sup>11</sup> Such a versatile business was only feasible for the large publishers, however, as smaller businesses usually did not have the means to publish a large amount of titles themselves.<sup>12</sup> For

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<sup>7</sup> R. van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), pp. 247-258.

<sup>8</sup> Hoftijzer, 'The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century'.

<sup>9</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 257

<sup>10</sup> Van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', p. 248.

<sup>11</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's Schild', p. 209.

<sup>12</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 268.

them, cooperation with other booksellers was essential in order to survive the perils and financial risks of the book trade.

The inventory of a typical bookshop is relatively unknown, but the main source of business was, of course, printed books. In most cases, payment in a seventeenth-century bookshop did not take place with physical money. It was a time in which cash money was scarce, so such transactions were generally avoided. Still, booksellers needed a way to afford printing their own publications, so an alternative way of buying and selling was by trading books. Most booksellers would print large numbers of a certain work and trade them for those of their colleagues. That way, a bookseller could obtain a large quantity of a certain publication.<sup>13</sup> Then, those newly acquired titles needed to be sold again in their own bookshop, but also there money was scarce. Most costumers therefore paid on account and did not pay their debts until the end of the year.<sup>14</sup> Interestingly, a bookshop also offered a variety of other services and goods besides selling these books. For example, people could come there to buy paper and other writing materials, as well as all sorts of other goods such as office supplies, medicine, and lottery tickets.<sup>15</sup> Shops would also often offer various services such as sending mail and keeping a lost and found facility.

In order to keep their enterprises afloat, most bookshops at this time were family businesses. This meant that the man of the house was in charge of the business as its manager, and that his wife and children were responsible for all sorts of chores within the rest of the firm. It also meant that a business had the opportunity to exist for more than one generation, as the son would take over from his father when he was old enough. As bookshops were often kept within the family, marriages were contracted wisely: by marrying someone who was also in the book trade, one was certain of financial security from within the family.<sup>16</sup> During any financial trouble, the family could offer its help in order to prevent the shop from going bankrupt. Security and regulation was also ensured by the emergence of book guilds in the seventeenth century. Such a guild was established in the city of Leiden in 1651, where it would supervise auctions of books, as well as concern itself with matters such as the education of apprentices within the profession and the continuation of a business after the death of its owner.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> B. van Selm, *Inzichten en Vergezichten: Zes Beschouwingen over het Onderzoek naar de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Boekhandel* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij De Buitenkant, 1992), p. 14.

<sup>14</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's Schild', p. 209.

<sup>15</sup> Van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', p. 247.

<sup>16</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's Schild', p. 220.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 227.

*Leiden: The Academic Heart of the Dutch Republic*

Although Amsterdam took over the leading position from Antwerp in the international book trade, Leiden also experienced a great increase in the number of bookshops that were established and the works that were printed. The colleagues from abroad were received with open arms in the city, in which the most important pull factor was its university. Many refugee printers and booksellers settled in Leiden, as they believed that this newly established university would offer them a great publishing climate. Leiden University had been created in 1575 and was from the beginning intertwined with the world of the book. An important reason for that was that the institution's teaching and research was humanistically oriented, which meant that mainly scientific and scholarly texts from the classical traditions were studied and commented upon. An important part of the university's programme was therefore concerned with publishing those classical sources and studying them. The university aimed to educate the citizens in favour of society as a whole, as personal and individual development was not yet the main goal of such an institution.<sup>18</sup> Printing academic works was therefore vital in order to spread knowledge throughout society.

In order to ensure the success of the university's teaching and research, an efficient network of publishing and distributing academic books was essential. The university therefore attempted to establish connections to the best printers and booksellers in the city. Most of these bookshops were based close to the university buildings, on the Rapenburg. Such a central location meant easy access to the academic community, and as a result an active academic culture developed in this part of the city.<sup>19</sup> The university would then supply the printers with a variety of requests regarding the required books, of which the majority would be executed by the official academy printer. This printer also had the task of providing the university with books from the Frankfurt book fair, a semi-annual international event which was the most important trading place for academic publications until the end of the seventeenth century. The academy printer, as well as other printers and booksellers in Leiden would go there every year to trade their new books and stock their own shop's inventory.<sup>20</sup> The presence of a university thus made Leiden the academic heart of the Dutch book trade, and for a while even of the whole of Europe.

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<sup>18</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's Schild', p. 185.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 199.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 197-198.

### *Reading Culture in the Early Modern Period*

In order to do research into reading culture and the kinds of texts that were read in Leiden during this period, a distinction has to be made between different reading groups, especially between the wealthy scholarly community and the middle classes. The presence of the university made that there was a variety of different reading groups in Leiden. It was normal for the professors and students of the university to busy themselves with books, as they were the best educated people in the city and needed books for their studies.<sup>21</sup> This also meant that the collections of libraries and bookshops were greatly influenced by the needs of these customers. For the average citizen, however, owning books was not as natural. Many of them had not learned to read and write, nor did they have the means to purchase books. Oral transmission of knowledge and information therefore remained an important means of communication.<sup>22</sup>

However, there is still a general consensus that, in the eighteenth century, people started to read more, a phenomenon which is sometimes even characterised as a reading revolution. An explanation for this change is that this was the Age of Enlightenment, a movement that brought about changes in what people read. In this century, the Christian doctrine gradually lost some of its power, causing the interests of people to shift from religion to reason. Whereas before they read mainly religious works such as the Bible, they now started reading more worldly texts. As a result, publications such as magazines, novels, and poetry gained popularity, while, as is argued by some, the book lost its authority.<sup>23</sup> Newspapers became a common source of information, and the new readers from the middle classes also entertained themselves by reading periodicals. Simultaneously, not only what was read changed, but also the way people read changed: a shift from the intensive reading of just a few books to the extensive reading of many books took place. Such a different way of reading altered the way people viewed the world, as whereas intensive reading was focused on a common perspective, extensive reading encouraged the individual reader to follow their own personal preferences.<sup>24</sup> Such a change encouraged people to read what they themselves wanted, instead of what was required by society or the church.

Such a reading revolution caused the emergence of new social institutions: the reading societies. In various cities, reading circles and lending libraries were established, which

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<sup>21</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's Schild', pp. 235-242.

<sup>22</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 259.

<sup>23</sup> J. Blaak, *Geletterde Levens: Dagelijks Lezen en Schrijven in de Vroegmoderne Tijd in Nederland 1624-1770* (Hilversum: Verloren, 2004), p. 23.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*

expanded the public sphere even more, creating a lively reading culture. This was certainly a development that was noticeable in Leiden. These reading groups are interesting with regards to general reading culture because they put the choice of reading materials into the hands of the readers themselves.<sup>25</sup> It was a way of bringing people together and to offer them a way of exchanging new ideas, stimulated by the Enlightenment. The members of a reading circle would come together and discuss what they had read, as well as have discussions about the society they currently lived in. In this way, it also had a very social function. The aforementioned shift in the kinds of works that people read can certainly be observed within these societies, as the collections that they read were mainly books of a moralising or didactic nature. The literature that these people read was meant for personal development, a new societal ideal, as opposed to texts that would benefit their profession.<sup>26</sup>

Another result of this reading revolution in the eighteenth century was the emergence of new readers. Groups of people started to read more that were underrepresented before. For example, women and children arrived as new reading groups, indicated by the introduction of magazines aimed specifically at these people.<sup>27</sup> However, despite this development it is still remarkably difficult to trace women within the world of the book. Research has been done into the probate inventories of deceased women in which books were found, but such research can never be certain of whom the books actually belonged to.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, little is known about the kinds of books that women bought and read themselves. This thesis aims to provide an answer to that question. It will study the buying behaviour of Dutch women and determine whether a change can be detected in the kinds of works that women bought during the eighteenth century. The research is based on the female customers that came to Luchtmans, and thus the main source of this study is the extensive archive that the firm has left behind.

### *The Luchtmans Archive*

The Luchtmans firm was one of those typical seventeenth-century bookshops. It was a family business, started by Jordaan Luchtmans in 1683, that carried his name until it was taken over by E.J. Brill in 1848 and continued under the same name. The firm has always focused on distributing academic books, and as a result of its location on the most prestigious street in

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<sup>25</sup> J. Goinga-van Driel, 'Utile Dulci: Leesgezelschappen in Achttiende-Eeuws Leiden', in *Alom Te Bekomen: Veranderingen in de Boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720-1800* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999), pp. 255–83.

<sup>26</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 282.

<sup>27</sup> Van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', p. 251.

<sup>28</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Boekenbezit van Vrouwen in Leiden Gedurende de Gouden Eeuw', *Jaarboek Voor Nederlandse Boekgeschiedenis*, 12 (2005), pp. 29–45.

Leiden, next to the university, it could survive for many years. Exceptionally, the archive of the firm has been preserved, which covers nearly the entirety of the business under its original name. It offers great insight into the book trade and buying behaviour in the Netherlands, as many different kinds of transactions can be found in it. All business and transactions of the firm have been documented, and these files have been preserved to this day, thanks to the willingness of Brill to deposit the archive. It is currently held by the library of the Royal Dutch Booksellers Society (Koninklijke Vereniging van het Boekenvak) and kept in Amsterdam University Library, as part of their Special Collections. This archive is the main source of this research, as it offers a unique look into the administration of an eighteenth-century bookshop. It will be used to examine the history of the firm itself, as well as to answer questions regarding buying behaviour of women in the eighteenth century.

The archive has its limits, however. A large number of pages within the section of private customers, the so-called ‘Klantenboeken’, have become unreadable due to water

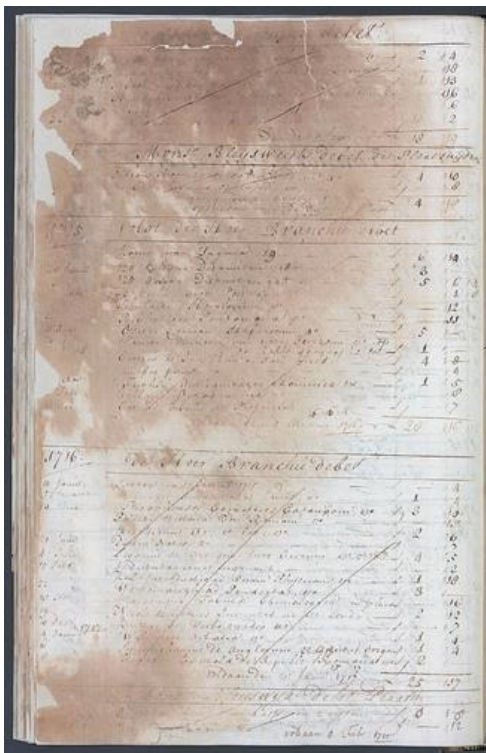


Figure 2: A page from the 1713-1732 section of the Luchtmans archive, showing substantial water damage. Source: Luchtmans archive, *Private Customers 1713-1732*, f. 20.

damage. For that reason, only selected sections of the archive have been chosen for this research. The two chosen sections represent different time periods within the eighteenth century and therefore, if any change is to be detected with regards to women’s buying behaviour, it should be revealed by examining these different moments in time. Another limitation of this archive is that it reflects only the buying behaviour of a certain class of people. Luchtmans was an academic printer and bookseller, established in the most prestigious area of Leiden. Books, moreover, were not cheap, and thus only the wealthiest people could buy their goods there. Any conclusions drawn from this archive can therefore not necessarily said to be representative of Leiden, or Dutch, society as a whole. Still, it is a greatly valuable source that reveals a lot about buying behaviour in the eighteenth century, a

source moreover that has hardly been used so far for book historical research.

In order to answer the main research question, the historical context in which this research is based is of great importance. While the general historical context has been shaped above, a more detailed history of the Luchtmans firm is required before further research into



its archive can commence. Chapter 1 will thus cover the history of this prestigious family business. After that, two case studies will deal with the buying behaviour of women in the eighteenth century. Chapter 2 will study the start of the eighteenth century, and particularly a married woman with two young children. Chapter 3 will then examine three separate entries of unmarried women that came to Luchtmans to buy for themselves. Together, these two case studies, placed within their appropriate contexts, should reveal what a typical wealthy woman came to buy at Luchtmans.



## CHAPTER 1: THE LUCHTMANS FIRM

For 165 years, the premises on Rapenburg 69B in Leiden carried the name Luchtmans. This was not only the domicile of the Luchtmans family, but also the location of their renowned bookshop. Its position revealed what kind of book business Luchtmans strived to be, as the Rapenburg was the scholarly heart of Leiden, where the university was established and therefore also where many members of the academic community resided. Here, several generations of the Luchtmans family published works for students and professors, as well as for the university itself. Luchtmans even became the official academy printer, which is evident by the copious amounts of dissertations and orations that were published by the firm from the 1730s onwards. Today, the success of this prestigious bookshop can still be seen: the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* lists 409 academic titles that can be traced back to the Luchtmans firm.<sup>29</sup> In total, the very substantial number of around 2500 titles can be attributed to this proud name in the Leiden book trade.<sup>30</sup>

The Luchtmans firm was a family business, which explains the long period of time that the business managed to survive. It was established by Jordaan Luchtmans in 1683 and was subsequently taken over by his son and then his grandsons. For five generations, the firm managed to be one of the most important names in the academic publishing world. Each respective manager brought changes to the shop and the kinds of works that it offered, but its academic influence remained fairly constant throughout its time. The firm carried the name Luchtmans until there were no more male heirs left in the family and the business was taken over by the Brill family. The publishing house is the only firm from the early-modern period in Leiden that still exists. With a history of 334 years, it even prides itself in being the oldest publishing house in the Netherlands.<sup>31</sup> But what is now one of the leading academic publishers in the world once started as a small family business in Leiden.

### *The Beginning: Jordaan Luchtmans*

The history of Luchtmans starts with its founder Jordaan Luchtmans, who chose to establish a new business when the circumstances to do so were ideal. The Dutch Republic experienced

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<sup>29</sup> Koninklijke Bibliotheek, 'De Drukkersfamilie Luchtmans', <<https://www.kb.nl/themas/gedrukte-boeken-tot-1800/de-drukkersfamilie-luchtmans>> (16 May 2017).

<sup>30</sup> S. van der Veen, 'De Leidse Boekhandelaars Luchtmans: Gedegen Verlichting 1683-1848', *Mededelingen van de Stichting Jacob Campo Weyerman*, 31 (2008), pp. 18-31.

<sup>31</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 9.

commercial expansion during the years after the Dutch Revolt had ended, and the economy flourished immensely. Many cities, most importantly Amsterdam, but also Leiden, Haarlem, Delft and Rotterdam, developed into important trading centres. Starting a new business at this time therefore offered many opportunities for success.<sup>32</sup> Not only the financial climate was ideal, Jordaan himself had also been preparing for a life in the book trade for a considerable amount of time. Born in Woudrichem, south of Utrecht, he had been an apprentice in a bookshop in The Hague and also with the Van Gaesbeek brothers in Leiden, before he was registered as an independent bookseller at the Leiden book guild on 17 May, 1683. His enrollment offered him security, as guilds were organizations that maintained order and guarded over honest practices of a certain industry.<sup>33</sup> It meant that Jordaan was now part of a community of printers and booksellers that provided him with the necessary contacts as well as the appropriate knowledge and regulations of the field.

A week later, he took another step in the right direction when he married Sara van Musschenbroek. Marriages were generally conducted taking the social status and interests of both parties into account, and resulted in the connection of two families. Such a connection meant a certain kind of responsibility for the members of one's family, especially financially.<sup>34</sup> In the case of Jordaan Luchtman, the marriage was very beneficial to his status in the book trade, as Sara provided him with ties with the academic world as well as the publishing industry. She was not only the daughter of the university's instrument-maker, but also the great-granddaughter of Christopher Plantin, who had been active in Leiden between 1583 and 1585.<sup>35</sup>

Such a union thus allowed Luchtman an advantageous entry into the academic world, as

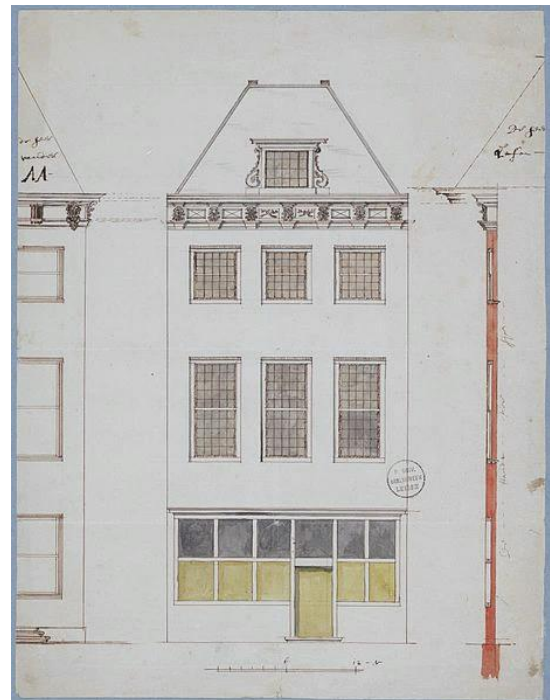


Figure 3: Design drawing for the front of Rapenburg 69B, ca. 1683-1713. Source: *Topografie van Nederland*, inv. no. P308-1N036.

<sup>32</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 18.

<sup>33</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 206.

<sup>34</sup> M.R. Prak, *Gezeten Burgers: De Elite in een Hollandse Stad: Leiden 1700-1780* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 1985), p. 152.

<sup>35</sup> P. de Clercq, *At the Sign of the Oriental Lamp: The Musschenbroek Workshop in Leiden* (Rotterdam: Erasmus, 1997), p. 32.

there was a large number of competitors already present in Leiden.<sup>36</sup> Moreover, the marriage did not only provide Jordaan with useful connections, it also gave him financial security. In 1697, he and his wife moved to the Rapenburg, where they established both their home and their bookshop at number 69B. Such a prominent location was not cheap, and since renovations were also required, Jordaan depended on his in-laws to provide him with the sufficient funds.<sup>37</sup>

The location of the bookshop along this part of the canal reveals Jordaan's goal for his business to take up a prominent academic status, as the Rapenburg was the centre of the scholarly book trade in Leiden. Located close to the Academy building of Leiden University, this area was where academics came to shop for their books.<sup>38</sup> It was, or had been, home to names such as the Elzeviers, David and Felix Lopez de Haro, Pieter van der Aa, Johannes Verbessel, and Cornelis Boutesteyn. Choosing this location meant that the Luchtmans firm aimed to match the best in the Leiden book trade.<sup>39</sup> This, however, also meant significant competition, especially from his neighbour Pieter van der Aa, as both he and Luchtmans were leading figures within the scholarly publishing industry. Both had been apprentices with the Van Gaesbeek brothers and had eventually established their bookshop on the Rapenburg. Even though each had their own unique selection of both academic works and books for the general public, the two firms were strong competitors. In order to boost their own sales, each therefore had to rely on their contacts within the scholarly world and make sure they tied the best authors to their firm.<sup>40</sup>

It has already been mentioned that a typical seventeenth-century book business did not specialise in only one aspect of the profession. So unsurprisingly, the Luchtmans firm established itself not only as a publisher, but also as a bookshop in which its own books, as well as works published by other firms, were sold.<sup>41</sup> Although printing was outsourced, the shop did have its own attached bindery. This was because books were not sold already bound in that time, but rather in loose printed sheets, because the cost of binding the book was covered by the customer.<sup>42</sup> That way, a customer could choose the book's binding according to his own preferences regarding aesthetics and price. The majority of these were recent publications, which is what the inventory generally consisted of. However, there were also

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<sup>36</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 12.

<sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>38</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 13.

<sup>39</sup> A. Smilde, 'Lezers Bij Luchtmans' *De Negentiende Eeuw*, 14 (1990), pp. 147-58.

<sup>40</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 17.

<sup>41</sup> J.M. van Ophuijsen, *E. J. Brill: Three Centuries of Scholarly Publishing* (Leiden: Brill, 1994), p. 8.

<sup>42</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 16.

books available that were older and already bound. Besides binding and selling, another significant part of their business was the auctioning of private libraries. These were often the collections of Leiden academics who lived in close proximity to the shop. However, it was also possible for the collection of a deceased author who had been closely linked to the publisher to be auctioned, especially when that author had published a large number of titles with the publisher.<sup>43</sup>

The academic ambitions that Jordaan had for his shop can clearly be seen in the works that he published during the twenty-five years that he ran it. Out of the 170 works that were published by him, the majority consisted of scholarly publications, which were naturally written in Latin. In his choice of subjects, he can be said to have followed the majority of Leiden publishers, who focused mainly on theology, philosophy, law, classical philology, and medicine.<sup>44</sup> The general preference for these specific subjects is certainly evident in Jordaan's publishing list. Most of his published titles are works on medical science, which mirrors the active medicine faculty of the university at that time. The next most popular subjects in his list are philology and ancient history, which reflect the university's humanistic orientation. The remaining titles are mostly concerned with theology. Jordaan's publications were not only academic, however, as his publishing list also contains auction catalogues and eulogies, many of which were in Dutch and proved to be quite popular.<sup>45</sup>

#### *A New Generation: Samuel Luchtmans I*

As Jordaan Luchtmans was getting older, preparations had to be made for the moment when he would have to retire from business. The logical successor would be his eldest son. However, out of the four sons that Jordaan and Sara had together, only the second survived: Samuel I Luchtmans.<sup>46</sup> As was customary for boys among the upper classes, Samuel attended the local Latin School on the Gerecht, which was aimed at preparing boys for an academic education. Latin was still the language of the



Figure 4: Samuel I Luchtmans, painted by Hiëronymus van der Meij in 1748. Source: Brill, 'Important Figures' <<http://www.brill.com/downloads/325-images-important-figures.pdf>> (24 July 2017).

<sup>43</sup> Van der Veen, 'De Leidse Boekhandelaars Luchtmans', p. 20.

<sup>44</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659-1733): Leids Drukker en Boekverkoper* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1999), p. 14.

<sup>45</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 18.

<sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 21.

university, and thus also the language of most of the books to be read there.<sup>47</sup> Attending the Latin School was therefore a relevant step for the new Luchtmans generation. Having finished school, young Samuel studied law at Leiden University for a number of years, which was a popular field of study.<sup>48</sup> However, his future was destined to be in the book trade, so his studies were meant more to familiarise him with the scholarly world and the use of books. Moreover, he had been trained in the book trade by his father, with the intent to prepare him for inevitably taking over the firm.

Soon after Jordaan Luchtmans had celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of both his marriage and his business, he died on 18 June, 1708. By this time, the firm was already an established name within the Leiden book trade. Although his mother formally remained the owner of the Luchtmans firm until she also died in 1710, Samuel took over the actual management of the firm. Just like his father, he too found a spouse with an established history in the book trade: in 1721, Samuel married his cousin Cornelia van Musschenbroek.<sup>49</sup>

As mentioned above, the university traditionally appointed an official academy printer, who would produce academic ephemera, such as orations, dissertations and lecture tables. This was a highly valued position, as it not only offered a regular source of income, but also a prominent status within the field.<sup>50</sup> Although this position was held for generations by the Elzevier family, the job became vacant after the death of Abraham Elzevier in 1712. Samuel I took his chances and attempted to fill the position, but he did not succeed. His neighbour and rival Pieter van der Aa also had his eyes on this position, but was likewise unsuccessful. However, while Luchtmans accepted his fate, Van der Aa was determined to nevertheless secure the position. Although the job had been given to bookseller and printer Jacob Poereep, Van der Aa gathered the means to take it from him. He managed to gain support of university curator Jacob van Wassenaer Obdam and also bought the majority of Elzevier's inventory. This meant that he not only acquired the inventory of his printing office, but also the buildings themselves. All his activity put Poereep under great pressure and he therefore did not manage to meet the expectations of the curators. In 1715, Van der Aa's hard work finally paid off and he was appointed as the new academy printer, after having already been made the official city printer of Leiden.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Prak, *Gezeten Burgers*, p. 209.

<sup>48</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 246.

<sup>49</sup> De Clercq, *At the Sign of the Oriental Lamp*, p. 37.

<sup>50</sup> Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659-1733)*, p. 15.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

The success of his neighbour meant sharp competition for Samuel I's business. Pieter van der Aa's business thrived and was impossible to match for over a decade. However, his health was deteriorating, and in 1730 he was no longer able to manage all his affairs. It became progressively worse until he had to give up his position as printer of both the city and the university. When he wanted to sell his stock of books, Samuel I stepped up and organised an auction for them. Pieter van der Aa died in 1733, and, because of the lack of a male heir, his wife continued the bookshop until it was shut down in 1735.<sup>52</sup> The death of his strongest competitor offered new opportunities for Samuel I's firm. Without such strong competition, his business finally had the time and the room to flourish to its full potential. Following the resignation of Pieter van der Aa in 1730, the post of academy printer was transferred to the Luchtman's firm. As a result of this new position, an important source of business was the production of dissertations, orations, and disputations, and sales increased significantly. In the same year, Samuel was also appointed printer of the city, even though printing continued to be outsourced. Unsurprisingly, the next five years were the glory days of the business while it was in the hands of Samuel I Luchtman's.<sup>53</sup>

In 1714, Samuel I comprised an overview of the inventory of the bookshop at that moment in time, which reveals the kinds of works that guaranteed his success. Little had changed compared to the inventory that his father had kept: again, the majority of the available titles were of a scholarly nature and written in Latin. Around sixty percent of these titles were published by the Luchtman's firm itself, either by Samuel I or by his father. Like the publications of Jordaan, this list of works reflects the university's preference for humanist



Figure 5: Title-page of the *Rechtsinnige Theologant*. Source: S. van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing* (Leiden/Boston, Brill: 2008), p. 23.

works: many of them concern classical history or philology. The remaining works are in the fields of theology, medical sciences, and law.<sup>54</sup> There was also a small percentage in this list concerning books on philosophy and natural science, including names such as Descartes, Gassendi, and Huygens. Although the Luchtman's firm had a reputation to uphold, Samuel I surprisingly even had Spinoza's *Rechtsinnige Theologant* in stock, a book that originated with the movement of the Radical Enlightenment. It had been prohibited by the States General and could only be sold under the counter, as a

<sup>52</sup> Hoftijzer, *Pieter van der Aa (1659-1733)*, p. 32.

<sup>53</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 27.

<sup>54</sup> Van der Veen, 'De Leidse Boekhandelaars Luchtman's', p. 23.



book business risked a fine if it were caught selling this book. Still, the catalogue reveals that Samuel I had eleven copies in stock, which he may even have inherited from his father.<sup>55</sup>

As the eighteenth century carried on, the Enlightenment became more and more influential in the everyday lives of people. It caused a boost in the reading culture in Leiden, as reading became an important aspect of the emerging public sphere. An inquisitive clientele that was eager to learn developed, which had its impact on business in the Luchtmans bookshop: the inventory of available works was never as varied as it was during Samuel I's management. This was partially due to Samuel's connections to the Musschenbroek family. His cousin and brother-in-law Petrus van Musschenbroek (1692-1761) was a professor of physics at Utrecht and later at Leiden who published most of his works with the Luchtmans firm, of which his *Elementa Physicae* was a bestseller for many years. It was so popular that it was reprinted regularly and even published in French and Dutch translations, which was another new strategy that Samuel profited from. Judging by these multilingual editions, an audience was emerging that was not familiar with Latin but was nevertheless interested in the subjects that were discussed using this language.<sup>56</sup> Books on natural science became more prominent, while they had been virtually absent during the days of Jordaan Luchtmans.<sup>57</sup> Luchtmans thus grew to be a very prestigious bookshop and made good use of the expanding reading culture that the Enlightenment had brought.



Figure 6: Samuel II Luchtmans, painted by Nicolaas Reyers, 1755. Source: Brill 'Important Figures'.

#### *A Brotherly Business: Samuel II and Johannes Luchtmans*

Samuel I's marriage proved to be very fertile, as he and his wife Cornelia together had nine children. Only the two oldest sons, however, ended up joining the family business, as the third son, Pieter, became a professor of medicine in Utrecht.<sup>58</sup> Samuel II and Johannes Luchtmans were both prepared for a life in the book trade and followed in their father's footsteps when it came to their education. They attended the Latin school and then studied at the city's own university. However, whereas it was the convention for young boys to be proficient in

<sup>55</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 23.

<sup>56</sup> Van Ophuijsen, *E. J. Brill : Three Centuries of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 17.

<sup>57</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 28.

<sup>58</sup> Van Ophuijsen, *E. J. Brill : Three Centuries of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 19.

Latin and French, the two Luchtmans sons had also been taught German, English, and Italian. These languages were not regularly known at that time, but in view of the choice of their father to publish books in many different languages, it was not unwise to be familiar with them.<sup>59</sup> Although normal students would not have to learn these languages, they came in very useful for a prospective life in the book trade that was inevitable for these boys.

It became clear that Samuel I was determined for his business to be continued after his death when he registered his son Samuel with the book guild as a bookseller. As the boy was only sixteen years old, this was an unusual procedure that was only possible because of Samuel I's prominent role within the guild.<sup>60</sup> He also succeeded in having him officially appointed as his successor as the city and academy printer. However, these were still only technicalities as the boy did not join his father until he was much older, in the 1740s. Johannes then also joined his brother and father in the business in 1749. From that point onward, the business was known as 'Samuel Luchtmans and Sons', and carried on in that way for a number of years. In 1755, old age having taken its toll on Samuel I Luchtmans, he chose to retire, confident that his business was safe in the hands of his two eldest sons. Two years later, at the age of seventy-two, Samuel I passed away and was buried in the family grave in the church of St. Pieter. His wife, who was fourteen years his junior, outlived him for many years and even survived her oldest son until she also died in 1784.<sup>61</sup>

From this moment on, the Luchtmans firm was in the hands of a new generation, and for the first time in a joint management, that of Samuel II and Johannes. The course of their career resembled their father's, but also in many ways each other's. The two brothers were inseparable, and the fact that they were also of more or less the same age meant that they were often mistaken for twins. They were not only inseparable in business, but also in many other aspects of their lives. Like their father and grandfather, marriage took place within the family, as both ended up marrying a member of the Reytsma family.<sup>62</sup> In 1763, Johannes married Maria Joanna, and only eighteen months later his elder brother wedded her sister Constantia Elisabeth. Samuel and Johannes were established businessmen, and thus belonged to the upper layer of Leiden society, although they were not members of the ruling class. However, they did manage to hold leading positions within the book guild, much like their father had done for many years. They had been given such a status by birth, and there was no need for

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<sup>59</sup> T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C.W. Fock, and A.J. van Dissel (eds.), *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse Gracht Deel VI: Het Rijck van Pallas* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1992), p. 657.

<sup>60</sup> Van der Veen, 'De Leidse Boekhandelaars Luchtmans', p. 26.

<sup>61</sup> Van Ophuijsen, *E. J. Brill: Three Centuries of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 17.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 19.

them to work their way up to such a position.<sup>63</sup> Their father's hard work allowed them to follow in his footsteps and run the firm, which continued to thrive as the city and academy's official printer.

Something the brothers did not inherit from their father was their wandering spirit: they did not keep their business to the Rapenburg, but went abroad on various occasions. Much like their grandfather Jordaan, they went on trips to the Leipzig book fair to maintain their contacts within the international book trade and to stock up on profitable titles. It was customary for the academy printer to do so, as Leipzig had replaced Frankfurt as the centre of the scholarly book trade in Europe.<sup>64</sup> However, it was not essential for them to travel themselves, as they could easily have sent an agent in their own place. Their choice to travel themselves therefore must have stemmed from a



Figure 7: Johannes Luchtman. Source: Brill 'Important Figures'.

personal interest to do so. The Luchtman archive even contains a number of diaries from these travels, including journeys to Leipzig, France, and England. In these diaries, various visits to theatres and musical performances can be found, further indicating that these trips were not meant purely for business.<sup>65</sup> Such material can be the source of much further research on such travels, but are not included in this study. Despite their inseparable bond, their travels were a time when the brothers were not together, as one of the two always had to stay in Leiden and be in charge of the bookshop. Such a trip was also not a cheap matter: the purchased books had to be transported back to Leiden separately, over water. As the books were mostly unbound, this was a delicate matter that was quite the expense. For many Dutch booksellers, travelling to the book fairs was therefore not feasible.<sup>66</sup>

Another factor that the Luchtman brothers did not share with their father was that they focused more on selling rather than printing. Whereas their father had been a fervent

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<sup>63</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 30.

<sup>64</sup> P.G. Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's Schild', p. 198. See also J. van Waterschoot, 'Samuel Luchtman, een reislustig boekhandelaar', *De Boekenwereld*, 15 (1998-99), 298-306. An edition of the English travel journal of Johannes Luchtman was published by Hoftijzer and Van Waterschoot: *Johannes Luchtman, Reis naar Engeland in 1772* (Leiden: Burgersdijk and Niermans, 1995).

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>66</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 30.

publisher of important titles, the business did not thrive as much in the hands of his sons. Although many works continued to be published, these were mostly works on classical languages or republished editions of older works. The decline of the publishing house reflected the decline that was also noticeable in the city of Leiden itself and its university during the second half of the eighteenth century. The city, university, and the Luchtmans firm had lost the spark that had made them successful for so many years.<sup>67</sup> However, the brothers did manage to maintain a vast inventory of titles in their bookshop. They had thousands of titles available, and succeeded in managing this remarkably grand stock. In order to do so, they had to maintain their international contacts with great care. Due to their frequent travels, the brothers had built a vast network within the international book trade and used those contacts to acquire many titles.<sup>68</sup>

The two brothers continued to jointly run the Luchtmans firm until 1780, when their fraternal bond was broken by the death of Samuel II, and Johannes continued to manage the firm on his own. However, Johannes himself had only daughters, so he made an attempt to have his nephew, the son of Samuel II, join the firm. Samuel III, however, had not yet finished his education as he was only fourteen. When he did, he was the only member of the family to have obtained a doctorate of law, and thus was a learned man.<sup>69</sup> He joined the firm but did not stay for long as his ambitions lay elsewhere. He left the firm and pursued a career in the administration of Leiden, becoming a member of the city council. Johannes Luchtmans therefore continued to run the business on his own until he died in 1809. Despite his heart not being in the book trade, Samuel III took over the business and managed it for a number of years until he also died in 1812. With no male offspring, this was the end of the Luchtmans dynasty.<sup>70</sup>

### *A New Name: Brill*

The first decades of the nineteenth century were an uncertain time, during which the political situation in the Netherlands changed immensely. Napoleon was defeated and the Kingdom of the Netherlands was established, reuniting the Northern and Southern Netherlands to form an independent nation. Luchtmans did not disappear, however. The bookshop moved across the canal to Rapenburg 78 to 80 and continued to carry the names of Samuel II and Johannes

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<sup>67</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 30.

<sup>68</sup> Van Ophuijsen, *E. J. Brill: Three Centuries of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 21.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 23.

<sup>70</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 32.

Luchtmans, although there was no male heir left with the family name. The business therefore carried on through the female line via the daughter of Johannes. However, she had died herself many years before, and her son was therefore to be the successor of the firm. At the time, Johannes Bodel Nijenhuis was unable to do so because of his young age.<sup>71</sup> The boy first had to finish his education, in which he followed in the footsteps of his ancestors. Hence, he attended the Latin school before continuing to study law at Leiden university. After obtaining his doctorate in 1819, he was ready to finally enter the business.<sup>72</sup>



Figure 8: Johannes Tiberius Bodel Nijenhuis, painted by J.L. Cornet. Source: Brill 'Important Figures'.

As the young Bodel Nijenhuis had been unable to take over the business when Johannes died, someone else was required to come forward. The Leiden printer Johannes Brill had already been connected to the firm for a number of years before the last Luchtmans owners passed away. His career was not destined to be in the book trade, as he was born in a family of ministers and was employed in the secretariat of stadholder prince William V of Orange for some time. However, when he lost his job in 1795 he set up his own printing shop in Leiden.<sup>73</sup> In 1802, when Johannes was getting older and Samuel III had no ambitions to fully join the business, Brill was appointed manager of the Luchtmans firm. From that year on, Brill was thus both an independent printer running his own business, as well as the house printer for Luchtmans. When the official heir to the business, Bodel Nijenhuis, had come of age and had completed his education, the practical side of the book trade proved to be difficult for him to deal with. To have Johannes Brill at his side was of great help to the new director. The two therefore jointly managed the firm until 1848, dividing the tasks according to their respective expertise.<sup>74</sup>

Johannes Brill was not the only member of his family who was involved in the Luchtmans business. His son Evert Jan had been working there for quite some time and appeared to be destined for the book trade. He even made a remarkable impression on Bodel Nijenhuis, as is evidenced by a letter in which he granted Evert Jan with a substantial bonus.

<sup>71</sup> Van Ophuijsen, *E. J. Brill: Three Centuries of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 24.

<sup>72</sup> Lunsingh Scheurleer et al., *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse Gracht Deel VI: Het Rijk van Pallas*, p. 664.

<sup>73</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 34.

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*

He had been taught the workings of the book trade by his father and developed into a professional within all parts of the field. As he published a number of books with the Luchtmans firm, he clearly had the ambitions to become a publisher himself, although he was destined to follow in his father's footsteps and become manager of the Luchtmans firm.<sup>75</sup>

The year 1848 was one of many revolutionary changes for the Luchtmans firm. Bodel Nijenhuis decided to retire from the business and focus more on his intellectual ambitions and his collections of books, prints and maps. In the same year, Johannes Brill decided to retire as well and live out his old age in a quiet village. Although it was expected that Evert Jan would take over the business after his father retired, things could have gone differently: Bodel Nijenhuis attempted to sell the business to bookseller Frederik Muller in Amsterdam, but the latter declined. Thus, the business was transferred to Evert Jan Brill, who was self-confident enough to not only take over the firm completely, but also run it under his own name from that moment onward. The glory of the Luchtmans name had finally come to an end: it was time for a new era.<sup>76</sup>

### *The Luchtmans Customer*

As the Luchtmans firm was active for a substantial period of 165 years, the general clientele must have been influenced by the available titles and thus varied over the years. However, a portrait of the typical Luchtmans customer can be drawn that is important to keep in mind when doing research into the private customers of the business.

It is essential that Luchtmans was not a shop for all members of society: only a certain higher class of people was able to buy their goods there. The majority of the customers consisted of professors and students. The university library was only accessible for a few hours each day, and only for professors, so it was a necessity for students and professors to build their own study library.<sup>77</sup> This is unsurprising, as Luchtmans was established close to the university and was connected to the academic institution from the start. It was rare for a non-academic customer to come to Luchtmans. As Smilde explains, their clientele was a certain kind of academic audience, that was interested in traditional humanistic ideas, as opposed to academics who were interested in new developments within the sciences.<sup>78</sup> This meant that many professors owned impressive libraries, embodying the ideal of Humanism to

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<sup>75</sup> Van der Veen, 'De Leidse Boekhandelaars Luchtmans', p. 30.

<sup>76</sup> Van der Veen, *Brill 325 Years of Scholarly Publishing*, p. 37.

<sup>77</sup> Hoftijzer, *Pieter van Der Aa (1659-1733)*, p. 16.

<sup>78</sup> Smilde, 'Lezers Bij Luchtmans', p. 152.

create universal collections of knowledge. Such collections could comprise thousands of books, reflecting the availability of books at the time.<sup>79</sup> However, although some research has been done into the libraries of professors, hardly any study has been conducted on the kinds of books that students generally purchased.

Books were expensive, so the average Leiden middle class citizen was unable to shop at Luchtmans. Also, as has been mentioned before, not everyone was literate at the time, let alone familiar with the academic language of Latin. It is therefore not surprising that this shop mainly had an academic audience. There were other customers, however, as Smilde's research has revealed. The clientele also included some ministers, foreigners, institutions, and women.<sup>80</sup> Most of these are still not surprising customers, as ministers were academically trained and needed books for their profession and the foreign clientele was most likely also of an academic nature due to their ability to travel. Women, however, are more of a mystery. Although women became a new reading group in the course of the eighteenth century, hardly any research has been done on the kinds of works that they bought and read. The women that came to Luchtmans must have been wealthy women who came from a background which was academically oriented, although they were never in a position to go to university themselves. Whether they bought for themselves or perhaps for their children remains an important question that the next chapter will attempt to provide an answer to.

The history of the Luchtmans firm can be said to be one of great success and fortune. What started as a small business with great potential grew out to be what Jordaan had probably hoped it to be when he opened his new bookshop on Rapenburg 69B: a prestigious shop that offered its services to the university and all the people that were connected to it. While business fluctuated depending on the circumstances, Luchtmans left its mark on the Leiden book trade and can pride itself on still existing today. Familiarity with its history is essential before diving deeper into the everyday transactions of this family business, and thus, into the archive.

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<sup>79</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Veilig achter Minerva's Schild', p. 237.

<sup>80</sup> Smilde, 'Lezers Bij Luchtmans', p. 151.





## CHAPTER 2: A MOTHER IN THE EARLY EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

The eighteenth century is an interesting period for women within the world of the book, as this time period brought a lot of changes for them and for society in general. As has been mentioned before, a shift from intensive reading to extensive reading took place. This meant that people started to read a larger number of books, a development that stimulated the consumption, and thus the sales of books in general. Simultaneously, the number of readers increased and the diversity within the available genres broadened more and more.<sup>81</sup> The middle classes continued to gain more access to the written word as a result of higher literacy and increasing spending power, which enabled a larger reading public to emerge. This new middle-class audience was interested in a more varied assortment of cultural enjoyment, which the book trade responded to. Academic and religious books remained, but new publications appeared that would meet the needs of this new market. The availability of a larger number and a greater variety of books also had consequences for other groups of people. Women and children, who had been virtually absent from the book realm before, now emerged as new readers. It is interesting to see, then, whether a change can be detected in the kinds of works that women bought and read throughout the course of the eighteenth century.<sup>82</sup>

Women in the early modern period were intrinsically connected to family life, and, thus, to the private sphere. Whereas men were expected to provide for their family and work in the public sphere, women were in charge of the household.<sup>83</sup> This meant that married women had little opportunities, as they were under the protection of their husbands, and were also financially dependent on them. Dutch women, however, have been characterised by foreign travellers as being very different in that matter. According to them, the women in the Republic were very active in business and possessed authoritative qualities within their own families. The former could certainly be the case in a number of circumstances. A single woman, for example, was able to retain some legal capacity and could maintain a relatively independent status as she was not dependent on a husband. A married woman, however, also had some opportunities for individual success: she could be recognized as an entrepreneur if her husband had passed away and she herself had taken over his business. Such a position was also possible if she ran the business while her husband was at sea. Women were thus quite

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<sup>81</sup> J. de Kruif, *Liefhebbers en Gewoontelezers: Leescultuur in Den Haag in de Achttiende Eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999), p. 23.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 25.

<sup>83</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 192.

active within the workforce and could stand on their own feet if the circumstances allowed them to do so.<sup>84</sup>

When it came to education of young girls, circumstances were certainly not equal to those of boys. Although the educational level in the Republic was relatively high and many women among the middle and higher classes were able to read and write, their opportunities to get an education were limited. Whereas it was customary for boys of the higher classes to attend the Latin school and then proceed to university, girls were generally not allowed to follow this path. Without knowledge of the scholarly language of Latin, they were unable to study at the university. In this way, they were excluded from most forms of education and therefore had to be schooled privately if they had any academic aspirations.<sup>85</sup> Another opportunity that girls still had was to attend a French dame's school, which was specifically aimed at the kinds of skills that women were expected to have. Girls would learn French, embroidery, and be taught to dance and arrange flowers. These were private institutions, however, and thus only available to daughters of wealthy families.<sup>86</sup> Any woman who had scholarly interests thus had to find other ways to be educated, either by taking private lessons or even just by purchasing and studying books.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to trace the ownership and reading culture of women before the nineteenth century, as very little has been documented regarding these practices. Likewise, research into the consumption of books by readers in general also is hampered by a lack of sources. In order to track the previously mentioned development of an expanding reading culture, and specifically among women in the eighteenth century, the best sources to consult are probate inventories and book sale catalogues of contemporary readers or the sale administration of a bookshop. All these types of sources have their limits, however, as they in many cases only showcase a certain class of readers and cannot be representative of society as a whole.<sup>87</sup> Probate inventories, for example, were drawn up after the owner has passed away and are therefore often only a representation of the possessions of an older person. It is also in most cases unclear whom a certain book actually belonged to, despite it being in the possession of a certain individual. Books within the inventory of a widow might have belonged to her husband, for example. Likewise, the Luchtman archive can only reveal data on the wealthier women of Leiden, and is not an illustration of buying behaviour of the

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<sup>84</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 194.

<sup>85</sup> R.M. Dekker, 'Women in the Medieval and Early Modern Netherlands', *Journal of Women's History*, 10 (1998), pp 165-188.

<sup>86</sup> Prak, *Gezeten Burgers*, p. 209.

<sup>87</sup> Hoftijzer, 'Boekenbezit van Vrouwen in Leiden gedurende de Gouden Eeuw', p. 35.

average local woman. Still, it is a greatly valuable source that can reveal information on this still very unfamiliar topic.

### Private Customers 1702-1722

The first section of private customers within the Luchtmans archive spans from the period from 1702 until 1722, and thus covers the start of the eighteenth century. During this period, the firm was in the hands of Jordaan Luchtmans until his death in 1708, after which his wife and then his son Samuel took over. This change in management is noticeable within the archive, as the handwriting of the administration changes around the year 1708. It is perhaps the best preserved section of the private customers' segment within the archive, as it has not suffered from any water damage and is perfectly readable. Each section of the private customers' book starts with a register of the names of each customer who has purchased something, followed by the page number on which their respective administration can be found. Then follow the actual pages with sales, where each customer's name is followed by the word 'debet', indicating that these customers paid on account and not in cash money. Underneath, a list of transactions can be found, along with the dates on which the purchase

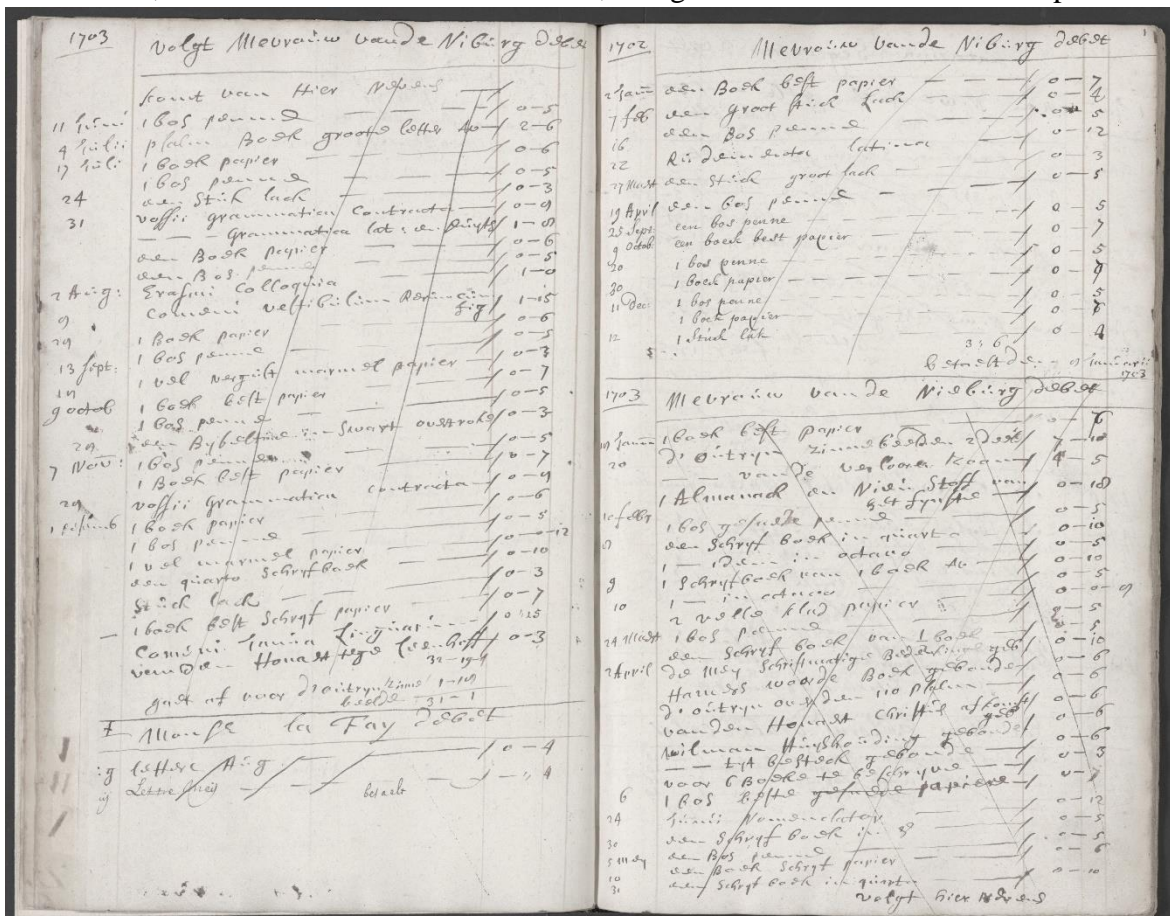


Figure 9: A typical page from the Private Customers ledger. Source: Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 1.

was made and the amount of money that it cost. At the bottom of each list, often by the end of the year, it says ‘voldaan op’ (covered on), followed by the date on which the full sum of the debt was paid. In nearly all cases, the list is then crossed through to indicate that the transaction has been completed.<sup>88</sup>

Within this section, female customers are relatively scarce. They are certainly not as common as in later parts of the archive, as will be discussed in the next chapter. In the 323 pages of customers of this first volume, only fourteen women can be found among a multitude of professors, scholars, and other gentlemen. The majority of these women were married, as is indicated by the title of ‘mevrouw’ (mrs.), and they would most likely be buying books for their children’s schooling or perhaps the occasional religious book for themselves. The remaining six are either ‘juffrouwen’ (maidens) or widows, in which case one would assume that they were buying for themselves.<sup>89</sup> They were no longer, or not yet under the control and protection of their husbands and were free to make their own choices.<sup>90</sup> In nearly all cases, however, the names of the women in this part are not followed by long lists of purchases, even in the case of these unmarried or widowed females. As this section contains so little female customers, it would be most interesting to highlight one of them in order to gain the most comprehensive picture of what a woman came to buy in the early eighteenth century.

### *Van Egmond van de Nijenburg*

There is one woman within this part of the archive who appears to have been a frequent and devoted customer at Luchtmans: Mrs. Van de Nieburg. Her name is the first to occur in this volume and can then be found numerous times again. Her first entry in this section is in 1702, while the last is in 1707. The accounts of her purchases present some clues as to what kind of woman she must have been. In most of her entries, an entire page is dedicated to her acquisitions, suggesting that she was a wealthy lady who needed a great number of books and other supplies. These long lists of items also suggest that she visited the shop frequently and therefore lived in the area, perhaps even on the Rapenburg itself. Identification proved to be difficult, however, as her first name is never mentioned and her last name occurs in many different spelling variations: ‘Niburg’, ‘Nieburgh’, and sometimes even ‘Nijenburg’.<sup>91</sup> These

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<sup>88</sup> Library of the Royal Dutch Booksellers Association (Koninklijke Vereniging van het Boekenvak), Amsterdam University Library (Special Collections), inv. no. UBA 354, Luchtmans Archive (henceforth Luchtmans Archive), Private Customers 1702-1722.

<sup>89</sup> Ibid.

<sup>90</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 193.

<sup>91</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 1.

were all common names in Leiden during that time, so her actual name and identity was not easy to establish. Seeing that she is registered as a Mrs., however, it is most likely that she was a married woman and that she therefore was not born with this name.

Research into these several spelling variations, along with the appropriate dates and locations, has revealed that this woman is Catharina van Panhuijs (1657-1708). She was born as the daughter of Johan van Panhuijs (1603-1663) and Cornelia van Hoogeveen (1626-1692) and was baptised in Leiden on October 12, 1657.<sup>92</sup> The Van Panhuijs family, which was elevated into the Dutch aristocracy in 1814, originally came from Limburg. Her father was a salesman, who was born in Bremen but moved to Leiden where he married her mother Cornelia, who was born in Leiden herself.<sup>93</sup> The family was quite wealthy and influential, for example by providing a member to the city's council. Catharina thus grew up in an upper-class family, and appropriately married someone of equal status. In 1691, she wedded Cornelis van Egmond van de Nijenburg, a member of an aristocratic family that came from Alkmaar, and was active in the local and national government. They even had their own estate, which lies between Alkmaar and Heiloo and still exists as 'Landgoed Nijenburg'.<sup>94</sup> The couple was married in Alkmaar, but moved to Leiden after the births of their two sons, presumably to a house on the Rapenburg to the left of the university building.<sup>95</sup> In 1691, their eldest son Johan Aegidius van de Egmond van de Nijenburg (1691-1747) was born and five years later, in 1696, their second son Theodorus (Dirk) Cornelisz van Egmond van de Nijenburg (1696-1740).<sup>96</sup>

Both sons proved to have academic aspirations, as they can be found in the student registers of Leiden University, where they enrolled at a very young age. On March 5, 1705, Aegidius enrolled at the age of fourteen. His younger brother Theodorus enrolled at the age of

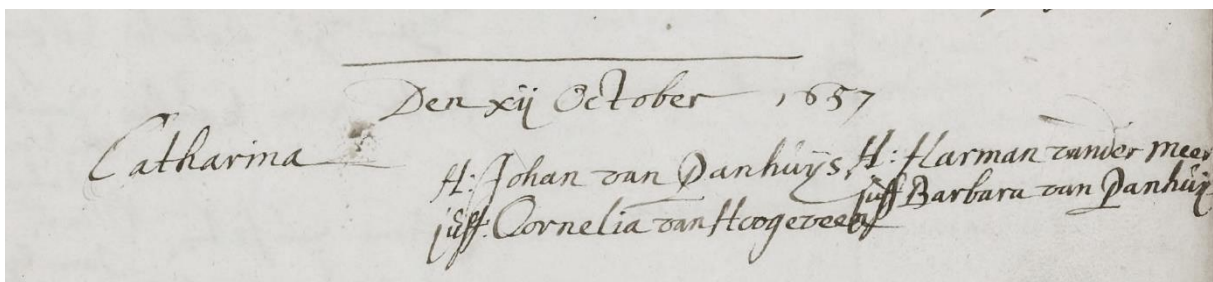


Figure 10: Record of Catharina's baptising. Source: Erfgoed Leiden.

<sup>92</sup> Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (ELO), Doop-, Trouw- en Begraafregister, inv. no. 222, Dopen Pieterskerk 8 juni 1644 - 29 februari 1664, ff. 153-154.

<sup>93</sup> Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie, 'Van Panhuys', *Nederland's Adelboek*, 89 (2000-2001), pp. 350-397.

<sup>94</sup> Prak, *Gezeten Burgers*, p. 385.

<sup>95</sup> Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (ELO), Bonboeken, inv. no. 6615, Bon Zuid-Rapenburg, f. 354v.

<sup>96</sup> Prak, *Gezeten Burgers*, p. 385.

sixteen, on March 21, 1712.<sup>97</sup> Although the register does not mention what the brothers came to study at the university, Aegidius is known for a great journey that he made together with Johannes Heyman, a Leiden professor of oriental languages. They travelled through several parts of the world and published a report on their travels under the title *Reizen door een gedeelte van Europa, klein Asien, verscheide Eilanden van de Archipel, Syrien, Palestina of het H. Land, Ægypten, den Berg Sinai enz.* in 1757.<sup>98</sup> He obtained a doctorate of law and then remained in Leiden until he was asked by the State of Holland to travel to Naples in order to congratulate the king on his marriage and negotiate on a treatise on friendship, trade, and maritime shipping. He inherited the family's fiefdom in 1742 and died five years later. His brother had also passed two years earlier, so having remained unmarried and thus having no offspring, he was the last of the Van Egmond van de Nijenburg family.<sup>99</sup>

#### *Mevrouw van Egmond van de Nijenburg: Books*

As was described in the previous chapter, Luchtmans was a space for academics, so the average customer would most likely come to buy books for their studies. As a married woman and a mother, the expectation would be that Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg spent most of her time taking care of her children and buying the necessary goods for their education. Her entries in the register start in the year 1702, when neither of her children had yet enrolled in the university. Therefore, it is logical to assume that they were still attending the Latin school at this time, or even still following primary education due to their young age. Typically, boys would start with their primary education in the Dutch language before moving on to secondary education in Latin and, thus, the Latin school.<sup>100</sup> By the time young boys had finished their primary education, they had learned to read and write, but only in Dutch, so they could now move on to the Latin school where they would learn how to use the language of the learned. There, all teaching and examinations took place in Latin, in order to prepare the pupils for university. Although certainly not all children proceeded to study at the university, the Latin school did serve that purpose for the young sons of Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> W. Du Rieu (ed.), *Album studiosorum Academiae Lugduno-Batavae 1575-1875. Accedunt nomina curatorum et professorum per eadem secula* (Den Haag: M. Nijhoff, 1875). See appendix A.

<sup>98</sup> Published in Dutch in Leiden in 1757 and 1758, and in 1759 in London in English.

<sup>99</sup> C.W. Bruinvis, 'Egmond van de Nijenburg, Jan Aegidius van', in P.J. Blok and P.C. Molhuysen (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911), p. 432.

<sup>100</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 239.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 256.

Such an expectation is certainly confirmed when reviewing the titles that she came to buy at Luchtmans. The majority of her book purchases consisted of material that was used to teach children at the Latin school. In her first entry, the administration of the year 1702, she bought a copy of *Linguae Latinae Rudimenta* (Amsterdam: J. van Lotten, 1699) by Gerardus Vossius (1577-1649) on the twenty-second of February.<sup>102</sup> This book was used in Latin education, and specifically in the sixth, the lowest, class, explaining declensions, conjugations, as well as parts of speech and thus formed the basis for the pupils' knowledge of the Latin language.<sup>103</sup> Considering that Theodorus was only six years of age at this point, it is unlikely that he had already started the Latin school. This book was probably meant for his brother Aegidius, who was eleven and thus the typical age to start the Latin school.<sup>104</sup> However, she continued to buy this book five more times during the course of the archive, the last one being in 1707, so it is also possible that this is a book that all the boys needed throughout their studies. The entry for this year is relatively short, and the rest of her purchases in 1702 consisted mostly of writing supplies, which will be discussed in more detail further below.

In 1703, the purchases of Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg were more substantial than in the previous year. On the twentieth of January, she came to Luchtmans to buy three books in total, all of which were most likely meant for her own use. Firstly, she purchased two titles by Johannes d'Outrein (1662-1722), a Dutch author and Calvinist minister who was mostly known for his theological works.<sup>105</sup> She bought a copy of his *Proef-Stukken van Heilige Sinnebeelden* (Amsterdam: G. Borstius, 1700) as well as of the *Gelijkenissen van de Verloren Zoon* (1699). The former is a general work of theology and Christian doctrine, while the latter is a collection of biblical interpretations. Although theological works could certainly be used in the education of young children, it is more likely that she bought these titles for herself considering her third purchase on the same day: an almanac.<sup>106</sup> Seeing that almanacs were publications that provided practical information such as weather forecasts, market days, canal boat schedules, and astronomical predictions, one can assume that this purchase was meant for her personal use in her domestic life at home. The almanac was one of the most

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<sup>102</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 1. Publication details of all titles have been included of those editions that were published closest to the date of purchase. In the case where two subsequent books originated from the same publishing house, details have been left out for the second title.

<sup>103</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 245.

<sup>104</sup> A.M. Coebergh van den Braak, *Meer Dan Zes Eeuwen Leids Gymnasium* (Leiden, 1997), p. 74.

<sup>105</sup> D. Nauta, 'D'Outrein, Johannes' in *Biografisch Lexicon voor de Geschiedenis van het Nederlandse Protestantisme Deel I* (Kampen: J.H. Kok, 1978), p. 237.

<sup>106</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 1.

popular genres of printed material during her time, so it is no surprise that they attracted a female reader.<sup>107</sup> It can thus be assumed that the two titles by D'Outrein also for her own use, to serve her own bible study and general theological interests.

A few months later, on the second of April, Catharina made another large purchase of books, again all of a religious nature. One of them is familiar, as she bought another title by Johannes d'Outrein, his commentary on psalm 110 (Amsterdam: G. Borstius, 1702). She also opted for *Schriftmatige Rede- en Zede-lijke Bedenkingen* (1701) by George de Mey (1628-1712) and *Kort-bondig Vertoog van Christus Afkomst uyt David* (1702) by Taco Hajo van den Honert (1666-1740).<sup>108</sup> The former was written by a protestant minister while the latter was the creation of a professor in theology at the university. Both are of a theological nature, not immediately linked to the education of children in the Latin school, so they must again have been works for her own personal use. She then chose *Technologieemata Sacra, of Woorde-Boek van Heilige Konstredenen* ('s-Gravenhage: M. Uytwerf, 1700) by Petrus Hamer (1646-1716), a theological dictionary. The remaining two titles are by Theodorus Wilman (1660-1715), also a minister, namely *Huishoudinge Gods over Sijn Kerk* (Leeuwarden: C. Teydema,

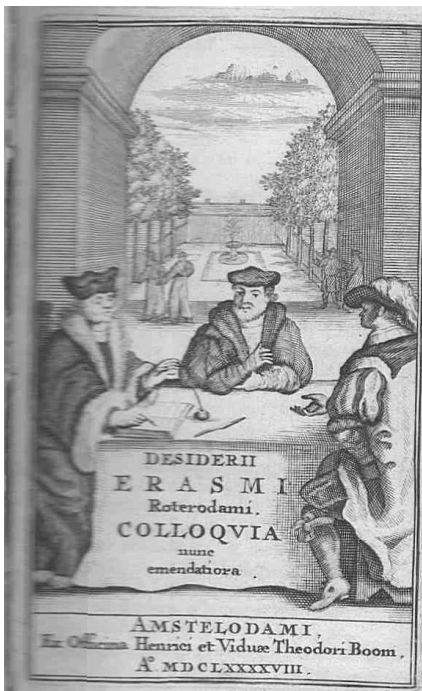


Figure 11: Title-page of the 1698 edition of Erasmus' *Colloquia*. Source: STCN.

1692) and *Tijd des Eindes uit Alle de Bestekken van Alle de Dagen des Nieuwe Testament* (1696). It was certainly common for women to read works of such a moralising religious essence, as reading of that kind was not considered harmful to them.<sup>109</sup> It is therefore unsurprising that such titles can be found among the purchases she made.

The following purchases of Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg during the same year were again educational books, meant for the lessons of her sons. She purchased Hadrianus Junius (1511-1575)' *Nomenclator Contractus* (Amsterdam: J. van Lotten, 1700), an octolingual dictionary that includes Dutch, French, and Latin.

Interestingly, she then bought a book of psalms printed in an extra large type on the fourth of July. Such a specific layout may have been useful for young Theodorus who might have only recently learned how to read himself and was still

<sup>107</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 261.

<sup>108</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 1.

<sup>109</sup> Hofstijzer, 'Boekenbezit van Vrouwen in Leiden Gedurende de Gouden Eeuw', p. 34.



finding it difficult. She also acquired a copy of Erasmus (1466-1536)' *Colloquia* (Amsterdam: D. Boom, 1698), which was used in the sixth class of the Latin school and therefore must have been for Aegidius.<sup>110</sup> The remaining acquisitions consist largely of works by Gerardus Vossius, a familiar name within the educational publishing world. At the beginning of the seventeenth century, he had been a professor in Leiden, where he wrote standard text books such as the *Grammatica Latina Contracta* (Amsterdam: H. Boom, 1684) and *Elementa Rhetorica* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1655).<sup>111</sup> Both of these titles were used in the Latin school and can be found in the lists of purchases by Catharina. Rhetoric was not taught until the second class, however, so the books focusing on it must have been too early for both Theodorus and Aegidius. Some more educational titles appear in the next few months, when Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg purchased two books by Johannes Amos Comenius (1592-1670). First, she chose his *Vestibulum Latinae Linguae Rerum* (Amsterdam: M.J. Brandt, 1657) on the ninth of August, 1703, and then the more advanced version of that same book, *Januae Linguarum Reseratae Aureae Vestibulum* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius, 1642), on the twenty-ninth of November. Both are books that focus on the basics of the Latin language and were probably meant for Aegidius again.<sup>112</sup>

With the purchases for the year 1703 coming to an end, a new entry was made for the year 1704. Catharina's first purchases in this year were again an almanac and a book of psalms, which were probably meant for her own use. Then, it becomes clear that Aegidius had progressed in the Latin school by this time, as the titles that his mother purchased changed. Whereas the Latin school focused on the fundamentals of Latin in the sixth class, the fifth class featured the letters of Cicero and Cato's *Disticha* (The Hague: A. Troyel, 1700).<sup>113</sup> Indeed, the latter is among the titles that are bought by her this year. Also appearing for the first time this year is an elementary book on the Greek language, the *Rudimenta Graeca* (Amsterdam: J. Wolters, 1689), reflecting the fact that young boys also started learning Greek at the Latin school at a certain point. The rest of her purchases this year include a bible and some copies of the catechism, which was also common in education. In one case, on the twenty-ninth of February, the archive even mentions that a certain catechism was meant for 'de tweede school' (the second school), most likely meaning for the secondary education, and thus for the Latin school. Among these catechisms are also some in German, even though it

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<sup>110</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 245.

<sup>111</sup> Anon., 'Vossius, Gerardus Joannes (1577-1649)', Biografisch Woordenboek van Nederland, <<http://resources.huygens.knaw.nl/bwn1880-2000/lemmata/bwn2/vossius>> (3 July 2017).

<sup>112</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 1.

<sup>113</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 245.

was not common to learn that language at the Latin school. However, she also bought a German translation of Erasmus' *Colloquia* on the twenty-second of October, so it must have been a language that the boys knew or were at least in contact with.<sup>114</sup>

As Aegidius was enrolled in the university in 1705, one may assume that he had left the Latin school by this point. However, it was common for pupils of the Latin school to be entered into the register of the university when still attending the higher classes. His mother's purchases also indicate that he had been attending the Latin school for only a few years, so it is unlikely that he was already finished.<sup>115</sup> During this year, he must have moved to the fourth class, as Catharina's purchases include titles that were appropriate during this stage of education. On the second of February, she made a rather large purchase that includes Ovidius' *Tristia* (Rotterdam: R. Leers, 1698), selected works by Cicero, and another catechism.<sup>116</sup> The title by Ovidius was annotated by the Rotterdam schoolmaster Johannes Minellius (1625-1683), whose editions appear regularly in the customers' accounts. His editions of classical texts, to which he added his own notes, were mainly published for the use at Latin schools, even abroad.<sup>117</sup> Although Cicero had also been read during the fifth class, Ovidius was introduced for the first time in the fourth class, so it seems certain that Aegidius had moved up and was now reading these classical texts. Studying these authors was vital within the curriculum of the Latin school, not only for their contents but equally for their style. Imitation was an important skill that the pupils had to master, as it was believed that by imitating the style of these ancient authors, the students would automatically learn to come to such virtuous results themselves.<sup>118</sup> Studying the style of the classical authors was therefore considered just as important as learning the Latin language itself.

The rest of the year 1705 features some familiar titles such as the *Rudimenta Latina et Graeca*, but also some that have not been seen before. Catharina purchased a book of fables by Phaedrus and also a copy of the *Gradus ad Parnassum* (Amsterdam: H. Boom, 1688) by Paul Aler (1656-1727). Both are books that were used for the instruction of the Latin language and literature, and were probably needed in the class that Aegidius was currently in. She also bought a *Calendarium Romanum* (1518) by Johannes Stöffler (1452-1531), a book in which the liturgical calendar of the Catholic Church, including all celebrations of the Catholic

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<sup>114</sup> Luchtman's Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 48.

<sup>115</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 244.

<sup>116</sup> Luchtman's Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 117.

<sup>117</sup> 'Minellius, John', in A. Chalmers, *General Biographical Dictionary Volume 22* (London: J. Nichols, 1812), p. 195.

<sup>118</sup> Frijhoff and Spies, *Dutch Culture in a European Perspective*, p. 245.

faith, is explained. Such a religious book was probably intended for her own use, although she certainly was not a catholic herself. Some other titles that appear are works of Latin poetry and an encyclopedia, such as the *Poetica* (1482) by Flavius and the *Dictionarium Historicum ac Poeticum* (1<sup>st</sup> edition 1553) by Carolus Stephanus (1504-1562), which was the latinised version of the Estienne family name.<sup>119</sup>

The start of the year 1706 featured a few classical editions by Ovidius and Terentius, both annotated by Minellius, suggesting that his editions were quite heavily used in the Leiden Latin school. Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg also bought some dictionaries this year. On the third of February, she purchased the *Lexicon Manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum* (Amsterdam: D. Boom, 1700), a dictionary of Greek and Latin by Cornelis Schrevelius (1608-1661). Six days later, she also selected a dictionary of German and Latin, further proving that German was a language that the family was familiar with.<sup>120</sup> Later on in the month, on the twenty-ninth, a purchase of ‘2 bijbeltjes van klein volgout’ (two small bibles tooled with gold) is listed, which shows not only the value that this family gave



Figure 12: Title-page of the *Lexicon Manuale Graeco-Latinum et Latino-Graecum*. Source: STCN.

their faith, but also the amount of wealth that they possessed that allowed them to afford such embellished objects. The rest of the year included familiar titles, such as works by Vossius and again an edition of Aesop’s fables. At the end of the year, she purchased another annotated classical text, by Marcus Valerius Martialis, as well as a commentary on the letter from Paulus to Timotheus (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1707) by Mattheus Gargon (1661-1728), the latter of which is likely to have been meant for her personal use.

The last entry for Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg concerns the year 1707, which was also the last year of her life before she passed in 1708. This year featured a large number of books, many of which are familiar but there also are some new titles. In February, she mainly bought dictionaries, books on rhetoric and Cicero’s *Orationes* (Amsterdam: J. Graevius, 1699). After that, she purchased a number of religious books including a bible, a

<sup>119</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 117.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., f. 152.

copy of the New Testament in Greek, a book of psalms, and a German catechism. She also purchased another annotated edition of Virgil by Minellius and a copy of Erasmus' *Colloquia*. She continued to buy books by Vossius and Cato this year, which suggest that Theodorus had now also started the Latin school. As he had turned eleven years of age this year, these rudimentary titles were probably meant for his first years of secondary education. Her final entries in December 1707 feature works of Latin poetry, such as a work of miscellaneous poetry by Bussieres. This book was purchased on the twenty-fourth of December, 1707 and is the last purchase made by Catharina at Luchtmans.<sup>121</sup>

#### *Mevrouw van Egmond van de Nijenburg: Other Goods*

It was not only books that Catharina came to buy at Luchtmans. Although the firm was mainly a shop for academic books, clearly a great deal of other goods were available as well. Her two sons would have learned to read and write before they came to the Latin school and therefore needed paper and pens in order to write notes and do their assignments. The most common purchases that she made are therefore 'een bos pennen' (a bundle of pens) and 'een boek papier' (a book of paper). The latter would not mean an actual book, but rather the standard unit of twenty-five loose sheets of blank paper.<sup>122</sup> She also often bought 'een stuk lak' (a piece of lacquer), to seal letters and documents. However, occasionally she does buy 'ge vulde pennen', the meaning of which is not certain. They may have been pencils, which at the time were produced in Nuremberg. Other kinds of writing materials also occur, such as a 'schrijfboek' (writing book), which must have been a different kind of paper than the loose sheets mentioned above as was made especially for writing. They were also already bound, as she bought these books in several different formats, mostly quarto but also octavo. On one occasion, she bought a sheet of 'olifantpapier' (elephant's paper), which was the largest size

29	een Schryfboek in quarto	0-5
23	een bos pennen	0-5
	een Schryfboek in octavo	0-3
	een stuk lak	0-10
7 April	een Schryfboek in quarto	0-12
19	Reddenda Latina	0-5
10 11104	een octavo Schryfboek	0-5
		0-0

Figure 13: Entries of the various writing materials that Catharina van Panhuijs bought. Source: Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 152.

<sup>121</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722, f. 182.

<sup>122</sup> Anon., *Nederlandsch Handelsmagazijn, of Algemeen Zamenvattend Woordenboek voor Handel en Nijverheid* (Amsterdam: Diederichs, 1843), p. 928.

of paper available, hence its name.<sup>123</sup> New pens and paper were bought nearly every few weeks, so they must have been used intensively, by herself as well as by her sons Theodorus and Aegidius.<sup>124</sup> Besides general writing materials, Catharina also purchased some letter paper, which was much lighter than ordinary paper. As has been mentioned previously, some bookshops offered the service of sending mail, so it is unsurprising that a shop like Luchtmans would sell the means to write letters.

The remainder of purchases made by Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg were the books that have been described above. These were clearly the most expensive goods, and in many cases extra costs are included for the binding or interleaving, i.e. adding blank leafs of paper, of those books. In one case, she had to pay for the repair of a copy of *Rudimenta Latina*, in which case the binding must have been damaged in some way.<sup>125</sup> In general, the items purchased by Catharina are not very surprising for a typical bookshop in the eighteenth century, which certainly does not mean that this was all Luchtmans had on offer. Further research into other goods sold by Luchtmans is necessary on the basis of a more varied selection of customers, but is beyond the scope of this research.

### *Conclusion*

Catharina van Egmond van de Nijenburg was clearly a family woman, as was probably expected of her at that time. She was married and therefore under the protection of her husband, which meant that she had little independency. She was also a mother of two young sons within a wealthy family, so these boys had an academic future ahead of them. Her motherhood is very evident in her purchases at Luchtmans, as the large majority of books that she bought were intended for her sons' education at the local Latin school. Theodorus and Aegidius would finish their secondary schooling before proceeding to the university. During and after their mother's entries in the archive, they themselves also appear as 'jonkers' (young men or noblemen) van de Nieburg, and later with their own first names as well.<sup>126</sup> Their purchases at Luchtmans can reveal more about this wealthy aristocratic family, but that is beyond the scope of this research, which is aimed at the buying behaviour of women and therefore focuses only on the mother of this family. In any case, the identities and ages of the

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<sup>123</sup> Anon., *Nederlandsch Handelsmagazijn*, p. 928.

<sup>124</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1702-1722.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 152.

<sup>126</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 84; f. 223.

two boys proved to be enough to gain insight into the purpose of the purchases made by their mother.

The role of a woman at the start of the eighteenth century can be said to still be very traditional. Of course, women emerged as readers around this time, but this was a very gradual development so it is not surprising that many women were still very much focused on family life. Although there were some purchases that Catharina made for herself, such as an almanac and a variety of religious texts, these were works that were deemed appropriate for women and therefore not extraordinary. The rest of her purchases were meant for the education of her children and not for her own personal development. Although her case will certainly not be representative for all women during this period, she is certainly a good example of the role that women were generally expected to take, especially in the higher social strata. It will be interesting, then, to see whether this role and buying behaviour changes when moving further into the eighteenth century.

### CHAPTER 3: INDEPENDENT WOMEN IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

As the eighteenth century carried on, the expansion of a new reading public became more and more evident in society. G.W. Huygens characterised this development as the democratisation of literature, because middle classes were now gaining a stronger economical position and, as a consequence, were able to influence the book production. This inevitably had consequences for writers as well: whereas before authors were dependent on patrons whose preferences they had to adhere to, they could now work for a much greater audience.<sup>127</sup> Because of that, the number of books that were available increased immensely. Another reason for the growing readership is the change of mentality as a result of the Enlightenment. As mentioned previously, religious literature slowly started to make place for works of education and entertainment with a moralising nature, meant for personal development. Religion started being questioned and it became increasingly more common for people to read other types of books. The rising middle class was not as educated as the higher classes and was therefore interested in more worldly literature.<sup>128</sup> All these developments had a shared result that is interesting when doing research into the second half of the eighteenth century: the emergence of new genres.

Although already in 1618 one of the earliest European newspapers was printed in Amsterdam, such a publication contained merely objective information and did not offer its readers any kind of opinionated insight. That changed when the ‘spectator’ appeared in the eighteenth century. This genre originated in England, where authors Joseph Addison (1672-1719) and Richard Steele (1672-1729) founded a journal, the *Spectator*, that published essays on certain social or political themes. It became an enormous success because of its modern and didactic character, reason why the genre was soon copied and became known as spectators.<sup>129</sup> The genre was also very popular in the Netherlands, where it gained a wide readership that was not used to high-quality literature. These spectatorial publications were more civil and thus appealed to readers who did not belong in the academic world. They allowed people to think about contemporary society and be introduced to new political and social ideas that originated in the Enlightenment. Such journals were also interesting for women, as they occasionally dealt with topics such as children’s upbringing and the current

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<sup>127</sup> G.W. Huygens, *De Nederlandse Auteur en Zijn Publiek* (Amsterdam: G.A. Van Oorschot, 1945), p. 29.

<sup>128</sup> J. J. Kloek, ‘De Lezer als Burger. Het Literaire Publiek in de Achttiende Eeuw’, *De Achttiende Eeuw*, 26 (1994), pp. 177-191.

<sup>129</sup> J. Feather, ‘The British Book Market 1600-1800’, in S. Eliot and J. Rose (eds.), *A Companion to the History of the Book* (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2009), pp. 232-246.

problem of a deficiency of servants.<sup>130</sup> This new type of publication is thus also interesting in the light of the upcoming female reading public.

Another upcoming genre was the novel, which was not immediately encouraged and therefore only slowly increased in popularity. The established church feared that such literature would have a wrong moral influence because of its worldly themes. However, that worldly nature was exactly what attracted people towards these books. They allowed people a personal development as well as a way to escape from their limited daily lives. The reality that most people lived in did not allow for much mobility or spontaneity, so these stories enabled them to escape to another world.<sup>131</sup> Although most non-academically educated people only read Dutch works, many popular novels were translations after French or English books. The French manners and morals were very popular and these books were somewhat bold compared to Dutch literature. It thus became a genre that was very popular among the middle classes, but also very common among the upper strata of society, where luxury and comfort had increased. Many wealthy people, especially youngsters and women, were not required to work and could experience their daily lives as quite tedious as a result. For them, reading became something that was not merely a necessity anymore, but rather a form of pleasure and entertainment. The long hours of the day were thus spent sleeping, partying or reading novels.<sup>132</sup>

### *Private Customers 1756-1772*

This chapter will focus on the section in the Luchtman's archive that spans from the period from 1756 until 1772, which roughly covers the third quarter of the eighteenth century. As opposed to the prior sections, this section of the archive is in a relatively good state of preservation. The light water damage has only damaged the top hand corners of the pages. This means that, in some cases, part of the names of customers have become unreadable. The rest of the pages have remained intact and are perfectly readable in the handwriting of either Samuel II or Johannes Luchtman's. As Samuel I had retired a year before this customer book starts, all administration in this segment has been written by his two sons. It is structured in the same way as the earlier sections, except that this volume is divided into three parts. The previously discussed section of Private Customers 1702-1722 contained over 300 folia in a single book, whereas this part has divided the same number of pages over three separate

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<sup>130</sup> Huygens, *De Nederlandse Auteur en Zijn Publiek*, p. 33.

<sup>131</sup> Kloek, 'De Lezer als Burger', p. 179.

<sup>132</sup> Huygens, *De Nederlandse Auteur en Zijn Publiek*, p. 49.



volumes. Both sections also cover around twenty years of time, so they can be said to be roughly of the same size.<sup>133</sup>

Because this section of the archive covers a period of the eighteenth century thirty years later than the one described in the previous chapter, it will be interesting to see what kind of changes time has brought for the female customers of the Luchtmans firm. A very noteworthy development is the increase in the number of women that came to buy at the bookshop in comparison to the start of the century. Whereas the previous section contained only fourteen women customers, a remarkable number of 58 individual females can be found in this one. They are certainly still vastly outnumbered by the male customers, but it is nevertheless a very noticeable change. It is also striking that nearly all of these women were unmarried or widowed, and thus relatively independent. Out of all these female customers, only three carry the title ‘mevrouw’ and were therefore evidently married. The remaining names all belong to widows or ‘juffrouwen’.<sup>134</sup> In order to give an overview of the diversity within this segment, three separate entries have been chosen that include four individual women in total. They have been selected on the basis of their familiar names or their striking purchases. Although these four women do not represent the entire female book buying clientele of the time, they can certainly reveal how buying behaviour of women had developed.

#### *Johanna Catharina and Cornelia Luchtmans*

Among the many customers who visited the Luchtmans shop during these years, quite a few familiar names can be found, also among the females. On folio 161, the Luchtmans name itself appears, in the name of ‘Juffrouwen J.C. en C. Luchtmans’. These initials stand for Johanna Catharina (1731-1770) and Cornelia (1734-1804) Luchtmans. Both were daughters of Samuel Luchtmans and Cornelia van Musschenbroek, making them the sisters of Samuel II and Johannes.<sup>135</sup> This is confirmed in the entry itself, where the administration



Figure 14: Cornelia Luchtmans. Source: Geni, ‘Cornelia Luchtmans’, <<https://www.geni.com/people/Cornelia-Luchtmans/332193097990013687>>.

<sup>133</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1772.

<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (ELO), Doop-, Trouw- en Begraafregister, inv. no. 250, Dopen Hooglandsche Kerk 3 mei 1733 – 30 april 1741, f. 31.

for the year 1760 specifies that these books were purchased ‘voor suster Johanna Katharina’ (for sister Johanna Catharina). The purchases within the entry span the period from 1759 until 1769, with the exception of the years 1763 and 1764. The heading above the year 1760, however, suggests that the purchases made from that year onwards were meant for Johanna Catharina only and not for her sister as well. There is only one entry for these two women within this part of the archive, which implies that they were not very excessive buyers. Each year, they only bought around four or five books and for some years there were no purchases at all.<sup>136</sup> This could, of course, be the result of their position within the family that allowed them to obtain books in other ways that did not require official administration. And of course they may well have bought books at other bookshops as well.

Although they were part of this well-known family, little is known about the lives of Johanna Catharina and Cornelia, as they played no part in the family business. Johanna Catharina was born in 1731 as the younger sister of Samuel II and Johannes Luchtmans. She never married, which explains her being described as a spinster in a notarial deed in the archive of Leiden notary Hendrik Isacq Kreet.<sup>137</sup> The exact date of her death is unknown, but in view of the fact that she drew up her testament in 1770 she may have died shortly after, at the age of 39.<sup>138</sup> Her entry in the Luchtmans archive corroborates this assumption, as a final purchase of hers can be found in a later section of the Private Customers for the year 1770. It is also possible that she moved elsewhere, of course, which explains why there are no records of her burial in Leiden. Her younger sister Cornelia was born in 1734, and it is together with

1759 Suffr. A.C. en G. Luchtmans		
19 July	Bennet Christen in den binne kamor	2. 11
in Doelbouert de fontaj	in 11 <sup>e</sup> 2 deelen met pat	
Vangendyck	in 4 <sup>e</sup> 4 <sup>e</sup> deelen ching. 4	2. 5
Voldaan den 20 Jan: 1760 <sup>1759</sup> 4. 10		
1760 voor suster Joh. Catharina		
23 Oct.	Een Fransche band aan een folio Bibel	3. 15
27 Oct.	een stuk rood lak	1. 15
10 Oct.	ruyt de aucte	1. 12
Voldaan den 3 Jan: 1761 5. 22		

Figure 15: The entry for Johanna Catharina and Cornelia Luchtmans. Source: Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1772, f. 161.

<sup>136</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1772, f. 161.

<sup>137</sup> Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (ELO), Arch. no. 506, Oud-Notarieel Archief, inv. no. 1966, arch. no. 506, Archief van Notaris Hendrik Isacq Kreet 1724-1773, f. 137.

<sup>138</sup> Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken (ELO), Arch. no. 506, Oud-Notarieel Archief, inv. no. 2122, Archief van Notaris Johannes van Klinkenberg 1739-1790, f. 372.

her that she made her first purchase at Luchtmans in 1759.<sup>139</sup> From the year 1760 onwards, Cornelia does not appear to have bought items from her brothers' firm anymore. This can be explained by the fact that she married Jan Willem van Musschenbroek (1729-1807) in that year. It appears that her newly acquired marital status prevented her from buying more books at the shop, while her unmarried sister and husband did continue to do so.<sup>140</sup> Cornelia had two children with Jan Willem, Pieter and Samuel Cornelis van Musschenbroek, and she outlived her older sister for many years until she died in 1804 at the age of 70.<sup>141</sup>

The purchases for the year 1759 were made by the two sisters together, when they were both unmarried and thus carried the title 'juffrouw'. In that position, they were not under the protection of a man and were free to make their own choices regarding the things they bought and the books they read. They also did not have any children yet and it can thus be said with a fair amount of certainty that they were buying for themselves. One might expect that women took this opportunity to step away from the religious literature that they were expected to read, but the Luchtmans sisters do not appear to have done so. Their first purchase of the year was *De Godsdienstige Christen in Zyn Binnekamer* (Haarlem: J. Bosch, 1748) by the presbyterian English minister Benjamin Bennett (ca. 1674-1726), a book translated out of English into Dutch.<sup>142</sup> This work aimed to provide the Christian believer with a guide of meditations on a variety of subjects. It was Bennett's most popular work, which is why it was reprinted many times and translated into Dutch.<sup>143</sup> The sisters' next acquisition was Taco Hajo van den Honert's *Dissertatio*. In the archive, it is indicated with its Latin title. However, seeing the fact that women were not allowed at the Latin school it is unlikely that the sisters knew the language. It can thus be assumed that they instead bought *Redenvoering over de Onverschilligheid der Godsdienst* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1733), which was a Dutch translation of *Dissertatio de Religionis Indifferentismo*. Their final purchase of that year was Pieter Langendijk's (1683-1756) *Gedigten* (Haarlem: J. Bosch, 1751), a collection of poems by the famous poet from Haarlem.<sup>144</sup>

As mentioned above, Cornelia got married in the year 1760 so the purchases from that year onwards were meant for Johanna Catharina only. Like the year before, she only bought a

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<sup>139</sup> No prior entries for these women can be found in the archive.

<sup>140</sup> Entries for Jan Willem van Musschenbroek can be found in this section from 1757 until 1769.

<sup>141</sup> Geni, 'Cornelia Luchtmans', <<https://www.geni.com/people/Cornelia-Luchtmans/332193097990013687>> (10 July 2017).

<sup>142</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 161.

<sup>143</sup> D. L. Wykes, 'Bennet, Benjamin (c.1674-1726)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/2100>>, accessed 10 July 2017> (10 July 2017).

<sup>144</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 161.

few books this year, with the first one not until the 21<sup>st</sup> of October. This first purchase is again of a religious nature: a folio Bible with a French binding. Next, she acquired a piece of red lacquer, probably to seal her letters and other documents. Then, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of October, the archive states that she purchased something ‘uyt de auctie’ (from the auction).<sup>145</sup> As mentioned before, auctions were a frequent matter at the Luchtmans firm so this must have been the auction of someone’s private library that Johanna Catharina attended. Indeed, a book sale’s catalogue reveals that an auction was held at the Luchtmans bookshop on this very day, organised by her two brothers. The auction concerned the private collections of two physicians. The first was the collection of Nicolaus van Brienen, a doctor of medicine in Leiden, the second the library of Cornelis van Amsterdam, who was a doctor of medicine in Utrecht. Johanna Catharina must have acquired a book from one of these collections, but unfortunately it is not specified what it is exactly that she purchased.<sup>146</sup>

The next year brings even fewer purchases, both made on the second of June, 1761. The first is a book on the French language: *L’art de Bien Parler François* (Amsterdam: J.C. Arkstee, 1760) by French grammarian Nicolas de la Touche. This book reveals Johanna Catharina’s interest in the French and their language. She might have been interested in reading French novels and therefore wanted to learn the grammar of the language, something that was certainly expected of a woman of her status. Many foreigners came to Leiden and especially to her brothers’ bookshop, so it would not be unwise for her to be able to converse with them in their language. The second purchase on that same day was an addition to the previously acquired *Gedigten* by Langendijk. Apparently she had bought this book unbound the first

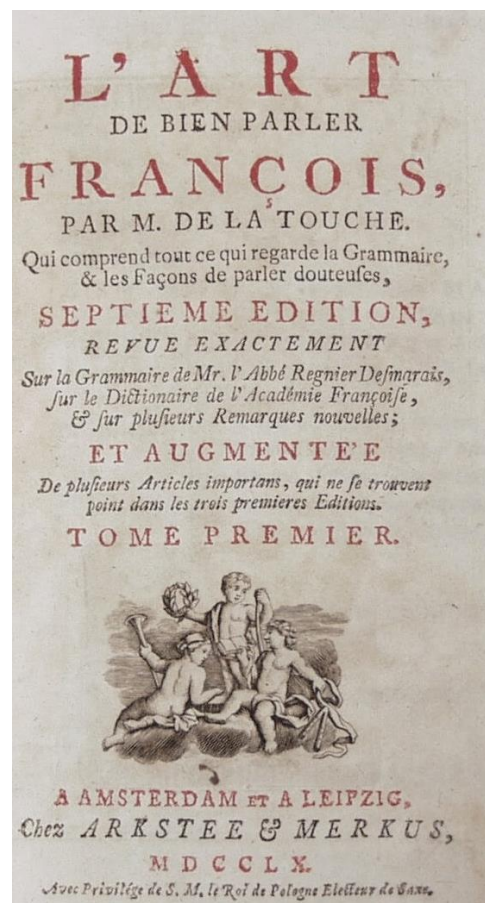


Figure 16: Title-page of *L’art de Bien Parler François*. Source: STCN.

<sup>145</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 161.

<sup>146</sup> Brill Online, Book Sales Catalogues Online, *Catalogus Duarum Bibliothecarum* [Van Brienen was a Leiden Doctor of Medicine, Van Amsterdam was a Rotterdam Doctor of Medicine] (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1760), 8<sup>o</sup>: 60 [2] pp.

time, as she now payed for the book being bound in ‘een hoorne band’ (a parchment binding).<sup>147</sup>

In 1762, Johanna Catharina’s purchases at Luchtmans are slightly larger. On the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January, she bought a biblical interpretation by Petrus Curtenius (1716-1789). His *Moses Testament en Lied in Verhandelingen over Deuteron* (Amsterdam: G. de Groot, 1762) was one of many religious works written by this Amsterdam preacher and professor of theology.<sup>148</sup> Next, she bought a small bible, in a roman letter and already bound, on the 24<sup>th</sup> of May. The third purchase is also of a religious nature, as she chose *Aanmerkingen over den Bezwaarlijken en Nuttigen Dienst, den Voornamen Inhoud en het Regt Gebruik van ’t Evangelie* (Groningen: J. Spandaw, 1762), with its *Vervolg* (1762), by the reformed minister Johannes Conradus Appelius (1715-1798), both very recent publications.<sup>149</sup> She also acquired an edition of the ‘werken’ (works) by the seventeenth-century Dutch literary author Jacob Cats (1577-1660), which must have meant a compilation of all of his works, published as *Alle de Wercken* in 1726 (Amsterdam: J. Ratelband). Most of his work concerned poetry and emblems, and is thus of a moralistic nature.<sup>150</sup> The final purchase of that year concerns another Dutch translation of a very popular French book, *De Gevallen van Telemachus* (1700) by François de Pons de Salignac de la Mothe Fénelon (1651-1715). It is also indicated that the translation was made by Sybrand Feitama, a new edition of which was published in 1763. She bought it on the 29<sup>th</sup> of December, so perhaps the new edition was already available by then.<sup>151</sup>

The years 1763 and 1764 do not present any purchases at Luchtmans by Johanna Catharina. The following two years, however, reveal another interest of hers: music. Her first purchases in 1765 were alterations made on the books she already owned by Curtenius (1716-1789) and Fabricius, such as a new parchment binding and ‘beslag’ (fittings).<sup>152</sup> Then, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of November, she bought a ‘muziekboek’. This must have been a book of blank music paper in which she was able to compose or copy her own music. Her next purchase is quite surprising as well, as it is a work on business administration of an investment company in Amsterdam. She bought the *Contract der Generale Prebende-, en Tontine-societeit*,

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<sup>147</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 161.

<sup>148</sup> F.S. Knipscheer, ‘Curtenius, Petrus’, in P.J. Blok and P.C. Molhuysen (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 8 (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911), p. 350.

<sup>149</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 161.

<sup>150</sup> J. Prinsen, ‘Cats, Jacob’, in P.J. Blok and P.C. Molhuysen (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 8 (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911), p. 281.

<sup>151</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 161.

<sup>152</sup> The titles on which these alterations were made are not specified in the archive.

*Opgericht binnen Amsterdam* (Amsterdam: F. Houttuyn, 1765). This title included the regulations administration of the company, and suggests that she herself was a participant in it. In the next year, she again bought a quarto music book, with the specification that she requested this book to be bound with a Parisian binding, further indicating her interest in the French fashions. Her final purchase of the year is another biblical interpretation by Curtenius.<sup>153</sup>

Her musical aspirations are further demonstrated by her purchases in the year 1767, when she bought *Six Sonates pour le Clavecin avec l'accompagnement d'un violon* (Amsterdam: J.J. Hummel 1764) by Jacques Guillaume Lustig (1706-1796), suggesting that she played the harpsichord or the violin. The fact that this book was in French must have meant that she was now somewhat more proficient in the language. She then purchased another musically oriented title that was also of a religious nature: *Geestlyke Gezangen* (Amsterdam: H. Vieroot, 1766) by reformed minister Abdias Velingius (ca. 1720-1803). These songs were sung within the reformed church and the book must therefore have accompanied her to church. The third and final entry for this year states that she acquired 'werken' by 'Nyloe'. It is not indicated which works she purchased, but again it must refer to a collected works edition.<sup>154</sup> The Deventer minister Jacobus Nijlœ (1670-1714), who at the time was praised for his love for the Dutch language. He published works on the Dutch language as well as biblical interpretations, so either of the two were probably of interest to Johanna Catharina.<sup>155</sup>

The final two years of Johanna Catharina present only a few more titles. In 1768, the appearance of the name Newton is striking, but instead of a work on physics this must refer to the *Historische en Taalkundige Vertoogen over de Gewyde Voorzeggingen* (Amsterdam: D. onder de Linden, 1768), a brand new title written by Thomas Newton (1704-1782), that had been translated from English into Dutch. It is a theological work and therefore less surprising than one may think at first glance. This title is her only acquisition of the year 1768. In the next year, the final year of her purchases, and also presumably the last year of her life, she purchaed on October 19, 1769, two books by Hermannus Samuel Reimarus (1694-1768). First, she selected *De Voornaamste Waarheden van den Natuurlyken Godsdienst, in Tien Verhandelingen* (Leiden: A. Honkoop, 1765) on theology and, next, *Algemeene*

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<sup>153</sup> Luchtman's Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 161.

<sup>154</sup> A specific publication of such compiled works could not be found.

<sup>155</sup> F.S. Knipscheer, 'Nijlœ, Jacobus', in P.J. Blok and P.C. Molhuysen (eds.), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biografisch Woordenboek*, vol. 10 (Leiden: Sijthoff, 1911), p. 682.

*Beschouwingen van de Driften der Dieren* (1761) on animals and plants. The latter is interesting as a book on biology has not been seen before among her purchases, and might not be the kind of text that a woman was supposed to read. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of October, she made her final purchase at Luchtmans, in the form of another book by Curtenius. This time, she selected *Op de Verklaaring der Zwaarste Plaatsen in Paulus Brieven aan de Korintheren* (1769). The book was written, however, by Hermanus Gerardus Oosterdijk and only published by Curtenius.<sup>156</sup>

Johanna Catharina is an example of a woman who remained unmarried and could thus make her own choices regarding her purchases. It is interesting to see that her sister was able to do so as well until she wedded in 1760. After that, her name disappears from the archive, suggesting that married women were unlikely to buy books for themselves. Johanna, however, had the freedom to explore her own interests, among which were music, biology, theology, and French literature. Nevertheless, she still appears to have followed conventions for a lady of her status by mainly busying herself with her faith and interpretation of biblical texts. Occasionally, she ventured away from that and bought a surprising title, but the theological works dominate the majority of the acquisitions at her brothers' business.

### *Juffrouw Jacobi*

On folio 72 a very short entry for a 'Juffrouw Jacobi' can be found. She only appears once within this section and her purchases comprise only the years 1756 and 1757. Although her name is an unfamiliar one in the context of the Luchtmans archive, the nature of the majority of her purchases is certainly of interest to the purpose of this study, as Miss Jacobi mainly bought novels and adventurous tales.<sup>157</sup> As the archive does not include first names of most female customers, establishing her identity had to be based on her last name alone. A search of this name in the Leiden Municipal Archives using the spelling 'Jacobi' that is used in the

The image shows a handwritten ledger entry for 'Juffrouw Jacobi' on folio 72. The entry is dated 1756 and lists several purchases with their respective prices. The text is written in cursive and includes the following items and prices:

Date	Description	Price
22 April	De onbedachte Juffrouw. 100 Doelen	1 10
	Leijde onpaardige We. 100	1 2
	in Bloed. 100	2 0
	Hond. 100	2 10
12 July	De Vrouwenlyke Jakey. 100	1 10
Nov.	De Vrouwenlyke Jakey. 100	1 5
	De Vrouwenlyke Jakey. 100	2 0

Figure 17: The entry for Juffrouw Jacobi. Source: Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1772, f. 72.

<sup>156</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1772, f. 161.

<sup>157</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 72.

archive reveals the name of Cornelia Catharina Jacobi (1734-1758). A further search using the spelling variant ‘Jacoby’ exhibits the names of two wealthy women who resided on the Rapenburg. On Rapenburg 34, Jacob Jan de Mey (1724-1769) lived with his wife Johanna Rosina Jacoby (1726-1777), who together had five children in total. Cornelia Catharina was the sister of Johanna Rosina, who lived with the couple and remained unmarried herself.<sup>158</sup> In view of the fact that the Luchtman archive specifies a ‘juffrouw’, it is most likely that this is Cornelia Catharina and not Johanna Rosina. The last entry of Miss Jacobi is in 1757, which further confirms her identity as Cornelia passed a year later at the age of twenty-four.

Miss Jacobi first appeared at Luchtman in the year 1756, when she bought her first book on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of April. It seems that she was interested in recent publications, as she chose *De Onbedachte Juffer, of Historie van Mistriss Betsy Tatless* (2 vols., Delft: M. Sterck, 1756) by Eliza Haywood (1693-1756), a Dutch translation of the English novel that had come out in 1751. This is an interesting choice, as this novel was critical towards the prescribed role of women in society. It portrays a woman with a strong will who faces society’s pressure to get married.<sup>159</sup> Being unmarried herself, perhaps the main character was someone Cornelia was able to identify with. Her second purchase, however, was one of a religious nature. On the same day, she also selected *De Onwaardige Wereld, Vertoond in Vyftig Zinnebeelden met Godlyke Spreuken en Stichtelyke Verzen* (Amsterdam: A. Schoonenberg, 1749) by Jan Luyken (1649-1712). This was an emblem book that focused mostly on religious poetry and imagery. A few days later, she bought two copies of *De Kleine Print-Bybel waar in een Meenigte van Bybelsche Spreuken Verklaart Werden* (Amsterdam: D. onder de Linden, 1754). This originally German book by Melchior Mattsperger, which was translated into Dutch by Gerard Puppilus Hondius (1666-1740), was a collection of biblical aphorisms embellished with illustrations, in order to teach children about the bible. As Cornelia did not have any children herself, it is most likely that she purchased these books, possibly as a gift, for her sisters’s children, who were still very young at that time.<sup>160</sup>

A few months later, on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of July, Miss Jacobi came to buy another two novels that had been published very shortly before. Firstly, she selected *De Vrouwelyke Lakey, of Het Leven van Clorimena* (Amsterdam: S. van Esveldt, 1756) by Petrus Lievens Kersteman

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<sup>158</sup> T.H. Lunsingh Scheurleer, C.W. Fock, and A.J. van Dissel, *Het Rapenburg: Geschiedenis van een Leidse Gracht. Deel V: 's Gravensteyn* (Leiden: Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1992), p. 126.

<sup>159</sup> P.R. Backscheider, ‘Haywood, Eliza (1693-1756)’, in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12798>> (12 July 2017).

<sup>160</sup> Luchtman Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 72.



(1730-1804). Secondly, she acquired *Het Verruilde Kindt, of De Gevallen van Benjamin Knobbel, Schildknaap* (Amsterdam: S. van Esveldt, 1755), of which the author is unknown. These books were both brand new and were fictional stories of adventure and travel. The first one again focused on the role of women in society, a topic that Cornelia was apparently much interested in. Her final purchase of that year further reinforces that notion, as it is stated that she bought 'De vrijsters' (the spinsters). It is unclear what exact title is meant by this, but a likely possibility is the book *Vrysters Klagt*, a collection of songs and poetry focusing on the role of women, especially those who remain unmarried. It appears that Cornelia was very aware of the role she was expected to take within society and was interested in stories of women who were determined not to follow those expectations but instead follow their own path.<sup>161</sup>

The next year brings another series of interesting titles purchased by Cornelia Catharina Jacobi. Her first purchase of the year was not made until the 24<sup>th</sup> of September, when she bought a copy of the *Boekzaal* of 1757.<sup>162</sup> This journal, founded in 1692, was the first Dutch magazine that was aimed specifically at a non-academic readership that only spoke and read Dutch. It provided them with a medium to gain insight into the current scientific

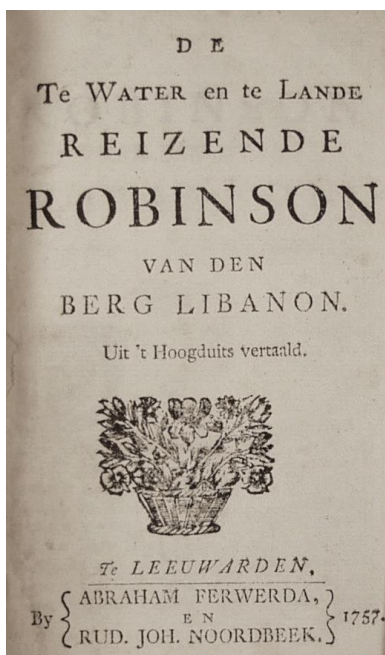


Figure 18: Title-Page of *De te Water en te Lande Reizende Robinson van den Berg Libanon*. Source: STCN.

developments.<sup>163</sup> Such a publication was ideal for women, who were unable to study at university and could still educate themselves in this way. Next, she purchased *De te Water en te Lande Reizende Robinson van den Berg Libanon* (Leeuwarden: A. Ferwerda & R.J. Noordbeek, 1757), which was translated from the German. This was another adventurous travel story that must have excited Cornelia in her days of boredom in the house on the *Rapenburg*. Her next purchase was in the same vein, as she chose *Historie van den Ridder-Baronet Karel Grandison* (Harlingen: F. van der Plaats, 1756) by Samuel Richardson (1689-1761). This book, written by the famous writer of *Pamela* and *Clarissa*, was a very realistic fictional story that centred around moral behaviour and how certain characteristics are viewed by

<sup>161</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 72.

<sup>162</sup> The publication details of this specific issue are unknown, but they were mainly published in Amsterdam.

<sup>163</sup> Literatuargeschiedenis, 'De Boekzaal van Europe (1692-1702)', <<https://www.literatuargeschiedenis.nl/18de/literatuargeschiedenis/lg18001.html>> (12 July 2017).

established society. It again focused on marriage and religious responsibility, issues which interested Cornelia.<sup>164</sup>

During the final months of 1757, Cornelia acquired four more books with unmistakable titles. The first one is *De Zwervende Hollander, of de Gevallen van een Geboren Hagenaar* (Amsterdam: S. van Esveldt, 1757), by an unknown author. Then, she chose *Lydia, of Belaegde en Beledigde maer Standvaste en Zegepralende Deugd* by John Shebbeare. The only known Dutch translation was published in 1758, three years after the English original, so Cornelia may have bought an earlier, unrecorded edition. The works of the English political satirist John Shebbeare (1709-1788) often reflect his interest in the concept of marriage, as is the case in this novel. It features a young woman whose life changes to one of piety and philanthropy after marrying.<sup>165</sup> Her next novel, *De Gevallen van Robbert Ridder, Bygenaamd Van Beauchéne* (Amsterdam: S. van Esveldt, 1757), was a translation of a French book by Alain René Lesage (1668-1747). Again, it is an adventurous story. Her final acquisition from Luchtmans is another translation of a French novel, *De Standvastige Afrikaansche, en de Edelmoedige Spaansche: of de History van Adelaide en Elvire* (Rotterdam: J. Tiele & A. Bothall, 1757) by French actress, writer and painter Babette Cochois Marquise d'Argens (1725-1780). This book is especially interesting, because it is not only a book about women, but also written by a woman. It will therefore have included ideas about the concept of femininity, which appear to have greatly interested Cornelia.<sup>166</sup>

Although the entry for Miss Jacobi is very brief, it is certainly very relevant for this study. It presents an example of the new opportunities unmarried women had in the course of the eighteenth century. Cornelia Catharina Jacobi was a woman who steered away from the religious works she was expected to read and bought books that peaked her personal interest. Overall, these titles can be said to be mostly adventurous novels and travel stories, which must have given this upper-middle class young woman considerable entertainment. However, a substantial part of these works also revolve around the prescribed role of women in society and their expectations regarding marriage. This young woman must have been very aware of her own femininity and was interested in the opportunities that her unmarried status could present her with.

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<sup>164</sup> J. A. Dussinger, 'Richardson Samuel (1689-1761)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23582>> (12 July 2017).

<sup>165</sup> M.J. Cardwell, 'Shebbeare, John (1709-1788)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography: Online Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), <<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/23582>> (12 July 2017).

<sup>166</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 72.

## Juffrouw Rijcke

Another woman in the Luchtmans ledgers who had an interesting choice of books can be found on folio 45 of this volume: Miss Rijcke. She is listed again on folio 92, where her last acquisitions are documented for the year 1762.<sup>167</sup> The name ‘Rijcke’ was a very common one in Leiden from the sixteenth century onwards, and paired with the lack of a first name this made for much difficulty establishing who this woman was. Although the title ‘juffrouw’ suggest that she was unmarried, one cannot be certain that she never married at all. Various women with this last name lived in Leiden during those few years, and many more when searching in the Municipal Archives for the spelling variation ‘Rijke’.<sup>168</sup> Her identity therefore should better remain a mystery, as her last name is not enough information alone to identify who she really was. Making an estimated guess based on the data from this archive

The image shows a handwritten ledger entry for 'Juff. Rijcke Doebet'. The entry is organized into columns for date, description of the purchase, and price. The purchases include:

Date	Description	Price
6 Febr.	Europische Staats-Secretaris Voel 1756	2. 0
1 maart	Republiek voor 1756	3. 0
1759	Wolvaan 11 Jan. 1759	5. 0
1759	Republieken Van 1757. 1759. out 59	9. 4
1759	Naerboeken 1759 n:o 1 - 14 incl.	2. 0
1759	Steenboeken redigering. incl.	2. 10
1760	Olivaan 10 Maand. 1760	10. 13

Figure 19: Entry for Juffrouw Rijcke. Source: Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1772, f. 45.

would most likely not produce a sufficient result and would hinder the research. Her gender alone and the nature of her acquisitions will prove sufficient to serve this study as a whole.

Miss Rijcke visited the Luchtmans shop for a number of years, starting in 1756. Nearly all of her purchases concerned newspapers or similar periodical publications. On February 6, 1756, her first purchase was the *Europische Staats-Secretaris, Vervattende Al het Nieuws in Europa en Elders van Maand tot Maand Voorgevallen*. This was a monthly publication, that she bought for that year. As the title indicates, it included all news in Europe and elsewhere as it had happened per month, and was mostly published in Amsterdam. It kept a woman like Miss Rijcke updated with all that was happening outside of her, probably secluded, life.<sup>169</sup> Next, she bought a ‘Republiek voor 1756’ (Republic for 1756), which must have meant the previously mentioned *Boekzaal*. This more scientifically oriented periodical

<sup>167</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 45.

<sup>168</sup> Information is based on searches made through the ‘personen’ feature on the Erfgoed Leiden en Omstreken website, <<https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/collecties/personen>> (12 July 2017).

<sup>169</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 45.

was alternatively titled *Republiek*, and was issued bi-monthly in Amsterdam. These two purchases were made at the start of 1756 and are the only ones for that year.

The following two years, Miss Rijcke did not come to Luchtmans to buy any new titles. She returned in August of 1759, however, when she again bought the *Republiek* for the years 1757, 1758, and 1759. The ledger also states that she purchased ‘Jaarboeken’ (yearbooks), which refers to the *Nederlandsche Jaerboeken*, a publication that concerned the news within the country. A month later, she visited Luchtmans again and selected de *Postrijder* for that year, another monthly news publication, fully titled *Nederlandsche Post-Ryder, Geevende Naauwkeurige Berigten van de Zaaken van Staat en Oorlog, Zo in als buiten Europa*. This periodical was usually co-published in Amsterdam and Utrecht and featured news from all over the globe, which must have appealed to Miss Rijcke. Her last purchase of this year was the only book that she appears to have bought at Luchtmans, the *Intree-Rede over de Opkomst en den Voortgang der Meetkonst* (Leiden: Luchtmans, 1759) by Pybo Steenstra (1731-1788). This book had only just been published that year, and focused on mathematics. It was in Dutch, and thus allowed a woman who was not versed in Latin to read a scholarly text.<sup>170</sup>

The following three years, Miss Rijcke visited the Luchtmans firm only on the first of January, which traditionally was the day on which most news publications appeared. Each year, she bought the *Republiek* as well as de *Postrijder*, and also several yearbooks that appear to have been issued several times per year. Her final visit to the Luchtmans bookshop in this section was on January 1st, 1762, and again featured those same publications.<sup>171</sup> It is possible that she appears again in later volumes of the Private Customers’ ledgers, but these are beyond the scope of this research. Her short entries within this volume are certainly interesting enough as they present her as another example of a woman who did not follow conventions and chose to step outside of her own small world. Miss Rijcke was clearly interested in the world around her, which was far greater than she would probably ever get to experience.

### *Conclusion*

The women occurring in this part of the Luchtmans archive have proven to be very diverse. An overall generalisation can certainly not be made, but the ones described in this chapter had

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<sup>170</sup> Luchtmans Archive, Private Customers 1756-1722, f. 45.

<sup>171</sup> *Ibid.*, f. 92.

quite diverse interests. These 'Luchtman ladies' were often still conventional in their acquisition of religious literature and busying themselves with music and learning the French language. Their appearance within this study is nevertheless important, because it shows that many women on the whole were not steering away from that stereotype. However, the examples of Miss Jacobi and Miss Rijcke have proven that it was possible for females to read for themselves and buy exactly those titles that interested them personally, instead of the titles that society expected them to read.



## CONCLUSION

This research has examined the buying behaviour of female customers in the Netherlands at the Luchtmans firm in Leiden over the course of the eighteenth century. The aim was to see what books women were buying and to find out whether a change can be detected in the kinds of works that women purchased and read as the century progressed. It was a time when the Dutch book trade was at its peak, and when new genres were continuously brought to the market, so it was an interesting time for the female reader. As this research is based on the Luchtmans archive, it centred around the wealthy, academic citizens in Leiden that formed the bulk of this bookshop's clientele. These women had the money and the intellect to read the books that Luchtmans had to offer, which made them an interesting group, but certainly not representative of the general female population in Leiden. Still, an interesting shift presented itself when comparing women from two time periods in the eighteenth century.

Mrs. Egmond van de Nijenburg, who lived during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century, was very wealthy, but did not appear to have much independence as both a married woman and a mother. The majority of her purchases were bought for others: her two young children. Their schooling required a great number of written material which their mother provided them with. The titles that she presumably did buy for her own use were nearly all of a religious nature, and thus conformed to the general expectations for women of her time. She provided a typical example of the role that women were expected to fulfil. The research also included women who lived later than her and under different material circumstances, that must have influenced their interests and buying behaviour. The Luchtmans sisters were an interesting addition, not only because of their familiar name, but also because they were still very conventional by buying mostly theological literature. They showed that change was not as drastic as was suggested by the purchases of the next two women. Both Miss Jacobi and Miss Rijcke had an unconventional list of purchases, which made them very interesting for this research. Miss Jacobi's love for fictional stories and tales of independent women made her unmarried status all the more relevant, as she purposely chose to read books that centred around the topic of marriage. Miss Rijcke was more interested in current affairs, as she mainly read newspapers and yearbooks that must have fed her curiosity about what was happening outside of her own small world. These rather more independent women chose to follow their own interests, and showed that the progression in the world of the book with its newly appeared genres allowed them to do so.

Thus, a development can certainly be recognized when comparing the purchases of these women, but some final remarks regarding these findings have to be made. Of course, there is not only a contrast in the time period that they lived in, but also in their position within society. Whereas Mrs. Van Egmond van de Nijenburg was a married woman and a mother, the other women were all unmarried and more independent. It is therefore logical that the purchases of the latter were more unconventional as they were buying for themselves. However, the sparsity of female customers in the early eighteenth century indicates that married women did in fact form the bulk of the female clientele, and Mrs. Van de Nijenburg was a prime example of that group. Interestingly, Cornelia Luchtman disappeared from the archive after the year of her marriage, which suggests that a marital status actually held these women back at this point. This is supported by the fact that the majority of women in the second section were widows or maidens, who started to read novels, periodicals, newspapers, although they did not steer away completely from the traditional theological works. These independent women were therefore the most interesting case studies in the second section.

As mentioned before, the findings of this study are very specific and cannot be used to argue for a more general development regarding female reading culture. It is aimed at Dutch women who came to shop at Luchtman, which was a very exclusive establishment in itself. The customers who came there were generally wealthy and educated, as they were the kind of people that needed and could afford the books that were available there. Research based on its archive is therefore very specific and cannot be used to draw conclusions on Leiden or Dutch society as a whole. Future research on this particular topic could focus on a much larger number of women in different circumstances in order to gain a broader perspective of female customers. As the archive is such a unique and extensive source, it can also be used for a variety of other types of research on bookshops or buying behaviour in general. Still, as specific as this research might appear to be, it is certainly relevant within the field of book studies. Very little is known about women as readers, as they were in the shadow of men for such a long time. Records on their buying or reading behaviour are limited, so this source has offered a unique insight into such information. The women that have been discussed show the variety of topics that female readers in the eighteenth century were interested in.

Although the Luchtman name has now vanished from the Rapenburg in Leiden, its history remains in the form of its preserved archive. As a place of knowledge, intellect, and most importantly, books, the Rapenburg establishment attracted a variety of customers that all had their own reasons for visiting. Although this bookshop was closely linked to the university and the academic world was dominated by men, Luchtman has proven itself to be



a place for women as well. In a traditional society where they were expected to fulfil a certain role and be the perfect housewife for their husbands and children, reading books provided them with an escape, a way of experiencing the world around them to which they only had limited access.



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