

PAPER TRAVELS

The Library of Johanna Paauw (Leiden 1699-1767)

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The image on the title page is a portrait of Aletta Cornelia van Wingerden and was painted by Pierre Frédéric de la Croix in 1772. The portrait is part of the collection of the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem. Source: *Delpher*, 'Portret van Aletta Cornelia van Wingerden', <<https://geheugen.delpher.nl/nl/geheugen/view?coll=ngvn&identifier=FHM01%3AOS-75-347>> (17 october 2020).

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October 2020
17529 words

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Introduction

It is a truth universally acknowledged that looking at someone's bookcase may offer a glimpse of who they are (or were); hence the many variants of the saying 'show me your books and I will tell you who you are'. Although the question remains whether the books have indeed been read, a collection of books may still shed light on their owner's preferences with regard to genre, language, special interests, favourite authors, political orientation, religious conviction, and so forth. What is more, private collections of books are often a reflection of the period in which their owner lived and may inform us about which authors were particularly popular or which ideas resonated in society at a certain point in time. It is no surprise, then, that scholars have attempted to reconstruct the book consumption of single individuals or even entire cities based on personal collections of books. With regard to the situation in the Dutch Republic, for example, Paul Hoftijzer has extensively analysed the library of Elisabeth Raphelengius (1571-1648), granddaughter of the well-known publisher Christophe Plantin, and studied the book collections of 157 seventeenth-century women from the city of Leiden.¹ Similarly, José de Kruif has examined the book consumption of the eighteenth-century citizens of The Hague, while Thera Wijsenbeek-Olthuis analysed book ownership in Delft as part of her large-scale study on material culture in that city.² In other words, significant observations can be made on the basis of past and present collections of books.

Probate Inventories

Besides their focus on book collections, the research projects mentioned above have something else in common: they are based on sources known as probate inventories. These kind of inventories list the property and possessions of an individual, and they were drawn up by a notary

¹ P.G. Hoftijzer, "Boucken vande overledene". De bibliotheek van Elisabeth Raphelengius', in C. Coppens et al. (eds.), *E codicibus impressisque: Opstellen over het boek in de Lage Landen voor Elly Cockx-Indestege*, vol. III (Leuven: Uitgeverij Peeters, 2004), pp. 419-446; Hoftijzer, 'Boekenbezit van vrouwen in Leiden gedurende de Gouden Eeuw', *Jaarboek voor Nederlandse boekgeschiedenis*, 12 (2005), pp. 29-45; For a general introduction see B. van Selm, 'Particuliere bibliotheken en boekenbezit in de Republiek', in idem, *Inzichten en vergezichten. Zes beschouwingen over het onderzoek naar de geschiedenis van de Nederlandse boekhandel* (Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1992), pp. 78-95.

² J. de Kruif, *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers: leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 1999); T. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, *Achter de gevels van Delft: bezit en bestaan van rijk en arm in een periode van achteruitgang (1700-1800)* (Hilversum: Verloren, 1987).

after someone's death, before marriage, because of bankruptcy, or for various other reasons.³ When drawing up such an inventory, '[t]he appraisers, or valuers, swore a solemn oath that they would carry out their duty truthfully [and proceeded] to list every item of furniture and utensils in the house [...] and whatever else was movable and therefore constituted personal estate'.⁴ Probate inventories, then, are essentially long lists of all the possessions that could be found in someone's house, from small trinkets to entire bookcases and their content, as well as any real estate, investments, loans, or debts. In Europe, approximately more than a million probate inventories were drawn up between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries.⁵ In the Netherlands, most inventories date back to the period between 1600 and 1770.⁶ Importantly, probate inventories are almost always written in the vernacular and the custom was more common in cities than in villages. Nowadays, the notarial protocols that contain these inventories can be found in local and regional archives.

Although probate inventories often contain a wealth of information with regard to the possessions of people from centuries past, there are various limitations when it comes to using these sources for research. More specifically, since notaries and their services were rather costly, people from the lower classes are generally underrepresented in probate inventories because they could not afford to have one drawn up. Another obvious reason is that they simply did not have any goods to inventory. It is therefore not possible to make statements with regard to society at large on the basis of these inventories. Similarly, when looking at the average age of the people whose possessions were listed, the probate inventories are also not representative for the population as a whole because they were more often drawn up for older people rather than young ones. What's more, probate inventories can be incomplete or unreliable as possessions were sometimes taken away before the arrival of the notary or because only belongings with any value were recorded. It should not be forgotten that the ultimate goal of the inventory was to assess the total worth of the possessions.

When it comes to analysing book collections on the basis of probate inventories, various other challenges surface besides the ones just mentioned. Identifying books may prove difficult

³ Th.F. Wijsenbeek-Olthuis, 'Boedelinventarissen', in *Broncommentaren*, vol. 2 (The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995), pp. 5-69; idem and A. Knotter, *Boedelinventarissen: De gemeentelijke bevolkingsregisters 1850-1920* (The Hague: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995), p. 5.

⁴ *The Oxford Dictionary of Local and Family History*, 'probate inventories', <<https://www-oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/view/10.1093/acref/9780198600800.001.0001/acref-9780198600800-e-796>> (15 July 2020).

⁵ Wijsenbeek-Olthuis and Knotter, *Boedelinventarissen: De gemeentelijke bevolkingsregisters 1850-1920*, p. 5.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

due to illegible writing, misspellings, or a lack of information in the inventory. Occasionally only the total number of books is mentioned rather than any specific titles. Furthermore, it is at times impossible to determine to whom the books in question actually belonged. If a probate inventory describes the book collection of a widow, for example, the books may well have belonged to her late husband and she may not have read a single one of them. This brings to light the problem of all descriptions of book collections in probate inventories: they do not contain any information with regard to how their owner interacted with the books.⁷ Did the owners collect all books themselves or did they inherit them? Did they read most of the books in their collection or only a few? Were the books merely a symbol of status or something more? Did the persons to whom they belonged read them for religious or educational purposes or rather for entertainment and escapism? Did they agree with the claims and opinions in the books or not at all? Unfortunately, these are questions to which the probate inventories do not offer any satisfactory answers.

Nevertheless, despite these apparent shortcomings, probate inventories should not be dismissed as they can still be used for research if one remains aware of the particular pitfalls and limitations of this source. The studies that were mentioned at the beginning of this introduction certainly prove that these inventories can be used for research purposes. What's more, probate inventories are among the few original sources left with any information about the material culture of past centuries. Especially when it comes to inventories that contain descriptions of book collections, important data about book consumption can be extracted regardless of how the books were used. For example, as pointed out recently by the scholars behind *MEDIATE*, a project dedicated to understanding the literary system of the eighteenth century based on private library auction catalogues,

book ownership, regardless of whether books [...] were actually read, and even if catalogues fail to reflect the full extent of an individual's book ownership or reading during a lifetime, provides important indications about intellectual aspirations, processes of (posthumous) self-fashioning, relative prestige assigned to specific books as a form of cultural capital, and booksellers' evaluation of books' monetary worth.⁸

⁷ Hoftijzer, 'Boekenbezit van vrouwen in Leiden gedurende de Gouden Eeuw', p. 35.

⁸ *MEDIATE*, 'Measuring Enlightenment: Disseminating Ideas, Authors and Texts in Europe (1665-1830)', <<http://mediate18.nl/?page=home>> (31 August 2020).

Importantly, even though *MEDIATE* is mostly concerned with private catalogues, the same can be said about descriptions of book collections in probate inventories. They may not contain any information with regard to their owner's interaction with the books, but they may still shed light on matters such as intellectual aspirations and self-fashioning.

In the Netherlands, research into material culture and the lifestyle of the elite on the basis of probate inventories increased in the 1980s and analysing book ownership was often part of the larger topic at hand.⁹ Since then, some research projects have focused solely on book ownership, although perhaps not as many and as large-scale as in other European countries.¹⁰ According to José de Kruif, research on book consumption in the past is important because it can provide insight into the nature of cultural participation, the degree of education, and the spread and dissemination of political ideas.¹¹

However, when looking at Dutch book historical research up until now, some centuries have received more attention than others when it comes to book consumption and reading culture. As Han Brouwer pointed out at the end of the 1980s, more studies have been dedicated to the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries than, say, the eighteenth century.¹² Since the 1980s, a number of studies have focused on this period in time, such as José de Kruif's analysis of the book consumption of the eighteenth-century inhabitants of The Hague, but there is still much that remains unknown. Especially when it comes to book ownership by Dutch women from before the nineteenth century, very little research has been done. One of the few studies dedicated entirely to the reading culture of Dutch women from the past, if not the only one, is Paul Hoftijzer's analysis of book ownership by seventeenth-century women from Leiden.¹³ Similar studies which include more seventeenth-century cities or are entirely devoted to book ownership by Dutch women in the eighteenth century do not as yet exist. The present microhistorical thesis, however modest in scope, aims to fill some of these gaps in our knowledge by contextualising and analysing the library of an eighteenth-century woman from Leiden by the name of Johanna Paauw, as described in her probate inventory.

⁹ H. Brouwer, 'Rondom het boek. Historisch onderzoek naar leescultuur, in het bijzonder in de achttiende eeuw. Een overzicht van bronnen en benaderingen, resultaten en problemen', *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende eeuw*, 20 (1988), pp. 51-120 (p. 65).

¹⁰ J. de Kruif, "En nog enige boeken van weinige waarde". Boeken in Haagse boedelinventarissen halverwege de 18e eeuw', in J.W.J. Burgers, P. Knevel and E. Wouthuysen (eds.), *Gedrukt in Holland*, special issue of the journal *Holland*, 26 (1994), pp. 314-327 (p. 316).

¹¹ De Kruif, "En nog enige boeken van weinige waarde". Boeken in Haagse boedelinventarissen halverwege de 18e eeuw', pp. 314-315.

¹² Brouwer, 'Rondom het boek. Historisch onderzoek naar leescultuur', p. 53.

¹³ Hoftijzer, 'Boekenbezit van vrouwen in Leiden gedurende de Gouden Eeuw'.

Johanna Paauw: Life and Library

In one of the many notarial protocols which are preserved in the Leiden Regional Archives, the probate inventory of Johanna Paauw – described as having been an ‘unmarried elderly person’ – can be found.¹⁴ Johanna lived in Leiden for much of the eighteenth century and were it not for the probate inventory that was drawn up by notary Johannes Thijssen after her death in August 1767, all except perhaps her name would be forgotten over time. Although this thesis is mainly concerned with the collection of books that is described in Johanna’s inventory, it is important to briefly examine her life and family as well as explore some other aspects of the inventory in order to gain a better understanding of her library.

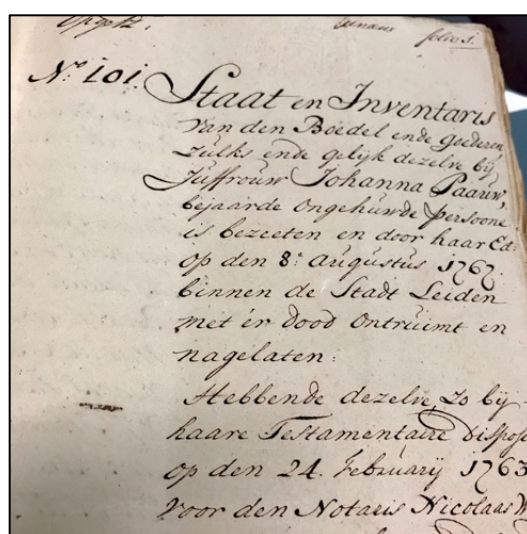


Figure 1: The first page of Johanna Paauw's probate inventory (f. 1).

Johanna Paauw, daughter of Jan Paauw and Geertruij Terwe, was born and baptized in Katwijk aan den Rijn in November 1699.¹⁵ Like her father, Johanna was baptized in the Reformed church, while both her mother and younger brother Jan Paauw, who was born in 1701, were baptized in the Remonstrant church in Noordwijk.¹⁶ Johanna’s father passed away when she was

¹⁴ Leiden Regional Archives (LRA), arch. no. 506, Notarieel Archief (NA), inv. no. 2300b, Archief van notaris Johannes Thijssen, 1751-1788, nr. 101 (2 September, 1767), ff. 1-61.

¹⁵ National Archive, The Hague (NAH), Doop-, Trouw- en Begraafregister (DTB) Zuid-Holland; Katwijk, no. 3.04.16.061, inv. no. 3.I., f. 44v.

¹⁶ Jan Paauw was born and baptized in Katwijk in June 1663; see NAH, DTB Zuid-Holland; Katwijk, no. 3.04.16.061, inv. no. 2, f. 29; Geertruij Terwe was baptized in Noordwijk in 1680 – there was no Remonstrant church in Katwijk – when she was seven years old; see LRA, arch. no. 0910, DTB, inv. no. 6, Doopboek Remonstrantse Gemeente Noordwijk 1667-1811, f. 5; Jan and Geertruij married in Katwijk on 21 December 1698; see NAH, DTB Zuid-Holland; Katwijk, no. 3.04.16.061, inv. no. 6, f. 92v. Their son, Jan, was born and baptized in May 1701 in Noordwijk; see LRA, arch. no. 0910, DTB, inv. no. 6, Doopboek Remonstrantse Gemeente Noordwijk 1667-1811, f. 11v.

still young and her mother remarried Gerrit Voegen, a master tinsmith from Leiden, in 1708.¹⁷ The family relocated to Leiden and Geertruij gave birth to several more children of whom only Cornelis Voegen, born in 1709, seems to have survived past childhood.¹⁸ Both of Johanna's brothers followed in their (step)father's footsteps and eventually became master tinsmiths. Cornelis even became city surveyor of weights and measures, 'ijkmeester' in Dutch, just like his father had been before him.¹⁹ Like Johanna, Cornelis never married and remained a bachelor all his life. He seems to have been an important member of the Remonstrant community in Leiden, as he was regent of at least one Remonstrant 'hofje' – a closed courtyard with alms houses –, and knew influential members of the Remonstrant community in Leiden, such as the minister Georgius Zonhoven, Jakob Krichout, professor at the Remonstrant seminary in Amsterdam, and the bookseller Pieter van der Eyk.²⁰

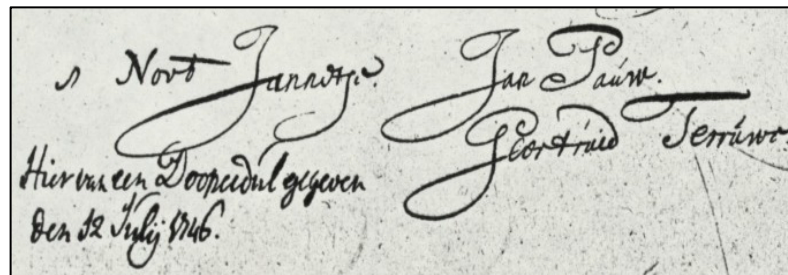


Figure 2: Johanna (Jannetje) was baptized on 8 November 1699 (f. 44v).

Cornelis passed away in 1762 and in the last testament that Johanna had drawn up, which dates from 1763, she named her brother Jan as her universal heir, while leaving some small sums of money to female relatives.²¹ Jan had married Alida Cruyt in 1724 and they had several children,

¹⁷ LRA, arch. no. 1004, DTB, inv. no. 204, Trouwen Gerecht H, april 1701-juli 1713, f. 147.

¹⁸ LRA, DTB, inv. no. 284, Dopen Remonstrantsche Gemeenten Doopboek, 1663-1811, f. 29.

¹⁹ Directie Civiele Werken Leiden, 'Bodemonderzoek in Leiden: archeologisch jaarverslag', *Jaarverslag*, 13/14 (1992), pp. 1-136 (p. 117). Cornelis' signature can also be found in various documents about the weights and measures of the 'ijkmeesters' of Leiden; see LRA, arch. no. 0501A, I.B.2.01.08 Toezicht op maten en gewichten, inv. no. 2568, Lijsten van slapers ten stadhuisse van maten en gewichten, 1749-1810.

²⁰ The following source states that Cornelis Voegen and Pieter van der Eyk were regents of the 'hofje' known as Joost Fransen Poort, founded by Joost Fransen van der Linden on the Grevenstraat, which still exists today: LRA, arch. no. 501A, Bonboek, inv. no. 6625, Zevende Register, bon Oost-Marendorp Landzijde, f. 337. Many elder members of the Remonstrant community resided in this hofje, more commonly known as Joost Frans van der Lindenpoort, see LRA, 'Verhaal: Joost Frans van der Lindenpoort', <https://www.erfgoedleiden.nl/component/lei_verhalen/verhaal/id/490> (3 August 2020); Cornelis Voegen was present at the surrogation of the Remonstrant minister Georgius van Zonhoven in 1745, as were Pieter van der Eyk and Jakob Krichout; see LRA, arch. no. 506, NA, inv. no. 1910, Archief van notaris Cornelis [Maartensz.] van Alphen, 1722-1752, f. 015.

²¹ LRA, arch. no. 506, Notarieel Archief, inv. no. 2077, Archief van notaris Nicolaas Wolff, 1733-1763, f. 177.

among them a son called Jan Paauw jr.²² In the same testament from 1763, Johanna bequeathed her library of at least 183 books as well as various plots of land and some money to this Jan Paauw jr., her nephew, or, in case of his death, to his wife Margaretha Jacoba van Oudgaarden.²³ Margaretha was a daughter of Hendrik Otto van Oudgaarden, a Dutch surgeon who made his fortune in the East Indies and was acquainted with the well-known professor Herman Boerhaave of the University of Leiden.²⁴ Both Hendrik Otto van Oudgaarden and Johanna Paauw were present at the baptism of Geertruida Jacoba Paauw, daughter of Jan Paauw jr. and Margaretha Jacoba van Oudgaarden.²⁵

On the basis of Johanna's probate inventory, a number of observations can be made. First of all, before Johanna passed away at the respectable age of 67 and was buried in Katwijk, she apparently suffered from an illness, as it is mentioned in the probate inventory that the apothecary still had to be paid for medicines as well as two people for tending to Johanna during her illness.²⁶ Secondly, it can be safely assumed that Johanna was a member of the Remonstrant community in Leiden, like her mother, brothers, and the Voegen family, as the probate inventory states that she bequeathed 300 guilders to the Remonstrant church.²⁷ Thirdly, Johanna seems to have been a rather wealthy woman by the time of her death. Not only did she possess two houses in the centre of Leiden – she lived in a house opposite the Waag on the corner of the Rijn and the Mandenmakerssteeg, while the other house in a 'poort' (gateway) next to the Waag was rented out – but she also owned various plots of land for which she received rent and many 'obligaties' or government bonds, as well as some gold and silver bullion, various precious jewels, and some cash money.²⁸ Although it is difficult to determine how Johanna precisely came to possess these assets, there are sources that indicate that she inherited some of them from her mother, who had

²² LRA, DTB, inv. no. 205, Trouwen Gerecht I. Augustus 1713–1724, f. 222; Jan Paauw jr. was born and baptized in January 1725, see LRA, DTB, inv. no. 284, Dopen Remonstrantsche Gemeenten Doopboek, 1663-1811, f. 36v.

²³ LRA, NA, inv. no. 2086, Archief van notaris Nicolaas Wolff, 1733-1763, f. 175; Jan Paauw jr. was a renowned scientific instrument maker and passed away in 1803; after his death an auction was held in which his scientific tools and book collection were sold. His book collection consisted of works on mathematics and physics and it is likely that he inherited at least two of them from Johanna: John Theophilus Desaguliers, *De natuurkunde uit ondervindingen opgemaakt* (Amsterdam: I. Tirion, 1751) and Charles de Saint-Yves, *Nieuwe verhandeling over de ziekten der oogten* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk and J. van der Kluis Pietersz, 1739), see f. 82 and f. 92 in LRA, Leidse Bibliotheek (LB), 75548, *Catalogus van een zoo uitnemend als fraai kabinet natuur-, wis- en sterrekundige werktuigen. Alsmede eene kleine, maar uitgezochte verzameling van boeken, betrekkelijk de natuur- en wiskunde – En eene – liefhebberij-boekdrukkerij. Benevens eenige rariteiten* (Leiden, 1804).

²⁴ P.J. Florijn, 'Biographical Notes about Four Plant Collectors in Asia Mentioned by N.L. Burman in His "Flora Indica"', *Taxon*, 36 (1978), pp. 24-38 (p. 36).

²⁵ LRA, DTB, inv. no. 284, Dopen Remonstrantsche Gemeenten Doopboek, 1663-1811, f. 48.

²⁶ LRA, NA, inv. no. 2300b, nr. 101 (2 September, 1767), f. 58v.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 3.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, ff. 6-21v.

passed away in 1749, and others from her half-brother Cornelis, whose universal heir she was.²⁹ Interestingly, when looking at Johanna's investments and government bonds, as mentioned in a testament dating from 1745, she invested in a (yet undetermined) company with Cornelis, perhaps related to his profession as tinsmith, and her probate inventory shows that she had at least six government bonds which contain the same amount of guilders and bear the same date as bonds under Cornelis' name, which indicates that Johanna and Cornelis made these investments together.³⁰

Now that Johanna's family and her probate inventory have been discussed, it is time to turn to the central topic of this thesis: Johanna Paauw's library. Despite the apparent shortcomings that probate inventories pose, the inventory on which this thesis is based is the only source available to shed some light on Johanna Paauw's book consumption specifically, and one of a small number on eighteenth-century upper-class women's book ownership more generally, and it is therefore important to analyse its content. As mentioned before, little is known about women's book collections from before the nineteenth century and every original source that may contribute to filling in some of these gaps in our knowledge should be extensively analysed.

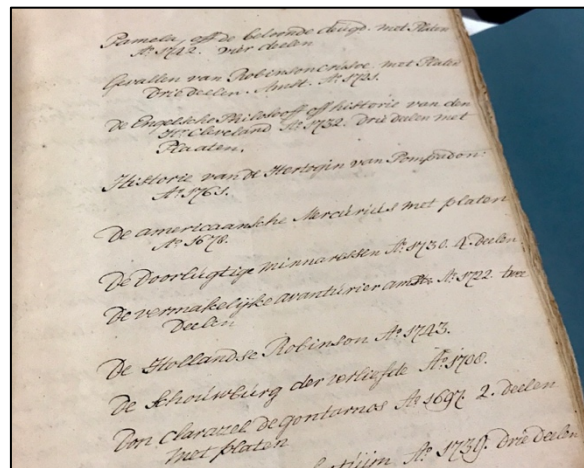


Figure 3: Book titles in the probate inventory (fol. 50).

Even though Johanna's collection of books no longer exists, most of the authors, titles, and information on places and years of publication of the books were noted down by Johannes

²⁹ Cornelis Voegen's testament, in which Johanna is named as his universal heir: LRA, NA, inv. no. 1941, Archief van notaris Hendrik Isacq Kreet, 1724-1773, f. 854; Johanna and her two brothers were the heirs of their mother Geertruij Terwen: LRA, NA, inv. no. 2077, Archief van notaris Nicolaas Wolff, 1733-1763, f. 276.

³⁰ The investment is described in Johanna's testament from 1745: LRA, NA, inv. no. 2074, Archief van notaris Nicolaas Wolff, 1733-1763, f. 16; see 'obligaties' 19, 20, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, and 30 in LRA, NA, inv. no. 2300b, nr. 101 (2 September, 1767), ff. 12-15.

Thijssen in the probate inventory. By means of the *Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands* (STCN), a database which contains information on all printed books published in the Netherlands between 1540 and 1801, it is possible to identify most of the books that were part of Johanna's library – if enough information is provided – and to stand, in a virtual sense, in front of her bookcase once more.

When looking at the total number of books that Johanna owned (183), it might be concluded that her collection is rather exceptional, especially considering that Paul Hoftijzer only came across a handful of collections in the previous century which consisted of more than a hundred books.³¹ An overview of the content of the library can be found in the Appendix, which is included at the end of this thesis, and consists of a list of transcriptions and possible identifications of Johanna's books. On the basis of this list, various genres have been chosen which will be explored in more depth in the chapters to come. Each chapter first contextualizes a particular period of time or the genre at hand before analysing specific works from Johanna's library in order to generate some insight into her book consumption. Chapter 1 provides a general introduction to Johanna's library, as well as discussing her collection of literature and plays, while chapters 2 and 3 focus on theology and history/geography respectively. If looking at the books in someone's bookcase indeed offers some insight into who they are, the central question of this thesis is what one might conclude on the basis of Johanna's bookshelves.

³¹ Hoftijzer, 'Boekenbezit van vrouwen in Leiden gedurende de Gouden Eeuw', p. 44.

Chapter 1

The Context and Content of the Library

According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, a library is ‘a place set apart to contain books for reading, study, or reference’ and can refer to ‘a room in a house, etc.; also, a bookcase’.³² Johanna Paauw’s library, which is the central topic of this thesis, consists of a bookcase containing 183 printed books. As pointed out in the introduction, collections of this size are rather exceptional as books were relatively expensive in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, especially if they were bound in leather and contained illustrations. This chapter sets out to provide an overview of Johanna Paauw’s collection of books: which genres did she possess and did she have a clear preference for one of them? Which sizes were her books? Which languages are present in the collection? Before exploring Johanna’s books, however, it is important to take a closer look at the historical context of her library, because this makes it possible to gain a better understanding of the circumstances in which she lived and collected her books. In what follows, a number of important developments with regard to the book trade in the eighteenth century will be explored, before turning to the library and testing the hypothesis that is central to this chapter: Johanna Paauw’s library will likely contain books intended for female readers, such as domestic and practical works.

The Library in Context: the Eighteenth Century

During most of Johanna Paauw’s life, the Dutch Republic still experienced its heyday with regard to the international booktrade. In the course of the seventeenth century, the Republic had come to dominate the international book industry and this would not change until the middle of the eighteenth century.³³ The Republic was able to maintain its status as the ‘magasin de l’univers’, or bookshop of the world, for a number of reasons.³⁴ First of all, censorship was difficult, because each of the seven provinces had its own system of government, and it was therefore relatively easy for publishers to print and sell prohibited books and pirated editions with false imprints. The political situation in the Republic was fragile because of the lack of a strong central authority. Secondly, the economic conditions were favourable as Amsterdam had taken over Antwerp’s

³² *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, ‘library, n.’, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/107923> (15 May 2020).

³³ 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* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), pp. 247-258 (p. 248).

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

position as the most important centre of trade in North-Western Europe, after the latter city had fallen into Spanish hands during the Dutch Revolt.³⁵ In Amsterdam, books were produced in bulk and distributed abroad, which added substantially to the economic growth of the Dutch Republic. Thirdly, social and cultural factors allowed the Dutch book industry to thrive. Many cities in the Republic, such as Leiden and Amsterdam, attracted religious, political, and economic refugees from abroad, because Dutch society was relatively tolerant towards other political ideas or religious convictions. These refugees brought their skills and expertise with them and quite a few of them had a great deal of experience with regard to printing and publishing, such as the Plantin-Raphelengius and Elsevier families in Leiden.³⁶ Finally, the intellectual climate in the Dutch Republic played a significant part. More specifically, literacy was relatively high and universities and libraries were increasingly established in various cities. All good things must come to an end, however, and from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards, the Dutch Republic lost its central position in the book trade because of increasing competition from France, Britain and the German States.³⁷

Within the same period, a number of changes took place in society: as levels of literacy increased, the public sphere expanded, and both new genres and new readers appeared. Some scholars have pointed out that the rising levels of literacy in fact caused the expansion of the public sphere, in which the latter can be defined as ‘the medium by means of which private persons can debate in public’.³⁸ People increasingly gathered in libraries, theatres, museums, salons, coffee houses, reading societies and learned societies in order to discuss their views on all sorts of matters. In the eighteenth century, such societies and cultural institutions were widely established throughout the Republic. In Leiden, for example, the local theatre (‘Leidse Schouwburg’) was founded in 1705 and various learned societies and reading societies were formed in the course of the century.³⁹ Not only did people participate in public debate, however, they also engaged with one another via new genres such as novels, popular science books, newspapers, learned journals, and spectatorial periodicals. These new genres helped spreading the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment, which ‘emphasized freedom of thought and action

³⁵ 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* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009), p. 248.

³⁶ Ibid.

³⁷ Ibid., p. 249.

³⁸ Ibid., p. 251.

³⁹ R.A.M. Honings, *Geleerdheids zetel, Hollands roem! Het literaire leven in Leiden 1760-1860* (Leiden: Primavera Pers, 2011), p. 56.

without reference to religious and other traditional authority', as will be discussed more extensively in the next chapter.⁴⁰

Some scholars have classified the growing number of readers and diversification of genres as a reading revolution.⁴¹ However, it is important to take a critical look at claims such as these. As José de Kruif points out on the basis of her research into book ownership in the eighteenth century, it is more likely that the elite was collecting and reading more books than before, but not necessarily other groups in society. As she writes:

A substantial expansion of the middle-class reading public probably did not take place, because the growth that did occur was mainly due to an increased number of readers from the free of charge class, who crossed the threshold from having no books to having some books, as they possessed one Bible or one psalm book. The rest of the growth, especially that of the average number of books, was due to increasing elite book collections.⁴²

In addition to the growing book collections, a change is alleged to have taken place from 'intensive' to 'extensive' reading in the eighteenth century. Instead of rereading a limited number of books, people started reading larger quantities of material, but only once, instead of multiple times. However, as De Kruif points out, these two ways of reading probably existed side by side, depending on the size of one's collection of books: smaller collections were most likely still read intensively, while larger collections allowed for extensive reading.⁴³

As mentioned before, new genres quickly gained ground in the eighteenth century, besides the ever prominent religious texts. Examples are learned journals, spectators, educational literature, reference works, and novels. With regard to fiction, various themes and topics became increasingly popular: picaresque novels, adventures, transvestism stories, erotic novels, travel accounts, and criminal tales.⁴⁴ What stands out with regard to this list, first of all, are the worldly themes that seem to be present in these works, and secondly, how different these stories and

⁴⁰ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 'enlightenment, n.', <www.oed.com/view/Entry/62448> (15 May 2020).

⁴¹ Van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', p. 251.

⁴² J. de Kruif, 'Classes of Readers: Owners of Books in 18th-Century The Hague', *Poetics*, 28 (2001), pp. 423-453 (p. 436).

⁴³ De Kruif, "En nog enige boeken van weinige waarde". *Boeken in Haagse boedelinventarissen halverwege de 18e eeuw*, p. 327.

⁴⁴ J. Stouten, *Verlichting in de letteren* (Leiden: Martinus Nijhoff, 1984), pp. 26-37.

their protagonists must have been compared to the daily life of most of their readers. As Joost Kloek points out, reading these kinds of works allowed people to escape the limitations of their reality.⁴⁵

Spectators, in contrast to narrative fiction, were not necessarily a means to escape reality, but rather a reflection on it, similar to how columnists nowadays reflect on daily life in newspapers or via online media. These popular essay magazines started to appear in the early eighteenth century and were known for their didactic-moralistic character.⁴⁶ The genre can be traced back to Richard Steele and Joseph Addison, two British writers, and quickly spread across the European continent.⁴⁷ In the Dutch Republic, it is estimated that about seventy different spectators were published in the course of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ With such a diversity, it is no surprise that some of these spectators seem to have been aimed at a specific audience or reading group. Van Vliet, for example, describes how some magazines were specifically intended for women.⁴⁹ This brings up the question: did Johanna Paauw own any spectators specifically intended for women? And perhaps more importantly, what about the other books in her collection? As Paul Hoftijzer points out, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there was a modest selection of books in various genres that were intended for female readers, such as cookbooks or manuals for midwives, for example.⁵⁰ One would expect, then, that Johanna owned several of these more practical books; in other words, books with a focus on matters in and around the house or having to do with self-improvement. In what follows, Johanna's collection of books will be explored by means of a quantitative analysis to determine whether this is indeed the case.

⁴⁵ J. Kloek, 'De lezer als burger. Het literaire publiek in de achttiende eeuw', *De Achttiende Eeuw*, 26 (1994), pp. 177-191 (p. 180).

⁴⁶ Van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', p. 252.

⁴⁷ P.J. Buijnsters, *Spectatoriale Geschriften* (Utrecht: HES Uitgevers, 1991), p. 10.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁴⁹ Van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', p. 251.

⁵⁰ Hoftijzer, 'Boekenbezit van vrouwen in Leiden gedurende de Gouden Eeuw', p. 34.

*‘Een boeke Kas [...] daar Inne’: the Content of the Library*⁵¹

Johanna Paauw’s bookcase consists of 246 titles in 183 printed books; some books contain multiple titles, as can be seen in the appendix. Where possible, the books have been identified via the *Short-Title Catalogue Netherlands* (STCN). Only eight titles remain unidentified because of a lack of information in the probate inventory; however, in most instances it was still possible to distinguish their genre.⁵² Of the identified books, the oldest dates from 1616 while the newest one was published in 1761.⁵³ Figure 4 shows an overview of the publication dates of the books that Johanna owned; 24 books were left out because their exact publication date could not be established.

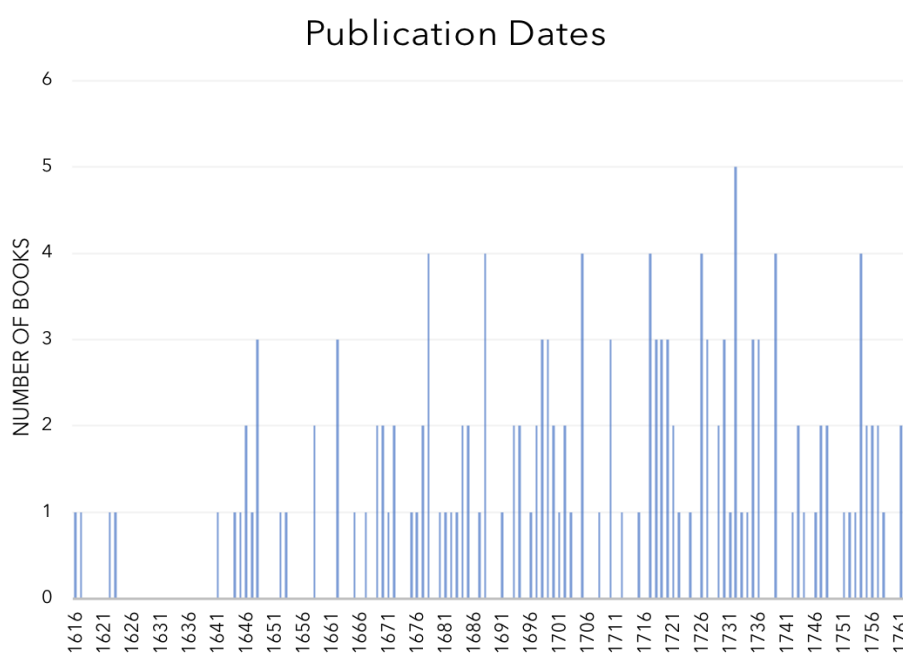


Figure 4: The publication dates of Johanna Paauw’s books.

As is shown by figure 4, a major part of Johanna Paauw’s collection was published in the seventeenth century. What is important to note, however, is that it was quite common for collections from the eighteenth century to contain titles from the previous century. As José de Kruif points out, first of all, from an economic perspective, books remained valuable for a long time after they were published and, secondly, their content also remained relevant, no matter the genre.⁵⁴ New editions or books on similar subjects did not appear as often as they do

⁵¹ LRA, NA 2300b, nr. 101 (2 September, 1767), f. 1.

⁵² See items 72, 73, 75, 90b., 171f., 172f., 177c. and 180a. in the appendix.

⁵³ Items 31 and 131.

⁵⁴ De Kruif, “En nog enige boeken van weinige waarde”. *Boeken in Haagse boedelinventarissen halverwege de 18e eeuw*, p. 325.

nowadays, so the content of books remained of interest for longer periods of time and books were therefore generally available for an extensive period. In other words, the fact that a large part of Johanna Paauw's collection was published in the seventeenth century does not necessarily mean that she inherited these books. More specifically, the works might still have been available in one of Leiden's numerous bookshops or she might have acquired them via a book auction, of which about twenty were held in Leiden each year.⁵⁵

Johanna owned books in folio, quarto, octavo, and duodecimo format; the former two sizes were more common in the seventeenth century, while the latter two gained ground in the eighteenth century.⁵⁶ Figure 5 below provides an overview of the formats and genres in her collection. Figure 6 presents a clear overview of the various genres and their percentage with regard to the collection as a whole. José de Kruif's classification of bibliographic categories was used for distinguishing the genres and their subcategories:

General: reference works, practical works, almanacs and the like.

Theology: religious literature, books of psalms and hymns, catechisms, communion. books, collections of sermons, devotionalia, etc.

Philosophy, including education and anthropology.

Law/politics: legal books, political pamphlets, administration.

History/geography: including history of the church, biography, atlases, travel books, etc.

Literature: all fiction, plays, poetry, and also literary treatises and collections.

Natural sciences: physics, chemistry, medicine, pharmacology, technical sciences, mathematics.

Applied sciences, craftsmanship: commerce, trade, crafts.

Schoolbooks: all books explicitly meant for school or training.

Children's books.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ H. van Goinga, 'The Long Life of the Book: Public Book Auctions in Leiden 1725-1805 and the Second-Hand Book Trade', *Quaerendo*, 24 (1994), pp. 243-274 (p. 243).

⁵⁶ Van Vliet, 'Print and Public in Europe 1600-1800', p. 247

⁵⁷ De Kruif, 'Classes of Readers: Owners of Books in 18th-Century The Hague', p. 434.

Format	Folio (2 ^o)	Quarto (4 ^o)	Octavo (8 ^o)	Duodecimo (12 ^o)	Unknown	Total	%
General	0	4	1	2	0	7	2,8
Theology	4	10	21	2	3	40	16,3
Philosophy	0	0	1	0	0	1	0,4
Law/politics	0	0	1	0	0	1	0,4
History/geography	19	23	17	2	1	62	25,2
Literature	0	12	37	6	75	130	52,8
Natural sciences	0	1	3	0	0	4	1,6
Genre unknown	0	0	0	0	1	1	0,4
Total	23	50	81	12	80	246	100

Figure 5: An overview of the sizes and genres of the titles in Johanna Paauw's book collection.

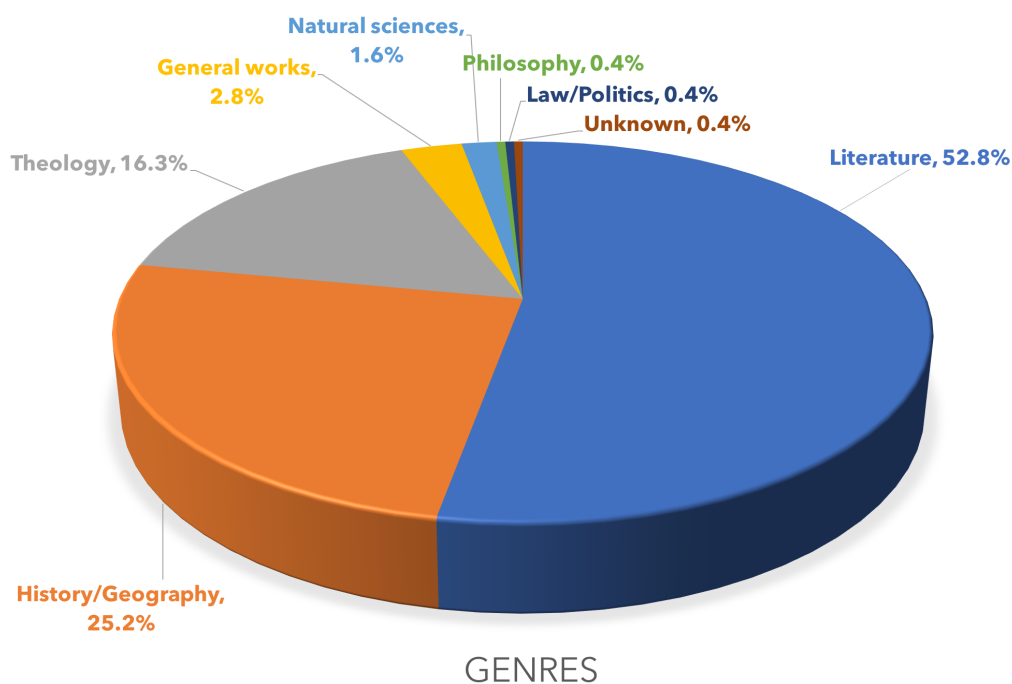


Figure 6: The distribution of the genres in Johanna Paauw's book collection.

When comparing the results of the quantitative analysis to some of the conclusions that Paul Hoftijzer made on the basis of his research into 157 seventeenth-century probate inventories, a

number of observations can be made. To sum up briefly, Hoftijzer established that most women in Leiden predominantly owned religious or theological works and that only a few women owned a handful of historical texts or literary works. Johanna Paauw's collection, on the other hand, is for the most part made up of literature and historical or geographical works, while theology is only the third largest category. Perhaps this discrepancy can be explained by the fact that Johanna lived in the eighteenth century, rather than the seventeenth century, and therefore followed different trends when it came to what books she bought and read. In what follows, Johanna's collection of literature will be examined more thoroughly, but not before having taken a quick look at the genres of which she only owned a few books and the genres that are entirely missing from the collection since, as they say, absence speaks volumes.

Surprisingly, only one rather practical book can be found among Johanna's more general works, namely, Daniel Mostaerts's *Nederduytse secretaris oft zendbriefschryver* (Amsterdam: for Dirck Pietersz, 1635/1637), which can be described as a self-help book on correspondence.⁵⁸ Johanna also possessed two dictionaries: Francois Halma's *Het groot Frans en Nederduitsch woordenboek* (Amsterdam: J. and R. Wetstein, 1733) and Pieter Marin's *Nouvelle grammaire françoise = Nieuwe Fransche grammatica* (Amsterdam: for the author, 1718).⁵⁹ Perhaps she used these books in order to understand the unidentified edition of the 'Nieuw Testament Fransch en Duijts', a bilingual version of the New Testament, which is the only book in her collection that is not entirely in Dutch.⁶⁰ It is not surprising that Johanna mostly possessed books in Dutch, since chances of pursuing an education, and thus learning other languages, were rather limited for women: 'Women could spend a few years at a dame's school, and if their parents could afford it might attend a school where Dutch or French was taught since Latin schools did not admit any women. [...] A woman with scholarly interests had to educate herself through taking private lessons or buying books'.⁶¹ Schoolbooks and books on applied sciences and craftsmanship are entirely missing from her collection, which is not surprising considering Johanna's lack of education. The absence of these genres can be seen as a confirmation that these were indeed Johanna's books and not those of her father or one of her brothers, as her male relatives did receive an education and would have possessed schoolbooks and likely books in other languages.

⁵⁸ See item 145 in the appendix.

⁵⁹ Items 71 and 146 in the appendix.

⁶⁰ See item 73 in the appendix.

⁶¹ R.M. Dekker, 'Getting to the Source: Women in the Medieval and Early Modern Netherlands', *Journal of Women's History*, 10 (1998), pp. 165-188 (p. 174).

Among Johanna Paauw's general works, Hendrik Doedijs' *Haegse Mercurius, behelsende vermakelijke, satyrique, galante (...) en andere reflexien; gemaakt op de voorvallen van desen tijd* (The Hague: G. van Limburg, 1698) can be found.⁶² The *Haegse Mercurius* was one of the first Dutch periodicals, known for its satirical style, of which 219 issues appeared between 1697 and 1699.⁶³ Doedijs discussed matters such as politics, history, philosophy, religion, court life, military events, and so forth; not only did he want to inform his readers but he also wanted to amuse them through his commentaries.⁶⁴ It is likely that Johanna bought the *Haegse Mercurius* from the widow of publisher and bookseller Hendrik van Damme, located in Leiden, and that she read the periodical in order to remain informed with regard to important developments within the Dutch Republic and abroad.⁶⁵

Surprisingly, Johanna possessed four books which can be classified under the natural sciences.⁶⁶ One of these books, John Theophilus Desaguliers' *De natuurkunde uit ondervindingen opgemaakt* (Amsterdam: I. Tirion, 1751), a translation of an English book on experimental physics, can perhaps be seen as an example of Johanna's scholarly interests or intellectual aspirations and an attempt to educate herself. Another interesting presence within the category of natural sciences is Nicolas Venette's *Venus minsieke gasthuis, waer in beschreven worden de bedryven der liefde in den staet des houwelijks* (Amsterdam: T. ten Hoorn, 1688), an originally French manual on sexuality. Venette's work was very popular in the Netherlands, it was reprinted ten times between 1687 and 1781, and perhaps Johanna used it to educate herself, as the book was considered to be rather informative with regard to humoral pathology, the reproductive organs, and, surprisingly, sexual pleasure.⁶⁷

Literature: an Overview

As shown in figure 6, half of Johanna Paauw's collection of books consists of literary works. Figure 7 below provides an overview of the different subcategories within this genre and their percentages in relation to each other.

⁶² Item 42 in the appendix.

⁶³ P.J. Buijnsters, *Nederlandse literatuur van de achttiende eeuw: Veertien verkenningen* (Utrecht: HES uitgevers, 1984), p. 49.

⁶⁴ *Literatuurgeschiedenis*, 'Hendrik Doedijs', <<https://www.literatuurgeschiedenis.nl/18de/auteurs/lg18041.html>> (27 May 2020).

⁶⁵ *Encyclopedie Nederlandstalige tijdschriften*, 'Haegse Mercurius (1697-1699)', <<https://www.ent1815.nl/h/haegse-mercurius-1697-1699/>> (11 August 2020).

⁶⁶ Items 70, 141, 142, and 143 in the appendix.

⁶⁷ H. Roodenburg, "'Venus minsieke gasthuis". Over seksuele attitudes in de achttiende eeuwse Republiek', *Documentatieblad Werkgroep Achttiende Eeuw*, 17 (1985), pp. 119-141.

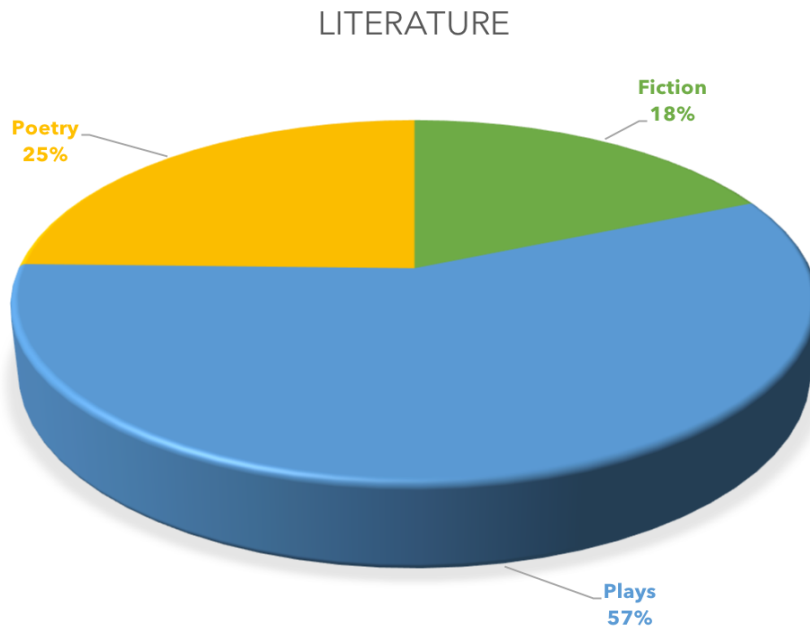


Figure 7: The distribution of the different subcategories within literature.

More than half of Johanna's collection of literature consists of plays, of which she owned more than seventy. Most of her plays were bundled together, as can be seen in the appendix.⁶⁸ People often bought these simple texts before a visit to the theatre and had them bound because the publications were rather small and issued with only a simple paper cover. What's particularly noteworthy is the fact that Johanna has multiple copies of some plays: six double copies of a variety of titles and three copies of Reinier Bontius' *Beleg en ontzet der stad Leyden*.⁶⁹ Bontius' play, first published in 1645, was very popular in the Netherlands, not to mention Leiden, and was performed well into the nineteenth century.⁷⁰ Incidentally, *Beleg en ontzet der stad Leyden* was also the first play to be performed when the Leidse Schouwburg opened its doors in 1705.⁷¹ Johanna also had three copies of Tobias van Domselaer's *Beschryving der sieraaden van het tooneel, met de verklaring derzelver zinnebeelden en vertooningen, in het beleg en ontzet van Leyden*, which was sold

⁶⁸ See items 171-183 in the appendix.

⁶⁹ See items 172a./181c./182c., 171d./174e., 171e./181a., 171h./182a., 173b./182b., 173d./179d. and 176b./178e. in the appendix.

⁷⁰ Ceneton, 'Reynerius Bontius - Belegering ende het ontzet der stadt Leyden - 1645', <<http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/Dutch/Ceneton/Bontius/index.html>> (25 May 2020).

⁷¹ *Leidse Schouwburg*, 'De Geschiedenis', <<https://leidseschouwburg-stadsgehoorzaal.nl/geschiedenis-leidse-schouwburg>> (11 August 2020).

alongside Bontius' play because Domselaer's text explained the various sets, props, and so-called 'vertoningen', meaning tableaux vivants, that were used in the play.⁷² A tableaux vivant is a

'living picture' [that] was usually created by arranging a person or group of persons to represent a scene from a painting or sculpture. The form may have originated as an allegorical or narrative representation of episodes of the Gospels or classical mythology [...]. In eighteenth-century polite society, tableaux vivants became popular entertainments, genteel 'charades' with detailed imitation of well-known paintings and sculpture groups in private theatres and salons.⁷³

As Mieke Smits-Veldt points out, tableaux vivants were often accompanied by short poems, usually with a particular moral hidden within, and thus combining images with words.⁷⁴ Johanna Paauw seems to have had a preference for plays with these tableaux vivants, which were meant to accentuate dramatic highlights, as she also owned copies of two of Govert Bidloo's plays, *Faeton, or reukelooze stoutheid* and *Karel, erf-prins van Spanje*, as well as Willem Hessen's *Beleegering van Haarlem, versiert met vertooningen, trevrspeel*, and Jan Vos' *Aran and Titus*, all known for their use of tableaux vivants.⁷⁵ All in all, it seems that Johanna very much enjoyed going to the theatre, and particularly favoured the plays that included tableaux vivants. She must have frequented the Leidse Schouwburg at the Oude Vest rather often.

When looking at Johanna's collection of poetry, she also seems to have had a preference for the combination of words and images in the form of emblem books. These books contain 'a drawing or picture expressing a moral fable or allegory'.⁷⁶ Emblem books, which are often rather cryptic but also humorous, require their readers to combine the texts and pictures themselves in order to discover a deeper meaning or important life lesson.⁷⁷ Examples of some of Johanna's

⁷² W. Hogendoorn, 'Leiden in Last op de planken', *Jaarboekje voor geschiedenis en oudheidkunde van Leiden en omstreken*, 60 (1968), pp. 65-85 (p. 73). See items 172b./181d./182d. in the appendix.

⁷³ *Oxford Reference*, 'Tableau vivant', <<https://www.oxfordreference-com.ezproxy.leidenuniv.nl:2443/view/10.1093/acref/9780199574193.001.0001/acref-9780199574193-e-3837>> (26 May 2020).

⁷⁴ M.B. Smits-Veldt, 'Vertoningen in opvoeringen van Vondels tragedies 1638-1720: van "emblema" tot sieraad', *De zeventiende eeuw*, 11 (1995), pp. 210-218 (p. 211).

⁷⁵ *Literatuurgeschiedenis*, 'Bidloo en Bidloo – een opmerkelijk duo', <<https://www.literatuurgeschiedenis.nl/goudeneeuw/auteurs/lgge081.html>> (27 May 2020).

⁷⁶ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, 'emblem, n.', <www.oed.com/view/Entry/60880> (27 May 2020).

⁷⁷ *Literatuurgeschiedenis*, 'Jacob Cats en Adriaen Poirters – twee geloven, een doel', <<https://www.literatuurgeschiedenis.nl/goudeneeuw/auteurs/lgge027.html>> (27 May 2020).

emblem books are Jacob Cats' *Spiegel van den ouden ende nieuwen tydt* (Den Briel: M. Feermans, 1652), Pieter de la Court jr.'s *Sinryke fabulen, verklaart en toegepast tot alderley zeede-lesse* (Amsterdam: H. Sweerts, 1685), and Jan Hoogeveen's *Het hoogelied van Salomon, zinnebeelding en digtkunding uitgebreid* (Leiden: H. van Damme, 1726).⁷⁸ She may have read these works in order to learn more about society and its customs or perhaps they served as a kind of moral or spiritual guide. Besides emblem books, Johanna also possessed several songbooks, for example, Dirck Rafaelsz Camphuysen's *Stichtelijke rijmen* (Rotterdam: J. Naeranus, 1658), Aernout van Overbeke's *De rymwercken* (Amsterdam: J.C. ten Hoorn, 1678), Hermanus van den Burg's *Mengelzangen* (Amsterdam: H. Blank, 1717), and Andries Pels' *Mengelzangen* (Amsterdam: for the 'Kunstgenootschap', 1717).⁷⁹ The presence of these books may indicate that besides reading by herself, she also read or sang with others. Especially Camphuysen's *Stichtelijke rijmen* was rather popular within the Remonstrant community, of which Johanna was part.⁸⁰

As mentioned before, with regard to fiction, a number of new genres gained ground in the eighteenth century and their content stood in stark contrast to most readers' daily lives. Johanna seems to have been particularly fond of fictional travel accounts, of which she possessed four: Ludvig Holberg's *Onderaardsche reis van Claas Klim* (The Hague: P. van Thol, 1761), Daniel Defoe's *Het leven en de wonderbaare gevallen van Robinson Crusoe* (Amsterdam: H., the widow of J. [II], J. [III], and M. Janssonius van Waesberge, 1721), *De Hollandsche Robinson, of Wonderlyke gevallen van den heer ** (Gouda: F. Bellaart, 1743), and Christian Friedrich Rudolph's *De reizende boekbinders gezelschap, of Merkwaaardige [...] gevallen [...] dewelke hem [...] in de Inquisitie zyn overgekomen* (Rotterdam: J. Losel, 1754).⁸¹ She also possessed two picaresque novels, Nicolaas Heinsius jr.'s *Den vermakelyken avonturier, ofte De wispelturige, en niet min wonderlyke levens-loop van Mirandor* (Amsterdam: A. Schoonenburg, 1722) and *Don Clarazel de Gontarnos, ofte den buiten-spoorigen dolenden ridder* (Amsterdam: N. Holbeex and J. Broers, 1697), and even one erotic story: *Eenige vermakelyke, doch waarachtige historien, synde het leeven van verscheide reukeloose pachters* ('Franeker': 'J. Defensiu' for the author, 1697). Johanna also seems to have enjoyed French fiction of the light-hearted kind, as can be concluded from entertaining titles such as *De doorluchtige*

⁷⁸ Johanna Paauw also owned emblem books by Dirck Pietersz. Pers, Jan Luyken, Jacob van Royen, Thomas Murner, Adrianus Poiters: see items 81, 84, 88, 94 and 99 in the appendix.

⁷⁹ See items 85, 98, 139 and 140; Aernout van Overbeke's *De Rymwercken* contained poems as well as songs, see *Digitale Bibliotheek voor de Nederlandse Letteren* (DBNL), 'De rymwercken (1709)', <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/over001rymw02_01/> (11 August 2020).

⁸⁰ *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse auteurs*, 'Camphuysen, Dirk Raphaelsz', <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bork001nede01_01/bork001nede01_01_0249.php> (11 August 2020).

⁸¹ See items 131, 150, 156 and 163 in the appendix.

minnaressen. Waarachtige geschiedenissen van eenige Fransche heeren en juffers (Amsterdam: H. Uytwerf, 1730), *De boerin van fortuin, of gedenkschriften van de marquisin van L.V.* (Amsterdam: J. Kouwe, 1739), and *De Americaansche Mercurius, behelsende drie geschiedenissen van liefdens hartstochten, onkuysche rampspoeden, en rampsalige minnedriften* (Amsterdam: D. van den Dalen, 1678). Importantly, Johanna seems to have been rather fond of works about people and places very much unlike herself and her own life in Leiden. She owned a number of fictional travel accounts, while as a woman in the eighteenth century she was not able to travel far herself, and several works about men and women with seemingly questionable ideas and practices while as far as we know, Johanna was a good and devout woman, and a law-abiding citizen. All things considered, it is likely that Johanna enjoyed fiction with worldly themes because reading these fictional works allowed her to experience other ways of life and thus enabled her to escape the limitations of her own existence, a sentiment that still resonates in this day and age.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to situate Johanna Paauw's library in context and to provide an overview of her collection of books. With this information in mind, it should now be possible to test the following hypothesis: Johanna Paauw's library will likely contain books intended for female readers, such as domestic and practical works. On the basis of the quantitative analysis, it can be concluded that Johanna did not own many books specifically intended for female readers. Although one might expect to find practical books with a focus on matters having to do with one's home or self-improvement, the opposite in fact seems to be true. Johanna's bookcase contained an extensive collection of various genres, such as literature, history, geography, theology, and even the natural sciences; all genres that suggest an interest in matters going far beyond the self and one's home. First of all, Johanna's collection seems to indicate that she had scholarly interests and although she was not able to pursue an education, she could still educate herself by means of reading her books. Secondly, the fictional works in her possession and especially their worldly content might indicate that she enjoyed experiencing other ways of life through her books or by watching and reading plays. In other words, Johanna's books allowed her to experience more than what was generally possible for a woman in the eighteenth century. The chapters to come will hopefully unearth more evidence with regard to these two claims.

Chapter 2

Tension and Tolerance: Johanna Paauw's Theological Collection

When José de Kruif researched book ownership in eighteenth-century The Hague, one of the things she noticed was the overwhelming amount of theology that was present in the collections.⁸² Similarly, with regard to book ownership by women in seventeenth-century Leiden, Paul Hoftijzer concluded that theological works, predominantly those of a Calvinist nature, formed the main component of these collections.⁸³ Interestingly, as surfaced in the previous chapter, Johanna Paauw's collection for the most part consists of literature (52,8%) and history/geography (25,2%), followed only in third place by theology (16,3%). Perhaps the discrepancy between existing research and Johanna's library can be explained by the fact that an important shift took place during her lifetime: secular texts became increasingly important while religious works lost their central status. This was caused by the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment, or Age of Reason, which gradually gained ground. This solution is not entirely satisfactory, however, because De Kruif also wrote about book collections from this period in time, which makes one wonder: is there perhaps another explanation for the high percentages of secular texts in Johanna's collection, one having to do with her Remonstrant background?

This chapter is dedicated to Johanna's theological collection, which can be further divided into religious literature, books of psalms and hymns, catechisms, communion books, collections of sermons, devotionalia, and Scripture.⁸⁴ However, before taking a closer look at Johanna's theological works, it is important to explore the context of these texts by not only analysing some of the religious developments that unfolded in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but also by examining the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment.

Religious Strife

At the start of the seventeenth century, a number of different religious groups and convictions could be found in the Dutch Republic. Although many people remained loyal to the Roman

⁸² De Kruif, "En nog enige boeken van weinige waarde". *Boeken in Haagse boedelinventarissen halverwege de 18e eeuw*, p. 321.

⁸³ Hoftijzer, 'Boekenbezit van vrouwen in Leiden gedurende de Gouden Eeuw', p. 39.

⁸⁴ See José de Kruif's classification of subcategories in De Kruif, 'Classes of Readers: Owners of Books in 18th-century The Hague', p. 434; 'Scripture' has been added as an extra subcategory in order to be able to distinguish Johanna's works even more.

Catholic Church after the Spanish troops were driven from the Northern Provinces at the end of the sixteenth century, the Calvinists had quickly gained ground, while various other Protestant groups were also active, such as the Lutherans and the Baptists.⁸⁵ As pointed out in the previous chapter, Dutch society was relatively tolerant towards other religious convictions, which is why many refugees came to the Northern Provinces following their persecution in their home country. This relative tolerance can be explained by the fact that there was no dominant church in the Republic, because ‘the layered and differentiated form of government [...] effectively counteracted every centralizing tendency’.⁸⁶ In other words, because each province had its own system of government and there was no strong central authority, it was impossible to unite the provinces under one religion. The result was a pluriformity of religious groups in the relatively small Republic where people appeared to tolerate each other in daily life.

Despite the relative tolerance between the different religious convictions, tensions around certain matters resonated and eventually came to a climax in 1618. The matter at stake was the idea of predestination, meaning ‘the action by which God is held to have immutably predetermined the course of events by an eternal decree or purpose, especially in relation to the salvation or damnation of human beings’.⁸⁷ While the Calvinists believed that people were entirely dependent on God’s grace, more liberal Protestants, especially the followers of the Leiden theologian Jacobus Arminius (1560-1609), argued that the willingness of an individual to accept God’s grace was also important; in other words, they believed in ‘conditional predestination’.⁸⁸ When Arminius passed away in 1609, others continued his work under the guidance of Johannes Wtenbogaert (1557-1644). In 1610, 45 of Arminius’ followers submitted an appeal, also known as a ‘remonstrance’, to the States General, which was based on five articles proposed by Arminius.⁸⁹ In 1611, opponents of the so-called Remonstrance offered a response in the form of the Counter-Remonstrance, in which they refuted the claims made by the Arminians.⁹⁰ In the years that followed, the tension between the two camps only increased and

⁸⁵ *Literatuurgeschiedenis*, ‘Van godsdienststrijd naar tolerantie’, <<https://www.literatuurgeschiedenis.nl/goudeneeuw/literatuurgeschiedenis/lgge003.html>> (8 June 2020).

⁸⁶ W. Frijhoff and M. Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity* (Assen: Royal Van Gorcum, 2004), p. 352.

⁸⁷ *Oxford English Dictionary Online*, ‘predestination, n.’, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/149818> (8 June 2020).

⁸⁸ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, p. 392.

⁸⁹ E.H. Cossee, Th.M. van Leeuwen and M.A. Bosman-Huizinga, *De remonstranten* (Kampen: Uitgeverij Kok-Kampen, 2000), pp. 15-16.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

it was decided that the strife within the Reformed Church should be put to an end during a national synod which would take place in Dordrecht in 1618.⁹¹

When the synod eventually concluded in favour of the Calvinists who had issued the Counter-Remonstrance, the proponents of the Remonstrance, or at least those who did not want to renounce their beliefs, were banished.⁹² However, despite the verdict of the synod, these advocates of the Remonstrance did not admit defeat, but rather decided to form their own religious community. A few months after their banishment, in October 1619, the Remonstrant Brotherhood was founded in Antwerp, the city where Johannes Wtenbogaert had fled in order to avoid prosecution.⁹³ In what follows, the Remonstrant Brotherhood and their convictions will be explored in more detail.

The Remonstrant Brotherhood

In *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies provide an insightful definition of the Remonstrant Brotherhood and their religious beliefs:

The essence of Remonstrantism has been termed anti-confessionality, the refusal to feel bound to anything other than the Bible and one's own conscience; on that point even the act of association did not apply. This does not mean that Remonstrant theologians abstained from dogmatics and biblical interpretation. Nor does it mean that they themselves would not adhere to an explicitly formulated confession. But by making a distinction between essential and inessential points of faith much of this remained open to discussion and investigation.⁹⁴

In light of these characteristics, it is no surprise that the Remonstrants and their precursors were known for their critical readings of the Bible. As Eric Cossee and his colleagues point out, Arminius' interpretations of the Bible, for example, were surprisingly independent and precise, while Hugo de Groot, another Remonstrant, used rather 'modern' methods in his exegeses which led to remarkably down-to-earth observations.⁹⁵ Unlike other religious convictions, the

⁹¹ Cossee et al., *De remonstranten*, p. 22.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 25.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

⁹⁴ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, p. 391.

⁹⁵ Cossee et al., *De remonstranten*, p. 51.

Remonstrants seem to have been aware of the possibility of human error in their own and others' interpretations of the Bible and the necessity of revisiting this work time and time again. This notion is something that still characterizes this religious conviction nowadays, as can be seen on the website of the Remonstrant community in the Netherlands. On the website, it is pointed out that the Remonstrants believe every assumption about God to be bound to a specific moment in time and by keeping the conversation about God and the Bible going, they want to prevent being stuck in their own assumptions.⁹⁶

Besides their tendency for discussion and investigation of the Bible, the Remonstrants are known for their tolerance towards others and their convictions. This mindset can be traced back to the very beginning of the Remonstrant Brotherhood, as it was already present in the remonstrance that was offered to the States of Holland in 1610, and is still important nowadays.⁹⁷ According to Frijhoff and Spies, the emphasis on tolerance within the early Remonstrant community can be linked to their views on predestination. More specifically, the effect of the Remonstrant belief in conditional predestination 'was great confidence in one's own judgement and a piety with a pronounced ethical orientation. It also entailed a commitment to tolerance, which was diametrically opposed to the much more dogmatic stance of the Calvinists'.⁹⁸

Although the Remonstrants themselves were committed to tolerance, they did not receive the same courtesy from others. After the Synod of Dordrecht, they had to remain hidden from the authorities and meet in secret because raids and arrests happened all too often. Some traveling Remonstrant preachers even had codenames to prevent such events. Passchier de Fijne (1588-1667), for example, was also known as 'kingfisher', or 'ijsvogel' in Dutch, because he was known for preaching on ice and was once even chased on ice skates by the authorities.⁹⁹ About 80 prominent members of the Brotherhood had even gone abroad, among them Johannes Wtenbogaert, in order to avoid prosecution.¹⁰⁰

However, in 1631, things began to improve for the Remonstrants and they gradually acquired more freedom within society. More specifically, they could meet in public and Wtenbogaert and other members were able to come back to the Republic. Wtenbogaert and Simon Episcopius (1583-1643) led the Remonstrant Brotherhood together. From 1633 onwards,

⁹⁶ *Remonstranten*, 'Wat geloven wij', <<https://www.remonstranten.nl/wat-geloven-wij/>> (17 June 2020).

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ Frijhoff and Spies, 1650: *Hard-Won Unity*, p. 392.

⁹⁹ Cossee et al., *De remonstranten*, p. 28.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

they could even start training their own ministers in a seminary in Amsterdam.¹⁰¹ Nevertheless, some tension with regard to the Remonstrants remained. For example, when one of Gerard Brandt's sons published the last two parts of his fathers' *Historie der Reformatie* in 1704, which contained a short, satirical poem about the Synod of Dordrecht, it was quickly decided to retract the publication as the topic was still considered too sensitive.¹⁰²

In the eighteenth century, there were other matters of concern as well: the Remonstrant Brotherhood had little money and a shortage of preachers.¹⁰³ What's more, the strife between the Calvinists and the Remonstrants flared up once more around 1750. A Remonstrant preacher in Zwolle had been discharged by the Calvinists because they did not agree with his reading of the Bible.¹⁰⁴ Afterwards, both camps fervently defended their actions: the Calvinists were represented by Nicolaas Holtius (1693-1773), among others, and the Remonstrants by Cornelis Nozeman (1721-1786) and others. What surfaces here is that despite the fact that the Remonstrant Brotherhood had existed for more than a century, their position within society was anything but certain.

The Remonstrant Brotherhood and the Enlightenment

Looking back at the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, other developments are noteworthy besides the previously mentioned religious turmoil: the Enlightenment gradually gained ground. As mentioned before, during the Enlightenment, theology lost its central status while freedom of thought and action became increasingly important. As Jonathan Israel puts it, 'after 1650, a general process of rationalization and secularization set in which rapidly overthrew theology's age-old hegemony in the world of study'.¹⁰⁵ New genres such as novels, newspapers, learned journals and spectatorial periodicals as well as the increasing number of learned societies and cultural institutions helped spreading the ideas and ideals of the movement.

Although these new ideas seem rather revolutionary, it is important to note that theology never entirely left the picture. On the contrary, most new theories actually emphasised the importance of religion: all great thinkers of the Enlightenment, with a few exceptions, 'sought to

¹⁰¹ Cossee et al., *De remonstranten*, p. 30.

¹⁰² L. van Aken, *De Remonstrantsche Broederschap in verleden en heden* (Arnhem: Van Loghum Slaterus N.V., 1947), p. 95; See item 36 in the appendix.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¹⁰⁵ J.I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), p. 4.

substantiate and defend the truth of revealed religion and the principle of a divinely created and ordered universe [...] [and] to accommodate the new advances in science and mathematics to Christian belief'.¹⁰⁶ The tendency to ascribe scientific discoveries to the intelligence of God is the reason why scholars sometimes refer to the situation in Europe as a 'moderate' or even 'Christian' Enlightenment.¹⁰⁷ Incidentally, there was even a type of theology that argued for the existence of God on the basis of findings in the natural world: physico-theology.

Importantly, it can be said that the Remonstrant Brotherhood was particularly invested in the Enlightenment. Simon Vuyk, for example, even refers to the Remonstrants as the 'children of the Enlightenment'.¹⁰⁸ More specifically, over time, values such as freedom of speech and rationalism had become increasingly important for the Remonstrants, which fitted rather well with the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment. For example, while Arminius' teachings mostly focused on the matter of predestination, the teachings of Episcopius were dedicated to the idea of rationalism.¹⁰⁹ An individual who embodies the unique relationship between the Remonstrants and the Enlightenment is Johanna Paauw's nephew, Jan Paauw jr., the person to whom Johanna bequeathed her library. According to Maria Rooseboom, he was one of the most skilled scientific instrument makers of his time, while he was also a devout Remonstrant.¹¹⁰ Although it is considered an unlikely combination nowadays, theology and science went hand in hand in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and Remonstrantism allowed for this combination more than other religious convictions.

What's more, as Simon Vuyk points out, the emphasis on tolerance within the Remonstrant community meant that their members were relatively free to participate in cultural and intellectual life.¹¹¹ Compared to other religious convictions, such as Calvinism or Roman Catholicism, the Remonstrants experienced relatively more independence when it came to participating in the intellectual and literary culture of their day and age; Johanna Paauw's collection certainly seems to suggest a certain level of independence. Not only was she independent in the sense that she had no husband who told her what she could or could not

¹⁰⁶ Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity 1650-1750*, p. 15.

¹⁰⁷ *Literatuurgeschiedenis*, 'Verlichting', <<https://www.literatuurgeschiedenis.nl/18de/thema/lg18016.html>> (11 June 2020).

¹⁰⁸ S. Vuyk, *Verlichte verzen en kolommen: Remonstranten in de letterkunde en tijdschriften der Verlichting (1720-1820)* (Amsterdam: De Bataafsche Leeuw, 2000), p. 9.

¹⁰⁹ Cossee et al., *De remonstranten*, p. 31.

¹¹⁰ M. Rooseboom, *Bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der instrumentmakerskunst in de Noordelijke Nederlanden tot omstreeks 1840* (Leiden: Rijksmuseum voor de Geschiedenis der Natuurwetenschappen, 1950), p. 111.

¹¹¹ Vuyk, *Verlichte verzen en kolommen: Remonstranten in de letterkunde en tijdschriften der Verlichting (1720-1820)*, p. 8.

read, but also when it came to her religion. While women within most religious convictions were only allowed to develop themselves within the spiritual domain, it seems likely that women within the Remonstrant community with the means to do so were able to develop themselves within other domains as well, albeit only through reading relevant books, because of the unique connection between the Remonstrant community and the Enlightenment. During the Reformation, as Rudolf Dekker points out, ‘women felt attracted to revolutionary Christendom because it offered them more freedom of movement than did the patriarchal Catholic Church’.¹¹² After the Reformation, some of the Protestant convictions, such as Calvinism, turned out to be stricter than others when it came to women and what they were allowed to do. Since the Remonstrant Brotherhood was considered to be the most tolerant among the Protestant convictions, women will have experienced most independence within this particular community. Before exploring this notion in more depth, however, a look at the religious situation in Leiden is necessary.

Religious Life in Leiden

After the Spanish siege of Leiden in 1573-74, many refugees came to the city from the Southern Netherlands, France, England, and elsewhere, and the population of the city increased enormously.¹¹³ In his research of Leiden book collections, Paul Hoftijzer came across these foreign roots of many seventeenth-century citizens of Leiden through their possession of numerous religious works in, for example, German and French.¹¹⁴ These refugees thus brought their religious convictions with them, which led to a considerable pluriformity of religious groups and eventually resulted in a rather segmented society where people tolerated each other in daily life.¹¹⁵

The Remonstrants, however, struggled in Leiden, more so than other religious convictions, because in no other Dutch city were they prosecuted as long and as fiercely as here. Only in 1684 did the persecutions stop.¹¹⁶ Before that year, if someone hosted a Remonstrant service in their house, they were in danger of having to pay a fine of at least 200 guilders or even

¹¹² Dekker, ‘Getting to the Source: Women in the Medieval and Early Modern Netherlands’, p. 170.

¹¹³ J.W. Buisman, ‘Kerk en Samenleving’, in R.C.J. van Maanen (ed.), *Leiden: de geschiedenis van een Hollandse Stad, Deel 2 (1574-1795)* (Leiden: Stichting Geschiedschrijving Leiden, 2002), pp. 127-147 (p. 127).

¹¹⁴ Hoftijzer, ‘Boekenbezit van vrouwen in Leiden gedurende de Gouden Eeuw’, p. 38.

¹¹⁵ Buisman, ‘Kerk en Samenleving’, p. 139.

¹¹⁶ Cossee et al., *De remonstranten*, p. 33.

being banished from the city.¹¹⁷ Not until the 1680s did the Remonstrant community get their own official church on the Middelweg, consisting of several renovated houses, an initiative which at first was opposed by the Reformed church.¹¹⁸ The bottomline is that being a member of the Remonstrant community was difficult, and especially so in Leiden, because of the danger posed by the authorities and the disregard from other members of society.



Figure 8: The Remonstrant church on the Middelweg, before it was demolished in 1981.

Theology: an Overview

Now that the religious and philosophical contexts have been established, Johanna Paauw's theological collection can be explored in more detail. As described in the previous chapter, Johanna owned various emblem books and songbooks of a religious nature, but what other theological works can be found in her collection? Figure 9 below provides an overview of the different subcategories within this genre and their percentages in relation to each other.

¹¹⁷ Buisman, 'Kerk en Samenleving', p. 137.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., p. 138.

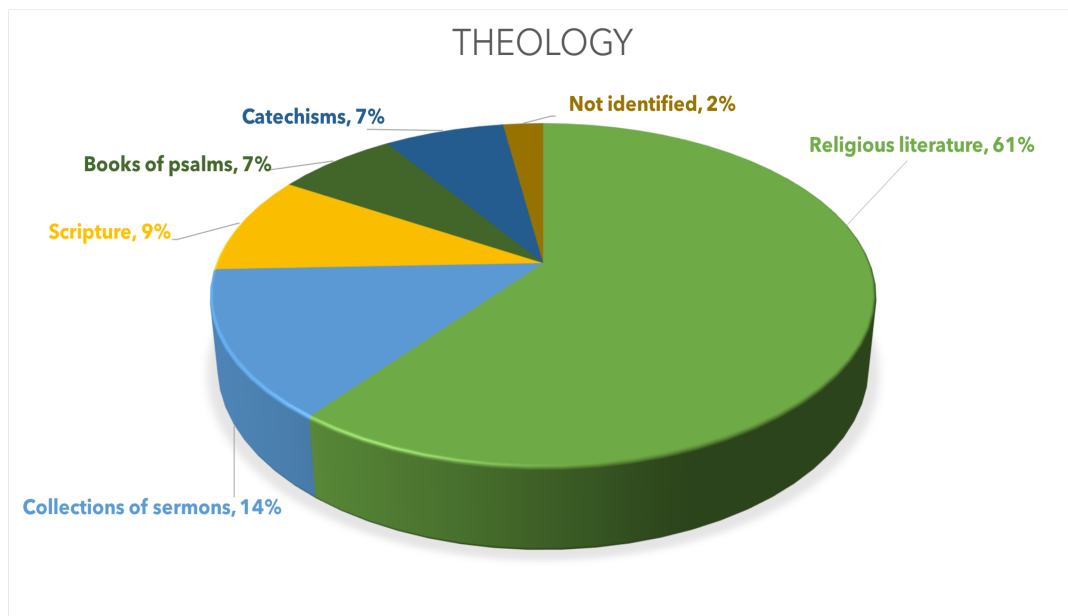


Figure 9: The distribution of the different subcategories within Johanna's theological collection.

When looking at figure 9, the amount of religious literature that Johanna owned is particularly noteworthy. Before focussing on these works, however, the genres which make up the remaining 39 percent will be discussed shortly.

In the subcategory 'Scripture', Johanna, not surprisingly, owned at least one Bible and two copies of the New Testament.¹¹⁹ Unfortunately, it proved impossible to identify the publishers and other specifics about these publications because of a lack of information in the inventory. Furthermore, Johanna owned several editions of the Book of Psalms, which were unfortunately also impossible to identify with any certainty.¹²⁰ More surprising, however, is the presence of a Dutch translation of the Quran: *Mahomets Alkoran*, translated after A. Du Ryer's French translation from the Arabic original (Leiden: J. van der Deyster, 1721).¹²¹ The presence of this work in Johanna's bookcase will be explained later in this chapter.

Johanna owned three catechisms: Frederik Adolf Lampe's *De verborgenheid van het genaade-verbondt* (Amsterdam: A. Schoonenburg, 1718), Joannes Deknatel's *Aanleiding tot het christelyk geloove voornamelyk geschikt voor de kinderen en opwassende jeugd* (Amsterdam: J. ter Beek, 1747), and Bartholomeus Praevostius' *Onderwys in de christelyke religie by vragen ende antwoorden tot dienst van de jonge aankomelingen, en bejaarde eenvoudigen* (various editions).¹²² Catechisms can be

¹¹⁹ See items 72, 73, and 74a. in the appendix.

¹²⁰ Items 72, 74b., and 75.

¹²¹ Item 132.

¹²² Items 82, 83, and 87.

defined as ‘elementary treatises for instruction in the principles of the Christian religion, in the form of question and answer’ and the titles of the latter two books would suggest that they were specifically meant for children.¹²³ Since Johanna did not have any children herself, and keeping in mind that at least one of the books was published when she was no longer a child herself, their presence can perhaps be explained because she bought these works for her nieces and nephews.

One of Johanna’s catechisms was written by a well-known Remonstrant minister: Bartholomeus Praevostius.¹²⁴ When looking at the collections of sermons in Johanna’s possession, at least five of the six are also by Remonstrant ministers, namely: Adriaan van Cattenburg’s *XXIII predikatiën, over eenige uitgeleze stoffen des Ouden en Nieuwen Testaments* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1739), Simon Episcopius’ *XXXIV predikatiën over de woorden Christi, in den Euangelio Ioannis, capit. xvij. vers. 3* (Amsterdam: P. Walschaert, 1646), Eduard Poppius’ *De enge poorte, ofte, Predikatiën over eenighe voortreffelijcke texten der heyligher Schrifture* (Gouda: J. Tournay for A. Burier, 1616), Gerard Brandt’s *Elf predikatiën over verscheide texten der Heilige Schrifture en theologische lessen* (Rotterdam: B. Bos, 1705), and Isaac Pontanus’ *XL bedenkingen over verscheide stoffen van het H. out verbondt, endigende met de histori van Josefs leven* (Amsterdam: G. Slaats, 1702).¹²⁵ The presence of these books clearly indicates that Johanna was an active member of the Remonstrant community.

When looking at Johanna Paauw’s collection of religious literature, a number of observations can be made. First of all, by far most of the religious literature in Johanna’s library was written by men associated with the Remonstrant Brotherhood, such as Johannes Wtenbogaert, Jacobus Arminius, Hugo de Groot, Passchier de Fijne, and Cornelius Nozeman for example.¹²⁶ This finding once more confirms that Johanna was a devout woman and an active member of the Remonstrant community in Leiden.

Secondly, the size and subject matter of the collection suggest that Johanna’s intellectual aspirations went beyond rereading a small number of sermons and scripture. More specifically, she possessed several works about the history of the movement, such as Johannes Wtenbogaert’s *Oorspronck ende voortganck der Nederlantsche kerckelijcke verschillen, tot op het Nationale Synodus van*

¹²³ Oxford English Dictionary Online, ‘catechism’, <www.oed.com/view/Entry/28846> (16 June 2020).

¹²⁴ Remonstranten, ‘Ds Praevostius en de goeie genade’, <<https://www.remonstranten.nl/adrem/jaargang-2019/september-2019/ds-praevostius-en-de-goeie-genade/>> (16 June 2020).

¹²⁵ See items 28, 30, 31, 32, and 33 in the appendix.

¹²⁶ Items 2, 3, 26, 29, 76, 77, 89, 90a., 105, 106, and 107.

Dordrecht (S.l.:s.n., 1623) and *Kerckelicke historie, vervatende verscheyden gedenckwaerdige saken, in de christenheyt voor-gevallen* (S.l.:s.n., 1647), among others, indicating that she was also interested in the events that led to the foundation of the Remonstrant Brotherhood.¹²⁷ What's more, she also possessed works about religious conflicts that transpired during her lifetime, such as Cornelius Nozeman's *Betoog der kwaade trouwe van de schryveren van 't examen des ontwerps van tolerantie, omtrent de kristlyke gezindheid der remonstranten* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1755), *Nader betoog van der examenschryveren onbeschaamdheid, en de kwaade trouwe van hunnen beschermheilig dr. John Owen* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1756) and *Is Nicolaus Holtius wel waardig wederlegd te worden? Of Proeve hoe Cornelius Nozeman zyn nader betoog van dr. John Owen bondig verdedigen kan tegen het zwets- en laster-schrift van Nicolaus Holtius* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1757), all having to do with the revived strife between the Remonstrants and Calvinists in the 1750s.¹²⁸ In short, the fact that Johanna possessed works with a historical focus as well as those having to do with current matters confirms her broad intellectual curiosity, which already surfaced in the previous chapter. Incidentally, it is no surprise that Pieter van der Eyk published Nozeman's books, as well as five other works from Johanna's theological collection, since he was an active member of the Remonstrant community in Leiden himself and, as surfaced in the introduction, was acquainted with Johanna's brother Cornelis and likely Johanna herself as well.¹²⁹

Thirdly, as Johanna was a member of the Remonstrant congregation, her beliefs may explain the presence of the translation of the Quran, and that of two other books which are dedicated to Judaism: Humfrey Prideaux' *Het Oude en Nieuwe Verbond aen een geschakelt in de geschiedenissen der joden en der aengrenzende volkeren* (Leiden: J. van der Linden, 1729) and Petrus Cuneaus' *De republyk der Hebreen, of gemeenebest der joden* (Amsterdam: W. Goeree, 1684).¹³⁰ The Remonstrants are known for their tolerance of other religious convictions, most likely strengthened by the experience of being considered outsiders themselves, so instead of simply dismissing the Islam and Judaism, Johanna appears to have wanted to learn more about the beliefs and ideas of these convictions. Nevertheless, although she may have been relatively tolerant and was interested in other religious convictions, the presence of the two other works seems to suggest that Johanna thought most highly of Protestantism: Humfrey Prideaux'

¹²⁷ Items 2 and 3 in the appendix.

¹²⁸ Items 102-107.

¹²⁹ F. van Lieburg, 'The Dutch book trade, Christian Enlightenment and the national bibliography. The catalogues of Johannes van Abkoude (1703-60) and Reinier Arrenberg (1733-1812)', *Quaerendo*, 31 (2001), pp. 3-16 (p. 6).

¹³⁰ Items 6 and 9 in the appendix.

Mahomets leven, bedriegeryen, en dood. Nevens een klaare betooginge dat het euangelium van Jesus Christus geen bedrog, maar de H. waarheid Gods is (Amsterdam: I. Tirion, 1730) is clearly a critique of the Islam, while Laurentius Steversloot's *Papekost, opgedist in geuse schotelen, handelende van de pausselyke opkomst, afgodery, en beeldendienst* (Leiden: s.n., 1720) mocks Roman Catholicism.¹³¹

Finally, Johanna's Remonstrant background might also explain other aspects of her library, such as the high percentage of secular texts. As pointed out above, the Remonstrants were relatively free to participate in Dutch intellectual and cultural life, which may well explain the vast amount of literature, and particularly theatrical plays, as well as the many geographical and historical works in her collection. Had Johanna been part of a less tolerant religious community, her collection would perhaps look very different and contain mostly, if not only, religion and theology.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore Johanna Paauw's theological collection in the context of the religious and philosophical developments of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and to find a possible explanation for the large number of secular texts in her library. As surfaced in the introduction, and confirmed through the qualitative analysis in this chapter, Johanna was an active member of the Remonstrant congregation and therefore likely had a more tolerant and 'Enlightened' stance when it came to matters such as religion or science compared to other religious convictions. Johanna's tolerant worldview is indeed visible in the presence of works that focus on other religious convictions, such as the Islam and Judaism. Not only was she interested in other religions, Johanna also appears to have been interested in both the history and the present struggles that the Remonstrant Brotherhood faced, which reveals a sense of belonging to her religious community as well as her broad intellectual curiosity. Importantly, Johanna's vast collection of literature and plays can also be explained by the fact that she was part of the Remonstrant community, as the members of this congregation were relatively free to participate in intellectual and cultural life. Despite the fact that she was a woman, Johanna seems to have experienced a relatively large degree of independence when it came to developing herself spiritually, intellectually, and culturally, much more so than women within other convictions.

¹³¹ Items 113 and 133 in the appendix; *NEMO Kennislink*, 'Porno in de vitrine', <<https://www.nemokennislink.nl/publicaties/porno-in-de-vitrine/>> (16 June 2020).

Chapter 3

Paper Travels: History and Geography in Johanna Paauw's Library

In her book *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers: leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw*, José de Kruif points out that traveling in time and space by means of reading historical and geographical works seems to have been a popular pastime in eighteenth-century The Hague.¹³² The inhabitants of this city did not travel far on paper, however, because most were particularly fond of reading about the history and geography of the region in which they lived.¹³³ What's more, in the probate inventories that De Kruif investigated, historical works were twice as common as geographical texts and especially books dedicated to national history, such as the Eighty Years' War and biographies of rulers, were very popular.¹³⁴ As described in the first chapter, Johanna Paauw's library contains many historical and geographical works, which make up about a quarter of her entire collection. This chapter sets out to analyse these works and explore their context in order to determine if, like many of the citizens of The Hague, Johanna was mostly interested in reading about the history and geography of her hometown and country of origin, or if her interests went beyond the borders of the Republic. In other words, where did Johanna travel on paper?

Global Trade

Before the voyages of maritime explorers like Christopher Columbus towards the end of the fifteenth century, Europe was only a minor player in the so-called 'Afro-Eurasian' trade routes which had been in use for centuries.¹³⁵ The Indian Ocean was at the centre of these trade networks and its position made it a meeting place for the cultures of China, India, the Middle East, Africa, and Europe.¹³⁶ However, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, various countries in Europe began their exploration of other continents, with Spain and Portugal among the first to expand their territory overseas, a development which would forever change the dynamics of Afro-Eurasian trade.

¹³² De Kruif, *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers: leescultuur in Den Haag in de achttiende eeuw*, p. 224.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ De Kruif, "En nog enige boeken van weinige waarde". *Boeken in Haagse boedelinventarissen halverwege de 18e eeuw*, p. 323.

¹³⁵ J.P. McKay, B.D. Hill, J. Buckler, C.H. Crowston, M.E. Wiesner-Hanks and J. Perry, *A History of Western Society* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), p. 444.

¹³⁶ Ibid., p. 444.

The rise of the European voyages of expansion had various causes: the demand for luxury goods such as spices increased due to the economic revival after the Black Death; there was a growing desire to spread Christianity to non-Christian territories; technological advances in navigation and the construction of ships allowed for long-distance travel; and, underlying all previously mentioned reasons, many people were increasingly curious when it came to other peoples and places, a notion which scholars have described as the Renaissance curiosity about the physical universe.¹³⁷ In the light of this growing curiosity, it is no surprise that historical and geographical works became increasingly popular among the educated classes in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.¹³⁸ For the people who were not in a position to travel, or at least those among them who could read, the published accounts of new territories and unknown peoples allowed them to satisfy their curiosity, albeit safely from the comforts of their own home.

By the end of the sixteenth century, the Low Countries had established itself as one of the most important European centres of international trade. However, the Low Countries' trading activities had been limited to the European continent for the most part of the century.¹³⁹ Portugal, on the other hand, had successfully established overseas colonies in Asia, Africa, and the America's, and brought its newly acquired wares, such as valuable spices, to Lisbon. In Lisbon, Dutch tradesmen bought these spices and then distributed them throughout the North and North-West of Europe by means of their own extensive network of trade.¹⁴⁰ This arrangement between the Republic and Portugal was rather successful for a period of time, until Spain invaded Portugal in 1580 and all trade with the Low Countries was forbidden because of the war between Spain and the Northern Netherlandish Provinces.¹⁴¹ The impact of the Spanish incursion on the young country's trade gave rise to the idea that Dutch merchants should travel overseas themselves in order to acquire spices and other valuable merchandise.¹⁴²

In 1602, the Dutch East India Company (Vereenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie – VOC) was founded by merging six trading companies from different provinces and it was granted a monopoly on trade with the Eastern world by the States General of the Dutch Republic.¹⁴³ Not only sailors and merchants travelled with the VOC, however. Soldiers accompanied them on

¹³⁷ McKay et al., *A History of Western Society*, pp. 448-450.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 450.

¹³⁹ G.G. Hellinga, *Pioniers van de Gouden Eeuw* (Zutphen: Walburg Pers, 2007), p. 7.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Hellinga, *Pioniers van de Gouden Eeuw*, p. 13.

these voyages because conflicts with the Spaniards, Portuguese or English were often inevitable. In the course of the seventeenth century, the VOC grew exponentially both in size and power. With the city of Batavia at its centre, founded in 1619 after the conquest of Jacatra on the Indonesian island of Java, the company expanded its operations in all directions.¹⁴⁴ In the first half of the eighteenth century, the VOC experienced a veritable golden age, but only because of the foundations that had been laid in the previous century.¹⁴⁵

After the early successes of the VOC, another trading company was founded in 1621 in order to open trade with Africa and the Americas, namely: the West India Company (West-Indische Compagnie - WIC).¹⁴⁶ This company tried and eventually succeeded in capturing some of the Spanish and Portuguese overseas territories, running establishments in Brazil, the Caribbean and large parts of Africa's west coast.¹⁴⁷ From this moment onwards, the Republic increasingly operated within the transatlantic slave trade, besides participating in the trade in spices and other valuables. As John McKay and his colleagues put it, '[i]ronically, the nation that was known throughout Europe as a bastion of tolerance and freedom came to be one of the principal operators of the slave trade starting in the 1640s'.¹⁴⁸ The WIC soon proved less successful than its Eastern counterpart, however, and was declared bankrupt by 1674.¹⁴⁹ A 'new' WIC would soon be established, but this enterprise also proved unsuccessful in the long run.

In the course of the seventeenth century, the VOC and WIC had managed to establish Dutch trading posts on all continents. Colonies and settlements could be found in North-America (New Netherland), on various Caribbean islands, in the Guianas, in West-Africa (Gold Coast), on the island of Mauritius, on the Cape of Good Hope, on large parts of the Indonesian archipelago, on the Malacca peninsula, in parts of Ceylon, on the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel, and on the islands of Formosa and Japan (Deshima).¹⁵⁰ As Willem Frijhoff and Marijke Spies point out, while the VOC and WIC had first and foremost set out with commercial incentives, '[t]he decades from 1640 to 1660 were in many respects a time of new stimuli for the expansion of commercial relations and far more intensive forms of colonization which went far beyond the strictly commercial motives of the previous fifty years'.¹⁵¹ The Dutch colonial empire

¹⁴⁴ Hellinga, *Pioniers van de Gouden Eeuw*, p. 14.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁷ McKay et al., *A History of Western Society*, p. 472.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ Hellinga, *Pioniers van de Gouden Eeuw*, p. 23.

¹⁵⁰ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, pp. 107-108.

¹⁵¹ Frijhoff and Spies, *1650: Hard-Won Unity*, p. 108.

expanded enormously in size in the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and its lasting impact is still felt nowadays even though most of the countries that were once part of the empire are now independent.

While Spain and Portugal had been rather successful in establishing overseas territories in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by the start of the eighteenth century, they had been surpassed by France, Britain, and the Dutch Republic.¹⁵² As Roy Bridges puts it, '[t]hese three societies now competed to control what was assumed in the current "mercantilist" theory to be a limited supply of wealth. All three were successful because they had linked state and capitalist mercantile interests'.¹⁵³ However, by the end of the eighteenth century, the power structures shifted once more and the Dutch Republic lost its central position. Nevertheless, in the course of Johanna Paauw's life, the Republic was still one of the most powerful nations in the world.

Travel Writing

Although mass tourism as we know it today did not take off until the twentieth century, its origins can be traced back to a seventeenth-century phenomenon known as the Grand Tour. According to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, the Grand Tour is 'a journey through any or all of France, Germany, Switzerland, and (especially) Italy, made by young men of rank, and typically regarded as completing their education'.¹⁵⁴ Importantly, this journey was not meant to be just a leisure trip, but rather intended for further academic or personal development and creating a social network.¹⁵⁵ Nevertheless, people were also aware that it provided young men with an opportunity to lose some of their 'wild hair', at a safe distance from their family and friends back home, perhaps slightly similar to how young adolescents nowadays go on so-called 'clubbing holidays' after graduating high school.

Although mostly students with the means to do so embarked on a Grand Tour, plenty of other people were required to travel abroad for their profession of sailor, merchant, diplomat or soldier. Apart from ships' journals and diplomatic or trade reports, seventeenth and eighteenth-century people increasingly started to write down their experiences and observations of the new and exotic places they encountered, albeit during a Grand Tour or for their

¹⁵² R. Bridges, 'Exploration and Travel outside Europe (1720-1914)', in P. Hulme and T. Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 53-69 (p. 54).

¹⁵³ Ibid.

¹⁵⁴ *Oxford English Dictionary*, 'grand tour, n.', <www.oed.com/view/Entry/80717> (8 July 2020).

¹⁵⁵ I. Leemans and G. Johannes, *Worm en donder. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1700-1800: de Republiek* (Amsterdam: Uitgeverij Bert Bakker, 2017), p. 490.

profession.¹⁵⁶ Even though travel writing was not necessarily a new genre as such – written accounts of people’s travels can even be found on some Egyptian tombs – the genre did become increasingly popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.¹⁵⁷ Apparently, not only did more and more people start to write about their travels, but the readership of the genre grew as well. As Nigel Leask puts it, ‘the eighteenth-century popularity of books of voyages and travels reflected the rise of European commercial and colonial expansion’, to which might be added that the growing popularity of the genre was likely also due to the increasing scientific curiosity with regard to other peoples and places as a result of the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment which had gradually gained ground.¹⁵⁸

What is important to note, however, is that early modern travel writing is rather different from modern travel writing. As William Sherman points out, ‘early modern travel writing was so varied that it may not even be appropriate to describe it as a single genre. The style and tone of texts could vary widely and their organisation always seemed to reproduce the haphazard nature of the travels they described’.¹⁵⁹ What’s more, not only was early modern travel writing rather hybrid in style and tone but also in content, as travel writers often blended fact with fiction: ‘authors played with boundaries between eyewitness testimony, second-hand information, and outright invention, and readers were often unsure whether they were reading truth or fiction’.¹⁶⁰ Keeping in mind that most people never left the borders of their homeland, the adventures in strange surroundings and encounters with new peoples of those who did must have seemed very similar to fiction, even if they were completely authentic. Furthermore, as Percy Adams points out with regard to the Enlightenment, ‘because the eighteenth century was so avid in its search for data about man and his physical surroundings, it was inclined to be gullible and fall victim to facts that were not facts and travel books that were partly, even completely, false’.¹⁶¹ In other words, in the eighteenth century, non-fiction travel books, like their fictional counterparts, often blended fact with fiction and their readers did not seem to mind this combination as long as it

¹⁵⁶ Leemans and Johannes, *Worm en donder. Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse literatuur 1700-1800: de Republiek*, p. 490.

¹⁵⁷ T. Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 19.

¹⁵⁸ N. Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), p. 15.

¹⁵⁹ W.H. Sherman, ‘Stirrings and searchings (1500-1720)’, in P. Hulme and T. Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 17-36 (p. 30).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

¹⁶¹ P.G. Adams, *Travelers and Travel Liars* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1962), p. viii.

satisfied their intellectual curiosity. Only towards the end of the century did the practice of combining fact with fiction become more problematic.¹⁶²

Although people nowadays make a distinction between fictional and non-fictional travel writing, and read these genres with different goals in mind, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, people likely read non-fictional works alongside fictional travel accounts such as Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* without knowing or simply not even caring about the difference. Perhaps readers simply enjoyed both non-fictional and fictional travel accounts because of how vastly different these places and experiences must have been from their own everyday lives. For example, when analysing the seventeenth-century geographical works about Africa and China of Elisabeth Raphelengius, a granddaughter of Christopher Plantin who died in Leiden in 1648, Paul Hoftijzer concludes that these works may be considered as diverting literature.¹⁶³ In what follows, Johanna Paauw's geographical collection will be analysed in order to determine if the same might be said about some of the works in her collection.

Johanna Paauw's Historical and Geographical Collection

According to Percy Adams, the eighteenth century 'was the age of gold for travellers, both real and imaginary'.¹⁶⁴ In the first chapter of this thesis, Johanna Paauw's imaginary travel literature was already discussed to some extent and in what follows, her non-fictional travel literature will be analysed, as well as her historical works. In figure 10 an overview can be found of the subcategories within history/geography and their percentages in relation to each other. Although José de Kruif only distinguishes between history of the church, biographies, atlases, and travel books, 'general history' has been added as an extra category, as it allows for a more precise distinction of Johanna's works.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Bridges, 'Exploration and Travel outside Europe (1720-1914)', p. 57.

¹⁶³ Hoftijzer, "'Boucken vande overledene". De bibliotheek van Elisabeth Raphelengius', p. 429.

¹⁶⁴ Adams, *Travelers and travel liars*, p. 9.

¹⁶⁵ De Kruif, 'Classes of Readers: Owners of Books in 18th-century The Hague', p. 434.

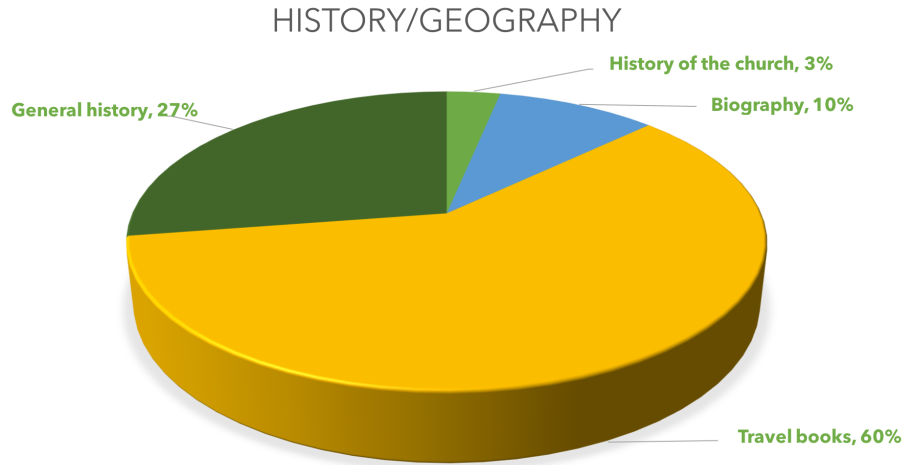


Figure 10: The distribution of the different subcategories within Johanna's historical and geographical books.

When looking at figure 10, the overwhelming amount of travel books immediately surfaces. Unlike the eighteenth-century inventories that José de Kruif analysed, in which history was twice as common as geography, Johanna's collection is clearly dominated by geographical works. Before analysing these works in more depth, however, it is necessary to have a look at Johanna's historical books. Figure 11, pictured below, provides a more specific overview of the content of these works.

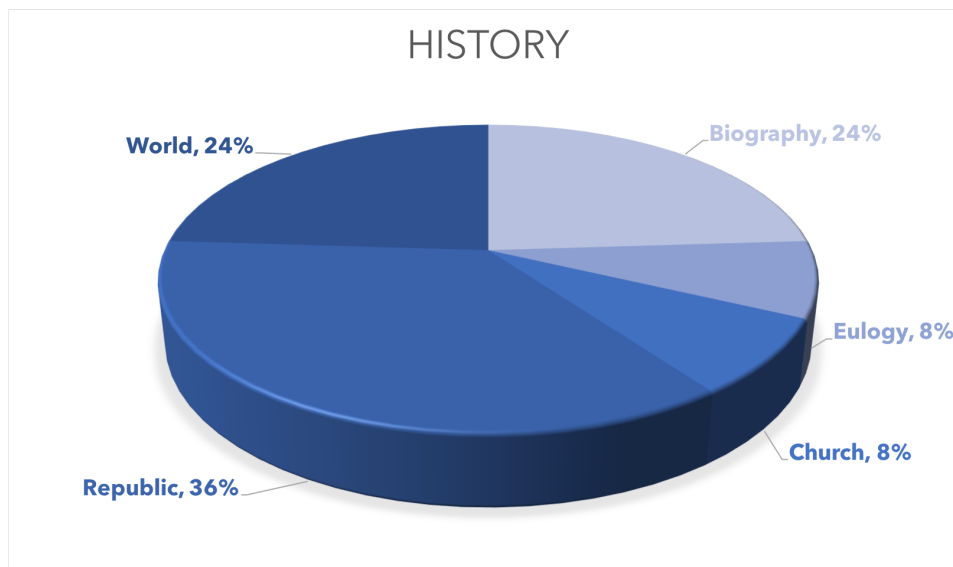


Figure 11: The distribution of the subcategories within Johanna's historical books.

Not surprisingly, when examining Johanna's books in the categories 'eulogy' and 'church', her Remonstrant background is clearly visible. The two eulogies were written by prominent

Remonstrants such as Jakob Krighout and Johannes Brandt, while the *Historie der Reformatie* (Amsterdam: for J. Rieuwertsz, H. and D. Boom, 1677) was written by another well-known Remonstrant minister: Gerard Brandt.¹⁶⁶ What's more, Willem Meerman's *Comoedia vetus, of Bootmans-praetje* (Amsterdam: P. Visser, 1718) was also known for being in favour of the Remonstrant community, even though the author was not a Remonstrant himself.¹⁶⁷

In *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers*, José de Kruif points out that Emanuel van Meteren seems to have been the most popular writer within the genre of history, as she often came across his work in the eighteenth-century inventories.¹⁶⁸ Johanna Paauw also owned a copy of his work *Historien der Nederlanden, en haar naburen oorlogen tot het iaar 1612*.¹⁶⁹ She also possessed one other work on the Eighty Years' War, Jacob Duym's *Corte historische beschryvinghe der Nederlandscher oorloghen* (Arnhem: J. Jansz, 1614), and four more general works about the history of the Northern Netherlands: Caspar Wachtendorp's *Oude Hollandsche geschiedenis, ofte Corte rym-kronyck beginnende van de suntvloet, tot den iare 1560* (The Hague: A. Tongerloo, I. Verhoeven, and S. de Putter, 1648), the first part of the *Nederlandsche jaerboeken, inhoudende een verhael van de merkwaardigste geschiedenissen, die voorgevallen zyn binnen den omtrek der Vereendigde Provintien* (Amsterdam: F. Houத்துய්, 1748), Philippus Cluverius' *Batavische out-heeden, met de verhandeling over de drie uytloopen van den Rhyn* (Amsterdam: J. Oosterwyk, 1719), and Petrus Scriverius' *Beschryvinge van ovt Batvien* (various editions).¹⁷⁰ The presence of these works suggests that Johanna, like the eighteenth-century citizens of The Hague, was interested in national history, both in the Eighty Years' War as well as in much older events from the past. Not surprisingly, considering where Johanna lived, she also owned two historical works on Leiden: Jan Jansz Orlers' *Beschrijvinge der stadt Leyden* (Leiden/Delft: A. Commelijn/A.J. Cloeting, 1641) and Georgius van Zonhoven's *Kort verhaal van het beleg en ontzet der stad Leiden* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1744).¹⁷¹ Keeping in mind that Johanna owned multiple copies of Bontius' play about the siege of Leiden, it makes sense that she also possessed non-fiction works about the city itself and this particular event, as it clearly interested her very much.

¹⁶⁶ See items 34, 36, and 37 in the appendix.

¹⁶⁷ *De Nederlandse en Vlaamse Auteurs*, 'Meerman, Willem', <https://www.dbnl.org/tekst/bork001nede01_01/bork001nede01_01_0856.php> (6 July 2020); See item 114 in the appendix.

¹⁶⁸ De Kruif, *Liefhebbers en gewoontelezers*, p. 220.

¹⁶⁹ Item 21.

¹⁷⁰ Items 39, 116a., 116b., 117, and 128.

¹⁷¹ Items 41 and 109.

Importantly, not only appears Johanna to have been interested in national history and the history of Leiden, but she was also intrigued by the history of other places on the European continent and, more generally, by the history of the world. To name a few examples, Johanna possessed works on the history of Antwerp and France, Frater Gasper Verstockt's *Antwerpsche chronykje, in het welk zeer veele geschiedenissen, sedert den jare 1500, tot het jaar 1574 zyn beschreeven* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1743) and Constantine de Renneville's *Historie van de Bastilje of Inquisity van staat in Vrankryk* (Amsterdam: N. ten Hoorn, 1717), and at least four works which focus on world history.¹⁷² The presence of these works suggests a broad intellectual interest, a trait which also surfaced in the previous chapters, as Johanna clearly wanted to be informed on world history besides the history of her country of origin.

Johanna's intellectual aspirations also surface in her collection of biographies. She appears to have been well-informed on the conflict between the supporters of the States Party and the Orangists, in which she seems to have been in favour of the former, in line with most Remonstrants, and owned biographies about people from both sides of the conflict, namely Hugo de Groot, Johan de Witt, and William of Orange.¹⁷³ Incidentally, Johanna's political preference are also shown by the fact that she had a framed portrait of Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in her house.¹⁷⁴ What's more, not only did she own biographies about well-known Dutch figures, but she also possessed two works about important and influential people from abroad: John Bancks' *Staatkunde levensbeschryving van Olivier Cromwell* (Amsterdam: S. van Esveldt, 1746) and Franciscus Lievens Kersteman's *Historie van mevrouwe de hartoginne van Pompadour* (Zalt-Bommel: J.W. Kanneman, 1761).¹⁷⁵ Interestingly, on the basis of Johanna's collection of world history and her biographies of both national and foreign people, it might be concluded that her interests went beyond her own hometown and her country of origin. A closer look at Johanna's geographical works is necessary in order to substantiate this claim.

Figure 12, pictured below, provides an overview of the different subcategories within this genre.

¹⁷² See items 7, 38, 46, 97, 124, and 135 in the appendix.

¹⁷³ Items 5, 110, and 111.

¹⁷⁴ LRA, NA 2300b, nr. 101 (2 September, 1767), f. 42v.

¹⁷⁵ Items 4, 130, and 152.

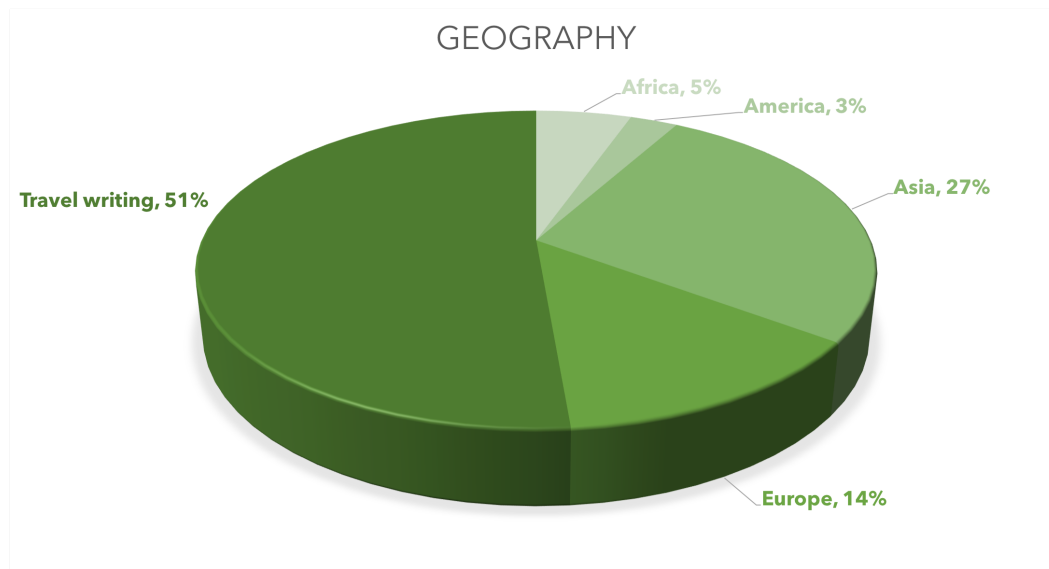


Figure 12: The distribution of the different subcategories within Johanna's geographical books.

As mentioned in the introduction of this chapter, the eighteenth-century citizens of The Hague were mostly interested in the geography of nearby cities and regions. Johanna, on the other hand, seems to have preferred works on the geography of countries in Asia, America, and Africa. Considering that only 14 percent of her geographical collection is dedicated to Europe while 35 percent focuses on non-European countries, Johanna was even more intrigued by these destinations than she was interested in the geography of the Dutch Republic and other places on the European continent. What's more, Johanna also seems to have been particularly fond of travel writing as it makes up half of her entire collection of geography. What distinguishes travel writing from the other subcategories is that most of these works contain the reflections and experiences of one person while he visits multiple countries or even continents, while the other texts are dedicated entirely to one continent or country and strive to be more objective rather than subjective.

In the previous paragraph, the pronoun 'he' was used on purpose as Johanna's entire collection of geography consists of books written by men. As Susan Bassnett points out, this can be explained by the fact that 'the essence of adventure lies in taking risks and exploring the unknown, so it is hardly surprising to find that early travel accounts tended for the most part to be written by men, who moved more freely in the public sphere'.¹⁷⁶ Although Johanna could perhaps not move as freely in the public sphere as her brothers could, or as women can nowadays,

¹⁷⁶ S. Bassnett, 'Travel Writing and Gender', in P. Hulme and T. Youngs (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp. 225-241 (p. 225).

she could still read about these places and satisfy her curiosity by travelling on paper; the sheer number of geographical books that she possessed would certainly suggest that she enjoyed doing so.

By far most of Johanna's general geographical works focus on Asia and she seems to have been particularly interested in the exploits and conquests of the VOC. Johanna possessed some general descriptions of Asian countries, such as Olfert Dapper's *Beschryving des Keizerryks van Taising of Sina* (Amsterdam: J. van Meurs, 1670) and *Asia, of Naukeurige beschryving van het rijk des grooten Mogols, en een groot gedeelte van Indien* (Amsterdam: J. van Meurs, 1672) among others, while others focussed more specifically on the VOC, such as Arnoldus Montanus' *Gedenkwaardige gesantschappen der Oost-Indische Maetschappij in't Vereenigde Nederland, aen de kaisaren van Japan* (Amsterdam: J. van Meurs, 1669) and Johan Nieuhof's *Het gezantschap der Neerlandtsche Oost-Indische Compagnie, aan den grooten Tartarischen Cham, den tegenwoordigen keizer van China* (Amsterdam: A. Wolfgang, J. and G. Janssonius van Waesberge, H. Boom and the widow of D. Boom, the widow of J. van Someren and R. Goethals, 1693).¹⁷⁷ Johanna also possessed works which specifically focus on some of the Dutch colonies, such as Philippus Baldaeus' *Naauwkeurige beschryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel* (Amsterdam: J. Janssonius van Waesberge and J. van Someren, 1672), Peter Kolbe's *Naaukeurige en uitvoerige beschryving van de Kaap de Goede Hoop nevens een beschryving van den oorsprong der Hottentotten* (Amsterdam: B. Lakeman, 1727) and Frederik Coyett's *'t Verwaerloosde Formosa, of Waerachtig verhael, hoedanigh door verwaerloosinge der Nederlanders in Oost-Indien, het eyland Formosa, van Coxinja, overrompelt is geworden* (Amsterdam: J.C. ten Hoorn and M. Pieters, 1675).¹⁷⁸ The presence of these works suggests that Johanna was very intrigued by the Dutch colonies and although she was not able to travel to these destinations herself, she could still satisfy her scientific curiosity by reading about them.¹⁷⁹ What's important to note is that sometimes authors themselves did not even travel to the countries or continents that they describe in their works, which brings the accuracy of these works into question. Olfert

¹⁷⁷ See items 8, 9, 11, 12, 15, 19, and 20 in the appendix.

¹⁷⁸ Items 17, 18, 23, and 64b.

¹⁷⁹ Perhaps Johanna even discussed the Dutch colonies with Hendrik Otto van Oudgaarden, her nephew Jan's father-in-law, who spent most of his life as a surgeon in the East Indies. Since both Johanna and Hendrik were part of the same, small Remonstrant community, they must have been acquainted with one another. As mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, they were both present at the baptism of one of Jan's children.

Dapper, for example, of whom Johanna owned seven books in total, wrote many descriptions of foreign continents while never having left Amsterdam.¹⁸⁰

However, there were of course plenty of people who did in fact travel abroad and wrote about their own observations and experiences. When looking at Johanna's collection of travel writing, for example, these works often contain the adventures of someone who travelled across multiple countries or even continents. Jan Huygen van Linschoten, for example, often said to be the first major Dutch travel writer, wrote down many details with regard to the people, food, drinks, climate, and flora and fauna he encountered on his voyage to the East-Indies in his book *Voyasie, ofte schip-vaert ... van by noorden langes Noorwegen tot voor by de reviere Oby Anno 1594 ende 1595* (Amsterdam: J.E. Cloppenburg, 1624), which can also be found in Johanna's collection.¹⁸¹ Similarly, the Anglican divine Gilbert Burnet wrote about his experiences during the continental voyage he made when in exile in his work *Reyze door Switzerland, Italien, Duytsland, enz.* (Hoorn: J. Duyn, 1726).¹⁸²

Johanna seems to have been particularly fond of travel writing as she owned at least nineteen of these works, besides the fictional travel accounts in her possession. As mentioned before, travel writing became increasingly popular in the course of the eighteenth century and not only because of the descriptions of new and strange places but because, as Percy Adams puts it, both real and imaginary travel accounts 'appealed to the intellect and the imagination'.¹⁸³ In other words, on the one hand, people were curious about other places and their inhabitants because of the growing influence of the ideas and ideals of the Enlightenment, while on the other hand, they also enjoyed the sense of escapism that travel works provided. These two tendencies are also visible in Johanna's geographical collection, as it consists of both works that strive to be scientific and objective and contain detailed descriptions of the land, its flora and fauna, and its peoples, as well as books that are full of adventures in which the land merely figures as the backdrop. For example, George Anson's *Reize rondsom de werreld, gedaan in de jaaren 1740 tot 1744* (Amsterdam: I. Tirion, 1748), which was in Johanna's collection, 'aspires to sober scientific description although its general popularity owed much still to the "Robinson Crusoe" element

¹⁸⁰ *Nieuw Nederlandsch biografisch woordenboek*, 'Dapper, Olfert', <https://dbnl.org/tekst/molh003nieu07_01/molh003nieu07_01_0700.php> (6 July 2020); Items 8-14 in the appendix.

¹⁸¹ W. Wennekes, *Gouden handel: de eerste Nederlanders overzee, en wat zij daar haalden* (Amsterdam: Olympus, 2007), p. 23; See item 22 in the appendix.

¹⁸² Item 122.

¹⁸³ Adams, *Travelers and travel liars*, p. 9.

- catastrophe, suffering, and adversity bravely borne'.¹⁸⁴ Some scholars even argue that non-fiction travel books from the eighteenth century often use the same narrative tone and style as the picaresque novel, a genre that was discussed in the first chapter of this thesis.¹⁸⁵ The titles of some of the works in Johanna's collection certainly suggest an adventure-like or even picaresque quality, such as Eduward Melton's *Zeldzaame en gedenkwaardige zee- en landreizen* (Amsterdam: J. Verjager, 1702), *Iournael ofte beschrijvinghe van de wonderlijcke reyse, gedaen door Willem Cornelisz Schouten* (Hoorn: I. Willemsz, 1648), Frans Jansz. van der Heiden's *Vervarelyke schip-breuk van 't Oost-Indisch jacht ter Schelling, onder het landt van Bengale* (various editions), and Jan Jansz. Struys, *Drie aanmerkelijke en seer rampspoedige reysen, door Italien, Griekenlandt, Lijflandt, Moscovien, Tartarijen, Meden, Persien, Oost-Indien, Japan, en verscheyden andere gewesten* (various editions).¹⁸⁶ While reading the works in her collection with a more scientific and objective quality might have been a way to satisfy Johanna's intellectual curiosity, these travel accounts may have provided a temporary escape from her own daily life. In other words, reading travel writing offered a certain degree of freedom and enabled Johanna to go on adventures and travel to strange continents, albeit on paper, similar to how the works of fiction in her collection of literature provided a way to experience other ways of life.

Conclusion

This chapter set out to explore Johanna Paauw's historical and geographical works within the context of global trade and travel writing in order to determine whether, like the citizens of The Hague, she was mostly interested in her own hometown and country of origin. On the basis of the qualitative analysis, it can be concluded that although she did indeed own a number of works which were dedicated to national history, the majority of her collection actually suggests that her interests went far beyond the history and geography of the Netherlands. Johanna's books on world history and her international biographies convey her broad intellectual curiosity, as do the many geographical works dedicated to non-European countries and continents. When taking a closer look at her collection of geography, it appears that half of her collection consisted of more objective and scientific works, which represent the intellectual curiosity that was characteristic of the Age of Reason, while Johanna also seems to have been rather fond of more adventure-like or

¹⁸⁴ Bridges, 'Exploration and travel outside Europe (1720-1914)', p. 58; Item 65 in the appendix.

¹⁸⁵ Youngs, *The Cambridge Introduction to Travel Writing*, p. 39.

¹⁸⁶ See items 61b., 63, 68a., and 68c in the appendix.

picaresque travel accounts. Although she was not able to travel much herself, these works allowed her, in a sense, to travel to the destinations which held her interest and thus enabled her to experience much more than was deemed possible for a woman in the eighteenth century.

Conclusion

This thesis was written during strange and unsettling times, when the world and its inhabitants were being tormented by a global pandemic known as the coronavirus. During this unusual period, a special advertisement about books appeared in the streets of many Dutch cities as well as online. In short, this advertisement from the Collectieve Propaganda van het Nederlandse Boek (CPNB), a Dutch organization which promotes Dutch literature, encouraged people to read (and buy) more books during the ‘intelligent lockdown’ decreed by the Dutch government: ‘if you cannot go outside, why not bring the world in?’¹⁸⁷ Surprisingly, not only is this sentiment fitting for the months during which people stayed inside their homes due to the coronavirus, but it can also be applied to Johanna Paauw and her library, which this microhistorical study set out to contextualise and analyse. As a woman in the eighteenth century, Johanna had relatively little freedom of movement, though of course for entirely different reasons than people experienced in 2020, but her collection of books nevertheless allowed her to both educate herself on matters such as theology, geography, history, and even the natural sciences, as well as providing her with entertainment and in all likelihood even a temporary escape from her day-to-day life. In other words, through her extensive collection of books, Johanna was able to learn about and, in a sense, experience the world around her.



Figure 13: The advertisement by the CPNB.

For the most part, Johanna’s library clearly reflects the period in which she lived: the eighteenth century. Not only did new genres emerge during this period in time, while others grew in

¹⁸⁷ CPNB, ‘#ikleesthuis’, <<https://www.cpnb.nl/nieuws/ikleesthuis>> (5 August 2020).

popularity, but theology lost its central status and gradually made way for more secular matters. Although Johanna owned many theological works, most of them about or written by leading figures of the Remonstrant community, her library was dominated by other genres and was thus in line with the general shift that took place in the eighteenth century. This is rather striking considering that this shift was barely visible in José de Kruif's research into the book collections of the inhabitants of The Hague.

Especially literature and geography were prevalent in Johanna's library and the books within these two genres showed that her curiosity and intellectual aspirations went far beyond the self and one's home, topics one might expect to come across in the library of an eighteenth-century woman, as well as beyond her hometown and country of origin. Johanna owned many literary works about characters very much unlike herself, as well as geographical books about places far less civilised than Leiden, which she likely read for entertainment but also to 'experience' these different ways of life. What's more, Johanna's scholarly interests and broad intellectual curiosity are clearly visible in her books on world history, the natural sciences, or those having to do with the past and present struggles of the Remonstrant community.

The fact that Johanna was a Remonstrant herself clearly played a part in shaping her library, as the Remonstrant community was relatively free in its desire to experience and participate in cultural and intellectual life of the Dutch Republic. This is likely the reason why Johanna's library mirrors the changes that took place in the eighteenth century, at least more so than the collections that José the Kruif examined. Ever since the beginning of the Remonstrant Brotherhood, its members were known for their critical stance towards the interpretation of the Bible, and it is therefore no surprise that this critical frame of mind gradually developed into an open-minded attitude towards research and the acquisition of knowledge; hence Simon Vuyk's description of the Remonstrants as 'children of the Enlightenment'.¹⁸⁸ The members of the Remonstrant community, then, appear to have made good use of the opportunities to develop themselves. Johanna's library certainly allowed her to develop herself intellectually and culturally.

All in all, envisioning Johanna's library more than 250 years after her death generates the image of a rather independent woman who was educated, despite a lack of schooling, and immensely interested in the world around her, without having travelled there herself. Johanna seems to have been particularly intrigued by people who lived differently or who travelled far beyond the boundaries of their homeland, something that she herself could only 'experience' on

¹⁸⁸ Vuyk, *Verlichte verzen en kolommen: Remonstranten in de letterkunde en tijdschriften der Verlichting (1720-1820)*, p. 9.

paper. One can only hope that she found what she perhaps felt was missing from her own life via the paper travels made possible by her wonderful collection of books.

Although the findings of this microhistorical study are rather specific and can not be used to make any claims about eighteenth-century women from Leiden in general, an attempt was made to bring back to life a woman who has been forgotten over time, like so many other women before (and after) her have been. By focussing on the ‘petite histoire’ of Johanna Paauw and her library, this thesis hopes to contribute to the discourse about the lives of the women in the Dutch Republic and to do justice to the countless women who have read and collected books in centuries past.

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Appendix

The library of Johanna Paauw, as described in her estate inventory by Johannes Thijssen in Leiden Regional Archives (LRA), arch. no. 506, Notarieel Archief, inv. no. 2300b, Archief van notaris Johannes Thijssen, 1751-1788, nr. 101 (2 September, 1767), ff. 44-51v. The bibliographical identifications were made on the basis of the Short-Title Catalogue, Netherlands.

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¹⁹⁰ Johanna Paauw appears to have owned a copy in which these two titles were bound together.

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- [107] C. Nozeman, teegen N. Holtius. Leijden. A° 1757.
Cornelius Nozeman, *Is Nicolaus Holtius wel waardig wederlegd te worden? Of Proeve hoe Cornelius Nozeman zyn nader betoog [...] van dr. John Owen bondig verdedigen kan tegen het zwets- en laster-schrift van Nicolaus Holtius* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1757), 8°.
- [108] J. Rusting, Volgeestige werken Ams. A° 1693.
Salomon van Rusting, *De volgeestige werken* (Amsterdam: J. ten Hoorn, 1693), 8°.
- [109] G.V. Zonhoven, Beleg en ontzet der stad Leiden A° 1744.
Georgius van Zonhoven, *Kort verhaal van het beleg en ontzet der stad Leiden* (Leiden: P. van der Eyk, 1744), 8°.
- [110] Het Egt en waar character van J. de Wit. Ams. A° 1757.

- Jan Wagenaar, *Het egt en waar karakter van den heere raadspensionaris Johan de Witt, getrokken uit de brieven van den graave d'Estradas [...] en overgesteld tegen het valsch en wanschaapen karakter, onlangs in't licht gegeven* (Amsterdam: I. Tirion, 1757), 8°.
- [111] Bufort, t'Leeven van P. Willem de 1ste 3 deelen. Leiden A° 1732.
L.F. de Beaufort [= Pieter Le Clerq], *Het leven van Willem de I. prins van Oranje* (Leiden: S. [I] Luchtman, 1732), 3 vols. 8°.
- [112] De Berlijnsche wijsgeer off vorstelijke beschaving. Leiden A° 1753.
De Berlynsche wysgeer. Of Vorstelyke beschouwer. Behelzende, eene verzameling van [...] XXXX. vertoogen. Onder de zinspreuk Omnia praeclara rara (Leiden: A. [I] Kallewier, 1753), 8°.
- [113] Papekost, geuze & jezuite kost. A° 1720.
Laurentius Steversloot, *Papekost, opgedist in geuse schotelen, handelende van de pausselyke opkomst, afgodery, en beeldendienst* (Leiden: s.n., 1720), 8°.
- [114] Comoedia vetus off bootsmans praatje. A° 1718.
Willem Meerman, *Comoedia vetus, of Bootsmanpraetje* (Amsterdam: P. Visser, 1718), 8°.
- [115] Historie der beleegering van haarlem in jaar 1572, 1573. A° 1739.
Willem Hessen, *Beleegering van Haarlem, versiert met vertooningen, trevrspeel* (Haarlem: I. van Hulkenroy, 1739), 8°.
- [116] Beschrijving van oud Batavien neevens Beschrijving der neederlandsche oorlogen.¹⁹⁴
a) Petrus Scriverius, *Beschryvinge van ovt Batavien [...]*, various editions, 8°.
b) Possibly J. Duym, *Corte historische beschryvinghe der Nederlandscher oorloghen* (Arnhem: J. Jansz, 1614), 8°.
- [117] P. Cluverius, *Batav: Oudtheeden*, amsterdam A° 1719. met platen 2 deelen.
Philippus Cluverius, *Batavische out-heeden, met de verhandeling over de drie uytloopen van den Rhyn*, translated from the Latin by Jacob Love (Amsterdam: J. Oosterwyk, 1719), 2 vols. 8°.
- [118] M. Fokkens Beschrijving van Amsterdam A° 1662.
Melchior Fockens, *Beschryvinge der wijdt-vermaarde koop-stadt Amstelredam* (Amsterdam: various editions, 1662), 12°.
- [119] N. Nieuwstad Rusbeschr. van Poolen na Muscovie Tijel A° 1699.
Adrien Baillet, *Reis-beschryvinge van Polen na Muscovien* (Tiel: J. van Leeuwen, 1699), 8°.
- [120] Historie der mensche Eeters A° 1696.
Abraham Magirus, *De wonderlijke historie der mensche-eeters* (Amsterdam: J. ten Hoorn, 1696), 8°.
- [121] Beschrijving van het Kijzerrijk Marokko met platen A° 1698.
Francois Pidou de Saint-Olon, *Beschryving van het keyserryk van Marokko*, translated from the French (The Hague: M. [I] Uytwerf, 1698), 8°.
- [122] Burnet Reijze door Zwitserland, Italien, Duyschland & met platen A° 1726.
Gilbert Burnet, *Reyze door Switserland, Italien, Duyschland, enz.* (Hoorn: J. Duyn, 1726), 8°.
- [123] Beschrijving van t'ijland Formosa A° 1705.
George Psalmanazar, *Beschryvinge van het eyland Formosa in Asia [...] uit de gedenkschriften van den hr. Georgius Psalmanazaar [...] t'zamengesteld [...] door d'hr. N.F.D.B.R.*, translated from the French (Rotterdam: P. van der Veer, 1705), editions in 8° and 12°.
- [124] Renneville historie van de bastilje A° 1717. Drie deelen.

¹⁹⁴ Johanna Paauw appears to have owned a copy in which these two titles were bound together.

- Constantin de Renneville, *Historie van de Bastilje of Inquidity van staat in Vrankryk* (Amsterdam: N. ten Hoorn, 1717), 3 vols. 8°.
- [125] *Reize door Engel: Schotl: en IJland A° 1699.*
Henri Misson, *Gedenkwaardige aantekeningen, gedaan door een reisiger in de jaaren 1697 en 1698 van geheel Engeland* (Utrecht: A. Schouten, 1699), 8°.
- [126] *Hollands Koorts.*
Lieven van Waarmond, *Hollands koors, verergert in een derdendaaghse: vervallen in een quinende sieckte, en geëyndicht in ellendige dootstuypen [...]* ('Weenen': 'C. van Lyland', [1687]), 8°.
- [127] *Heemskerk Batavische arcadia A° 1663.*
Johan van Heemskerk, *Batavische Arcadia* (Amsterdam: J. van Ravesteyn, 1662), 8°.
- [128] *Nederland: Jaarboek: 1ste deel Amst. A° 1748.*
Nederlandsche jaerboeken, inhoudende een verhael van de merkwaardigste geschiedenissen, die voorgevallen zyn binnen den omtrek der Vereendigde Provintien, sederd [...] MDCCXLVII. *Eerste deel* (Amsterdam: F. Houttuyn, 1748), 8°.
- [129] *Geschiedenis der Hertogin van Hanover A° 1734.*
Dutch translation of K.L. von Pölnitz, *Histoire secrette de la duchesse d'Hanover, epouse de Georges premier [...]* ('Londres': 'La compagnie des libraires', 1732), 12°.
- [130] *'t Leeven van O. Cromwel A° 1746.*
John Bancks, *Staatkundige levensbeschryving van Olivier Cromwell*, translated from the English (Amsterdam: S. van Esveldt, 1746), 8°.
- [131] *C Klim, onderaardsche reizen A° 1761.*
Ludvig Holberg, *Onderaardsche reis van Claas Klim* (The Hague: P. van Thol, 1761), 8°.
- [132] *Mahomets alcoran met platen A° 1721.*
Mahomets Alkoran, translated after A. Du Ryer's French translation of the Arabic (Leiden: J. van der Deyster, 1721), 8°.
- [133] -- *Leeven, Bedriegerije, Dood A° 1723.*
Humphrey Prideaux, *Mahomets leven, bedriegeryen, en dood [...]* *Nevens een klaare betooginge dat het euangelium van Jesus Christus geen bedrog, maar de H. waarheid Gods is*, translated from the English by B. Jaques (Amsterdam: I. Tirion, 1730), 8°.
- [134] *M. p, walcherse arcadia met platen ... deelen. Leiden A° 1717.*
Mattheus Gargon, *Walchersche Arkadia*, vol. 2 (Leiden: S. [I] Luchtmans, 1717), 8°.
- [135] *'t Oude nieuwe der ontdekte weereld A° 1667.*
Lambert van den Bos, *'tOude nieuws der ontdeckte weereld* (Amsterdam: C.J. Zwol, 1667), 12°.
- [136] *K. en J. Brands Poëzij. Amsterd: A° 1701.*
Kaspar Brandts Poëzy (Amsterdam: J. van Nieuweveen, 1701), 8°.
- [137] *Schat der Zielen A° 1678.*
Miguel Comalada, *Schat der zielen, ofte Begeerder*, translated from the Spanish (Amsterdam: P. Arentsz, 1678), 12°.
- [138] *H.V. Huls Gedigten. met platen A° 1734.*
Hendrik van Huls, *De gedichten* (Leiden: A. Ambrullaart, 1734), 8°.
- [139] *H.Vd. Burgs. Mengelzangen A° 1717.*
Hermanus van den Burg, *Mengelzangen* (Amsterdam: H. Blank, 1717), 8°.
- [140] *A. Pels. Mengelzangen l.d. A° 1717.*
Andries Pels, *Mengelzangen* (Amsterdam: for the 'Kunstgenootschap', 1717), 8°.
- [141] *T. Prior Verhandeling over het teerwater A° 1747.*

- George Berkeley, *Verhandeling over de geneezende kragten van teerwater*, translated from the English by T. Prior (Amsterdam: P. Mortier, 1747), 8°.
- [142] *Verhandeling over de ziekten der ooge* A° 17[...].
Charles de Saint-Yves, *Nieuwe verhandeling over de ziekten der oogen*, translated from the French (Leiden: P. van der Eyk and J. van der Kluis Pietersz, 1739), 8°.
- [143] *Venus minzieke gasthuys* A° 1688.
Nicolas Venette, *Venus minsieke gasthuis, waer in beschreven worden de bedryven der liefde in den staet des houwelyks*, translated from the French by J.V.E (Amsterdam: T. ten Hoorn, 1688), 8°.
- [144] *Meijers Woordenschat* A° 1669.
Lodewijk Meijer, *Woordenschat*, begun by Johan Hofman and continued by L. Meijer (Amsterdam: for the widow of J.H. Boom, 1669), 12°.
- [145] *D. Mostarts Neederduitsche secretar.* 165X.
Daniël Mostaert, *Nederduytse secretaris oft zendbriefschryver* (Amsterdam: for Dirck Pietersz, 1635/1637), 12°.
- [146] *P. Marin Fransche gramatica* A° 1718.
Pieter Marin, *Nouvelle grammaire françoise = Nieuwe Fransche grammatica* (Amsterdam: for the author, 1718), 8°.
- [147] *Pernassus Kunst Kabinet.* Amst. A° 1735.
Parnassus kunstkabinet. Of Verzameling van weergadelooze dichtstoffen (Amsterdam: A. Woutmans, 1735), 8°.
- [148] *Eenige vermakelijke dog waaragtige Historien.*
anon., *Eenige vermakelyke, doch waarachtige historien, synde het leeven van verscheide reukeloose pachters* ('Franeker': 'J. Defensiu' for the author, 1697), 12°.
- [149] *Pamela, off de beloonde deugd. met Platen* A° 1742. vier deelen.
Samuel Richardson, *Pamela of De beloonde deugd*, translated from the English (Amsterdam: G. Tielenburg, 1742), 8°.
- [150] *Gevallen van Robinson Crusoe. met Platen drie deelen.* Amst. A° 1721.
Daniel Defoe, *Het leven en de wonderbaare gevallen van Robinson Crusoe*, Translated from the English (Amsterdam: H., the widow of J. [II], J. [III], and M. Janssonius van Waesberge, 1721), 8°.
- [151] *De Engelsche Filosooff off historie van den H. Cleveland* A° 1732. drie deelen met Platen.
Antoine Francois Prévost dit Prévost d'Exiles, *De Engelsche filosoof, of Historie van den heer Cleveland, natuurlyke zoon van Cromwell*, translated from the French (The Hague: P. [I] van Thol, 1732), 3 vols. 8°.
- [152] *Historie van de Hertogin van Pompadour.* A° 1761.
Franciscus Lievens Kersteman, *Historie van mevrouwe de hartoginne van Pompadour* (Zalt-Bommel: J.W. Kanneman, 1761), 8°.
- [153] *De Americaansche Mercurius met platen* A° 1678.
De Americaansche Mercurius, behelsende drie [...] geschiedenissen van liefdens hartstochten, onkuysche rampspoeden, en rampsalige minnedriften, translated from the French (Amsterdam: D. van den Dalen, 1678), 12°.
- [154] *De doorlugtige minnaressen* A° 1730. 4 deelen.
Robert Challes, *De doorluchtige minnaressen. Waarachtige geschiedenissen [...] van eenige Fransche heeren en juffers*, translated from the French by P. Le Clerq (Amsterdam: H. Uytwerf, 1730), 8°.
- [155] *De vermakelijke avonturier* Amst. A° 1722. twee deelen.

- Nicolaas Heinsius jr., *Den vermakelyken avonturier, ofte De wispelturige, en niet min wonderlyke levens-loop van Mirandor* (Amsterdam: A. Schoonenburg, 1722), 2 vols. 8°.
- [156] De Hollandse Robinson A° 1743.
*De Hollandsche Robinson, of Wonderlyke gevallen van den heer ** (Gouda: F. Bellaart, 1743), 8°.
- [157] De Schouwburg der verliefde. A° 1708.
 Hieronymus Sweerts, *De schouburg der verliefde* (Amsterdam: T. ten Hoorn, 1708), 12°.
- [158] Don Clarazel de Gontarnos A° 1697. 2. deelen met platen.
 Gilbert Saulnier Du Verdier, *Don Clarazel de Gontarnos, ofte den buiten-spoorigen dolenden ridder*, translated from the French by Nicolaas Heinsius jr. (Amsterdam: N. Holbeex and J. Broers, 1697), 8°.
- [159] De Boerin van fortuijn A° 1739. drie deelen met platen.
 Charles de Fieux de Mouhy, *De boerin van fortuin, of gedenkschriften van de marquisin van L.V.* (Amsterdam: J. Kouwe, 1739), 8°.
- [160] Brieven en gedenkschriften van een turkse spion A° 1710. vier deelen.
 Giovanni Paolo Marana, *Alle de brieven, en gedenkschriften van eenen Turkschen spion in de hoven van Europe*, translated from the Italian (Amsterdam: P. Verbeek, 1710), 4 vols. 8°.
- [161] De Delfse juffer. A° 1758.
De Delfsche juffer of Het listige levensgedrag van een bedaagde vryster (The Hague: H. Bakhuyzen, 1758), 8°.
- [162] Philozophische droomen.
 Jean-Baptiste de Boyer marquis d'Argens, *Philozofische droomen, of Oordeelkundige aanmerkingen, over de gewoontes, zeden en gevoelens der hedendaagsche waereld*, translated from the French, (various editions, 175X/1766), 8°.
- [163] De Reizende Boekbinders gezelschap A° 1754.
 Christian Friedrich Rudolph, *De reizende boekbinders gezelschap, of Merkwaardige [...] gevallen [...] dewelke hem [...] in de inquisitie zyn overgekomen*, translated from the German (Rotterdam: J. Losel, 1754), 8°.
- [164] De ongelukkige Florentijner met platen. vier deelen 1. st. Leiden A° 1745.
 Antoinne de la Barre de Beaumarchais, *Merkwaardige levens-gevallen van den ongelukkige Florentijner, of Geschiedenis van Marco Mario Brufalini*, translated from the French (Leiden: J. van Abkoude, 1730), 8°.
- [165] Cartouche off de gestrafte booswigt A° 1731 met platen.
 Nicolas Racot de Grandval, *Cartouche of De gestrafte booswigt*, translated from the French (Amsterdam: J. de Ruyter, 1731), 8°.
- [166] Nieuwe vermakelijkheden om iemands naam te weeten. A° 1735.
 Johannides van Maeslant, *Nieuwe vermakelykheden, ofte Rare ende uitgelesene vonden* (Amsterdam: G. Bouman, 1735), 12°.
- [167] Nieuwe snakerijen A° 1732.
Nieuwe snakeryen, of Vermakelyke historien, zynde [...] ontrent tweehonderd koddige vertellingen, translated from various languages (Leiden: J.A. Langerak, 1732), 8°.
- [168] Vrolijke uren.
 Pieter de Neyn, *Vrolyke uren, bestaande uit verscheidenen soorten van mengeldigten* (Amsterdam: J. Bouman, 1681), 8°.
- [169] J. Bonefonius, Minnedichjes. Gron. A° 1724.
Pancharis of minnedichtjes van Janus Bonefonius [...] nagevolgt onder de daam van Rozelyn (Groningen: J. Cost, 1724), 8°.

[170] Appolos marsdrager. 3. deele. 1 stuk.

Gijsbert Tijsens, *Apollo's marsdrager, veylende allerhande [...] snel, punt, schimp, en mengeldigten*, various editions, 8°.

[171] De grondlegging der roomsche vrijheid. Dood van Johan & Garcias. Spiegel van Edelmoedige vrindschap. Aarnoud & Adolf van Egmond. Cato, off de ondergang der roomsche vrijheid. [...] Koning van Egypte. Argelia Koningin van Thessalien. Electra. in eene band.

a) Claas Bruin, *Grondlegging der Roomsche Vryheid*, various editions.

b) Claas Bruin, *De dood van Johan en Garcias, of de onzydige regtspleeging van Cosmos de Medicis; groothertog van Toscanen*, 1715.

c) Claas Bruin, *Spiegel van edelmoedige vriendschap*, 1715/1737.

d) Claas Bruin, *Aarnout en Adolf van Egmond, hertogen van Gelder*, 1716/1736.

e) [Hermanus Angelkot Jr., Pieter Langendijk and H. de Wolff], *Cato, of de ondergang der Roomsche vryheid*, based on the English version by Joseph Addison, various editions.

f) Not identified.

g) Guillaume Toussaint Domis, *Argelia, koninginne van Thessalien. Onder de zinspreuk Gloria tribuit doctrina*, based on the French version by Gaspard Abeille, 1713.

h) Philip Malfait de Jonge, *Elektra*, based on the French version by Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, various editions.

[172] Beleg en ontzet van Leiden. Beschrijving der ciera die tot dito. Marcus Antonius en Cleopatra. Karel de Stoute. Parijsche bruiloft. Themistocles. De gekroonde na haar dood. Veinsende torquatus. in eene band.

a) Reinier Bontius, *Beleg en ontzet der stad Leyden*, various editions.

b) Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschryving der sieraaden van het tooneel, met de verklaring derzelver zinnebeelden en vertooningen, in het beleg en ontzet van Leyden*, various editions.

c) [E. Webber], *Markus Antonius en Kleopatra*, based on the French version by Jean de la Chapelle, 1685/1739.

d) Jacob van Vergelo, *Karel de Stoute, hartog van Bourgondie, graave van Holland, Zeeland, enz.*, various editions.

e) Reyer Anslo, *Parysche bruiloft*, various editions.

f) Not identified.

g) Christiaan van Heulen, *De gekroonde na haar dood*, based on the Spanish version by Luis Vélez de Guevara y Dueñas, various editions.

h) Gerard Brandt, *De veinzende Torquatus*, various editions.

[173] Eneas & Turmus. Schilla. Orestes & Pilades. Polyxena. Horace. Buijtenpoorige minnaar. De vrijstermarkt. in eene band.

a) Lucas Rotgans, *Eneas en Turnus*, various editions.

b) Lucas Rotgans, *Scilla*, various editions.

c) Matthijs Bode, *Orestes en Pylades, of Iphigenia in Tauris*, based on the French version by Francois Joseph Chancel, dit la Grange, various editions.

d) Matthijs Bode, *Polyxena*, based on the French version by Antoine la Fosse, sieur d'Aubigny, various editions.

e) Johannes Schröder, *Horace*, based on the French version by Pierre Corneille, 1709.

f) [Johannes Schröder], *De buitenspoorige minnaar*, 1718.

g) [Johannes Schröder], *De vrystermarkt. Onder de zinspreuk Suum cuique vitium est*, 1713.

[174] Rodogune Prins der Parten. Heraclius. Don Louis de Vargas off Edelmoedige wraak. Andromache. Aarnout & adolf. Radamistus en Zenobia. in eene band.

- a) Frans Rijk, *Rodogune, Prinsesse der Parthen*, based on the French version by Pierre Corneille, various editions.
- b) Frans Rijk or Jan van Hoven, *Heraklius*, based on the French version by Pierre Corneille, various editions.
- c) Dirck Pietersz. Heynck, *Don Louis de Vargas, of edelmoedige wraak*, based on the Spanish version by Juan Ruiz de Alarcon y Mendoza, various editions.
- d) [Lodewijk Meijer], *Andromaché*, based on the French version by Jean Baptiste Racine, various editions.
- e) Claas Bruin, *Aarnout en Adolf van Egmond, hertogen van Gelder*, various editions.
- f) Abraham Bogaert, *Rhadamistus en Zenobia*, based on the French version by Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, various editions.
- [175] Philipijn Koppelaar. Spaanse Heijdin. Oratijn & Maskariljas. Crispijn juffr: & notaris. Lubbert Lubbertse off gadelde boer. in eene band.
- a) Abraham Alewyn, *Philippyn, mr. Koppelaar*, 1707.
- b) Catharina Dusart Verwerks, *Spaensche heydin*, various editions.
- c) Joan Dullaart, *Oratyn en Maskariljas, of den ontijdigen loskop*, based on the French version by Jean Baptiste Poquelin Molière, various editions.
- d) Jac. de Rijk, *Krispyn, jufvrouw en notaris*, 1698/1737.
- e) Michiel van Breda or Pieter de la Croix, *Lubbert Lubbertze, of de gadelde boer*, based on the French version by Jean Baptiste Poquelin Molière, various editions.
- [176] Beklaaglijke dwang. Aran, en Titus. Didoos dood. de groote Tamerlan. Brutus en zijner zoonen. Polieucte. in eene band.
- a) Isaac de Vos, *De beklaglyke dwang*, based on the Spanish version by Félix Lope de Vega y Carpio, various editions.
- b) Jan Vos, *Aran en Titus, of wraak en weerwraak*, various editions.
- c) [Andries Pels], *Didoos doot*, various editions.
- d) Johannes Serwouters, *Den grooten Tamerlan, met de doodt van Bayaset de I., Turks keyser*, based on the Spanish version by Luis Vélez de Guevara y Dueñas, various editions.
- e) [Pr. Merkman den Jonge], *Brutus en zijner zoonen treurspel*, 1725.
- f) Frans Rijk, *Polieukte, Armenisch martelaar*, based on the French version by Pierre Corneille, various editions.
- [177] De dood van Nero. Julius Cezar & Cato. Senolia. Cinna. Agrippa off de gewaande tiberin. in eene band.
- a) [Jan Haverkamp], *De dood van Nero*, 1709/1720.
- b) Pieter Langendijk, *Julius Cezar en Kato*, based on the French version by Francois Michel Chrétien Deschamps, various editions.
- c) Not identified.
- d) [Pieter van Gelein], *Cinna, of goedertierenheid van Augustus*, based on the French version by Pierre Corneille, various editions.
- e) [Lodewijk Meijer], *Agrippa, of de gewaande Tibérinus*, based on the French version by Philippe Quinault, various editions.
- [178] Faeton. Surena veltoverste der parten. De cid. Toverije van Armida. Aran & Titus. in eene band.
- a) Govert Bidloo, *Faëton, of reukelooze stoutheid*, various editions.
- b) [Herman van Loghem], *Surena, veldheer der Parthen*, based on the French version by Pierre Corneille, 1738.

- c) [Johan van Heemskerck], *De Cid*, based on the French version by Pierre Corneille, various editions.
- d) Adriaan Peys, *De toveryen van Armida, of het belegerde Jeruzalem*, based on the Italian version by Torquato Tasso, various editions.
- e) Jan Vos, *Aran en Titus, of wraak en weerwraak*, various editions.
- [179] Thelamirus. Herodes en Marianne. Jacoba van Bijere. Polixena. in eene band.
- a) [J. Fr. du Sauzet], *Thelamirus*, based on the French version by Henri Lamb. D'Erbigny de Thibouville, 1743.
- b) Katharina Lescailje, *Herodes en Marianne*, based on the French version by Francois Tristan l'Hermite, various editions.
- c) Jan de Marre, *Jacob van Beieren*, various editions.
- d) Matthijs Bode, *Polixena*, based on the French version by Antoine la Fosse, sieur d'Aubigny, various editions.
- [180] Themistocles. Don Jeronimo, maarschalk van Spanje. Karel Erfprins van Spanje. Horace, en Curace. Astrate, in eene band.
- a) Not identified.
- b) Adriaen van den Bergh, *Don Jeronimo, marschalck van Spanjen*, based on the English version by Thomas Kyd, various editions.
- c) Govert Bidloo, *Karel, erf-prins van Spanje*, various editions.
- d) Johan de Witt, *Horace en Curace*, based on the French version by Pierre Corneille, various editions.
- e) [Dirch Buysero], *Astrate, koning van Tyrus*, based on the French version by Philippe Quinault, various editions.
- [181] Cato off ondergang der Rooms. vrijh. Sigismundus Prinse van Poole. Beleg en ontzet van Leiden. Cierade van 't ontzet. in eene band.
- a) [Hermanus Angelkot Jr., Pieter Langendijk en H. de Wolff], *Cato, of de ondergang der Roomsche vryheid*, based on the English version by Joseph Addison, various editions.
- b) J. Schouwenbergh, *Sigismundus, prince van Poolen, of 't leven is een droom*, based on the Spanish version by Pedro Calderón de la Barca, various editions.
- c) Reinier Bontius, *Beleg en ontzet der stad Leiden*, various editions.
- d) Tobias van Domselaer, *Beschryving der sieraaden van het tooneel, met de verklaring derzelver zinnebeelden en vertooningen, in het beleg en ontzet van Leyden*, various editions.
- [182] Electra. Schilla. Beleg en ontzet van Leiden. Cierade van 't ontzet. in eene band
- a) Philip Malfait de Jonge, *Elektra*, based on the French version by Prosper Jolyot de Crébillon, various editions.
- b) Lucas Rotgans, *Scilla*, various editions.
- c) Reinier Bontius, *Beleg en ontzet der stad Leiden*, various editions.
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